

## Faculty of Social Sciences Stockholm University

1964 - 2014

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### **Preface**

THE FACULTY OF Social Sciences at Stockholm University, like its sister faculties at the other large universities in Sweden, celebrates its 50<sup>th</sup> birthday this year. The Swedish faculties of social science were established following a governmental decision in 1964. Some of the senior people still active at the Faculty of Social Sciences in Stockholm were young teachers or students at the time, a couple of years before the big student 'population boom' and the by now legendary student revolution.

The faculty has for most of this time been a central part of the working machinery of the University, in charge of the oversight over teaching and with independent responsibility for the quality of research. For those who are part of the Faculty Board or its different commissions, or for the staff of the Faculty Office, the Faculty shapes everyday life. Still, for most of the staff and students within the Faculty, it is a relatively anonymous entity. Life at the university is mainly lived within a departmental

context. Rather than to try to compile a comprehensive history at the organizational level of the Faculty, we have therefore chosen to present histories of the different departments, some who have been there all along, others who have more lately been welcomed into our community.

The first chapter paints the picture of universities in Stockholm in general and the social sciences in particular in the years preceding the birth of the Faculty of Social Sciences. In the following chapters, there is for each department, institute and centre a story of how it has been to belong to the Faculty during the first 50 years, or of the external roots of the unit before it joined our academic community, or both. However, the stories told are certainly not the only narratives that could have been offered—they are personal reflections of the author(s) rather than a final, official departmental version of its history. In almost all cases, each author is however a senior member of the depart-

ment. The stories are personal reflections on history, selected among what is certainly many possible ones. There are always many stories to tell, and the selection should not be seen as final histories of the departments and institutes.

We have also included a chapter on the former Department of Advertising and PR since its merger with the Stockholm Business School is of recent date. In all other cases, we have sorted the stories by the English names by which the units are known today, fully aware of that during their lives, name changes have sometimes been frequent.

After the stories, a description of major current research areas of the Faculty plus a list of the deans, deputy deans and current professors conclude the book. Here, too, we have to say that the selection of research themes presented by no means exhaust the broad range of research questions that the individual researchers at the Faculty pursue.

Life in an academic unit cannot be characterized by faces of buildings, pieces of art or events of celebration. It is rather characterized by preparations of lectures, sitting at a seminar, cursing the copying machine, marking examination papers, reading the results of a computer run of data with surprise, joy or depression, checking the last figures of one's budget proposal, making an interview, debating the curriculum, hunting for a course-book in the bookshop, or simply enjoying being absorbed in a



One of the meeting rooms of the Faculty Office still harbours the memory of the jubilee 20 years ago. (Photo: Mats Danielson)

good article... And so on. It is drudgery and joy, either lonely or socializing in great company.

Finally, our hope is that during the next 50 years, some instance at Stockholm University will have the time and resources necessary and find it fruitful to document life in our academic world as it actually is, creating an archive for the future use of jubilee book editors and scientific historians.

Happy reading!

**GUDRUN DAHL,** former dean of the Faculty **MATS DANIELSON,** dean of the Faculty





Protokoll hållet vid sammanträde med Stockholms universitets samhällsvetenskapliga fakultet den 9 september 1954.

Narvarande: dekamus, professor Söderlund, prodekamus, professor Lundberg, professorerna Myndal, Svennilson, Hannerberg, Ekaan, Husén, Boalt, Malnqvist sast t.f. professorerna Andrén och Sveri, laborator Henrysson, universitetslektorerna Magnusson (p. 1-18), Bloaberg (p. 1-18), Nyman (p. 1-18) och Sundberg (p. 1-18) sast byrächef Hellstrand.

Frånvarande: professorerna Östlind, Trankell, Alf Johansson, laborator Sandels (utrikes), universitetslektor Lindgren (sjukdom).

teten beslöt att i följande en fakultetens dekanus eller kanus skall avgiva yttrande förslag å fakultetens väg- ågor om tjänstledighet eller sli tjänstebefrielse för avare av tjänst vid umi- tetet, ävensom förordnande karier, löningsförmåner under tjänst- roden till fakultetsopponen- sökningar om tjänsteförening enden av mindre vikt och kande natur. beten henställde att konsis-
t måtte anmäla delegations- tet hos universitetskanslers et.
gärd.

Protocol from the very first meeting of the Board of the Faculty of Social Sciences.

# History of the Faculty of Social Sciences

**Mats Danielson** 

**THE YEAR IS 1576.** There are still 388 years before the Faculty of Social Sciences at Stockholm University will be formally constituted, but academic research and education relevant to and applicable to society are being planned for and prepared this year in Stockholm. The scene is Gråmunkeholmen (today Riddarholmen) in central Stockholm, a small island next to Stadsholmen. The main island, Stadsholmen, containing the Royal Palace, is what we nowadays call the Old Town. The devastating fire of 1625 has yet to arrive, wiping out almost half of Stadsholmen's buildings. At the nearby Gråmunkeholmen, connected to Stadsholmen by the convenient Munkbron bridge, King Johan III has requested that a higher educational institute, a college, should be established. There are societal needs to be catered to in the form of a shortage of priests, vicars and other scholarly educated men. Parts of the societal structure are upheld by these occupations, and the establishment-to-be can be viewed as a

higher institute of education in a 16<sup>th</sup> century sense.

The men – they were all men in these ancient times - would carry out tasks in society that are today to some extent done by professionals trained by the Faculty of Social Sciences. Thus, the college is the earliest precursor to the Faculty of today, making the university history of Stockholm go back all the way to the 16th century. A few years prior, around 1570, it bothered the king that there was no active university in Sweden. Uppsala University was mostly closed during the reformation and there were no other universities in Sweden at that time. The king wanted Sweden to have a higher educational institution, and further he wanted to place it in Stockholm, the de facto capital at that time. Planning begun for a higher academic institute and the search for suitable premises came up with Gråmunkeholmen, named after the old monastery Gråbrödraklostret which had been established around 1270. The monasCollēgium rēgium (āfven Academia stockholmensis), ett slags högskola, som af Johan III år 1576 upprättades i Stockholm och hade sin lokal i gråmunkeklostret på Riddarholmen. Kollegiet leddes till en början af jesuitiska lärare och var till år 1583 nästan uteslutande en bildningsanstalt för unga prästmän, som af konungen ditkallades och af honom understöddes; men det undergick efter denna tidpunkt en viktig förändring i protestantisk riktning, i det Johan, hvars sympati för katolicismen minskats, åren 1583—87 tillsatte sex protestantisk sinnade lärare, bl. a. i grekiska och fysik. Arbetet förlamades dock mycket på grund af osäkerhet i den ekonomiska ställningen och de förföljelser, som drabbade lärarna för deras vägran att antaga liturgien. Slutligen, när det år 1580 upplästa universitetet i Uppsala år 1593 återupprättades, förflyttades Stockholmskollegiets professorer dit, och kollegiet förföll.

From Nordisk Familjebok, ed. 1906.

tery had been closed in 1527 by King Gustav Vasa during the reformation and was now available and identified as suitable for educational purposes. This was not met by enthusiasm, neither by the archbishop nor by proponents of the mostly dormant Uppsala University, but in August 1576, after some years of planning, the college, Collegium regium ('King's College' a.k.a. Academia Stockholmiensis), was opened in the old monastery at Gråmunkeholmen with Laurentius Norvegus as rector. The teaching was initially targeted mostly at educating priests and vicars and the teachers were Jesuits, giving the teaching a Catholic direction. Subjects taught included theology, Latin, philosophy, mathematics and medicine. After an uprising, the rector was replaced in 1580 and the

Collegium turned much less Catholic. Especially from 1583, when Protestant teachers were employed in subjects such as Greek and physics, Collegium regium turned more into a general academic institution of the same kind as contemporary universities. The Collegium was in

Laure'ntius Norvēgus (L. "den norske") l. Laurentius Nicolai (Lars Nilsson), vanligen kallad Klosterlasse, jesuit, föddes i Norge 1538, uppfostrades af jesuiterna i Louvain och kom derifrån till Polen. Lärd, vältalig och smidig, fanns han af katolska kyrkans ledare särdeles lämplig att användas vid det sedan 1572 fortgående försöket att genomföra en kyrklig reaktion i Sverige. I April 1576 anlände han till Stockholm, der han sedan i fyra år verkade enligt föreskrifter af kardinal Hosius, fördöljande, så godt sig göra lät, sin egenskap af katolik och jesuit samt hufvudsakligen nöjande sig med att understödja konungens liturgiska reformsträfvanden. I Aug. 1576 öppnades under hans ledning det af konung Johan tillskapade teologiska kollegiet i det forna gråmunkeklostret å Riddarholmen (deraf binamnet "Klosterlasse"), och i Jan. 1577 uppträdde han offentligt och disputerade med de till Stockholm kallade Upsala-professorerna. Den 1 Nov. 1577 höll han i Upsala, under ett besök i konungens följe, en offentlig predikan om helgonens åkallan och deras förböner. Denna predikan föranledde en motskrift från universitetets teologer, hvilken stegrade konungens förbittring mot universitetet. Men sedan det blifvit klart för Johan III, att påfven aldrig skulle lemna sitt medgifvande till hans förmedlingsliturgi, miste "Klosterlasse" konungens gunst samt blef, efter ett mot ofvannämnda kollegium riktadt folkupplopp, våren 1580 förvisad till Drottningholm, hvarefter han i Aug. s. å. lemnade riket. - Då Gustaf II Adolf 1621 eröfrade Riga, var L. N. en af de jesuiter, som fördrefvos ur staden.

From Nordisk Familjebok, ed. 1885.

effect the first "Stockholm University College", not by name but in operations and character.

The Collegium was in effect the first "Stockholm University College", not by name but in operations and character.

The Collegium flourished for a while, but opposing powers made inroads to seal a different fate. The opposition focused on the premises, which according to them had to be allocated for other, more pressing, needs. In 1589, some of the Collegium's premises were already in use by the Royal Mint Authority (Kungl. Myntverket) and more were soon to be allocated to the military for use as hospitals. This put some doubt on the future of the Collegium and the teachers felt that their positions were less than secure. At Johan III's death in 1592, the Collegium was deteriorating, and in the following year it was in principle closed as there was no teaching, even if it formally remained in existence for a short while afterwards.

The succeeding king, Sigismund, and later on Karl IX and Gustav II Adolf, all decided to support Uppsala University instead, where teaching in principle had ceased as early as 1530 due to the reformation. It was reopened in 1595 and the teachers at *Collegium regium* were in 1593 transferred to Uppsala or laid off. With

the reestablishment of Uppsala University, there was now no longer an immediate need for a college of the same kind in Stockholm.

#### The 17th and 18th centuries

In the decades following, Sweden began to expand its territory in Northern Europe. The Era of the Swedish Empire (stormaktstiden) is considered to consist of the time period between 1611 and 1719. One way to consolidate the empire during that time was to open universities in different parts of the empire, and a number of universities were founded in short succession. Thus, in 1632, Sweden's second national university was opened in Dorpat by Gustav II Adolf. It was called Academia Gustaviana until 1665 and later Academia Gustavo-Carolina. In 1640, Sweden's third national university was founded in Turku, Finland. It was named Kungl. Akademien i Åbo (the Royal Academy of Turku) and contained four faculties. All students had to start with undergraduate studies at the Faculty of Philosophy and could then continue with studies in one of the faculties of Medicine, Law, or Theology, in a system akin to the 'graduate schools' we can find today in some university systems. The university was moved to Helsinki in 1828.2 Another university, that of Greifswald, became Swedish in 1648 due to efforts of war

<sup>1</sup> Now called Tartu University in Tartu, Estonia, having 18,000 students.

<sup>2</sup> Now called Helsinki University, having 38,000 students.

(Svenska Pommern). Greifswald, however, was never really considered one of the national universities, as it was not founded by the Swedish government. Rather, Lund University was to become the fourth national university. The peace treaties of Roskilde in 1658 and Copenhagen in 1660 brought Sweden its now southern parts permanently. To manifest this, a university was constituted in Lund in 1666, and by that event, the need for Swedish universities was saturated for the time being. As events unfolded, the Swedish Empire did not substantially expand any further but rather declined, thus effectively putting to an end for centuries the idea of a university in Stockholm.

In Stockholm, meanwhile, more specific academies were formed. In 1735, the Royal Academy of Fine Arts (Kungl. Akademien för de fria konsterna) was established, followed in 1739 by the Royal Swedish Academy of Science (Kungl. Vetenskapsakademien). Some decades later, in 1792, Karlberg Military College (Militärhögskolan Karlberg) was also founded. Politicians and parliamentarians in Stockholm continually discussed the need for the capital to have a higher academic institution, not least within what we now know as the social sciences.

#### The 19th century

In 1822, leading politicians once again proposed the establishment of such an institution, this time by relocating Uppsala University to

Stockholm. A main reason cited was that a university ought to interact with society by being geographically close to a large city. The closed-wall university was seen as a medieval reminiscence. Not least jurisdiction<sup>3</sup> by the university over the students ought to be abolished. A committee was formed to investigate the matter. In 1825, the committee reached the conclusion that a relocation was not to be recommended mainly because of costs, both for relocation of the university and for students, Stockholm being more expensive for students to live in. It was also noted that the university could be too close to the government to ensure academic freedom, and finally that the capital had many more big city distractions for students than Uppsala. Thus, Stockholm was once again left without a higher academic institution. However, the need for higher education in many sectors of society, not least in the capital, continued to increase. As a consequence, more specialised academies were founded in Stockholm. Among them the Central Athletic Institute (Gymnastiska centralinstitutet, now Gymnastik- och idrottshögskolan) in 1813, Kungl. Karolinska medico-chirurgiska institutet (now Karolinska Institutet) in 1816, the Technological Institute (Teknologiska institutet, now Kungl. Tekniska högskolan, KTH) in 1827, the For-

<sup>3</sup> Jurisdiction meant the right to prosecute and sentence criminal acts

estry Institute (*Skogsinstitutet*, later *Skogs-högskolan*<sup>4</sup>) in 1828, and the Pharmaceutical Institute (*Farmaceutiska institutet*<sup>5</sup>) in 1837. None of these had, however, a particularly social science-based orientation.

In the new governmental university statutes, ratified in 1852, the jurisdiction of the universities was indeed abolished. This was not only a reform on paper. In the years immediately prior to the new statutes, universities had sometimes sentenced students to severe punishment, even execution. The governing structures of Uppsala University and Lund University were made more isomorph by the new statutes, making them an implicit norm for how universities should be organised in Sweden. Furthermore, in 1859, both universities appointed the same person as chancellor, Gustaf Sparre. Earlier chancellors had mostly been royalties and nobilities, and while Sparre, too, was a count, his appointment still signified a new role for the chancellor. The coming chancellors were rather academics or politicians, among them two prime ministers to be. During the 1850s, Count Anckarsward had several times petitioned in the Parliament (Riksdagen) that a higher academic institution should be established in Stockholm, but of a different kind from the universities. He envi-

In 1861, Kungl. Karolinska medico-chirurgiska institutet was granted permission to award medical licentiate degrees, the first graduate degree in a Stockholm institution. The first result of Anckarswärd's and others' efforts was that Riksdagen in 1862 granted a yearly appropriation for open scientific lectures in Stockholm. The lectures commenced in 1863 with the initial subjects being the general and politic history of culture, general law, constitutional law, political science, statistics, biology, physics and mineralogy, a set of subjects we would today consider a mix of all four current faculties of the University. Two years later, the Stockholm City Council granted a yearly appropriation of SEK 30,000 for the creation of a higher academic educational institution. This was paralleled by a fundraising campaign directed at the general public. The campaign only raised SEK 45,000 in four years, however, with the main counterargument from the public being that there were already a set of academies in the capital such as the Swedish Academy, the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences, the Royal Swedish Academy of Letters, and more. What should we need this new academy for?

sioned a scientific academy without faculties or degrees, with the aim of professing pure science. His petitions did not result in any actions but planted some seeds for the decades to come.

<sup>4</sup> Merged with the Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences (Sveriges lantbruksuniversitet) in 1977.

<sup>5</sup> Moved to Uppsala in 1968 to merge with Uppsala University.

#### Stockholm University College

In 1869, the University College Association of Stockholm (*Högskoleföreningen i Stockholm*) was founded. It was an association with the aim to establish a university college in Stockholm. It remains in existence even today, albeit with a modified aim. Funding was raised from the City Council and again from the general public. The fundraising went on for seven years, with the motto to create a higher academic educational institution without the traditional requirements to take a predefined set of subjects or courses; rather it was to have a free choice on which subjects to explore.

The year after, 1870, the government issued a new degree charter (*examensordning*), stating that there were three degree levels – bachelor (*fil.kand.*), licentiate, and doctorate (*doktorsgrad*) levels. The bachelor's degree needed to consist only of five subjects (previously six, and prior to 1853 all subjects of the faculty). The five subjects required for a bachelor (candidate) of philosophy degree were theoretical philosophy, Latin, history, Nordic languages, and finally a choice between mathematics or science.

Also in 1870, the curricula at the universities were given a more structured form by the government. Contents and goals had to be explicitly written down. This met with opposition from university teachers and created some debate. The focus was thought to shift towards examination, away from knowledge. It was felt

to lead to "simple homework", something that was seen as indicative of lower school forms. The same debate has been seen many times since, to this day.

The plans for an academic institution in Stockholm grew firmer during the first part of the 1870s. Of the classic four faculties, philosophy was the one of most interest to the Association. Plans were made for the subjects of philosophy, history, languages, literature, mathematics and science. Of the other faculties, law was seen as too applied, medicine as already in existence (at KI), and theology as of little interest. Engineering was not seen as a possible faculty at the time. Regardless, Teknologiska institutet expanded and changed its name to Kungl. Tekniska högskolan in 1877. They took steps toward a more scientifically-based education by starting up research laboratories and introducing mandatory thesis work. All graduates were called civilingenjörer (not translated as civil engineers, but rather as non-military engineers) as opposed to military engineers, further emphasising the fulfilment of societal needs by engineers and their importance to society.

In the autumn of 1878, Stockholm University College could finally open its doors for the first time. A total of 480 students attended lectures in mathematics, physics, chemistry and geology during the first semester. In the following semester, botany and zoology were added as subjects. Note the change of subjects

from the initial lectures a decade and a half earlier funded by the parliament, which included history of culture, law, political science, and statistics. Social science subjects were now conspicuous by their absence. Even though student attendance could be viewed as a partial success, the numbers did not improve in the following years and the financial situation soon became strained. To counter the situation, admission fees were introduced already in 1881, dropping the number of enrolments from 500 to 100, an 80 % reduction very similar in number to what we have recently experienced with non-European student fees.

Professors at the College were directly appointed to chairs, not recruited by rating applications. Positions were not advertised and there was no competition for a chair. The hand-picked elite were offered more time for research compared to the traditional universities. Among the first professors hired, some could be mentioned: Svante Arrhenius, physics, Hans von Euler-Chelpin, chemistry, Gösta Mittag-Leffler and Sonja Kovalevsky, mathematics, and Viktor Rydberg, cultural history. None of these professorships were, however, directly related to the social sciences.

In 1883, the turnover of the College was SEK 125,000 divided into 27,000 in tuition fees, 40,000 from the City Council and 58,000 from return on investment funds. In Swedish universities in general at the time, and in the

College in particular, the romantic ideal of pure knowledge was being challenged by a more practical view of the need to educate civil servants and lower tier school teachers. The College Board, and its chairman the over-governor (överståthållaren), were more focused on the practical and educational side of the College. They wanted to educate the youth, to apply for the right to award degrees, and to employ teachers in the same way as ordinary employees, not through peer-reviewed application procedures. The Teachers' Council (lärarrådet), on the other hand, wanted to emphasise research and debate, not education. They wanted a peer-reviewed employment process (akin to today's procedures) and academic freedom. They asked for the College to be declared a centre for higher cultural studies, not a degree-awarding institution. Needless to say, this led to clashes in the organisational structure of the College.

The Stockholm City Council had a number of seats on the College Board. In 1888, they proposed the establishment of a law programme. This would be more in line with the ambitions the City had with its engagement in the College, and it could also help counter the very negative trend in the number of enrolments. The Teachers' Council, however, were reluctant. To emphasise its point, the City Council withdrew its financial support of SEK 40,000 and promised instead a conditional

support of 30,000 – on the condition that a law programme was established. In the event that such a programme was still not established, there was a proposal of creating an external faculty of law, not connected to the College. In the same year, lectures in economics started with Johan Leffler as lecturer, offering a broader set of subjects to the students.

In 1893, the Swedish Higher Education Chancellor (universitetskanslersämbetet) was established. The chancellor primarily governed the universities of Uppsala and Lund, plus Karolinska Institutet. Docent Gustaf Gilljam from Uppsala University became the first chancellor (universitetskansler). But the Swedish Higher Education Authority (ämbetsverket, what we colloquially refer to as UKÄ) was, however, not established until 1964 at which time the chancellor also became the head of the Authority.

#### The 20th century

A decade later, in 1904, the first professor of economics was appointed, Gustav Cassel. This was also the first professor in a subject that would 60 years later be included in the Faculty of Social Sciences. In the same year, the College Board wanted to apply to the government to be granted the rights to confer degrees of all the (then) three levels: bachelor, licentiate, and doctor. The Teachers' Council opposed the application for any degree, and the compromise proposed was to apply only for licentiate

and doctor, thereby keeping the College's profile as a free research institution. The Board, however, turned down the compromise and applied for all three levels regardless, which were subsequently granted by the government. This increased the enrolment figures from an all-time low of 47 in 1903 to 106 in 1904, still a far cry from the 500 of the first years. Despite the alltime low in 1903, course offerings were broadened as teaching in statistics commenced that year by Gustav Sundbärg who was appointed docent. The College did now have a full range of degrees at its disposal. It was only, as a comparison, in 1927 that KTH started awarding PhD degrees, having hitherto had a much greater emphasis on undergraduate education.

Finally, in 1907, the College Board decided to launch a law programme. The number of students immediately rose to 300, dramatically increasing the revenues but at the same time twisting the demarcation line between market forces and the ideal of pure knowledge. In the same year, the government made changes to the degree charter (examensordning) in which medicine, law and theology became bound studies with a preselected set of courses with pre-determined content. Only degrees in philosophy kept some freedom in the subjects and courses included. Yet even one of them, the more vocational of the philosophy degrees (fil. ämbets-examen) was to a certain extent predetermined. This was met with unhappy voices at the College, as it was seen as counterproductive to the profile and direction of the College.

Meanwhile, the philosophical studies at the College flourished. Six professors of law were hired already in 1908, and between 1908 and 1918 four professors were hired in literature, art, history, and religion. Three of the latter professors wrote to the Teachers' Council asking for a humanities division to be formed. The arguments were to better be able to conduct research and to allow only free studies – meaning much more focus on pure knowledge and much less focus on exams or degrees. This was granted in 1919, and can be seen as an embryo to the faculties we have today at the University.

In 1935, Herbert Tingsten was appointed the first holder of the Lars Hierta Chair of government. This was the second subject having a professor that would later be included in the Faculty of Social Sciences. Shortly after, in 1937, David Katz was appointed to the Olof Eneroth Chair in the combined subjects of education and psychology. The College had already in 1934 decided to create the chair, but the process took three years, making education and psychology the third and fourth social science subjects to obtain a professorship. It was not until 1953 that the Department of Education was split into units of Education and Psychology with one organisation containing each. The build-up of the social sciences continued in

1938 with the City of Stockholm allowing the head of its statistical office, Sten Wahlund, to serve as a part-time professor in statistics.

The slow growth of the College was still a problem. The total of 500 students in 1910 had risen to 1,200 by 1930, but this was still a small number, easily outnumbered by one of today's larger upper secondary schools (gymnasieskolor). Financially, it was hard to find private funding, especially for education. It was a bit easier, but far from easy, to raise funds for research projects and professor chairs. The difficulties had been noticed by the government, and in 1939 the chancellor proposed conditional government funding of 25 professors at the College. The conditions were that the government should appoint all professors and that the College should cooperate with Uppsala University. The Stockholm City Council, having increasing trouble to finance the College, supported the government proposal and pushed for even more government involvement, especially concerning education. The Council had noted that 35% of the students were not from the City, but were still partially paid for by the City's tax payers. The government, on the other hand, was not altogether happy with the position and expansion of the College. There were unnecessary overlaps between the College and Uppsala. With governmental control over professor appointments, better resource allocation could hopefully be achieved. Before this was solved, however, other world events interfered.

During the Second World War, government research funding was more clearly directed towards applications. In 1942, the Engineering Research Council (*Tekniska forskningsrådet*, TFR) was formed to allocate research resources, of which established public universities received the most. Stockholm University College, being a private university, did not receive any substantial amount of the resources. This led to strategic discussion on the College Board.

In 1944, the Stockholm Convent of Vice-Chancellors was inaugurated. The convent, which still exists today, consisted of the vice-chancellors of the eight largest universities and university colleges in Stockholm. Its purpose was to handle issues of mutual interest, of which naturally cooperation of different kinds was of high priority, not least from the College's perspective. Issues could be of scientific, administrative, or financial kinds. A primary goal was to investigate if there was mutual interest in forming some kind of union (codenamed Stockholm University) of all or most higher education institutions in Stockholm.

The same year, the government formed the Science Research Committee (*Naturvetenskapliga forskningskommittén*) to look at the investment needs in science (*naturvetenskap*) in the universities. The year after, in 1945, they presented a proposal for investments where pri-

vate institutions, such as the College, received a proportionally much smaller amount due to the fact that the government had much less control. The traditionally largest sponsor of the College, the Stockholm City Council, could by no means match the needs of the College or the loss in government allocation for being private. It began to become clear that the financial backing of a strong partner was necessary in order to secure continued growth in both volume and quality. Which other partners besides the government were there to think of in 1945?

#### Post-war development

After the war, the major multi-faculty institutions (Gothenburg, Lund, Stockholm and Uppsala) were about equal in size. They had 1,500-3,000 students each with Stockholm having the largest student population. This was still not much more than the currently largest upper secondary school in Sweden (1,850 pupils) and of a much smaller scale than the universities we have today. One professor was responsible for almost all teaching in his or her subject with lectures as the predominant form of teaching. In theory, the chancellor decided on all curricula, but in reality the professor in a subject was in charge of planning the teaching.

At this time, the vice-chancellor was the only full-time administrative manager at a university. The deans were usually appointed on a

round-robin basis and the role consisted mostly of being chairman for a collegial faculty board or similar. The professors were the only permanently employed teachers. The docents were not employed by the university. Instead they were most commonly employed at an upper secondary school (läroverk) while they did some teaching at a university. There were no senior lecturers (lektorer) at universities; they existed only at upper secondary schools. In 1953, Stockholm had 48 professors while Uppsala had 67 and Lund 54. There were also docents and assistant teachers, fewer in Stockholm, bringing the teacher totals to 153 in Stockholm with 282 and 261 in Uppsala and Lund, respectively. The number of new students that year was 996, 690 and 534, respectively. It is clear that the teaching load was higher in Stockholm than in the two other major universities despite the College's vision.

In 1948, the government made a renewed agreement with the College. It was still to remain a private university college but with a reformed board. Of the twelve members, the chairman and an additional three members were appointed by the government. Four came from the City Council and one from the Royal Academy of Sciences. Only three, the vice-chancellor and two members of the Teachers' Council, were from the College itself. This meant markedly decreased power for the College and for its Teachers' Council. Furthermore, the College

was not allowed to accept donations without written consent from the chancellor. The City Council and the government assumed joint responsibility in finding areas to expand the College's premises. All of these concessions were made by the College to gain access to governmental funding since it was deemed impossible to continue without government support. Despite the agreement, the timing was not too good. Most of the funds from the 1945 committee still went to Uppsala and Lund.

In 1953, the Stockholm Convent of Vice-Chancellors proposed joining the eight largest academic institutions in Stockholm into 'Stockholm University'. At first, there were two alternatives put forward. The first alternative was a true union, joining the operations together under one administration governed by one vicechancellor. The second alternative, which was the one most strongly put forward by the Convent to the government, was of a federation in which each joining party kept its organisation, budget, administration and vice-chancellor, with the Convent acting as a meta-board in control of the combined resources. The Convent's proposal, however, fared badly with the boards of some of the supposedly joining universities, exposing the weaknesses of the proposal and indicating that the time was not ripe for such an endeavour. The chancellor, somewhat satisfied with the attempt even though it failed, recommended the government to give the College some of the 1945 investment funding in any case, but the government turned the chancellor down and the investment plans were put on hold. The same year, Torsten Husén was appointed professor of education at the College. The Olof Eneroth Chair was then changed into a chair in psychology only, with Gösta Ekman as incumbent. Like all other social science professors at the time, these chairs belonged to the Faculty of Humanities.

In 1954, the Teachers' Council gave up the plans of a 'Stockholm University' federation, but could the same year watch such a construction (in fact a union) succeed in Gothenburg, in the creation of the University of Gothenburg. The same year, the parliament finally decided to grant the College funding for the 1945 investments in science equipment despite the Convent being unsuccessful in its work to join Stockholm's higher academic institutions into some kind of umbrella organisation. This undermined the efforts at the College to create a federation since one of the primary motives was now gone. The social sciences were further strengthened when Gunnar Boalt became the first incumbent of the chair in sociology in 1954. At the College, sociology had developed within philosophy and five years earlier, in 1949, sociology was taught for the first time within the Department of Philosophy.

At around the same time, in the mid-1950s, a process of expansion regarding the number of

students commenced. While it was a whisper compared to the explosion that was to come during the 1960s, it still put some strain on the universities. From 2,600 students at Stockholm in 1950, the number rose to 3,900 in 1955 and 7,600 in 1960. Similar trends were seen at other universities in the country. In recognising the trend, the government launched the 1955 University Committee with the aim of proactively investigating the long-term consequences of an expanding academic sector. The committee coined the term 'research education' (forskarutbildning). Investigating how such education was conducted, it found low efficiency throughout the nation with a median student age of 34-37 years at the completion of PhD studies. Furthermore, they proposed scholarships for PhD students and a five semester structured education for licentiate degrees. For the time between licentiate and PhD, a position as research assistant (forskarassistent) was proposed. This was the first step towards a formal PhD education rather than an apprenticeship.

In 1956, there were new university statutes. Concerning central administration, they were quite similar to the older ones in prescribing a vice-chancellor as the head of administration, an academic convent (akademiska församlingen) and two governing boards (stora och lilla konsistoriet), the former for major decisions similar to a university board today and the latter for more daily matters. A set of other concepts we

are familiar with today were introduced in the new statutes. Departments (*institutioner*) are mentioned for the first time as a unit of administration. Electors appointed by the universities and university colleges were to elect the chancellor, and the chancellor was seen as a bridge between academia and government, in effect being academia's spokesperson to the government. The Faculty of Philosophy was at the national central administration, the Chancellor's office, divided into the Faculties of Humanities and Mathematics and Science, a division that was made already in 1919 in Stockholm. The student unions were given the right to collect mandatory membership fees.

In the same year, 1956, David Hannerberg, then professor in Lund, was summoned by the College Board to take up the position as professor in Human Geography in Stockholm. The Stockholm City Council demanded to have more representatives on the College Board and influence over the employment of professors. The College, in need of premises for expansion, were prepared to agree to the terms if premises or real estate for expansion was provided. The condition was not accepted by the City Council and the government instead had to assume responsibility for the College's expansion. The College's office space situation was dire. Much of its premises were located around Odenplan and other parts of East Vasastan where the City held premises suitable for expansion while the government did not. The government in essence had only two locations to offer, both requiring a total relocation of the College: Ursvik in Sundbyberg (military grounds) or Frescati (an experimental field for agriculture). A quick glance at the map rendered Ursvik almost impossible, yielding Frescati as the only viable option. And Frescati it became, eventually taking until August 1970 before the first departments moved to the new (and current) locations.<sup>6</sup>

In 1958, the 1955 University Committee proposed a new kind of teaching format at universities called lessons (lektionsundervisning). These were lectures in a smaller format, with possibly more potential for questions and interaction. To match this new lecture format, a new teaching position was proposed - senior lecturer (universitetslektor). It was purely a teaching position (unlike today) but differed from the position of lecturer (lektor) which was found in upper secondary schools (läroverk), not universities. A requirement for being hired as a universitetslektor was a completed PhD, thereby creating a career path for PhDs in many disciplines. Even more revolutionary was the suggestion that the universities should be financially compensated according to volume, i.e. to how many students they enrolled and

<sup>6</sup> The very first to move were some social science departments: Business Administration, Economic History, Economics, Political Science and Social Anthropology plus the Institute for International Economic Studies. Three of them are still located in Building A of Södra buset.

examined. This opened up a floodgate. The expansion was now only constrained by the availability of premises and PhDs willing to teach, and, of course, by the attractiveness of the courses offered.

#### Stockholm University

Meanwhile, since the breakdown of the attempts to bring the higher academic institutions in Stockholm together under a single umbrella, negotiations with the government continued on the College's part. It had become more and more evident that the City could not be the strong partner needed, so there were few options available apart from seeking university status on its own. In 1960, finally, the private Stockholm University College became a state university, Stockholm University. This entailed no dramatic changes except that the required number of teaching hours for a professor went from two per week in the private College to an exorbitant four a week at the University, causing protests among the professors. As a natural consequence of the change of ownership, the City Council lost its seats on the Board.

A few years on, in 1964, the 1955 University Committee was finally finished, having made seven different proposals during its lifetime. The chancellor was appointed head of the new Swedish Higher Education Authority (*Universitetskanslersämbetet*). While this seemed like a small change, it in effect reversed the role of the

chancellor. The chancellor was now appointed by the government rather than by electors from the universities and also became the government's spokesperson to the universities, instead of vice versa. From 1964, there was only one board (konsistorium) at each university instead of two. The term vice-chancellor's office (rektorsämbetet) was introduced, implying a division of administrative labour between the vice-chancellor and the newly introduced university director (förvaltningschef). The former was still mainly responsible for all of the university while the latter was responsible for the administration and finance.

Also in 1964, educational boards (utbildningsnämnder) were mandated. They were supposed to act as the faculties' work groups in educational matters. Every department was from 1964 required to have an appointed head (prefekt) who was responsible for the administration of the department. Every department should also have a collegial assembly (kollegium) where all the permanently employed teachers should be members and where the temporarily employed teachers, as well as the students, had the right to be present. Within the newly formed Swedish Higher Education Authority (UKÄ), the academic disciplines were divided into five faculties - the Faculties of: Humanities and Theology; Social Sciences and Law; Medicine, Odontology, and Pharmacy; Mathematics and Science; and Engineering. For the first time,

there was a split-up between the humanities and the social sciences at the central governmental level. This reflects the volume of the previous humanities (philosophical) faculty, which had become proportionally very large, mostly due to a large expansion of social science teaching and research. While this division at UKÄ was not mandatory to follow, all four big universities at the time (Gothenburg, Lund, Stockholm and Uppsala) decided to follow suit. This entailed the birth of the faculties of social sciences in all four universities in 1964 – yielding all four 50-year's jubilees in 2014.

Further in 1964, the effects of the employment structure from 1958 came into full effect. In this year, after only six years in existence, the senior lecturers (*lektorer*) already outnumbered the professors. Many applicants to senior lectureships were already competent at the professor's level. Regardless, the division of labour dictated that senior lecturers taught the first two semesters of a subject and professors above that level.

To sum up, in 1964 many of the important changes that shaped the universities as we know them today had been made. The first wave of expansion during the preceding ten years drove the changes. The Swedish Higher Education Authority was formed this year and the chancellor was given a role we still recognise today. The organisation of universities and departments began to look like the

modern university. The volume of students prior to 1964 was small by today's standards, and the universities were quite small entities of a fairly different kind organisationally. Therefore, I propose that the year 1964 marks the birth of the modern Swedish universities

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as we know them today. The development from 1964 and onwards consists of a long chain of adjustments and modifications to what are essentially the basic ideas that were put in place in 1964. How that chain unfolded is another story to be told at another time, but in this sense, all of the major modern Swedish universities are of equal age – all being children of the same academic and educational revolution and all obtaining their current format at the same time. Moreover, since the year 1964 also happens to be the birth-year of the Faculties of Social Sciences at our major universities, it gives us dual reasons to remember that year.

Since 1964, Stockholm University has continued to grow, now having over 71,000 students in 2014. In parallel, the Faculty of Social

Sciences has grown from that same year to a situation where it in 2014 encompasses around half of all students at the University. This bears proof of the social sciences not only being the youngest but also the most dynamic and expansive of the faculties. From the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century onwards, society has become increasingly complex, so it is no surprise to see the social sciences expand most rapidly in research as well as education during this time period. We should all be proud of our achievements so far and look forward to the next 50 years.

#### @ · 5

A main source, especially for details, is (Bedoire & Thullberg 1978). Other main sources include (Stockholm University 2014) and (HSV 2006). Some details in the earlier historical parts are from entries in Nordisk familjebok, editions 1885 and 1906, and from Nordisk tidskrift för bok- och biblioteksväsen, volume I, 1914. Further, university web-pages, other authorities' web-pages (such as UKÄ 2014), NE (the National Encyclopaedia), Wikipedia and – not least – older colleagues have been consulted.

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# Department of Child and Youth Studies

Karin Aronsson and Ann-Christin Cederborg

IN 2008, the Department of Child and Youth Studies (Barn- och ungdomsvetenskap, BUV) was inaugurated as a new department at Stockholm University. At the time, it housed a staff of about 33 persons, including four new doctoral students starting their joint doctoral programme on 1 September that year. Due to the crowded situation that had arisen when Stockholm University took over the teachers' training, the Department could not initially be located on the main campus of the University. It was instead located in central Stockholm, in the main building of the former Stockholm Institute of Education (Lärarhögskolan, LHS), which was a teacher's training college. On this campus, the Department received a couple of hallways in what was 1861-1986 the Konradsberg mental hospital (popularly called 'the palace of fools', dårarnas palats). Designed by the architect Albert Törnqvist, it is a stately building with a clock tower and a chapel of its own (restored as a beautiful lecture hall) and a number of spacious offices with high ceilings. From 1995, this palace-style building, located in a park in central Stockholm along with a number of newly erected buildings, had housed LHS. The new Department also included a smaller unit, 'The Centre for the Studies of Children's Culture' (*Centrum för Barnkulturforskning*), housed on the main campus. In 2010, the major part of the Department was able to move to its present location at Frescati Hage.

Several scholars at the Department have worked within child development or within critical approaches to developmental models. Below, we will sketch part of BUV's own development, that is, its biography or brief history. This is followed by a section with a special focus on the Department's ways of working with 'children's perspectives', a core notion for the development of the Department. The chapter is written by two of the successive chairs, but it is not an exhaustive representation of all research that has taken place during



Törnqvist's palace-like mental hospital building, rebuilt for academic use, was the first home of the Department of Child and Youth Studies. (Photo: Mats Danielson)

the past seven years. Instead, it is a presentation of a specific research paradigm – children's perspectives and child perspectives, and of some ways in which such perspectives may change our views of children and childhood.

## Some historical roots and the planning of the Department

Kurt Lewin, a leading social psychologist with a focus on the phenomenology of groups, once

said that nothing is more practical than a good theory. The Department of Child and Youth Studies has a history of applied work on children and youth. A Swedish pioneer of such work was professor Stina Sandels (1908–1990), working at the Stockholm Institute of Education (LHS) from 1969. She started out her professional career as a preschool teacher, but then moved on to various leading roles in the Swedish preschool movement, along with two sis-

ters, Ellen and Maria Moberg, pioneers of the Fröbel Kindergarten movement and its focus on exploration and play for learning, foregrounding growth metaphors of childhood and development. Simultaneously, Sandels started research on children in traffic (publishing, for instance, in 1975, 'Children in Traffic'). She also undertook work on children as witnesses, working together with Professor Arne Trankell at the Department of Education, Stockholm University. Her work on children's own thinking concerning traffic was partly inspired by Jean Piaget's (cf. e.g. 1932) earlier work on the meaning making of children. It can be noted that Piaget was one of the directors of UNICEF during the 1950s, and deeply involved in issues concerning children's rights. Sandels' work on traffic has had an important impact on Swedish lives. It is seen as one of many factors that have reduced the number of deaths in traffic from about 1,500 a year to 500 a year. For instance, she published work that showed that children under 12 are often quite impulsive in traffic and that some traffic signs (e.g. of running children) were read as an encouragement to run (not walk) rather than as signs telling drivers to drive slowly. After the publication of some of Sandels' work, these traffic signs were substituted by novel ones. Moreover, she wrote booklets on children and traffic that were produced and distributed to the population at large by The Road Safety Office (Trafiksäkerhetsverket). More on Stina Sandels can, for instance, be found in Engdahl (1990) and, of course, in Sandels (1970, 1975).

In 2004, 'Child and Youth Studies' was approved as a PhD discipline by the Board of the Faculty of Social Sciences. In 2007, it was decided that all the activities and assignments of LHS would be taken over by Stockholm University. The different disciplines taught at the basic and doctorate levels had to be distributed over the four faculties of the university. The dean of the Faculty of Social Sciences, Professor Gudrun Dahl, had the task of finding a suitable organizational site for child and youth studies, a discipline which was small and quite 'stepmotherly' treated at its former organizational site. The representatives of the former LHS argued that the subject would most properly be placed under special education. The Faculty, however, were looking for a setup which would give a proper research base for teachers' courses in the subject, and also be attractive to the multidisciplinary set of child and youth researchers already found in the various departments of the University. The Faculty considered that the focus on formal education within the teachers' education needed to be supplemented by a holistic perspective that spanned aspects of the child's inherent physical and psychological development, as well as its situation as a family member and citizen, and as object of cultural interpretation. At the time,

in wider academic debate, ethics of recognition had become more widespread. There was also, among many researchers on children's issues, a growing dissatisfaction with deterministic models of children's development. There was therefore an ambition to give proper recognition to the inherent capacities of even a very small child and at looking at the variation in developmental paths of different individuals. This occurred at the same time that the socially based structural vulnerabilities affecting childhood and youth were given attention.

The dean had a particular interest in the subject. She had in the 1980s offered an influential PhD course on the anthropology of childhood, showing the advantage of holistic approaches to children and childhood. As one of the expert committee members for the child and childhood research unit at Linköping University, together with a historian, a psychiatrist and a social psychologist, she endorsed the advantages of multidisciplinary approaches to childhood issues in a background volume at the foundation of that centre (cf. Aronsson et al. 1984). She was, however, not the only one at Stockholm University who took an interest in developing research on childhood and youth issues. 'The Centre for the Studies of Children's Culture' (CBK) had been operating in the Faculty of Human Sciences for a long time, and had under the leadership of Karin Helander initiated an interdisciplinary network of researchers. They were actively preparing for a programme of master's courses on childhood issues, beginning with a course dealing with children and human rights. The participants of this shifting group came from many different disciplines: law, history, philosophy, literature studies, linguistics, Scandinavian languages, education, anthropology and education.

The Board of the Faculty of Social Sciences thus initiated discussions about a new department in 2007. In the autumn of 2007, Professor Gunilla Preisler, from the Department of Psychology at Stockholm University, was appointed as head (*prefekt*) for a year, with Docent Peg Lindstrand from LHS as her co-head. Karin Aronsson, at the time professor at the Department of Child Studies (Tema Barn) at Linköping University, was recruited as head of the Department from its official start in the autumn of 2008. In 2011, BUV got its second and present head, Professor Ann-Christin Cederborg.

At the start of the Department, several of the senior faculty members (professors, docents) of the new department had a background in the research environment of the prior LHS: Eva Berglund, Jane Brodin, Åsa Bäckström, Gunilla Dahlberg, Ingrid Engdahl, Christina Gars, Bodil Halvars, Ann-Christin Kjellman, Suzanne Kjällander, Peg Lindstrand, Ingrid Olsson, Anna Palmer, Karin Sandqvist, Kerstin Strander and Anna Westberg Broström.

Since then, other academic fields have also become represented, for example: social psychology (Karin Aronsson), developmental psychology (Ann-Christin Cederborg), sociology (Mats Börjesson, Nihad Bunar), social anthropology and education (Katarina Ayton, Sofia Frankenberg, Camilla Rindstedt), gender studies and education (Helena Bergström, Christian Eidevald, Rickard Jonsson, Hillevi Lenz Taguchi, Helena Pedersen) and education (Margareta Aspán, Maria Bergman, Ingela Elfström, Karin Hultman, Inge Johansson, Susanne Kjällander, Gunnar Åsén).

Today, some of the scholars above have retired or left the department while others have recently been recruited.

Normally, both doctoral and other positions are announced in the national press and, at times, internationally (professorships). Most of the positions announced at the Department have attracted at least 10 applicants per position and often more.

#### **BUV** today

Today, the Department has around 120 staff members, including more than 30 doctoral students. It has thus increased its size about three times. It is now housed on Frescati Hagväg, in the waterfront area of the main campus of Stockholm University in buildings built in 1910–1917 for the College of Forestry (*Skogshögskolan*, architect Charles Lindholm). The Department of Education used this building

prior to BUV, before outgrowing the premises and moving north to a building behind the Museum of Natural History. The Department consists of three units that are presented below

- The Centre for the Studies of Children's Culture (CBK)
- The Unit for Child and Youth Science (BUVA)
- The Unit for Preschool Education and Research (FUFF)

The Department has both increased its size through large research projects and through two major fusions: the first with the unit of preschool didactics (förskoledidaktik) and education for preschool teachers-to-be (in 2010), and the second one (in 2011) with the unit for education of teachers with recreation time orientation (fritidshem). In both cases, the fusions involved much work by both faculty members and administrative staff, during the year of the fusion, as well as also during the immediately preceding year. Both these fusions thus required substantial planning time and time for anchoring various decisions, both with the original staff members and with the staff members-to-be, and their prior departments during at least two years: that is to say, the preceding year and the year of the fusion. Moreover, as is often the case, hundreds and hundreds of hours have been invested in so called



The entrance of Building 24 at Frescati Hage testifies to the rapid start of scientific production in this young department. (Photo: Mats Danielson)

förgäveskostnader (literally 'costs in vain'), that is, investments that eventually did not lead on to any advancement. For instance, negotiations about recruitments that did not take place or provisional planning for buildings that eventually did not form part of the expansion. The growth of the department was thus not a matter of a smooth linear development, but rather a jagged development in spurts and big leaps. All this, of course, also involved some growing

pains. By now though, things are, however, more or less in place and the Department is one of the largest departments in the Faculty of Social Sciences.

Centre for the Studies of Children's Culture The smallest, but most 'ancient' unit at Stockholm University among the three units is the Centre for the Studies of Children's Culture (CBK), which was established at Stockholm University already in 1980 as a special centre with the task of promoting knowledge in the area of children's culture. At first, the centre was led by Gunnar Berefelt, professor of art history and writer/illustrator of children's books. After his retirement, Professor Karin Helander, theatre historian (but also a board member of Statens Kulturråd, child theatre critique and deputy dean of the Faculty of Humanities) took over the academic leadership. In 2008, the year that the Department was inaugurated, CBK simultaneously received the University's Prize for Best Teaching and part of the motivation was that it had accomplished this on a small budget: for many years, Helander and her co-workers have managed to combine the presentation of novel research – including encounters with famous authors and illustrators of children's books, actors, theatre producers and other actors in the children's cultural arena - to the students. The core faculty of the unit is very modest in size (around a handful of persons), but through a creative mix of resources, this unit has for a long time offered unique teaching by combining invited guest teachers from academia and the arts (at times around 40 persons) with the promotion of novel research. Each year, the unit houses a symposium which normally fills one of the lecture halls with an audience of around 250-300 persons for three entire days. Moreover, this unit publishes a yearly publication that has been

edited by Gunnar Berefelt, Anne Banér, and then Karin Helander since the very first years of the Department. On a different note, it can be added that this unit was just reviewed by the Swedish Higher Education Authority (*Universitetskanslerämbetet*) for its bachelor of art (*kandidatexamen*) and master's degrees and received excellent evaluations.

#### Unit for Child and Youth Science

The second unit, 'Child and Youth Science', is in charge of various courses, for example 'Children's Social Relations and Vulnerabilities'. It also features the master's programme 'The Child's Best Interests and Human Rights' that emanated from the original transdisciplinary network that preceded the Department. It provides for the education of teachers with a school-age educare and leisure orientation (*fritidspedagoger*). The latter education was in the consolidating reorganization transferred to BUV from an initial unit, UTEP, the 'Department for Educational Science with Emphasis on Technical, Aesthetical and Practical Subjects'.

The unit also houses two research programmes oriented toward the subject child and youth science (*barn- och ungdoms-vetenskap*). The first is 'Children and youth in socially deprived situations'. This is an interdisciplinary research area, gathering researchers from the fields of sociology, psychology, legal studies and anthropology. The main focus is

on how children and young people understand and cope with various social circumstances and predicaments in their daily lives. Some of the research projects have, for instance, explored the asylum process, the integration of young refugees into the school system, bullying, children as crime victims and offenders. Theoretically, a basic premise of this programme is that the identities, cultural forms and daily practices of young people cannot be understood without focusing on the effects of structural conditions.

The second research area is 'Social interaction and discursive theory'. A common ground for this research group is a focus on detailed analyses of language use and language related phenomena. It involves both alternative readings of social and political documents, and the study of social interaction and meaning making in mundane communication. These fields are explored through discourse analysis - including narrative and rhetorical analysis - and through conversation analysis or linguistically oriented ethnography. A shared methodological focus for this multi-disciplinary group is the study of discursive negotiations of various kinds, not least the social categorizations that take place within different societal arenas e.g. the legal, health, political, and computer mediated arenas. The group also looks at discourses found in historical archives, as well as in schools and other institutions for children and youth.

Unit for Preschool Education and Research The unit for preschool education (förskoledidaktik) and its research programme has recruited its staff from the Department of Education, Stockholm University, from LHS, and from other universities in Sweden. At the university takeover of teachers' training, the programme was at first placed in a separate department for 'Didactics and Pedagogical Work' (DOPA) before it was transferred to BUV at a second reorganization. The teachers are mainly working within the preschool education programme. This education of preschool teachers is in high demand, and it was one of the programmes that received approval by the Swedish Higher Education Authority (Högskoleverket) to continue its work in 2010, when several other universities temporarily had to stop this programme due to poor evaluations. In the year that this unit started, a new research programme started simultaneously, financed by the Swedish Research Council (through a national grant to Gunilla Dahlberg and Karin Aronsson, along with colleagues in Uppsala and Umeå) that supported another four PhD students at BUV. This programme has since

Previously, the research has been focused on qualitative studies and on pedagogical documentation, illuminating the ways in which teaching can be done through interactivity (Lenz Taguchi 2009), and in many different ways,

then been followed by another similar one.

and on the role of philosophical and post-modern theorizing (e.g. Deleuze & Guattari 2004) in conceptualizing the changes and challenges of contemporary educational arenas. Moreover, several researchers orient themselves toward gender issues.

Two main research areas are identified in this new research unit. The first is 'Learning-brain-practice: transdisciplinary studies in communication, language and literacy in preschool'. The question is how we can produce neuro-sensitive practices that enhance preschool children's communication, language and literacy skills. The transdisciplinary studies in this field traverse various theories of learning, child-development, linguistics, literacy, information and technology studies (ICT), and the neurosciences. They address the emerging fields of educational neuroscience and preschool didactics in order to, both critically and affirmatively, study, problematize and learn from what Cunha and Heckman (2007) have called 'the technologies of skill formation'.

The second research area is 'Children, ethics and sustainability'. This research area addresses ethical, social and ecological aspects of sustainability as integrated parts of pedagogical and social relations, aiming to build a research basis for developing equality and solidarity across gender, ethnicity, generational, religious, and species boundaries.

# Child perspectives and the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child

The notion of 'child perspectives' has been a core notion in the formation of the Department that was founded in 2008. In the following, we will cover the notion of child perspectives, as well as some developmental trends of the Department itself: its start, expansion and growth.

Sweden was one of the first countries to ratify the 'United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child', which in this year of jubilees celebrates 25 years. This means that Sweden has to respect the rights and responsibilities spelled out by the convention: For instance, children's right to education or their right to be heard. Swedish authorities and official institutions have to organize their work in such a way that children's rights are respected. However, the convention in its entirety is still not part of Swedish law.

The notion of child perspectives (*barnperspektiv*) is about as old as the convention. In Sweden, it was used in a number of texts around children and children's conditions in the 1980s and 1990s (e.g. Aronsson et al. 1984, Halldén 1991).

During the last 25 years, a novel research arena has emerged: childhood sociology. In various ways, researchers within this tradition have foregrounded the importance of children's agency and competences (Alanen 1988, James & Prout 1990, James et al. 1998, Prout 2005,



The corridors of the present premises in a prefunctionalist building at Frescati Backe convey a relaxed and cosy atmosphere that stands in contrast to the more industrial style that dominates Södra huset. (Photo: Mats Danielson)

Quortrup 1990). Within childhood sociology, a number of scholars have made us aware of the fact that children are often treated as inferior beings, less worthy than adults or "real" persons, and often positioned in terms of a number of the more or less fixed dichotomies (Prout 2005) as observed in the Levi-Straussian tradition of structuralism:

child	caregiver
small	big
weak	strong

incompetent competent passive active

Figure 1. Dichotomous categorizations of children and adults

Normally, such dichotomies surface as implicit features in reasoning about children and childhood (in media debates or as part and parcel of institutional practices) rather than something explicit. What is common for these dichotomies is that children, to a high degree, are presented as 'becomings' rather than as 'beings', that is, persons in their own right (Prout 2005). In the child, the observer therefore often sees but a pale projection of a 'real' person, a potential for something more full-blown, the ultimate product of ambitious parents' long-term projects for a proper upbringing (Halldén 1991). As mentioned above, many of the researchers at BUV have wished to rectify this towards a more balanced view of the child as a competent actor. Simultaneously, several scholars have emphasized the need for a critical debate around children's conditions. A view of the child built on the recognition of capabilities should not obscure children's need for care and protection. In society at large, children's needs are often invisible, not least those of particularly vulnerable children (Quortrup 1990). Large groups of children are more vulnerable than others during their childhood: through illness, poverty, war, family violence or through repeated separations and family break-ups (for global overviews, see the yearly report of e.g. UNICEF 2011).

## Welfare and children's visibility

Departing from a child perspective, several scholars have problematized to what degree children and young people are visible in society, for instance, when and if children are included in different types of register data, such as when measuring poverty. The UN Convention, which has come of age some years ago, is in itself an

expression of children's increased visibility. Through foregrounding children's rights, children are made visible as inherently vulnerable in several ways. There is always something of an inherent asymmetry in that children lack target experiences (including full mastery of language(s), a completed education, etc.), as well as material resources that adults have at their disposal. Very young children have at times restricted communicative resources for telling about their lives, and older children are at least vulnerable through their material and emotional dependency on the parental generation. Moreover, children are at times more vulnerable through difficult life conditions that they share with adults, such as refugee status (Bunar & Valenta 2010).

UNICEF publishes statistics yearly on a number of indices that mark children's wellbeing and vulnerabilities. One such assessment is the nativity index. In order to reproduce themselves, grown-up women of fertile age in a given society have to show a nativity index of around 2.0 children. It is, for instance, striking that both Italy and Russia relatively recently reported nativity indices close to 1.0 (UNICEF 2011). Such figures, in part, mirror if a society is child-friendly and if having children is promoted or facilitated. Another related figure is child mortality. High mortality rates tend to reflect poverty, but they might also reflect to what degree child health is prioritized in the national policies. Globally, a high in-

fant mortality tends to be linked to poverty but it also exists in modern Western nations, e.g. the US (see UNICEF 2011).

# Child perspectives and children's perspectives

Contemporary work on childhood and children's best interests differentiates between 'child perspectives' that is, what is seen as the child's viewpoint or best interest, and 'children's perspectives', that is, what children themselves say about their lives.

With respect to the UN convention, child perspectives are close to the core paragraph about the child's best interest (§3). Regardless if children themselves are aware of their interests, it is, for instance, in the child's best interest that people in their environment do not smoke heavily, drive recklessly or neglect necessary medication. Much can be child friendly or in the child's best interest that the participants themselves (the children) are not aware of with respect to the child's right to health, education, or many other aspects that might be relevant for an assessment of what is in the child's best interest (§3). School size, segregation, abuse and processes of exclusion might invoke child perspectives, even if the children themselves do not voice any discontent. However, the notion of child perspectives and the child's best interest can of course - in its turn - invoke the principle of the child's right to be heard (§12).

With respect to the UN convention, children's perspectives on the other hand are close to the principle of children's right to be heard (§12). Some scholars primarily emphasize children's own voices, or the democratic and political aspects of what is in the child's best interest, particularly how children themselves talk about their lives in interviews or through texts, images or other documentations of their situation. In conversation analysis (Sachs 1992), this is what is called "the participants' own perspectives". Ulrich Beck (1997) has discussed how, increasingly, the modern child has more of a say in society. In family life, as in school, care and treatment contexts, adults are expected to listen to the modern child. The traditional divide between the two generations, children and parents, has decreased and particularly in the Northern countries, like Sweden and its neighbours, democracy has become an important principle in children's lives; children are not expected to obey mechanically, instead they are to negotiate about their conditions (Beck 1997).

# Children as citizens: rights and responsibilities in different age classes

Bourdieu (1984, 2001) shows that we can see 'child' as a class category, rather than as a biological category. To be a child of a given age is to belong to an age category with specific class attributes: someone entitled to specific privileges, rights and obligations. A child allowed to go

around on a bike should also know the most important traffic rules. To have a watch of one's own might also mean that the child should be able to learn to be on time, and a cell phone of his/her own might mean that the child is supposed to call whenever s/he is expected to be late in getting back home. Age hierarchies are intimately linked to rights and responsibilities in cultural and historical contexts. A child in Sweden today who cannot read at the age of 10 or 15 might risk marginalization or discrimination, whereas a child who could not read in the 1600s at the same age was part of the 'normal' illiterate majority.

All such considerations aside, the UN convention categorizes anyone below 18 as a child. Below, we will primarily differentiate between different generations. A child is thus a member of the younger generation, rather than someone of the parental generation. This means that the social class of 'children' will also include adolescents and other young people, who have not as yet come of age.

An important aspect of a society's child perspective is how it treats children of different ages as citizens with different rights and obligations. In traditional societies, as well as in modern Western societies, there are often implicit or explicit age hierarchies that regulate, for instance, when children should be able to spend a day with caretakers other than their parents, should start in school, should finish

school, marry or vote (James & Prout 1990). There are sometimes major differences between how different societies regulate age limits and age classes (Ochs & Izquierdo 2009), and there are often ironic inconsistencies. In Sweden, a young person might marry at the age of 18, but cannot buy wine for the wedding until two years later. Age hierarchies also have implications for our very view of children and childhood, for instance, in identifying persons seen as capable of taking care of not only themselves but also others, or of the ways in which we design narratives. Time perspectives are an important aspect of various types of narratives (Blomberg & Börjesson 2013).

Different cultures view school age in different ways (if a child should start at the age of 5, 6 or perhaps 7 years), as well democratic rights, for instance, the right to vote. During the Roman empire, young adult (males) were entitled to vote, but only those who had turned at least 25 were to be electable to the senate. The argument was that young adults in their early 20s are intellectually mature, but that they are still too easily influenced by impulses (Nygren 2004).

On a global scale, sibling caretaking is probably the most common form of child day-care (Weisner & Gallimore 2007). But simultaneously, the reviews documenting this show that it is first around school age that children are allowed responsibility for preschool age younger siblings. While young children are ini-



The integration of the teachers' training in 2008 implied a severe scarcity of offices and classrooms for the University. Here a temporary pavilion for teachers and researchers at the Department. (Photo: Mats Danielson)

tially given some responsibility for sibling caretaking, they often have some adult as a kind of back-up, for instance, an older relative. Nevertheless, in some traditional societies, sibling caretaking is at times a responsibility that hinders school attendance. This means that local obligations might clash with the UN convention's view of schooling as a right.

One of several reasons for the US not ratifying the UN convention is that the US prefers to be able to deploy child soldiers in a war situation. Children under the age of eighteen are mobilized in wars, which is something that is not compatible with the UN convention, yet has become more common in many conflict-ridden countries. Nevertheless, regardless of what the young people themselves think or wish, the convention has applied a child perspective, where one of the interpretations is that it is not in the best interest of the child to engage in warfare below the age of eighteen. The concept of a 'child perspective' is thus broader than 'children's perspectives'.

# Methods for exploring child perspectives

Traditionally, children's perspectives have often primarily been associated with interview methodologies. Today, however, at the Department of Child and Youth Studies, there are a number of methodological approaches for how to capture a child perspective, including analyses of:

- (i) interview data and children's perspectives
- (ii) children as citizens; children's rights and obligations
- (iii) demographic data and children's visibility
- (iv) social categorizations of children in documents with a bearing on youth and childhood
- (v) children's welfare; integration/segregation; inclusion/exclusion; poverty
- (vi) agency and children's resistance
- (vii) children's embodied perspectives (e.g. failure to thrive or anorexia as ways of giving testimony about troublesome experiences)

- (viii) analyses of social interaction and conversational data
- (ix) analyses of educational documentation (pedagogisk dokumentation)

In the years 2008–2014, the Department has grown in spurts: first from about 30 to about 90 persons in 2010 when the preschool education was integrated into the Department, and then in 2011 when the programme for teachers oriented towards school-age educare and leisure (fritidshemsinriktning) was integrated. Moreover, there has been a successive growth of our doctoral programme, with about 30 PhD students today, due to successful research applications. Today, the Department is the sixth largest department in the Faculty of Social Sciences. During its early development, it has had some bouts of growing pains. At large, however, it is a lively and active department, with an education that is in high demand. Its faculty members are highly visible on the national and international arena: in peer review contexts, on editorial boards, as authors of monographs, receivers of large grants and as the proud tutors of doctoral theses.

The prospect for the Department is bright, as we have two teacher training programmes that students line up for and that the government supports with extra allocations. In addition, as the Department keeps growing with its highly competent teachers, professors, and other

staff members, we will be able to continue to develop outstanding research that is noticed both nationally and internationally.

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# Department of Computer and Systems Sciences

**Anita Kollerbaur and Love Ekenberg** 

THE DEPARTMENT of Computer and Systems Sciences at Stockholm University (DSV) has been a pioneer in promoting research and education that combine aspects of computer science with regard to the use of IT in diverse areas, starting with its administrative use in organisations. DSV has continued to work on the basic ideas from the 1960s of which Sweden's first professor of informatics, Börje Langefors, was the father. Later social sciences and humanities were added to the aspects covered by the Department and, most recently, arts sciences. DSV is the largest department at the University, and the largest IT department in Sweden. In 2006, DSV celebrated its 40th anniversary. Its history was then documented in the book (Kollerbaur et al. 2006).

Looking back, it is difficult to maintain a meta-perspective, since so much has happened over the years. Here we will therefore concentrate on some of the most important events and developments within this tremendous evolution in education and research – an evolution that has had a substantial impact on Swedish society.

During the last forty years or so, we have seen systematic shifts in the use of computers. Needless to say, this development has also extensively affected DSV's research and education. From having been used only in professional settings in very limited numbers and regarded as unique artefacts that were powerful, but primarily passive tools, the role of computers has changed dramatically. Today, the focus is on large groups of human communication and collaboration, assisted by extensive networks of fine-grained computational elements. These elements penetrate all human activities and are used by virtually everyone. They are also rapidly becoming more and more embedded in, and not distinguishable from, other artefacts, and are typically more active in the collaborative processes - in contrast to being the passive tools of yesterday.



DSV was initially located in Building F of Södra huset in Frescati. (Photo: Mats Danielson)

Over the years, DSV has been an important actor in the field, constantly trying to keep up and running in front of this historical paradigm shift. It has frequently been a dramatic but rewarding journey, having had a strong impact on the development of information systems in a societal setting.

# The birth of an academic discipline in the information age

In the beginning of the 1960s, it became clear at a political level that the expansive development of computing would motivate increasing activities on several educational and research levels.

On April 3, 1963, the Swedish Higher Education Authority appointed a committee, chaired

by Gunnar Hävermark, to investigate the need for activities in a new academic discipline, 'Administrative Data Processing', and to suggest a process for introducing it at Swedish universities. The committee<sup>1</sup> produced a report entitled *Akademisk utbildning i administrativ databehandling* on November 25, 1964. It recommended three chairs to be created, starting in 1965, at the universities of Stockholm, Gothenburg and Lund. The report also presented course outlines for the first three semesters of academic studies, corresponding to what is now 90 academic credit points. It was understood that studies

<sup>1</sup> Other members of the committee were Olle Dopping (secretary), Carl-Erik Fröberg, Curt Kihlstedt, Björn Tel and Christina Österberg.

in administrative data processing should be combined with studies in other disciplines, such as business administration, statistics or mathematics, in order to obtain a Bachelor of Science degree (180 credit points in total).

The Ministry of Education decided to give the new discipline the name 'Informationsbehandling, särskilt den administrativa databehandlingens metodik' (Information processing specialising in methods for administrative data processing)<sup>2</sup>. This corresponded reasonably well at that time to the discipline called 'Information Systems' in some other countries such as the US.

From July 1, 1965, the new discipline was established at the Royal Institute of Technology (KTH) in Stockholm. The subject was taught not only to students of engineering but also to students at Stockholm University. The actual department was formed in 1966. Börje Langefors was appointed acting professor in 1965 and full professor in 1967.

The academic discipline of computer and systems sciences covers knowledge and skills necessary to analyse, design, develop and maintain information systems in small and large organisations. According to Langefors, problems and methods related to information systems belonged to the infological or to the datalogical realm. In

the infological realm, focus was placed on the analysis of organisations including such aspects as objectives, processes, and information requirements. Here, the aim was to study an information system from an organisational viewpoint. This includes the analysis of information modelling and supply, as well as usability issues and human-computer interaction. In the datalogical realm, focus was placed on efficient storage, processing and communication of data. Particular topics were data modelling, database management, data manipulation languages, and query languages. The datalogical realm, in Langefors' view, also included CASE technology, method engineering, and software engineering. Today, the subject is not explicitly grouped into these two areas, but the perspectives are still valid. Langefors also claimed that Information Systems is a discipline with few fixed borders. Conceptions and views are continuously changing. This means that new types of problems, infological as well as datalogical, constantly emerge, while other kinds of problems become less relevant as time passes. Many of these changes are triggered by advances in computer programming as well as computer and communication technology or by changing information demands.

#### Growth of the organisation

Many of the more specific areas of competence, where DSV has contributed with pioneering ideas like systems development, information

<sup>2</sup> Twenty years later, in 1987, the name of the department was changed to 'Computer and Systems Sciences', or in Swedish 'Data- och systemvetenskap'. In this chapter, 'DSV' will be used from now on also for the initial period.

modelling, object-oriented programming, humancomputer interaction, artificial intelligence, Internet technology, decision support systems and information security were evidently not envisioned in earlier times. This is not least the case with applications such as computer-based education, multi-modal communication and computer conferencing systems.

The dynamic character of our subject has also affected the organisational structure of DSV. For over 40 years, DSV was a joint department of KTH and Stockholm University, but since 2010 it belongs solely to Stockholm University. Before that, all activities at the joint department organisationally belonged either to KTH (from 2009 within the School of Information and Communication Technology), or to Stockholm University (within the Faculty of Social Sciences). Both universities had graduate and undergraduate courses, research activities and external contacts within the Department. All courses and programmes, every research project, and every position in the Department were formally established at either Stockholm University or KTH. However, almost all staff were engaged in activities at both universities. Even after the split, there is cooperation in many areas of research and education.

An academic discipline matures through the progress in research and education carried out by its scholars. Since the start, DSV has developed from being a department with a few

enthusiastic optimists to, in 2013, a large number of full-time staff. All of them have contributed to DSV's development, in different roles as teachers and researchers, as administrators and as teaching assistants.<sup>3</sup>

The same main organisation was kept, until 1995, when research was reorganised into three research laboratories. A third substantial change in the organisation was made in 2003, when the activities began to be conducted within the framework of units. The activities include research, postgraduate education, and furthermore, education and training, commissioned education, and interaction with the community at large. To implement the new organisation, the responsibilities, functions and roles for different categories of personnel were all carefully specified.<sup>4</sup>

Besides the pioneering Börje Langefors, there are other names that merit special mention. The initial group of teachers and researchers who had a special role in the creation of DSV were: Janis Bubenko Jr, Peter Bagge, Rune Engman, Olle Källhammar, Nils Lindecrantz, Mats Lundeberg, Tomas Ohlin and Kjell Samuelsson, as well as DSV's head of

<sup>3</sup> Obviously we cannot present details on who led and participated in the many research projects, or who contributed to the internal development and administration. However, those who are not mentioned explicitly in this article should know that they are all remembered, and that we are planning to make as much historical material as possible available on the DSV website.

<sup>4</sup> The units are described into more detail later in the chapter.



The Electrum building in Kista, home of the Department between the years 1990 and 2001. (Photo: Mats Danielson)

department, Tord Dahl, who successfully led the Department during the long period from 1979 to 2002. From 2002 to 2008, the department head was Anita Kollerbaur and from 2008 until the present, Professor Love Ekenberg.

### Empirical summary

From 1990 to 2013, DSV has grown substantially. In 1990, the total turnover was 25 MSEK compared to 238 MSEK in 2013. In the same period, the number of professors has increased from 2 to 15 and the number of full-time equivalent students from 750 to almost 2,000.

A number of political reforms pertaining to higher education have influenced DSV like all other university departments. We want to mention particularly the importance for the development of research and graduate education of the promotion reform for professors, which dramatically increased their number.

The growing department has moved physically four times and, in 2014, it will move a fifth time to the newly built NOD building in Kista. The first premises were hosted in the core part of the KTH campus, to be followed by premises within the new SU campus at Frescati from 1971 until 1990. Since then, DSV has

been located in Kista, first in the Electrum building and then, from 2001, in the Forum building – both situated along Isafjordsgatan. Of course, to reside in one of the top five IT clusters in the world has been advantageous to DSV, enabling numerous collaborations with industry and public society.

## The computational environment

IT access for students, teachers and researchers was considered as a specialised service of an exclusive nature in the 1960s. Decisions about the general organisation for, and provision of, such services were concentrated to a central public authority. The Department had to accept this principle. The central authority even invented a special currency, 'computing coins', which were handed out to departments on a yearly basis. These virtual coins could be converted into computing resources, hours and minutes of runtime on various, mostly central, computing facilities.

Naturally, DSV worked hard to make available as large amounts of computing coins as possible. When access was insufficient, alternatives were analysed. The Department was one of the first to try decentralised computing, when technical development made such resources possible and ultimately available.

Timesharing systems were introduced at the beginning of the 1970s. End-user access to computing resources meant a tremendous increase

in systems availability. This was long before the PC, although the terminals at the time were somewhat awkward to handle practically, and were naturally completely 'unintelligent'.

Entirely through its own efforts, the Department turned to the computing industry, and was ultimately given the chance to try out a small local HP (Hewlett-Packard) system with the agreement that usage experiences would be collected and made available to HP. The policy at DSV of providing modern, up-todate IT environments for students and staff was introduced with the HP system. The system initially supported eight teletype terminals. A specialised terminal room, available around the clock, was set up at the Department. This meant a fantastic increase in access possibilities for students. No longer did they have to hand piles of punch cards to a centralised reception and, hopefully, receive the results the morning after. Instead, compilations and test runs could be made on the spot. Access time was counted in minutes instead of hours. Interactive programming was introduced using the BASIC language.

Over the years, users have naturally seen several shifts in DSV's computing environment. In the mid-1970s, the first personal computers appeared. At that time, the general opinion at DSV was that personal computers could not be a complete computing alternative for education and research at university level. However,



In the period 2001-2014, DSV was situated in the Forum building in Kista. (Photo: Mats Danielson)

a few researchers started using personal computers at an early date and developed a system called GLAS (Graphic Low-cost Advanced System) for use in research of computer-based learning in the schools from 1980. Each GLAS computer had more computing capacity than the HP system, as well as better functionality and technical performance than the first IBM PC. With the first Macintosh system 1984, attitudes started to change.

In 1990, DSV had an environment with 30 PCs with MS-DOS, 24 Macintosh systems and 32 'dumb' terminals connected to the central computer systems. There was naturally an increased use of personal computers during the

1990s, both for staff and for students. Since 2001, when DSV moved to the Forum building, the workstation environment has been substituted with advanced personal computers.

The facilities for students in the new NOD building are very modern, with the latest versions of wireless networks in all areas and access to wired networks in most locations. They will, for instance, have a large number of rooms for IT supported group work, as well as access to four specially equipped laboratories for studies in multimedia, security, computer games and interactions. Computer rooms will still be available, offering the latest versions of personal computers.

The administrative tools at the Department have also undergone substantial change following the technical development. DSV has been a pioneer in the use of timesharing systems, personal computers, use of computer conferencing systems and web technology. As early as the 1970s, Professor Jacob Palme was working on communication between people by means of computers, which led to the KOM system. KOM was introduced in the early 1980s at DSV.

DSV internally developed the administrative system Daisy, now supporting most of the main work processes and parts of internal information for both students and employees. Daisy has been in use since 2000. Since 2007, an increasing number of distance courses have been developed. These courses utilise the platform Ilearn, developed by DSV and based on the freeware program Moodle. Ilearn supports all types of courses for distance education, blended learning, and campus courses. We have adapted the platform based on our research findings in the area of 'Designs for Learning'. We have also developed the system SciPro for elaborated thesis support.

# Undergraduate education

Undergraduate education was historically the dominant activity at DSV, as a result of the need for educated people within industry, academia and society in general. This has changed over the years. Currently, DSV has a good balance

between research and higher education, on one hand, and undergraduate education on the other.

The first course block was offered in 1966, with approximately 70 students enrolled at Stockholm University. In 2005, undergraduate education had grown to approximately 1600 student places per year. DSV's undergraduate education has grown significantly since 2000. This is interesting, since so many activities in the ICT sector decreased in both quantity and impact at the turn of century

The content of DSV's education mirrors the latest findings in research as well as the current needs in trade and industry, particularly within areas where DSV has special competence. Single subject courses have been offered since the beginning. Many of these had joint student groups from the University and KTH and were often given as sets of courses in the same academic area, such as Security Informatics or Artificial Intelligence.

The first DSV programme was established in 1977 as a consequence of a reform of Swedish higher education, which initiated the design of a national curriculum for a three-year Applied Systems Science programme. Stockholm University was one of nine universities commissioned to implement a local adaptation of the education plan (*utbildningsplan*). Initially, the programme was designed to meet the requirements of the labour market, a major theme of the 1977 reform. However, during the last two

years of the programme, DSV gave the programme a strong research connection. In 1981, the Department started to argue for a one-year extension of the programme. The commitment to a national programme was abandoned in 1988, and in 1993, to DSV's great satisfaction, the Department was allowed to replace the three-year programme by a four-year Computer and Systems Sciences programme.

The area continued to change rapidly. In 2000, an extensive plan for redesigning the undergraduate education was outlined. Experience had shown that students preferred longer educational programmes. As part of this initiative, DSV established and engaged itself in four new programmes, combining IT with other subject areas. The first two were the four-year 'ICT and Communication Sciences' programme that started in 2002, followed by the three-year 'Multimedia Education and Technology' programme (in collaboration with the Department of Education at Stockholm University) from 2004. The 'Market Communication and ICT' programme (MarkIT) was established together with the GI/IHR (later the Department of Advertising and PR) from 2006, as well as the two-year master programme ICT for Development. By this strategy, DSV managed to avoid a decrease in undergraduate education, which would otherwise have taken place. The volume of applicants was no longer nine students per course place as it was at beginning of the 1990s.

Programmes combining IT with other subject areas have since become one of the strengths of DSV. Four of the eleven bachelor's programmes we offer in 2014 are given in cooperation with other departments at the University. Six master's programmes will start in 2014, including a distance-based one. The Master in Health Informatics is given as a joint programme together with *Karolinska Institutet*. The latter programme leads to a joint degree from both universities. All master's programmes are taught in English.

DSV started early with distance education. During 2014 we will give 12 such courses and two complete master's programmes: one in project management and one in ICT for development.

To increase the quality of theses at both basic and advanced levels, a unique process with supporting tools was developed and introduced. During the process, the students are given increased and systematic support with special emphasis on methodological aspects. The process is clear, and the students are systematically taken through this. Firstly, the examination criteria have been clarified, so that all those engaged in the process have the same idea of what is required. A reviewer is allocated early in the thesis work, who gives the supervisors and students feedback and support throughout the process. The reviewers must at least be docents. They form a group, who collaborate among themselves. This means that a

core of experienced people provides support for the large number of tutors and students involved in graduate work. This increases the quality assurance of all theses. The reviewers are also mentors for less experienced tutors. For all theses, the main examiner is a full professor giving the final grade to be awarded based on written documentation from the supervisors and reviewers, as well as a personal assessment of the thesis.

For supporting this process, DSV developed SciPro, an IT based administrative system, which has been in use since 2011. It includes both functionality for the whole process, from the development of topics to grading, and serves as a container for information for the student. It has an FAQ function as well as discussion forums. SciPro furthermore contains examples of excellent thesis work. The results of the new process, to increase the quality of DSV theses at basic and advanced levels, are very positive.

The programmes and courses at SU have been successful in attracting female students. The percentage of women varies. On average, DSV has had figures between 31 % and 48%, with a peak in 1999, and with large differences between the programmes. In bachelor programmes in 2013, the enrolment varied between 13% females in the Computer Science programme, and 65% in the Marketing and IT programme.

The good relations and cooperation between the Department and students should be mentioned. As required by the University, students are organised in a departmental student committee (Ämnesrådet, ÄR). In addition, students at DSV formed the students' association DISK in February, 1990. Since 2008, this is an independent union at the University. At DSV, students are consulted early in all planning processes, which is of great value to the Department. The Student Counselling Committee includes representatives from ÄR and DISK. From DSV, these discussions include the head of department, the director of studies, student counsellors and responsible administrators.

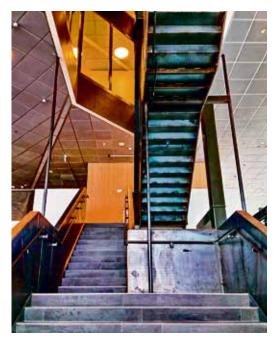
#### Graduate education

Graduate education started in the late 1960s at DSV. It has passed a number of stages and has been coupled with changes, particularly during the 1970s and the 1980s. The study programmes for DSV's graduate programme were initially specified solely for a doctorate and a licentiate in Computer and Systems Sciences, either at KTH or SU. In the year 2000, a study plan for the research area 'Man-Machine Interaction' was added, making it easier for candidates with backgrounds in humanities, cognitive sciences, medicine and communication sciences to enter a PhD programme at DSV. This programme was generalised to become the area of 'Information Society' in 2013.

At the end of the 1970s, 67 students were enrolled as PhD or licentiate candidates. 18 of them were registered at KTH and 49 at Stockholm University. By the end of the 1980s, the financial side had improved in connection with increased external sources, but funding remained an issue. However, increased external funding during recent years has improved the situation considerably, though the limited faculty funding for PhD students is still a problem.

Different models of organising PhD studies have been tested over the years. A research education committee, consisting of all supervisors, was established for a period in order to stimulate and improve the whole graduate programme and to link the PhD students' research closer to research at the laboratories. A PhD programme study director was appointed in 1995 and, in 2006, the programme was coordinated by a steering group and a group of senior researchers.

In addition to 'regular PhD students' being admitted to the programme, DSV has commitments with other universities and companies, in both Sweden and internationally, whose teachers, through grants for PhD studies, pursue their education with DSV support. DSV also has a number of SIDA funded PhD students<sup>5</sup>. In addition, there are several industrial PhD candidates whose companies fund their studies.



Staircase in the NOD building, leading up to the student reception area. (Photo: Mats Danielson)

Women now constitute a growing share of the PhD graduates. During the six years 2000–2005, 25% of all DSV PhD degrees and 22% of all DSV Licentiate degrees were achieved by women. In 2013, 25% of PhD degrees were achieved by women.

#### Research

Being a young department in a new scientific area, the Department had no research traditions to fall back on in the 1960s and 1970s.

<sup>5</sup> SIDA PhD candidates pursue their PhD programme on a sandwich basis, meaning they spend half the time at DSV and the other half at their respective home country universities.

After some years, research groups nevertheless started to emerge:

- CADIS ('Computer-Aided Design of Information Systems') in the datalogical realm was initiated in 1969 and led by Janis Bubenko.
- ISAC ('Information Systems and Analysis of Change') performed research in the infological realm during the period 1970–1980, initiated and led by Mats Lundeberg.
- PRINCESS ('PRoject for Interactive Computer-based Education Systems') performed research on computers and education, and was initiated in 1973, led by Anita Kollerbaur.
- Research on videoconferencing was started by Kjell Samuelsson in the middle of the 1970s, leading to the experimental system InformatiCom.
- Research in the area of 'Programming Methodology' started in 1976, initiated by Sten-Åke Tärnlund.

The main financing for these activities was external via the Swedish National Board for Technical Development (STU), with which the Department had an exceptionally productive cooperation during the 1970s, and via the Swedish National Board of Education (Skol-överstyrelsen, SÖ).

Two research centres were established between 1980 and 1988, within the framework

programme for research in Software and Information Systems funded by STU. CADIS became SYSLAB, with one location in Stockholm and one in Gothenburg, and the PRINCESS work was included in the centre CLEA (Computerbased LEArning environments). DSV also funded several large projects from the STU program in 1987–92.

In 1995, the number of projects and researchers had grown. To improve coordination and to further stimulate the research, three laboratories were created: SECLab (Laboratory for Security Informatics), K2 Lab (Laboratory for Knowledge and Communication) and SYSlab, Laboratory for Information Systems and Software Development.

Since then, the research at DSV has grown enormously. It is now in broad terms focused on the design and development of information systems to provide functioning solutions for the problems of today and tomorrow. This includes methods for the analysis of complex systems, interactions between people and IT systems and security management. We like to think that DSV's research mainly concerns important, real-life problems. This might be disaster management on a large scale, support for efficient meeting management or lifelong learning. We also create tools that are adapted to human language and that are used, for example, to make finding and summarising information from the Internet easier. This

research is primarily occupied with people's lives, work, educational activities and leisure pursuits. We want to understand and influence how technology impacts and changes our daily lives. Obviously, this includes the application of information technology in our professional lives, but also includes the mobile environment, playing and games, human health and different user groups, such as children and computer gamers.

The research at DSV is genuinely cross-disciplinary. It often spans several subject areas and incorporates perspectives and methods from other fields such as psychology, linguistics, philosophy, social sciences, statistics and mathematics. Our research also contributes to these fields through methods and technologies for seeking new knowledge. Research at DSV is often interdisciplinary, for instance in information systems relating to economics and law, or within human-computer interaction relating to psychology, education, linguistics and ethnography. In software development there are close connections to logic, statistics, applied mathematics, communication, industrial design, e-government, designs for learning and arts.

DSV was reorganised into units in 2003 to enable more structure regarding its research and educational activities. These units have responsibility for research, as well as graduate and undergraduate education, in their respective areas. At present, DSV contains four units:

- 'Act in Communication with Technology' (ACT), containing researchers working in the areas of Human-Computer Interaction, Social Computing and Mobile Computing Technologies. In particular, the research focuses on location-based experiences (the LX Lab), digital game design and experiences, and technologies for artistic experiences. These topics describe research themes in the unit, but each researcher focuses on more specific problems such as investigating how artistic performances can be supported through mobile technology, and how digital games can be designed to facilitate player immersion. ACT is led by Docent Louise Barkhuus.
- 'Information Systems' (IS) conducts research into education technology and management of information systems. An information system is an IT-based system that stores, processes and presents information in order to support the work and communication within and between organisations. The research includes disciplines such as database technology, business modelling, process management, requirements management, IT management, business systems, systems methodology, systems integration, service-oriented architecture and project management. IS is led by Docent Åsa Smedberg.
- 'Interaction, Design and Learning' (IDEAL) conducts projects, research and education in IT for learning, flexible learning, simulation

- learning and assessment, human-machine interaction and communication and learning systems. IDEAL is led by Gunnar Wettergren.
- 'Systems Analysis and Security' (SAS) studies complex and dynamic systems that describe and define the world and society as well as decision-making under incomplete knowledge, presence of uncertainty and time constraints as well as other analytical systems issues. This is also reflected in the wide range of problems being addressed and solved, such as policy decision-making at local, national and international levels, including the impact on the environment or the insurance strategies of public and private property in case of natural calamities, public health issues and strategic business decisions. The diversity of the area draws on many disciplines such as mathematics, statistics, philosophy, psychology and economics. The spectrum of key activities covers subjects such as decision and risk analysis, data mining and simulation of complex systems. SAS is led by Professor Oliver Popov.

## Influences and external impact

Computer and systems sciences is an academic subject that is today taught at more than 20 universities and university colleges in Sweden, originating from the DSV. It is represented by departments having many different names such as Computer and Systems Sciences, Informatics,

Economic Information Systems, and Business Information Systems.

DSV has been a fundamental source of academic knowledge, measured in the number of professors in the Nordic countries that have had their origins at DSV. The number of visiting international scholars and researchers at DSV is impressive, and a large number of scientific publications have been produced, including the PhD dissertations. In the year 2013, researchers at DSV published 143 refereed conference contributions, 82 journal articles, 26 book chapters and 4 books.

DSV has taken initiatives to arranging or leading national as well as international scientific conferences, and active participation in professional organizations such as IFIP, ACM and IEEE. There are also a large number of collaborations with companies and the public sector, contacts with national organizations and public authorities, and with international scientific networks and expert groups.

DSV is very actively involved in EU supported collaborative research and development projects. DSV has also stimulated several Swedish companies to increase their participation in EU projects, and has also been instrumental in SIDA supported projects aiming at supporting and promoting ICT in developing countries.

Many of the activities at DSV have reached far outside the Department. The DSV impact on education in Swedish schools has been fruit-



Entry hall of the NOD building from where most facilities can be accessed. (Photo: Mats Danielson)

ful. This includes impact from many educational research projects and useful cooperation with school administrations. Early prototypes of new applications have often proved to be useful for much longer periods than expected. Most important of all, one should note the substantial knowledge that students with DSV degrees have carried into practice in Swedish industry and the public sector. A number of spin-off companies originate from DSV. Persons from DSV have initiated research insti-

tutes such as SISU and *Institut V*, as well as many private companies in the ICT area, including ENEA, Infocon, NeoTech, CNet, *Projektplatsen*, Compumine, Preference, and more.

DSV has had its own application of the theories and the software developed by the research group on decision support systems for procurement since 2011. The tool makes it possible to formulate and evaluate criteria with higher quality than with the methodology usually applied.

DSV has also responded to many requests to take part in public policy connected types of analysis of proposals and effects from education and research in the 'information society'. This concept was only vaguely defined in the 1970s and 1980s. DSV's involvement in public committees and commissions on industrial, social and legal information matters has been strong, especially when one considers that many of the reforms for expansion of higher education and research were born here. Many analytic reports with roots in the Department have been formulated, which have described the expansion of education and research in the information society. In fact, it can be claimed that analysts with close connections to the Department took an active part in the very creation of the concept 'information society'. Many organizational, structural, economic, social, and legal issues have been analysed leading to the development of important social applications of considerable value for subsequent university educational development.

#### **Current research centres**

Spider Centre

Spider – 'The Swedish Program for Information and Communication Technology in Developing Regions' – supports developing countries in harnessing the benefits of ICT for development and poverty alleviation. In practical

terms, it means promotion of and support for relevant 'Information and Communication Technology for Development' (ICT4D) efforts at partner institutions and organisations in developing countries, and the establishment of networks of collaboration in Sweden and abroad.

Spider supports development of ICT infrastructure, human capacity and relevant ICT content. The centre also promotes information management, communication and interaction, in addition to networking and awareness raising. Major areas for intervention are access, e-education, e-health and e-governance, including human rights aspects. The centre is a collaboration between DSV and national donor agency Sida (the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency). The centre started 2004 and is presently managed by Kerstin Borglin.

#### Mobile Life

Mobile Life Centre was formed in 2006 at the initiative of Stockholm University. The focus of the centre includes research on consumeroriented mobile and ubiquitous services spanning all areas from entertainment and socialisation to work and society. The centre joins forces with local research organisations such as SICS and the Interactive Institute. It has major partners from the IT and telecom industry, including Ericsson Research, TeliaSonera, Sony Ericsson, Nokia and Microsoft Research. Part-

nerships in the public sector, including the City of Stockholm and Kista Science City, secure societal relevance, and collaboration with Stockholm Innovation and Growth (STING) ensures that results are integrated into the innovation system. At the centre, this academic, industrial and public partnership is able to work jointly on strategically important projects that can provide sustainable growth. The centre is government funded by VINNOVA on a 10-year grant, 2007–2017. Mobile Life is led by Professor Kristina Höök.

#### E-govLab

E-govLab is our youngest centre, established in April 2014 and described in the section on profile areas.

## Digital Art Centre

Digital Art Centre (DAC) is a project initiated in 2010 and is a physical arena where research and innovation in technology, media and art created in and around Kista gain visibility. By opening a new interface between technology companies and creative industries, cross-fertilisation occurs between the IT industry, working models, new research, and art, and thereby DAC leads to new ways to think innovatively.

DAC is also a launch pad in a long-term effort to create a fully-fledged digital experience centre in Kista. Key players in DAC are Stock-

holm University, Atrium Ljungberg, City of Stockholm, the Interactive Institute, Swedish ICT, Library Stockholm and Kista Science City. DAC is placed under E-govLab and the artistic director of DAC is Ingvar Sjöberg.

#### Centre in Arts and Technology in Society

On March 19, 2013 an agreement was signed between DSV, the Royal Institute of Arts and the Royal College of Music in Stockholm. The partners will collaborate within CATS – Centre in Arts and Technology in Society. The partners contribute their respective expertise in artistic expression and technology. The idea is to interact with the rest of society in collaborative projects, work for broadened recruitment to artistic educational programmes in Stockholm and to create educational programmes at master's and PhD levels.

For joint operations, there is a steering committee to which each party appoints one member. The steering committee lays down a business plan and a budget, appoints the director and makes decisions on other common issues. The artistic director of CATS is Rebecca Forsberg.

#### Profile areas in research 2014

The main focus of research at DSV can be roughly sorted under four areas in which we have a leading position and conduct highly acclaimed research.

- Arts and Technology for Society RATS
- E-government
- ICT for Development, ICT4D
- Design for Learning, DEL

#### Arts and technology for society - RATS

Our programme in RATS addresses design and development of cultural, artistic and entertainment experiences, facilitated through novel technologies. By centring on artistic events rooted within society, the programme adds value to broader aspects of local and global culture within Stockholm and beyond the local community. Through ubiquitous computing technologies such as sensors and fibre networks, we develop new artistic events in collaboration with local and global partners for the benefit of both research and the broader population.

One of the core values within the RATS programme is local participation, which is based on the notion that there exists a close relation between quality of life, culture, social participation and democracy. Our research therefore aims to include participation by society members from the initial design of technologymediated events, to the fruition of such experiences and their evaluations. One of the projects in RATS is the RATS Theatre having had productions at, among other places, Sweden's National Theatre (*Dramaten*). The theatre works with cutting-edge research and new technologies lifting productions out of the

theatre auditorium and working in new ways: in the public domain, on web platforms and through mobile phones. RATS Theatre works in close cooperation with actors, artistic colleges, universities, institutions, theatres, museums, businesses and schools, both nationally and internationally.

#### E-government

The term e-government or e-governance is primarily used to refer to the usage of IT to improve administrative or policy efficiency. We aim at producing other effects that would lead to increased transparency and accountability of government processes, improve trust reflecting on the relationship between government and citizens, and help build new spaces for citizens to participate in their overall development.

Obviously, information and communication technologies are key enablers in the modernisation and democratisation of the public sector and of society as a whole. Over the years, the main focus has shifted from automation and rationalisation of manual processes in the public sector to the interactions between governments at different levels, on the one hand, and citizens and enterprises on the other. This has brought citizens and enterprises better public services with eServices as a key development in this area influencing all parties involved in public decision-making through eParticipation and eDemocracy.

The driving force behind this is the development of societal ecosystems that recognise and respect, as a fundamental right, the unhindered access to information and the right to take part in decision-making processes. We promote a model of society that ensures and safeguards that the means of access are provided and distributed equally across all sectors of society and to all citizens, irrespective of their sex, class, creed, religion, ethnicity or origin.

E-govLab has several national and international projects, and a national demonstration and test environment for Public Innovation have been set up with the aim of increasing the availability of practical solutions for eGovernance. We believe that by reducing the costs for testing eServices and systems, and increasing the dissemination of solutions for eGovernance and complementing existing laboratories for eGovernance, the E-govLab Test Bed will lead to new services, enhanced collaborations and well-informed citizens who will engage at an earlier stage of policy-making. The test bed is funded by Vinnova. The test bed will also be a natural link to major international initiatives such as Mindlab, Fraunhofer Fokus and Europe's large-scale pilots (LSP).

### ICT for development (ICT4D)

Research in ICT4D involves the study of ICT in the context of developing countries and is designed to handle the difficulties and problems as defined by the target group. ICT4D is a growing multidisciplinary field with many practical uses. Field studies in developing countries generate knowledge on how ICT can be used for development and poverty reduction. ICT can, for instance, improve livelihoods, increase access to education, improve health care, enhance participatory democracy and combat corruption.

Using participatory action research, IT products, services and models are developed, tested and evaluated in order to improve livelihoods, increase access to education, improve health care, enhance participatory democracy and combat corruption. DSV is engaged in ICT4D projects in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Several projects are funded by Sida, the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency. Researchers and graduate students from partner countries are involved in many projects and our projects are coordinated with other stakeholders such as donors, NGOs and research centres.

We are presently working with a multitude of countries, including Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Botswana, Cambodia, Kosovo, Bolivia, Ethiopia, Liberia, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Tanzania, Uganda and Zimbabwe.

# Design for learning

At DSV, research on 'Design for Learning' has been conducted since the beginning of the 1970s, as previously described. The scope and focus of interest have varied over the years, but taken together, the research conducted has formed a critical mass of competence at DSV in this research area. 'Design for Learning' has also been named as a candidate for selection as a leading research area at Stockholm University.

The fast development of contemporary technology and techniques is changing conditions for learning in profound ways. With the widespread use of technology, like lap top computers, smart phones, and tablet computers, in conjunction with high speed internet connections, learning has become ubiquitous. Indeed, the world of education is currently undergoing a second revolution where digital technologies are transforming how we think about schooling and learning.

In our work, we are focused on understanding how information and communication technologies can best be used to support learning, teaching, and competence development throughout life. We also design and develop innovative educational applications. Our approach is interdisciplinary. Our team focuses not only on technology but takes into account and also deals with behavioural, cultural and social contexts as equally important aspects. Our work is conducted in projects that are financed by a number of foundations both in Sweden and abroad and concerns mobile learning, social media and learning envi-

ronments, as well as virtual cases for learning and assessment.

In order to emphasise the importance of flexible education, since 2010, DSV has been heavily involved in open education and other flexible learning models. This work has been the foundation for the design of our learning environment in NOD, which is described in the next section.

# An academic environment for the future

In spring 2011, the University decided that DSV should move to the NOD building in Kista to work in more suitable premises. NOD was built by Atrium Ljungberg with the aim of creating a completely new type of venue for learning, research, business, and culture with a focus on innovation and creativity. The new premises will be inaugurated on October 2, 2014.

The vision for DSV in NOD is that "[...] the new premises shall encourage meetings, remote conferencing, but also real encounters between individuals. The premises will offer a welcoming, functional, and flexible atmosphere for DSV employees, students and visitors. The character must be clear, a place to remember, talk about and happily return to. The premises have been an important part of brand building for DSV and, together with the high level of education, of creating an even bigger attraction and desire to attend IRL: The environment should feel



creative and inspiring, yet not be overly powerful or intrusive. We are all different and our needs and desires are different. Premises should therefore offer a variety of experiences and moods so that you as a student, faculty member or visitor can always find a suitable place for the work to be performed that day. The place should be one of innovation and interaction, but also concentration and a focus for a diversity of people in a variety of occasions."

Since 2010, DSV has pursued an active development of educational environments where IT and technology play a fundamental role. However, it is important to point out that the educational and didactic aspects have guided and continue to guide the work. In working with the design of the NOD area, we have intensified this task. We base our work on the fact that the students' situation has changed radically, which will continue with new generations of students.

In today's society, our students are able to share their time between studying at DSV, working in paid employment and, in some cases, responsibility for a family. Life-long learning and training will be essential in the future and is highlighted by the Government of Sweden and the EU as important. This means that students do not necessarily come to the Department at the time appointed, and that they must be able to study at times and in ways that suit their individual circumstances. EU calls this

mass individualisation and considers it to be of great importance.

To handle these new situations, flexible forms of organising education are required where students are studying remotely at a different scale and pace of study, either individually or in groups; some students participate through the Internet and some locally at DSV.

DSV envisages that in future education flexible learning will intensify in and with the move to NOD. In a distributed educational situation, students may choose to attend lectures or other work on the premises of the institution or to study at a distance, as well as studying at different paces and through different channels and mediums. We see a further need to increase the use of different educational approaches such as project work and case- and problem-based learning in an effort to increase interaction between student groups and between students and teachers.

This is justified by the fact that DSV also has a university mission to support the development of university education related to IT and learning for the entire university.

At NOD, the work environment has been designed so that lecture halls will be multifunctional, giving the teacher the opportunity to use a room for a variety of educational approaches and implementations. Advanced support of IT is consistently offered throughout the premises, which are designed and equipped so

as to allow for the continued development of learning environments.



Kollerbaur, A. et al. (eds), 2006. ICT for people, 40 years of academic development in Stockholm. The birth of an academic discipline in the information age. DSV, Stockholm University.



# Department of Criminology

**Henrik Tham** 

ON MAY 15, 1946 a constitutive meeting of the Criminology Institute Association of Sweden was held in the parliamentary rooms of the First Civil Law Committee. The association's objective was to establish and maintain an institute of criminology. A parallel association for criminological research was formed at the same time, with the task of supporting the Institute of Criminology at Stockholm University College (*Stockholms högskola*) and promoting criminological research. With this meeting, the foundation was laid for what would later become the Department of Criminology at Stockholm University.

This does not, of course, mean that no empirical analyses of crime and punishment had been conducted in Sweden prior to this point. Analyses of this kind had indeed been conducted both within and outside the universities and within the framework of governmental inquiries. One inquiry from the period around the beginning of World War II pub-

lished by the Central Association for Social Work, which attracted a lot of attention, focused on gang criminality and opens with the words: "Over the past few years, the evidently increasing anti-sociality among the young has raised powerful concerns in our country" (Ligabrottsligheten 1942). In a broader sense, criminological questions were embedded in issues such as vagrancy, imprisonment, poverty and alcohol consumption. The interest in criminology and crime policy also manifested itself in the Society of Swedish Criminalists that had been established as early as 1911. In 1945, members of this association formed the Crime Policy Society, with a desire, following the Danish model, to "discuss criminological issues more often and within a more exclusive circle" (Kriminalpolitiska sällskapet 1945). Several of the members of the society were later active in the emergence of the Department of Criminology at Stockholm University.



The departmental seminar room and library at the 6<sup>th</sup> floor in Building C, Södra huset. (Photo: Mats Danielson)

One special tradition in the field of research on crime and punishment has been the study of crime statistics. Sweden is particularly lucky in this regard, having the world's oldest official statistics, due to the establishment of the Tabellverket as early as 1749. One reservation that should perhaps be mentioned here is that the Finns argue it is they who have the oldest official statistics, since at that time Finland and Sweden were a single kingdom, and Finland's time zone lies one hour ahead of Sweden. The earliest statistics, however, were not related to crime but rather emerged in the form of population statistics: information on the deceased provides an opportunity to develop a series relating to homicide, and documenting the size of the population allows for a description of the trend in the prison population. Sweden has conviction statistics from the 1830s onwards, as is the case in several other western countries.

The scientific criminology of the first half of the 20th century was primarily linked to the fields of medicine and psychiatry, however. There were extensive studies of psychiatric illnesses considered as causes of crime, and on the mental disposition of, for example, vagrants and individuals convicted of incest (Ovarsell 1993). A doctoral thesis in Sociology from the University of Gothenburg on the history of forensic psychiatry has the title Sanningen om brottslingen (The truth about the criminal), which provides an indication of how it was believed that science could discover the causes of crime by rational means through testing and clinical observation (Börjesson 1994). This strong position held by forensic psychiatry also led to the introduction of various indeterminate prison sentences, such as preventive detention, internment and youth prison, with the idea being that the convicted individuals would only be released once their treatment was completed - with the risk for recidivism being specified by experts.

This medical-psychiatric oriented criminology was often grounded in a humanist approach, and its representatives wanted to reduce the suffering of inmates. However, it opened the way for arbitrary decisions and violations. In the context of a number of high-profile cases, forensic science became the subject of public criti-

cism. The level of distrust towards the psychiatric treatment of offenders, and others, increased (Qvarsell 1993). Once National Socialism in Europe had compromised the use of medical treatment in relation to "undesirable" individuals, the influence of this perspective declined from the end of World War II. In a context of growing youth crime, it also became more difficult to reduce the explanation of crime trends through the characteristics of specific individuals. These factors, together with a belief that society could be changed through social reform and the emergence of the social and behavioural sciences, provided a basis for investing in criminology during the post-war period.

The creation of the Criminology Institute Association immediately following the war can be seen as an expression of the endeavour to expand criminological research beyond the boundaries of the medical sciences. It was also a clear manifestation of a scientific optimism – criminological research was expected to produce knowledge that could make crime policy more effective. The proclamation that led to the formation of the association notes that:

For a couple of decades, active reform work has been underway in this country in the field of crime policy. The legislation has in many ways improved the opportunities for the rational crime policy treatment of law-breakers. Good legislation is of relatively little value, however, if it is not applied by people with sufficient insight into the bio-psychological characteristics of the aetiology of crime. Despite a growing interest in these problems and, not least in this country, relatively lively research activities in this area, our knowledge remains incomplete. In order to develop crime policy to the point where it is in line with the intentions of legislation, it is therefore important to stimulate interest in criminology.<sup>1</sup>

The individuals behind the proclamation were Ivar Agge, professor of criminal law at Stockholm University College, County Governor and former Minister of Justice Thorwald Bergqvist, the Director General of the Board of Health Thorwald Höjer, Professor of Forensic Psychiatry Olof Kinberg, the President of the Court of Appeals and former Minister of Justice Karl Schlyter, in addition to Doctor of Law, and later Professor of Criminal Law at Uppsala University, Ivar Strahl. At the time of its formation, the association had 34 members, of whom one was a woman. The number of professors and associate professors was striking, and included among others Sweden's first professor of sociology, Torgny Segerstedt, later vice-chan-

<sup>1</sup> The description of the Criminology Institute Association is based on material from two archive boxes that have been preserved in storage at the Department of Criminology, Stockholm University: 1. Kriminologiska institutets protokoll (Minutes of the Criminological Institute) 1946–1947.

2. Handlingar rörande Kriminologiska institutet/Kriminal-vetenskapliga institutet (Documents relating to the Criminological Institute / Institute of Criminal Science) 1951–1965.

cellor of Uppsala University, and the two future Professors of Philosophy Ingemar Hedenius and Konrad Marc-Wogau. There were also a relatively large number of physicians, including the social physicians Gunnar Inge, John Takman and (Skå-)Gustav Jonsson.

Kinberg became the chairman of the Institute that was formed. As early as 1939 he had presented a proposal for a criminological research institute that was to include experts in criminal anthropology, criminal sociology, criminal psychology and crime statistics (Qvarsell 1993:251). Kinberg had previously succeeded in obtaining funding for criminological research from the Rockefeller Foundation. For renewed funding, however, the Rockefeller Foundation required that funding should also be obtained from Sweden. One of the central tasks for the new association was thus that of working to obtain research funds.

Agge was a driving force in the work of the Institute, together with the association's secretary Strahl. From 1960, the Institute came to comprise three strictly separate units, one for clinical and medical criminology, one for criminal sociology and one for general criminology. It is here that the title of 'Professor in General Criminology' originated, a title that was only finally abolished in 2014. Agge's interest in criminology lay in the subject's significance for criminal law and crime policy. The division of the Institute into three units should also be under-

stood against the background of the fact that Agge wanted to reduce the influence of the medical perspective, and that he felt that Kinberg was unable to collaborate with the social scientists.

The association and its members involved themselves in different ways in issues relating to criminology. The government was approached about the establishment of national police statistics in order to develop better knowledge about the crime volume. Applications were made for research funding in order to chart the geographical distribution of crime in Stockholm, with the motivation that the courts would be able to place those on probation and those released from prison in non-criminal areas, as well as in order to know where youth centres should be placed for preventive purposes. Members of the association participated as authors in the anthology Kriminologi (Criminology), which was published in Schlyter's Kriminologisk handbok (Handbook of criminology) series (Agge et al. 1955). The introduction was written by the best known Swedish criminologist by far, Thorsten Sellin. However, Sweden cannot take the credit for Sellin's work since he emigrated from Örnsköldsvik at the age of seventeen, first to Canada and then on to the US. He is regarded as one of the pioneers of criminology, and was among other things the editor of the 'Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences' for 39 years, as well as giving his name to the prize that is



Vice-Chancellor Gustaf Lindencrona, Chair of the Parliamentary Justice Commission Gun Hellsvik and Professor Jerzy Sarnecki. (Photo: Yngve Fransson)

awarded by the American Society of Criminology to a prominent non-American criminologist, the Sellin-Glueck Award. It is also conceivable that Sellin may have exerted some influence over subsequent Swedish criminology. A range of documents written by the association's members emphasise the importance of the research adopting an empirical, Anglo-Saxon perspective. When a chair in criminology had first been discussed prior to the war, Schlyter had turned to his friend Sellin for assistance. Schlyter wanted Sellin to return to Sweden, but

Sellin was only interested in coming as a guest professor, which he did, coming to Stockholm University College in 1946/47 (Sundell 1998:222 f.).

The members of the association were highly engaged in the issue of a Nordic criminological collaboration. Following a proposal from Sweden, in 1956 the Nordic Council recommended the respective countries' governments to develop collaboration in the field of criminology. Following a Nordic criminological conference in Stockholm, the Norwegian Professor of Criminal Law, Johannes Andenæs, was given the

task of presenting a proposal for the form such a collaboration might take. Having rejected a proposal for a joint Nordic Institute, a Scandinavian Research Council for Criminology was proposed, and was then established in 1962. During the work conducted to examine possible forms for the collaboration, it was emphasised that is was important for each country to have a strong criminological research community – something which the Criminological Institute Association was able to refer to in its continued work.

The work became increasingly focused on establishing a chair in criminology. In addition to pressure being exerted by the association's members, the proposal was also suggested in a governmental inquiry, and received support from private members' bills in Parliament from both the Social Democrats and parties of the centre-right. The only bodies to oppose the idea of criminological research being concentrated at Stockholm University College were, perhaps understandably, the universities of Uppsala and Lund. The government, however, chose to postpone the issue of a chair in criminology.

Agge worked on persistently. He recruited Knut Sveri, holder of a licentiate in law, from the Department of Criminal Law and Criminology at the University of Oslo, in the hope that he would become the head of what he now wanted to call the Institute of Criminal Science (Kriminalvetenskapliga institutet). Sveri pre-

sented his doctoral thesis in Sweden in 1961. The government finally proposed the establishment of a chair in General Criminology at Stockholm University in 1964. The chair was thus established at the same time as the Faculty of Social Sciences, but came to be shared with the Faculty of Law. Sveri became the first incumbent of the chair in 1965.

The creation of the chair and the institute were typical of the time. The people who formed the Criminology Institute Association, and also the association's membership in general, were committed individuals from the upper and upper-middle classes. It was a top-down movement comprised of experts and high-ranking officials. The issues were not driven by politicians, social movements or voluntary organisations. The point of departure was a fundamental humanism, and there were major expectations that policy would be improved if it were to be based on scientific knowledge.

At the time, politicians shared this hope about the practical value of criminology. A private member's bill from the Social Democrats argued that criminological research "would substantially improve the chances of successfully combating crime" (Wallentheim et al. 1957). A private member's bill from the centre-right parties also argued for the creation of a chair in the subject so that crime policy could be based more on science (Munktell et al. 1957). This suggests that crime policy

at this time was not an issue of party politics. The reasons for the expectations placed on criminology in the parliamentary bill from the centre-right may however be somewhat different. An earlier parliamentary question from one of the centre-right members behind the bill suggests that one of the objectives of criminology could be to stop expensive reform work that had not been founded on sufficient knowl-

edge (Munktell 1954). This criticism appears to have been directed at, among others, the Roxtuna prison, an institution with a focus on providing modern treatment for difficult young offenders. The prison has since been closed and may perhaps be best remembered for having inspired a collection of poems written by a psychologist at the prison, Tomas Tranströmer.



The Office of Student Affairs on the 4th floor. (Photo: Mats Danielson)

### The initial period

In 1969, the new professor of criminology applied for criminology to become a degree subject. He motivated the application by stating that there was a need for academics with a specialist education in criminology in correctional treatment, social care, the police force, the prosecution service and in the courts. He also argued that there was a substantial interest in the subject among students, and that an undergraduate programme would have a positive effect on criminological research, which would in turn be of significance for crime policy.

The application was sent out for consultation to all Sweden's universities, to the Swedish National Union of Students, the National Police Board, the National Prison and Probation Authority and the National Board for Health and Welfare. All of these bodies supported the proposal – some in very positive terms. The National Prison and Probation Administration stated that courses in criminology would in the future be a requirement for all 450 officials with an academic background working for the prison and probation service. The National Police Board also stated that it looked forward to having access to professional criminologists and noted in its consultation paper the significance of criminology for the work to combat crime and for the treatment of offenders (Tham 1977).

The undergraduate programme in criminology, the equivalent of one and a half year of

full-time education, was formally initiated in 1970, but the teaching appears not to have started until the following year, Criminology became an independent section within the Department of Sociology. It was not until 1987 that the Department of Criminology became a department in its own right. Around 30 or so students are estimated to have registered at the start of the programme. Over the following 20 years, there was limited growth in student numbers. At the end of the 1980s, criminology still produced no more than a total of 50 or so complete annual performances. There were few full-time posts, and much of the teaching was conducted by doctoral students and external teachers.2 Besides the professor and two administrative posts, there was a part-time lectureship, a post-doctoral research fellow and a part-time assistant lecturer. Leif Lenke was a member of staff from the day the Department of Criminology first opened its doors until his premature death in 2008. This makes him the longest serving criminologist in Sweden. His research was innovative and original, in the best sense of the word, and he played an important role in developing the form and content of the Department's teaching.

Between the time the Department was first established and the end of 1993, a total of 13

<sup>2</sup> Information on the Department of Criminology prior to 1993 is largely based on documents from the Department's archive at the University.

doctoral dissertations were published. The five that were published during the 1970s were all written by individuals who came from other disciplines or other countries. The first dissertation published by an individual who had been through the undergraduate and postgraduate programmes at the Department itself came in 1981 and had the title Mot monopolisering? NO:s verksamhet under 25 år (Towards a monopoly? The work of the Antitrust Ombudsman over 25 years; Holmberg 1981). The dissertation was typical for the new 1970s research focus on economic crime. The crimes of 'the powerful' were to be scrutinised, and the dissertation found that crimes against the Competition Restriction Act were negotiable. In another incident, that was also typical of the time, a researcher from another university had his copy of the dissertation confiscated at a customs control in East Germany. It seems likely that the word 'monopoly' was on a list of censored topics, and that there was a suspicion of some form of criticism of a Communist regime.

Several of the early dissertations had a focus that may be said to have been in line with the original idea of research serving as a basis for crime policy decisions. They chart areas such as drink driving, sanctions, the use of special powers, the police and crime prevention, and they describe the character of crime and its geographical distribution. Several piec-

es of work by law students also had a direct focus on issues relating to the justice system. A number of dissertations employed a more critical and historical perspective, however, and focused on crime at school viewed from a Marxist perspective, the state's adaptive policy in relation to spying during World War II, and the emergence of the prison institution in Sweden.

A governmental inquiry was appointed in 1992, which resulted in the report Kriminologisk och kriminalpolitisk forskning (Criminological and crime policy research; SOU 1992:80). One of the underlying reasons for the inquiry was that the researchers at the Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention (Brå) wanted to become professors (ibid.:22). This did not happen because the centre-right government determined that professorships should only exist at universities. The inquiry should also be viewed against the background that research funding was being detached from the employees' investment funds and that research and development activities in a number of areas were being placed under review. The leader of the inquiry, Liberal Party member and former Undersecretary of State Ola Nyqvist, also placed a strong emphasis on the importance of research in criminal science as a means of contributing to reducing the costs of crime. The inquiry proposed funding a number of new positions at the university.

The proposal probably came just in the nick of time for the Department of Criminology. The inquiry's report notes that:

As regards the Department of Criminology, the inquiry emphasises that the Department has had very few permanent positions over the years, and a heavy teaching load that has been carried out at the cost of desirable research efforts. Over the course of 1991/92, the Department has a research budget of slightly less than one million SEK [...] Given among other things the fact that the Department is considered to fall below the 'critical mass required to function effectively', a working group focused on reviewing the university's departmental organisation has proposed various alternatives that threaten the independent status of the Department; among other things, a transfer 'as a unit' to the Department of Sociology is being proposed, or a merger with the Department of Law (ibid.:12 f.).

## Expansion in staff numbers and research from the beginning of the 1990s

The governmental inquiry into criminological research led to a second professorship and a post-doctoral research position for the Department of Criminology. Following the retirement of the first professor at the beginning of the 1990s, the existing professorship was also made available and it also became possi-

ble to appoint two research lectureships using departmental funds. The new professor, Jerzy Sarnecki from the Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention, also became head of department and the Department started to expand. The doctoral programme was greatly expanded by means of permanent funding and stipends. Over time, successive expansions of the Department's teaching obligations opened up the possibility for employing additional staff. Since 1999, the Department has produced 34 doctoral dissertations and 12 separate licentiate dissertations. In 2014 the Department has eleven permanent teachers/ researchers (of whom five are professors), a further three researchers, ten doctoral students and two administrative posts. Over 400 students register for the undergraduate programme each term, and around 50 register for the advanced level programme. In 2013 the Department produced a total of 247 complete annual performances. The popularity of criminology as a subject has meant that the number of applicants for student places has greatly outnumbered their availability - there has been an average of five applicants for each available place on the Department's teaching programmes - which has also meant that the Department has been blessed with highly motivated and gifted students.

Since the beginning of the 1990s, the research conducted at the Department has, of course,



Surveillance at the women's prison Hinseberg. (Photo: Sofia Wikman)

covered a wide range of different questions. The tradition of research broadly based on crime statistics has been strong. The issue of crime trends, and in particular societal trends in the use of violence, has been a central one in the crime policy debate. Analyses of hospital data and data from self-report studies among youth have led to the development of new indicators of crime. Convictions data and statistics have been used to conduct cohort studies and historical analyses of crime trends, producing results with clear implications for crime policy. One piece of work produced by the Department in this area that is likely to stand the test

of time is 'Brott och straff i Sverige' (Crime and Punishment in Sweden; von Hofer 2011).

Crime policy research has played a prominent role at the Department. The focus has not been directed at evaluations of various areas of the justice system, although a couple of studies have focused on the police. Instead, the work has in particular been directed at studying the factors that determine crime policy: How and why has crime policy changed, e.g. towards an increasingly powerful focus on the crime victim and on violence against women? How does crime policy in Sweden, e.g. the trend in imprisonment, differ from that found in other countries?

In what ways has the shift towards the risk society been reflected in crime policy? What new forms of control are emerging, and how are they influencing traditional policing? How should the issue of immigration and crime be understood? Can sentencing and the choice of sanctions, which is now becoming a political issue, be legitimised by reference to the public sense of justice?

Certain categories of crime have elements of crime policy clearly defined into them. In the case of economic crime, for example, interest is directed less at the characteristics of the individual offender and more towards economic structures and the way the legislation is formulated and applied. It is in this way that research at the Department has been conducted into corruption, accountancy and environmental offences and the regulation of the road-haulage industry. Another field with a natural relevance for policy is found in the area of alcohol and drugs. In addition to studies of substance users and consumption patterns, a number of studies have focused on Swedish drug policy. In this area, an intra-faculty collaboration with SoRAD, the Centre for Social Research on Alcohol and Drugs, has been central. Several doctoral dissertations in criminology have been written at the Centre.

A number of projects have conducted victimological research. Hate crimes in general, and hate crimes against homosexuals in particular, have been charted and analysed. The fear of crime has been studied among school youth and adults. Other studies have focused on exposure to crime in the workplace, trends in victimisation and inequality, the emergence of victim-offender mediation, the relationship between crime victims and state criminal injuries compensation, and also exposure to crime among persons convicted of offences.

Research on offenders and their life conditions constitutes a very broad field in which a large number of studies have been conducted. The Department has currently embarked on two large-scale projects on crime in a lifecourse perspective. Methods for studying criminal networks have been developed. Studies have focused on gang-related crime, graffiti and a range of aspects of the relationship between the police and offenders. Studies have been conducted with a focus individuals admitted to institutions, both youths and adult prison inmates. One central issue in the study of life conditions is that of marginalisation and exclusion at both the individual and the structural levels. Several studies have been conducted based on both interviews and analyses of register data.

The Department's research approach may in part be seen as being founded in an activist tradition. Several of the Department's employees have over the years been engaged in e.g. KRUM (The National Association for Penal reform),

the RFHL (The National Association for Help and Aid to Drug Addicts), Amnesty, LGBTQ groups<sup>3</sup> and anti-fascist activities. It may also be significant that several of the Department's researchers have backgrounds in other countries. Half have been born abroad, in Chile, Poland, the UK, Germany and Hungary. It may simply be accidental, but it may also be due to an interest based on experiences of being an outsider and of feeling different. It has at the very least served to broaden the Department's perspective.

The number of degree dissertations has also increased substantially at both the undergraduate and advanced study levels. The subjects examined have become increasingly varied and focused on different types of crime. The police, viewed in a broad sense of the term, provide the theme for approximately ten percent of degree dissertations, and this proportion has increased since the undergraduate programme was initiated. This may in part be viewed against the background of a shift in crime policy, which has led to increasing expectations being linked to the police as the solution to the crime problem. Another shift in crime policy is also reflected in the degree dissertations produced at the Department. Whereas the crime policy debate was previously focused on the offender and his rehabilitation, the focus has now shifted to the crime victim, and in particular to

men's violence against women. This change is clearly reflected in the themes being chosen for degree dissertations, not least violence, sexual offences, trafficking and constructions of gender.

In all essential respects, the Department's research has focused on Swedish phenomena. Until recently, the Department's research was primarily published in Swedish. Of the doctoral dissertations published over the past 20 years, only eight have been written in English. The number of articles published in English language scientific journals has increased substantially over recent years, however. One reason for having published so much in Swedish may have been the broader public interest in issues of crime and punishment. The Department's researchers may have perceived themselves as having a Swedish audience to a greater extent than researchers at most other university departments. The Department has endeavoured to produce a 'public criminology'. Compared with other departments, the Department of Criminology's researchers also appear relatively often in the national media. The university's media analysis of the social sciences faculty for 2012 shows that the Department of Criminology, despite its relatively small size, accounts for one tenth of the Faculty's media appearances. The list is also topped by a criminologist, and is characterised by a similarly skewed distribution to that found in relation to criminal convictions - a small num-

<sup>3</sup> Lesbian, gay, bi-sexual, trans-sexual and queer.



From the women's prison Hinseberg. (Photo: Sofia Wikman)

ber of individuals are responsible for a disproportionately large amount.

The Department's publication practice, together with its focus on Swedish conditions, is similar to that of the criminological research environments in the other Nordic countries. The public pressure on researchers in a subject such as criminology may be assumed to be greater in small countries than in larger ones. Over the years, there has been a strong collaboration among the Nordic Countries, not least within the framework of the Scandinavian Research Council for Criminology. The Research

Council is also responsible for the jointly published 'Journal of Scandinavian Criminology and Crime Prevention', and the Department's staff includes two previous editors of this journal. As an expression of the collaboration with our sister department at the University of Oslo, Nils Christie was given an honorary doctorate by our own faculty in 2004.

In a broad sense, the term 'public criminology' may perhaps also include the authoring of other, non-scientific, publications. Several of the students, doctoral students and researchers who have passed through the Department over the years have published works of both fiction and non-fiction, naturally not least in the form of crime novels. Sven Sperlings wrote Mälarmördaren, the story of a mass murder in 1900 on a hijacked ferry steamer, Leif Persson, wishing to rehabilitate himself in the context of the so-called Geijer Affair, published the novel Grisfesten and by continuing to write in the same genre became affectionately known as GW by the Swedish population. In Svensk Maffia and follow-up books, Lasse Wierup presented a somewhat controversial picture of organised crime. Pontus Ljunghill wrote the novel En osynlig about the murder of a young girl in 1920s Stockholm. Jerzy Sarnecki portrays a piece of Central European history in a book describing his father's life, Hillarys historia. And even before completing his doctoral dissertation, Christoffer Carlsson has already published three books, of which the first two have been translated into several languages, while the third, Den osynlige mannen från Salem, received the 2013 Best Swedish Crime Novel award from the Swedish Crime Writers' Academy.

## Students, teaching and subsequent employment

In the hall leading from the University Library to *Södra huset* stands the artist Torsten Rehnqvist's Kangaroo. The artwork constitutes the University's annual teaching prize for the best teaching department. Its first winner, in 1996,

was the Department of Criminology. This prize has subsequently been added to by two of the Department's teachers being named Teacher of the Year within the Faculty. Winning the prize requires first being nominated by the students. These nominations were made by KRÄM, the department's student council. Through the student council, the students have been active in the work of the Department, among other things in the form of participation in the Department's board meetings, work groups and planning days. The council is also paid by



The annual teaching prize. (Photo: Mats Danielson)

the Department to conduct course evaluations.

Over the years, the development of teaching has had a high priority for the Department's staff. Course evaluations are followed up, the Department endeavours to employ a range of teaching and examination methods, and there is a major focus on the use of group exercises and on working with small constellations of students. All of the Department's professors have given one or more undergraduate courses every semester. The relatively small size of the Department, and the fact that some of the teaching takes place in the Department's own premises, may also have contributed to the students feeling that they have good contacts with the teaching staff.

As is the case at other departments, work to promote gender equality has been emphasised and the proportion of women among the students has increased dramatically. At the Department of Criminology, women now account for seven out of ten students. A clear majority of the Department's doctoral students are women, and over the past decade, women have produced twice as many doctoral dissertations as men. Despite this change, the Department's teaching and research posts are still dominated by men, something which should in part be viewed as a generational issue. When a professorship most recently became vacant, the Department worked actively to encourage



Corridor view outside the room of the Students' Council, KRÄM. (Photo: Mats Danielson)

female applicants, but this proved difficult. In 2009, however, Eva Tiby became the first female Swedish professor of criminology. Both the head and deputy head of department have been women since 2013.

The work to promote gender equality has also involved endeavours to promote the use of a gendered perspective in the Department's teaching. Criminology has traditionally been a very masculine subject, since males constitute a large majority of those who commit offences, and serious offences in particular, and 94 percent of prison inmates are men. This is naturally interesting from a gender perspective, however. If men were to become more like women, the majority of crime ought to disappear. Researchers at the Department have also focused on the significance of 'masculinities' to the understand-



Who types the most accurate? With or without alcohol? Poster at the Department. (Photo: Mats Danielson)

ing of crime and other forms of deviance, and have published an anthology on the subject, among other things for use in teaching (Lander et al. 2003).

What does a criminologist do subsequent to graduating? Over the years, a number of surveys have been conducted of the experiences of

the Department's alumni (Tham 1977, Frändén & Jansson 2004, Kinell 2011). The reason for having chosen to study criminology is often stated to have been a general interest in the subject rather than concrete career plans. When the time comes to look for work, however, questions are asked about the practical utility

of criminology. There have also been consistent demands from those looking for work that the programme should have a more practical focus and should include both study visits and work experience. Few feel that specifically having read criminology has been of merit when applying for jobs, but that it has rather been the university degree as such. Many do feel, however, that criminology has been useful to them in their work, and employers have noted that the Department's criminologists employ a critical and reflective approach. Approximately half of the Department's alumni also appear to have worked with some form of research or investigative work with links to the subject or within the prison and probation service. In the first evaluation, which was conducted in 1977, a striking number had a background in the prison and probation service prior to studying criminology at the Department. The prison and probation service's hope that courses in criminology would become a competence requirement for those with an academic background working at the agency does not appear to have been realised, however - none of those who had applied for a job at the agency felt that criminology had been viewed as a merit in connection with their applications (Tham 1977).

Of those who have published doctoral dissertations, approximately ten are employed at the Department. It may be viewed as problematic that the Department largely recruits from

among its own former students. The majority have, however, first left the Department with their doctorates and worked for a while in public sector agencies and other universities. Three are employed at universities abroad, and five at other Swedish universities, including the National Police College. Several of those who have graduated or obtained post-graduate licentiate qualifications are working in the police service. The Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention has also employed a large number of criminologists. Of the agency's eleven employees with doctorates, seven published their dissertations at the Department. Several of the Department's teachers/researchers have also worked at the National Council.

### The Department's relation to crime policy

The work of the Department of Criminology today is conducted in a context that is quite different from that of the time at which the Department was established. One change that has occurred is that research on crime and punishment is today conducted within a large number of other disciplines in Sweden, such as sociology, psychology, political science, social work, economics, economic history, history, law and medicine. In several cases, this research is also organised at separate departments or divisions of larger departments. The Department of Criminology remains, however, the first and the

largest. Its location at a university in the country's capital has also influenced the Department's research as a result of its proximity to politicians and central civil service departments.

The Department's relations specifically with the government and parliament have changed since the Department was established. As has been described above, the initial expectations associated with the establishment of a criminology department were substantial. Criminology was to provide the basis for a rational crime policy, and in particular in a context in which crime was rising rapidly. The first professor also attempted to meet these expectations. The teaching material included a striking proportion of documents from governmental inquiries, and the students' dissertations were focused on 'descriptive criminology'. The utility of criminology for political decisions was also, quite naturally, a central focus of the governmental inquiry from 1992 (SOU 1992) on providing more funding for criminological research.

The establishment of a Department of Criminology coincided, however, with the period directly following the student revolt of 1968. The idea of providing treatment to offenders was rejected on both ideological and empirical grounds. Individual explanations of crime were replaced by structural explanations. The offence was viewed as constituting less of a problem than the reaction to the offence. Crime

policy and state repression were made central. Criminologists started to question criminal law in general and the prisons in particular, and the majority sympathised with the inmate movement and KRUM, which was formed in 1966. Criminological research came increasingly to consist in a critique of drug policy, of alarmist descriptions of crime and of the crimes of the state.

At the same time, this 'critical criminology' meant that criminologists were no longer disposed towards finding 'solutions' to the crime problem. One dissertation from the Department has noted how negative criticism focused on social injustice failed to satisfy politicians and public sector agencies. Instead, a new category of 'administrative criminology' emerged, which was conducted within civil service departments and public sector agencies themselves (Andersson 2002). The Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention arrived in 1974 and developed extensive research and investigative operations in the form of among other things evaluations and descriptions of the crime structure and crime trends. Politicians therefore came to perceive less of a need for university criminology. It also became increasingly uncommon for university criminologists to be commissioned to participate in governmental inquiries.

Statements in the media and the many responses written by the Department during

the consultation process for crime policy proposals issued by successive governments may also have contributed to criminologists not always being viewed as politically constructive. The Department's criminologists have also been criticised by both the government and in newspaper editorials. This political invalidation expressed itself particularly clearly when Sweden, in connection with the 50th anniversary of the Scandinavian Research Council for Criminology, both unilaterally and against the wishes of the other Scandinavian countries, decided to leave the Council. The reasons given by the Swedish Minister for Justice were that criminologists were not delivering; they were no longer viewed as useful. At the same time, however, the Government determined to increase its support for the recently established 'Stockholm Prize in Criminology' and its annual symposium. One of the two chairpersons of the jury for this international prize is Jerzy Sarnecki.

In 2014, the last of the Department's teachers/researchers who were born in 1940s will be retiring. This event means that over the course of only a couple of years, the Department has undergone a generational turnover. The tradition of the Department of Criminology, together with the members of a new generation of teachers, researchers and doctoral students, inspires confidence in the Department's future.

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This chapter has been sent for 'consultation' to the Department's employees. I am very grateful for the views and comments I have received, although I have not included all of them – the story of the Department could certainly be written in many ways.

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# Department of Economic History

Ulf Jonsson and Johan Söderberg

IN 1964, when the Faculty of Social Sciences was constituted, the Department of Economic History was a one of the smallest members of the family. Our sister departments in Uppsala, Gothenburg and Lund had in the 1960s been integrated into the education of secondary school history teachers. The future history teacher could choose between specializations in economic or general history, substantially increasing the number of students. In Stockholm, a small number of students from different departments of the Faculty gathered around the seminar table in the one room apartment at Tegnerlunden where the Department was housed. There was also a weekly lecture at Stockholm School of Economics. Thus, it was very much a traditional department, relatively untouched by the beginning of the great expansion of student numbers in the 1960s.

The modest teaching chores gave the acting professor, Ernst Söderlund, a lot of space to pursue his own research. In the last years of his term, he embarked upon a project concerning the history of Skandinaviska Banken. It was in many senses a pioneering work in Swedish banking history. The two volumes on Skandinaviska Banken from 1864 to 1939 gave a portrait of a great Swedish commercial bank and its broader role in the history of Swedish banking. Banking history was also the subject of one of Söderlund's PhD candidates, Sven Fritz, who defended his thesis, Studier i svenskt bankväsende 1772-1789, in 1967. The thesis deals with an extraordinary troubled period in the history of early Swedish banking and still constitutes an important contribution to our understanding of late 18th century monetary history. Two years later, Staffan Högberg's thesis, Utrikeshandel och sjöfart på 1700-talet: stapelvaror i svensk export och import 1738-1808, appeared. Högberg's study questioned in an interesting way some of the central views of Eli F. Heckscher on 18th century Swedish foreign trade. Both Fritz and Högberg pursued long



Professor Rolf Adamson, born 1927. (Photo: Per Bergström)

careers at the Department and contributed to teaching and research in a very fruitful way. In 1969, Rolf Adamson became professor at the Department. His arrival coincided with a radical change in the syllabus of history decided on the national level. The future history teachers had to include courses in economic history in their education. In a single stroke the teaching volume increased four times. The existing staff of one professor, two associate professors, Fritz, Högberg and an amanuensis took on a heavy workload, but it was far from sufficient. A number of younger teachers from Gothenburg and Uppsala were recruited on a short term basis. In the early 1970s, a senior lecturer,

Sture Martinius, was recruited from our sister department in Gothenburg. His arrival at the department was a valuable addition to the small senior staff. As all members of the staff, he had to assume a huge teaching burden in these early pioneering years and did so with good humour and loyalty.

The premises at Tegnerlunden ultimately became too narrow, and after an interlude at Tulegatan, the Department finally moved to new locations at Frescati. Together with the Departments of Economics, Business Administration (now Stockholm Business School), Social Anthropology and Political Science we were the first to move to these brand-new buildings in 1970. It was very much a pioneering period, living in a building site that lacked a lot of the services we now take for granted. The library was found in temporary premises. Lunch services were quite rudimentary. No underground connection existed in the first years. The well provided campus of today was still far away.

### Undergraduate teaching

The creation of the combined history/economic history programme was a central part of the expansion of undergraduate student enrolment. The teaching volume of the course was some 400 hours per academic year and coincided with the requirement for a full lecture-ship. In the early 1970s the Department suc-

ceeded to recruit a senior lecturer from our sister department in Uppsala, PhLic Allan Larsson. Larsson was a devoted pedagogue who soon became the main teacher on this combined history/economic history course for future history teachers. He spent the lion's share of his career on this course until his retirement in the late 1990s. It became his fief. Hundreds of future history teachers made their acquaintance with economic history through Larsson's engaged teaching.

However, economic history proper also attracted a growing number of students. In a period when the interest in Marxism and historical materialism was on the rise, economic history became an obvious option for many radical students. Thus, the early 1970s was an exciting period. The Department had to recruit a number of new teachers, often on a part-time basis, while the ordinary staff also increased but at a slower pace. The younger staff, amanuenses and teaching assistants were given a somewhat larger role than today.

The atmosphere of the 1970s was not completely idyllic. In particular, the teaching of theory and method met severe critique from more or less dogmatic Marxist students. The challenge was met by pursuing theoretical pluralism, where different theoretical and methodological perspectives entered the agenda. Rolf Adamson took a very active role in this process, producing a new textbook con-

taining articles from different theoretical schools with introductions posing intellectually challenging questions. Adamson had a strong conviction that theoretical pluralism and openness was an indispensable part of academic education but also a way of stimulating curiosity and intellectual joy.

Certainly, the teaching of theory and method became demanding for teachers as well as for students, but was intellectually very rewarding. The authors of this text vividly remember the difficult tasks we had to face as young teachers when trying to spread the message of theoretical pluralism.

Nevertheless, theoretical pluralism established itself as a general and important trait of the undergraduate courses in general. At each level, a fourth of the syllabus consisted of an array of courses that students could choose. That created a possibility to offer the students intellectual challenges and exploration of new fields. There was, for example, a considerable supply of courses in world and non-European economic history. The time span covered the economic history from antiquity to contemporary issues in developed and developing parts of the world. Some of the options offered did not attract a very large student following. Nevertheless, presenting a broad range of thematic courses became a part of the Department's identity. The younger part of the teaching staff was particularly encouraged to take



Notice boards in the corridor: a classic mode of communication, almost ousted by Internet development. (Photo: Mats Danielson)

an active part in the formation of new courses. This contributed to making the Department an attractive workplace. Broad reading habits were encouraged. I (Ulf Jonsson) remember the joy for me as a young teacher exploring new fields, trying to put them into reasonably consistent and understandable courses.

Many students found the possibility to choose, and hopefully find themes close to their

interests, stimulating. This became an asset in attracting students. However, there were also critical voices pointing out that the range of choices was too large. The identity of the Department was too vague, the critics maintained. The critical voices had a point. We had a tendency to constantly add more courses without paying proper attention to what extent they constituted a meaningful whole. Many of the courses did not attract more than a handful of students. We could realistically only offer teaching on a much smaller number of alternatives.

Nevertheless, the wide-ranging interests cultivated in the undergraduate education contributed to making the Department an attractive partner in developing pluri-disciplinary courses. In the mid-1970s, the Department took over the responsibility for two pluri-disciplinary courses, Development Studies and International Relations, involving a number of other departments at the Faculty. These courses were initially given only on a part-time basis as evening classes. Admission was restricted to a fairly small group of 30-50 students. We only offered first term courses. Interested and engaged students were, however, constantly demanding more. The course in Development Studies, involving five different departments, was difficult to manage in the long run. In the late 1990s, the course was closed down. Since two years, however, the Department is involved in a new cross-departmental cooperation on the theme of Global Development, with the departments of Human Geography, Social Anthropology and Political Science.

Even after the introduction of second and third year courses, the students at these levels were relatively few. Nevertheless, those who remained were a very interested and engaged lot, making teaching on these levels demanding but intellectually rewarding. The debates could be highly animated. Ideological clashes were frequent. For teachers, some knowledge of Marxist exegesis did facilitate the task. Still, openness and scholarly curiosity characterized most of the students. Of course, it is easy to view these days in a nostalgic light. Endless struggles over the exact meaning and interpretation of some of the more obscure passages in the third part of Capital could be tedious, but reminiscences of these confrontations tend to fade away. Memory is always selective.

During the 1990s, the problem of recruiting second and third term students became less urgent. The following of second term students in international relations expanded rapidly. This former part-time course now offered a full-time day track, which enlarged the recruitment potential. International relations (IR) became more closely connected to the Department. Instead of part-time teachers recruited on a temporary basis, a small number of full-time teachers contributed in order to secure the necessary continuity and stability. At the turn

of the new millennium, Örjan Appelqvist became a full-time lecturer in international relations. He started off with great enthusiasm and contributed both to the intellectual and pedagogical development of the course. For more than a decade Appelqvist devoted the lion's share of his energy to international relations as a teacher and director of studies. A couple of years later Thomas Jonter, a historian from Uppsala, was recruited. Thomas became the first professor in international relations at the Department. A core of IR teachers was gradually formed. The close connection and cooperation with the Department of Political Science that was so important in the formation of our teaching in international relations continued, and part of the staff came from that environment. Today, the teaching staff that devotes most of their time to IR has expanded considerably. Political scientists coming from different political science environments are giving courses on a part-time basis. The link between us and the Department of Political Science constitutes a valuable asset in developing the IR education. In the last few years, however, the Department has also endeavoured to strengthen the links between economic history proper and international relations, and recruited a number of lecturers with competence in both disciplines.

Over the last decades, the student following has continued to increase. The pace has been more rapid for international relations than for

the old core discipline. The international relations part of the Department is now larger than that of economic history proper. However, there is also a significant flow of students between the two specializations. Students move between the disciplines. Also, and more importantly, there is a high degree of intellectual interaction. The internationalization of research is reflected on the undergraduate level. Both disciplines have changed. A historically informed international political economy (IPE) has become a central element in our teaching of international relations. This direction is very much in tune with the present theoretical discussion among IPE scholars. Influential researchers like Barry Buzan, Richard Little, John Hobson and George Lawson, to name just a few, have recently argued for a more systematic use of historical perspectives to develop the discipline. The long historical view is indispensable for the understanding of how economic interaction and sociocultural forces have changed the global system and the strategic patterns of power and dominance. Within IPE there is a tension between scholars focusing on contemporary themes and historically oriented researchers. Our conception of IPE is clearly on the side of the latter. We also try to make another strand of IPE that takes the gender dimension into account, labelled 'everyday international political economy', a part of the curriculum.

World and global economic history have expanded in the curriculum of the old core discipline. Historically, Swedish and European economic history was the dominant component. The change towards a greater place for non-European themes started already in the 1970s, but this trend has been further reinforced over the last years. Global history focusing on the economic and social interaction between different parts of the world in a long term perspective serves as a further bridge between economic history proper and international relations. Today, global history is a vital part of the intellectual landscape. At global history conferences IPE scholars, economic historians, historians and a bunch of other social scientists meet and exchange views in a dynamic and fruitful manner. We try to capture and reflect this in our undergraduate education.

Finally, the expansion of international relations and the somewhat slower increase in student numbers in economic history have contributed to enlarging the basis for third term and advanced undergraduate studies. At the advanced level, the two disciplines cooperate and complement each other even more than in the earlier stages where some of the basic elements have to be emphasized.

The first decade of the new millennium was characterized by the implementation of the Bologna system. Although some aspects of this work were quite tedious, and some parts of the framework may seem less fruitful, overall the intellectual mobilization around important pedagogical issues gave the daily work at the Department a new energy. In particular the advanced level (master's studies) did profit from this concentrated effort. The Bologna model, offering a broad range of thematic courses for the students to choose from, is well-adapted to the traditions of our Department. Cooperation with other departments was encouraged. A new master's programme with the departments of Human and Physical Geography 'Globalization, Environment and Social Change', has proved to be highly successful with Human Geography as host department. Students from all corners of the world gathered around a common interest in understanding the global challenges of our time. Within the programme, our Department is responsible for one of the four mandatory first-year courses. We also give two optional courses in the second year: 'A New Global Food Order? Global/local Encounters, Contradictions, Tensions and Conflicts', and 'Feminist Theories, Economic Restructuring and the Gendered Global Division of Labour 1600-2000'. It was and is a pleasure to take part in teaching and developing the programme. The construction of the programme is an example of collegial cooperation at its very best. There is a constant respectful and fruitful interaction between the departments. The advanced levels of international relations and

economic history proper also gained from our presence in the program. The optional courses are open to our own students as well as to those studying in the program. The number of courses in English open to Swedish and international students has expanded rapidly. We had offered some basic undergraduate courses in English before the Bologna process, but it was a marginal part of our teaching. A course on the historical and theoretical problems of European citizenship was given during more than a decade and attracted a stable and fairly large number of students over the years. Now we can offer a large number of courses in English, although primarily on the advanced level.

Having such a substantial part of the advanced level courses in English is, of course, not without problems. However, this is a difficulty we share with the rest of the Faculty and a fact we have to accept. A small country with a small language can never expect to attract international students by giving courses only in Swedish. Internationalization of university education is here to stay. Student mobility over national borders has always been a valuable part of higher learning. During the heydays of the nation state system, the intellectual exchange on the personal level became more restricted. Student exchange requires a lingua franca, once it was Latin, later on French and now it is English. In the literature and the intellectual content of courses we have to open up for perspec-



Like in other departments, bright cloths are the last resort for handling the white austerity of the rooms and corridors of Södra huset. (Photo: Mats Danielson)

tives from traditions other than the Anglo-Saxon, even if it is served through translations.

The cooperation with other departments in the Faculty does not only involve master's students. We are also part of a BA programme in 'Global Development' hosted by the Department of Social Anthropology. The BA programme in 'International Relations and Economic History' also involves several other departments of the Faculty. In the fourth and fifth semesters, students can choose relevant courses in, for example, political science, human geography, gender studies, sociology, and economics. The gender perspective constitutes a significant part of the basic courses in the program. Thus, the role of gender studies in

our research profile is well reflected in all of the undergraduate programs and courses. Furthermore, the programs reflect a more extensive and systematic cooperation between the different departments of the faculty than we had before. In many senses, cooperation between different disciplines is easier to realize within a programme rather than within a course. Within a full BA or MA program, each discipline can develop its perspectives in a more extensive form and contribute to a deeper understanding of the issues covered in curriculum.

The renewal induced by the Bologna process did not only cover the advanced level but also undergraduate education in general. A fairly radical process of change can inspire efforts and have effects larger than the original purpose. You start thinking in new directions. One effect was the renewal of the part-time evening classes. Instead of giving a full 30 ECTS credits course, we embarked upon shorter thematic courses of a new kind. An interesting experiment was courses which combined fiction and economic history. The initiative came from two of the more experienced senior lecturers, Ronny Pettersson and Yvonne Svanström, who later became teachers in two of the courses. This adventure was developed in a very cheerful and creative atmosphere by a group of teachers who also later engaged in the teaching, including one of the authors of this article, Ulf Jonsson. Cross-reading of economic historical and

fictional texts was a central element in the curriculum. Which aspects of a past reality does a fictional text reveal? How does it differ from the knowledge produced by professional economic historians? Those were the overarching question posed. We gave four short courses, two juxtaposing Swedish fiction with domestic scholarship in economic history and two covering the world history. The First World War constituted the chronological dividing line.

These courses attracted a very engaged and interested student following. For the teachers it was an extremely intellectually rewarding experience. The discussions were animated and full of surprises.

Over the years the Department has been heavily involved in summer courses. This year we are only giving one such course, 'The Swedish Model'. Thematic afternoon courses have also been an important part of the teaching programme. For the moment we give just one, 'Gender, Power and Work in Sweden, 1800 to 2000'. Such courses depend on the availability of interested teachers. When the ordinary programs expand there is less room for efforts of this type. Nevertheless, it is a resource that can be easily activated.

Undergraduate education at the Department is, of course, not without difficulties. We are struggling as much as any other university department with what we regard as insufficient resources. Still, there are also achievements to

be proud of. Hopefully, we have contributed to give the students a more complex understanding of how the world we live in has evolved and equipped them with analytical tools useful in a large number of societal arenas.

### Graduate and post-doc research

Sixty doctoral dissertations have been published at the Department of Economic History since 1969. Some patterns with regard to choice of subject matter and period of investigation deserve a comment. Four aspects will be discussed below: (i) a shift towards more recent history, (ii) the internationalization of the fields of study, (iii) the growing share of women in the production of dissertations, and (iv) the tendency of dissertations to grow in volume.

(i) An obvious tendency is that dissertations increasingly deal with relatively modern periods. This trend dates as far back as 1970 (Adamson 1988:56). Most dissertations from the Department presented before the turn of millennium, however, still dealt with the pre-industrial era. Not more than one fourth of the dissertations were devoted to the period after 1900. This has changed dramatically in recent years: eight dissertations out of ten have an emphasis on the period after 1900.

To some extent, this chronological shift is due to the fact that before the year 2000 the research at the Department was dominated by the Agrarian project (see below), which dealt with nineteenth century conditions only. However, the movement towards modern history is deeper than that, and is well-known not only in economic history but also in other historical disciplines in Sweden. The growing contemporary orientation reflects an ambition to understand and explain the far-reaching transformation of society today. Perhaps it can also be seen as an expression of a renewed political engagement that turned to other fields when the interest in political history weakened during the 1970s and 1980s.<sup>1</sup>

(ii) A connected phenomenon is that international fields of study have gained in popularity. Yet, this trend is weaker than could be expected. Before the turn of millennium, about one dissertation out of ten dealt with international economic history or international relations, a share which since then has doubled. This proportion is expected to grow significantly in the next few years as it is well in line with the research profile among current doctoral students.

The internationalization of research fields has had the effect of a growing number of dissertations being written in English. Before the tur n of millennium, only one dissertation out of ten was published in English. After that date, the proportion has been around one third. Swedish still dominates as the language

<sup>1</sup> This is argued by Arne Jarrick in (Jarrick 2000:40-43).

of dissertations. It is mainly dissertations dealing with international subjects that are written in English, and that share is as we saw still rather low.

(iii) A third tendency is that the proportion of women among authors of dissertations has risen, from 29 per cent before the turn of millennium to 41 per cent thereafter. The number of PhD students was small during the 1970s, but expanded to comprise about thirty at the turn of millennium. For many years most of these students were males. The proportion of female students was about one quarter at the beginning of the new century, but has since then risen substantially. Today there is a clear majority of women in graduate studies. At the same time, the total number of PhD students is smaller than it was at the turn of millennium.

The changing sex proportion has not had any appreciable effects on the age at PhD completion, the choice concerning the period of investigation, or the length of the thesis. Neither has the choice of an international research field or the language of the thesis been affected. There is, however, a relation with regard to the use of a systematic gender perspective. We will soon return to this.

(iv) A fourth tendency is that dissertations have become more voluminous. Dissertations defended before the year 2000 comprised on average 261 pages, whereas those put forward

after the turn of millennium can boast an average of 335 pages (in April, 2014).

This reality is far from the norm of 160 pages that the 1969 national reform of graduate education established. The upward curve is not unique to economic history at Stockholm University. The length of a dissertation does not tell us anything about its quality. Yet, it is not unreasonable to think that more voluminous manuscripts take more time to finish and contribute towards a prolongment of the study time. There may be several reasons behind the tendency towards more voluminous dissertations. Word processing has made it easier to write long texts, and new technology of printing has reduced the cost of publication. However, this can hardly be the main explanation. An important factor could be that the student believes that a future research career is made problematic unless he/she can display a voluminous dissertation. Expected competition among post-docs can thus play a part (Lindegren 2004:631-39, Lindberg 2004:188)

The national reform of 1969 also aimed at increasing the number of young PhDs. This has not been realized at our Department. The mean (as well as median) age at completing the PhD is 41 years and has not changed appreciably over time.

What has happened, then, with the thematic content of the dissertations at the Department?

Research was for several years during the 1970s and early 1980s dominated by the socalled Agrarian project, the actual name of which was "Structural change and mechanisms of adaptation in Swedish agrarian society during the period of population growth in the 18th and 19th centuries" (Det svenska agrarsamhällets strukturförändringar och anpassningsmekanismer under folkökningsperioden på 1700- och 1800-talen). The project was headed by Professor Rolf Adamson and was financially supported by the Council for Social Science Research and thereafter by the Bank of Sweden Tercentenary Fund. Six doctoral dissertations were published from the project. Even today this appears to be the biggest single project in terms of staff that has existed at the Department.

Research in the Agrarian project dealt with questions regarding estate organization, socio-economic stratification, the development of poverty, the introduction of new tools, and enclosure movements. There was a considerable variety in the theoretical approaches used, where international research discussion gave inspiration and sociological theory played a larger part than did formal, neoclassical economic theory. Institutional economic theory was beginning to be seriously explored, however. One of the approaches that was discussed was the theory of the peasant economy formulated by the Russian agrarian economist, A.V.

Chayanov. It tried to account for the fact that small production units based on family labour continued to be viable in agriculture. However, Chayanov's approach proved to be less useful than expected, due to important differences between Russia and Sweden (Adamson 1988:52 f)

The transformation of Swedish agriculture soon became an attractive field of research at other economic history departments in the country as well. Much of the existing knowledge of the agrarian sector during the nineteenth century is the result of extensive research carried out during the 1970s and 1980s.

During the 1980s, graduate studies expanded at the Department, and also became more varied thematically. One of the new fields was that of labour and industrial history. A recurrent theme was the relation between capital and labour and the causes of change in the labour process. These studies were often inspired by historical materialism. Harry Braverman's thesis on the degradation of work under capitalism was lively debated, but in the end it received limited support. Later on, studies of industrial history tended to focus more on entrepreneurial history and innovations, usually with a basis in Schumpeterian theory. In several cases there has been a strong international orientation of these studies, dealing with topics such as Indian industrial history or microfinance in the Caribbean.

A rather unexpected new feature of the research profile of the Department appeared in



The Department resides at the 9th (topmost) floor of Building A. (Photo: Mats Danielson)

the mid-1980s as Arne Jarrick defended his thesis on psychological social history. He argued that psychology, especially psychoanalysis and Piaget's cognitive psychology, could fruitfully be used in historical study. Empirically, Jarrick made an attempt to understand the Moravian Brethren in Sweden in the eighteenth century by means of an analysis of autobiographies. Jarrick formulated an approach in terms of mentality which became a point of reference in several dissertations. These studies dealt with, e.g., secularization in the eighteenth century, the treatment of children during the same century, and the care of the psychologically disabled. As Jarrick was appointed professor of history in

1997 and left the Department of Economic History, this research profile was no longer upheld.

Another new turn of research at the Department in the mid-1980s was the introduction of the study of medieval economic history. The first dissertation with this focus was published by Janken Myrdal who investigated medieval arable farming in Sweden. From the late 1990s onwards, medieval and early modern economic history has been studied in three additional dissertations, and has also attracted some postgraduate researchers.

As a result of this slow but cumulative process, the Department today is the only one in the country which can present broad research



Classic Ethiopian folk painting on leather reflects the strong international interest of the department. (Photo: Mats Danielson)

based on medieval sources, as well as on time series with a length of up to 750 years. What may be labelled 'long-term transformation of economic and social systems' has become one of the profile areas. Recently, three researchers from the Department (Rodney Edvinsson, Bo Franzén and Johan Söderberg) have collaborated with the Riksbank, Sweden's central bank, as well as with economic historians from other parts of the country, in the project 'Historical

Monetary and Financial Statistics for Sweden: Exchange Rates, Prices and Wages, 1277–2008'. A volume with this title, published in 2010, presents new statistics on the transformation of the Swedish monetary system from the medieval era until today, focusing on exchange rates, consumer prices and wages. Another volume dealing with house prices, stock returns, national accounts and the Riksbank balance sheet, 1620–2012, will be published in 2014.

Around the turn of millennium, dissertations with an explicit gender perspective began to come forward at the Department. This line of research received firm support as Ulla Wikander, a wellknown pioneer in the field of gender history, was appointed professor of economic history at the Department in 1996. A strong profile has successively been built up in this field. The interdisciplinary project, 'Gender, citizenship and public policy. The transformation of Swedish society in a gender perspective, 1848-2000' ('Genus, medborgarskap och offentlig politik. Det svenska samhällets omvandling i ett genusperspektiv, 1848-2000'), involving researchers from the departments of Political Science, History and History of Ideas, played an important role in the formative stage. The gender perspective has widened the scope of economic history through researching gendered informal economies such as the sex market, pornography and domestic work. The theoretical side of gender research has been further developed since Professor Paulina de los Reyes joined the Department in 2009. She is one of the researchers taking part in the introduction of the concept of intersectionality, which has been shown to be an inspiring and useful tool for the analysis of power and inequality.

The theme of gender and economic history has mainly attracted female doctoral students. However, there are also examples of postgraduates turning towards gender studies at the Department after completing their PhDs.

On the other hand, there are fields which predominantly have caught the interest of male students. In particular this applies to the history of economic ideas, macroeconomics and industrial history. Out of a total of about twenty dissertations in these fields, not more than two have been written by women.

### Current trends

As is obvious from the account given above, the research carried out at the Department is, to say the least, multifaceted. There is an obvious need to make priorities and to focus on a smaller number of research areas.

Therefore, a research strategy for the Department has recently been formulated. This document states that the Department of Economic History has two main research areas: 'economic history' and 'international relations'. In both areas social science research is undertaken based on historical source material. One example is the benefit that research in international politi-

cal economy can have from a historical perspective on globalization. By emphasizing fields where the Department has comparative research skills, it wishes to connect the two areas and create an internationally competitive scholarly environment. We also strive to increase publication in leading journals and to raise the level of external research funding.

Research in economic history explores how mankind has solved sustenance problems over time, nationally as well as internationally. Within the overarching theme 'Long-term Transformation of Economic and Social Systems' three areas are central:

- (i) Why does economic development occur, and what explains it? Within this area research is undertaken with both a Swedish and a global perspective. The aim is to discern forces behind the divide of the world into rich and poor regions during a time period of several centuries.
- (ii) How does gender and economy interact in society? Within this field questions pertaining to the historical gender division of labour in the light of normative perceptions of male and female connotations on different levels of society.
- (iii) How has the exploitation of natural resources over time interacted with social organization and technological restructuring and what are the societal effects of this?

In recent years, the field of international political economy has become one of the main areas of research at the Department. This field is connected to international relations. Research on the redistribution of natural resources and power in the global system, from a historical perspective, has priority. Three areas are seen as particularly important:

- (i) The interplay and the friction between local and global arenas. Focus is on places and human beings' roles in the global system and consequences of shifts in resources and power for economic and social development. Questions of gender, ethnicity and class are central.
- (ii) How flows of commodities, services, human beings and ideas interact and shape relations between agents, nations and macro regions. A central issue is how markets and political organization have been formed from a historical perspective.
- (iii) The relationship between natural resources, energy and security in the international system, the development of global markets for water, oil and nuclear power and the political security consequences of this development.

A significant step forward for the field of international political economy is the recent start of Stockholm University Graduate School of International Studies (SIS). SIS is a comprehensive faculty and multidisciplinary

programme for PhD students with financial support from the Board of Humanities, Law and Social Sciences at Stockholm University. The purpose of the SIS is to combine the strong points of research from the various institutions. It will offer a broad curriculum, strengthening interdisciplinary research and the international profile of Stockholm University in the field of international studies. A competitive international and multidisciplinary research programme is developed in collaboration with the Department of Human Geography ('global urbanism'), the Department of Political Science ('international and European policies'), the Department of Media Studies (Division of Journalism, Media and Communication) and the Faculty of Law ('public international law'). The PhD students will participate in SIS courses, receive tutorial support from the SIS departments, participate in SIS organized seminars and take advantage of the broad international network within the SIS.

### Concluding remarks

Over the fifty years that the Faculty of Social Sciences has existed at Stockholm University, the Department of Economic History has evolved from a marginal position to a workplace employing more than 40 persons. We have a thriving undergraduate education with a total exceeding one thousand students in the



Members of the Department who are awarded with prices are also honoured on the wall of one of the corridors. Here Janken Myrdal, Rasmus Fleischer, Fia Sundevall, Johanna Raeder, Rodney Edvinsson and Ulrika Söderlind. (Photo: Mats Danielson)

calendar year of 2013. There are two distinct parts, 'economic history' proper and 'international relations', giving us a stable base. The regular staff includes four full-time professors, nine senior lectures and a number of part-time teachers and post docs. We are offering a broad social science education and training. The strength of the undergraduate teaching in economic his-

tory and international relations is the extensive range of themes and the plurality of perspectives.

The advanced level is far more extensive than it has ever been. The recruitment potential for graduate students is more stable. It is quite a considerable development. Undergraduate teaching in economic history is no longer just a complement for some interested students in economics. 'Economic history' and 'international relations' do recruit students coming from most of the faculty disciplines and our students continue their education at a broad range of departments.

The research and graduate education at the Department of Economic History has undergone major transformations since the 1960s. What is perhaps most striking is that it has maintained a theoretical and methodological openness, combined with an ambition to carry out solid empirical work, throughout this long period. In recent years, the changes have been unusually comprehensive, affecting all levels of teaching and research. This is primarily due to the fact that the field of economic history has widened to include more elements from international relations. As a consequence, economic history is not quite what it used to be. It has become not only more international in its orientation but also more open to the study of political organization and power. Even when researching Swedish themes, the interaction between the national or local/regional context and global forces are kept in mind. The contribution of economic historical research is to put forward the indispensable longer view and this is very much part of our long term research strategy. In the future, research at the Department and the perspectives and theoretical approaches from economic history and international political economy will continue to enrich each other.

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Researchers and PhD students of the Department of Economic History were often placed at the Red Cottage annex at Frescati Backe. Guests remember interdisciplinary seminars marked by intellectual creativity as well as a gourmet culture. (Photo: Mats Danielson)



# Department of Economics

Astri Muren and Hans Wijkander

**LECTURES IN** Economics at Stockholm University College started already in 1888 with Johan Leffler (1845–1912) as lecturer. Leffler, who had studied in Leipzig, combined economic liberalism with an interest in social policy (Olofsson & Syll 1998). The first full professor of economics was Gustav Cassel who was appointed in 1904 (Nycander 2005, ch.1). Cassel (1866-1945) had originally studied mathematics (writing a doctoral dissertation on linear algebra) and later turned to economics. Cassel is known for his development of general equilibrium theory. During the 1920s, he was one of the most prominent economists in the world, lecturing widely on monetary issues. Bringing monetary analysis into general equilibrium theory is still an unresolved issue, particularly regarding financial economics. A second chair in economics was created in 1921, with Gösta Bagge (1882-1951) as its first incumbent (Wadensjö, in Nycander 2005, ch.2). Bagge's early work concerned wage-setting under trade unions and long-run unemployment. He played an important role as entrepreneur, channelling money from the Rockefeller Foundation to an extensive empirical investigation of wage formation and national income in Sweden. Bagge was also a politician; from 1913 he was active in local Stockholm politics and later he was party leader for the Conservatives (1935–1944) and Minister of Education.

Cassel retired in 1934 and was succeeded by Gunnar Myrdal (1898–1987) (Gustafsson 1998). Myrdal's dissertation, 'Pricing and Change', introduced inter-temporal planning and risk into price theory. Cassel was the dissertation advisor. Erik Lindahl, another of the prominent Stockholm school economists, who was at the time lecturing in the Department, is mentioned in the preface for his advice. Lindahl's own development of inter-temporal and temporary equilibrium theory in the late 1920s was, in turn, influenced by Myrdal's analysis. During the 1930s, several members of the Department

were involved in the development of employment theory. Considering the economic crisis in the world at that point, it was the hot topic of the time. Gunnar Myrdal, Gösta Bagge, Alf Johansson and Dag Hammarskjöld contributed to the Unemployment Commission. From 1937 to 1944, Myrdal spent his time in the United States, working on 'An American Dilemma' and financed by the Carnegie Foundation. After returning, he became Minister of Trade in 1945-47. Much later, in 1974, Myrdal shared the Sveriges Riksbank Prize in Economic Sciences in Memory of Alfred Nobel with Friedrich von Hayek. He was not entirely happy about that; perhaps the main problem was the co-laureate whose values he did not share, but he had also expressed criticism of the prize itself (Swedberg 2004).

## The Stockholm school of thought

The term 'Stockholm school of thought' or 'Stockholm school' was used by Bertil Ohlin in 1937 in the first of two articles in the 'Economic Journal'. He introduced the article by stating:

Owing to a coincidence of circumstances, already at an early stage of the depression Swedish economists came to deal with the problem of variations in employment, output and prices by means of a theoretical apparatus rather different from the price theory in economic textbooks. There are surprising similarities as well as striking differences between that

apparatus and the conclusions reached in Sweden on the one hand and Mr. Keynes' 'General Theory' on the other hand. Hoping that a discussion of two independent attacks on the same set of problems may throw some light on the latter, I intend in this and the succeeding paper to make some observations on these two theories. (Ohlin, 1937:53)

The Stockholm school of thought has attracted a lot of interest and publicity through the years, though opinions have always differed on the extent to which the Stockholm school really was very different from Keynesian theory. In any case, the Stockholm school economists, to which Lindahl, Hammarskjöld, Johansson, Myrdal and Ohlin, as well as Lundberg and Svennilson belong, were creative and influential researchers and policy makers.

Erik Lundberg and Ingvar Svennilson offered theoretical contributions to the Stockholm school in their doctoral dissertations. Lundberg's dissertation, 'Studies in the Theory of Economic Expansion', completed less than a year after the publication of Keynes' 'General Theory', presents an independently developed dynamic theory of business cycles, later formalized by Paul Samuelson (Lindbeck & Persson 1987). Lundberg took up a position at *Konjunkturinstitutet* (KI, the National Institute of Economic Research) in 1937 and became its head in 1946. The same year he was also given a personal professorship at the Department, where



Seminar in political economy in the seminar room A700. (Photo: Mats Danielson)

he acted as a full-time professor after 1955 when he left *Konjunkturinstitutet*. Lundberg's overview of business cycles and stabilization policy from 1953 (*Konjunkturer och ekonomisk politik*, translated into English as 'Business Cycles and Economic Policy', 1957) influenced a generation of students of Keynesian fiscal and monetary policy.

Svennilson's doctoral dissertation, *Ekonomisk planering: Teoretiska studier*, was a theoretical study of organizational planning exploring intertemporal decision-making under risk. After his doctorate, Svennilson initially worked as an expert in *Konjunkturinstitute*t where Lundberg was already working. He was then recruited

to the newly created 'Research Institute of Industrial Economics' (*Industriens Utrednings-institut*) and was its head 1942–51. Svennilson was appointed professor at the Department in 1947. In parallel with his professorship, he played an important role in the development of The Medium Term Surveys (*Långtidsutredning-arna*) of the Swedish government. Svennilson was an early proponent of econometrics, i.e. the use of statistical methods of analysis of economic data. (Persson & Siven 2009)

At this time the academic world of economics was almost exclusively male, in Sweden and elsewhere. There was only one senior faculty woman in economics at Stockholm University

College, Karin Kock (1891–1976). She defended her doctoral dissertation, *A Study of Interest Rates*, in 1929. It was the second in Sweden presented by a woman – the first was by Margit Cassel (the daughter of Gustav Cassel) in 1924. Kock's advisors were Cassel and Bagge. Kock became docent in 1931 and replaced Bagge and Myrdal as acting professor during the period 1936–1946, when they were often on leave. One of her teaching areas was monetary economics. Kock was given 'professor's name' in 1945, served as Minister of Trade during 1947–49, and was the head of Statistics Sweden from 1949 until her retirement in 1957 (Jonung & Jonung 2013).

Lundberg and Svennilson were professors in the Department for some considerable time, Lundberg until 1965 when he left for the Stockholm School of Economics, and Svennilsson until 1967, when he succeeded Myrdal as head of the Institute for International Economic Studies. During that time, they were both also much involved in policy advising activities (in those days when there were not many students, it seems to have been perfectly normal to combine a professorship with extensive other commitments). Svennilson appears to have been a kind and caring person, if a bit preoccupied, while Lundberg could be ironic towards his students. In general, the Stockholm school economists were apparently more interested in their own scientific work and in being government advisors than in

encouraging the intellectual development of their students. One of Lundberg's few graduate students was Peter Bohm, who became one of the Department's more influential professors in a later era, to which we now turn.

# The 1960s and 1970s: Expansion and change

In the early days of Socialvetenskapliga institutet, as the Department was called until 1964 (in English the Institute for Social Sciences of Stockholm University, according to Lundberg's foreword to his doctoral dissertation, written in December 1936), the students were few and comparatively undemanding. The situation seems to more or less have remained like that throughout the 1940s and much of the 1950s. However, in the late 1950s that was about to change in many ways. Ideas about how to organize the education of future researchers were brought in from leading universities in the United States, where PhD course programmes were held. Assar Lindbeck, who returned from a two-year stay at Yale University, started by giving an extensive course on monetary theory one year, and one on fiscal policy the second year. The initiative was followed up by Karl Jungenfelt and Östen Johansson.

It may seem a minor thing to start giving courses for doctoral and licentiate students; yet, this change was probably instrumental in a shift of research focus from research topics much influenced by leading persons connected with the National Institute of Economic Research to research topics that were instead influenced by international literature in economics and other intensively discussed topics. The courses were much appreciated by young researchers, who later became prominent in academia, such as Peter Bohm, Ingemar Ståhl, Alf Carling and persons who became prominent in politics such as Kjell-Olof Feldt.

One topic within economics that interested several young researchers, for example Peter Bohm and Karl-Göran Mäler, and that later became a very prominent research area at the Department of Economics, was welfare economics. An important early contribution to the field was made by J. de V. Graaff in 1957. Another influence was Rachel Carson's book Silent Spring (1962) in which she criticized the extensive use of pesticides, in particular DDT, which she claimed threatened the fauna. The book received much attention in public forums and awakened an interest in environmental issues in many economists. In 1974, Mäler published the book Environmental Economics: A Theoretical Inquiry, which became very influential.

In the 1960s, the number of students at universities increased rapidly, probably largely due to changes in the school system, which made many more young people eligible for university studies. This development coincided with the period when the baby-boom generation born in the 1940s was leaving school. Hence, in the period 1956–1960 some 8,000 people received a secondary school degree. In the period 1961–1965 that number almost doubled to 15,000, and between 1966 and 1968 (which is only two years) it increased to 28,000. The volume of higher education expanded, and the number of students at the Department of Economics increased greatly. The Department moved from Odengatan 61 to Hagagatan. Lectures took place in nearby cinemas, making good use of the newly invented overhead projector (Nycander 2005:167-168). In 1970, the Department was one of the first to move to the new Frescati campus, and has since then had its main location on floor 7 in building A in Södra huset.

A natural response to a strong increase in the number of students would have been a strong increase in the number of teachers and professors. However, that did not come through; instead, two research institutes were created. In 1962, Gunnar Myrdal was given a personal professorial chair as manager for the Institute for International Economic Studies, which he himself had started. In 1966, Rudolf Meidner became the manager of the Swedish Institute for Social Research. The former institute dealt mainly with macroeconomics and the latter with labour market issues. The two institutes attracted many promising young researchers.



The Department of Economics' version of the ubiquitous Södra huset corridor. (Photo: Mats Danielson)

In the late 1960s, two chairs in the Department of Economics received new incumbents, Lars Werin and Guy Arvidsson, who were both appointed in 1969. The Department then had three professors: Anders Östlind, Guy Arvidsson and Lars Werin. Werin received his doctoral degree in 1965 on the dissertation 'A Study of Production, Trade and Allocation of Resources', which was an input-output study of the Swedish economy in the spirit of the seminal contribution of Nobel laureate Wassily Leontief's

'Studies in the Structure of the American Economy' (1953). Guy Arvidsson and Lars Werin both had their academic backgrounds from Lund, where they had both had Johan Åkerman as dissertation advisor. In addition, Arvidsson, who was ten years senior to Werin, had succeeded Åkerman when he retired, but later left Lund for the chair in Stockholm.

Guy Arvidsson died prematurely in 1973 (aged 55) and was succeeded by Peter Bohm. Bohm's licentiate thesis 'External economies in

production' (1964), in which he thanks "my teachers, Erik Lundberg and Ingvar Svennilson", is a theoretical examination of optimal pricing under different forms of market imperfections. At quite an early stage, Bohm moved into the new research area of experimental economics, and became influential within field experiments, always with a focus on microeconomic policy and welfare economics (see Dufwenberg and Harrison, 2008, for a description of Bohm's research contributions within the area of field experiments). Östlind retired in 1979 and was succeeded by Claes-Henric Siven, who received his doctoral degree in 1975 on the dissertation 'A Study in the Theory of Inflation and Unemployment'. In addition to labour market functioning and wage setting, which was also the area of his dissertation, Siven has conducted research within the history of economic analysis and economics of crime.

The research in the department during the 1970s and 1980s was informally organized into three different groups, each with one academic leader and several PhD students. One group was headed by Lars Werin and another by Peter Bohm. The third group was headed by Alf Carling who was associate professor and in charge of a large research project dealing with studies of the energy system, a field that was topical after the first oil crisis in 1973.

Werin's group was not oriented towards any particular field of economics. It produced some

very important dissertations such as those by Claes-Henric Siven, Bo Axell and the one written jointly by Thomas Franzén, Kerstin Löfgren and Irma Rosenberg. The internationally most well-known of those is probably Bo Axell. He made important contributions to search theory. By modelling how imperfect information about job opportunities opens up for wage bargaining, search models provide explanations for the existence of unemployment in equilibrium. The dissertation by Franzén, Löfgren and Rosenberg on the effects of the public sector's activities on the income distribution received international attention. Both Franzén and Rosenberg became deputy governors of Sveriges Riksbank (the Swedish Central Bank). The dissertation by Siven was an important specimen when he applied for the chair after Östlind.

Bohm's group was, in contrast to Werin's group, much more focused on one field of economics, namely welfare economics. A number of dissertations were produced in that group and also works by more senior economists such as Roland Andersson who later was appointed professor of real estate economics at the Royal Institute of Technology (KTH). The research in the early years of the 1970s was in the field of transport economics. It involved central elements of welfare economics such as policy alternatives when dealing with increasing returns to scale, public goods and externalities. Bohm was the editor of an influential book

to which he also contributed, 'Transport Policy and Economics' (Transportpolitiken och samhällsekonomin), which had impact on a major government inquiry about transport policy headed by Alf Carling (Vägtrafiken. Kostnader och avgifter, SOU 1973:32). Many of the PhD students who participated in Bohm's group later went on to careers within public administration. A few stayed in academia, like Hans Wijkander and Jan-Erik Nilsson. Wijkander was appointed professor first at the Swedish Institute for Building Research and the Royal Institute of Technology (KTH), and later at the Department of Economics at Stockholm University where he held the position of department chair for several years. Nilsson is professor in transport economics at KTH.

The group around Alf Carling was somewhat separate from the rest of the Department socially as well as physically, being located across the road from the rest of the Department. Those two factors, together with a more or less pronounced mission to produce policy-relevant investigations into energy related issues, probably made it difficult to produce dissertations. Not many PhD dissertations came out from that research group. There are, however, some exceptions. A number of PhD students defended their theses when the group was about to be dissolved in the 1980s.

The academic field of economics has always been closely in touch with policymakers in the

government sector. To a high degree this has also been the case for Stockholm University's Department of Economics. The research focus in the Department at different points in time has reflected general policy concerns, partly as a result of this contact. The list of publications in the 'Stockholm Economic Studies' series, published within the Acta Universitatis Stockholmiensis in 1929-1970, shows a concern with macroeconomic issues as well as with fiscal and monetary policy until the mid-1960s. This is not surprising, given that a number of the leading researchers during that time had been or were connected with the National Institute of Economic Research (KI), which lies under the Ministry of Finance. The latter part of the 1960s represents a change in that the Department became more oriented towards microeconomic policy and welfare economics, and the link with KI was broken. The 1960s were characterized by high growth and expansion of the public sector, which generated demand for the advice of economists on, for example, transport policy. After the oil crises in 1973 and 1979, the referendum on nuclear power in 1980, and the general rise of concern about energy and environment, energy economics and environment economics became important research areas.

The shift in research focus in the late 1960s also brought with it a more fundamental change in research questions. In the earlier period, the

main challenge was to find out more about the functioning of the economy in its many aspects, from the possible causes of business cycles to the importance of forestry in the Swedish economy. This approach is called 'positive economics' by economists, and economic models here serve the important function of structuring arguments and clarifying mechanisms of interest. Welfare economics, in contrast, is much more concerned with how things should be, and involves making recommendations for policy ('normative economics'). These recommendations take their point of departure in a model which presumes to describe the important aspects of the market in question, or perhaps even the whole economy. In evaluating policy recommendations arrived at by this method, the correctness of the model and its assumptions become crucial issues.

In comparison with most present-day academic economists, the welfare theorists of the 1960s and 1970s were quite ambitious concerning the possibilities for economic theory to deliver clear and detailed policy recommendations. This may have been one reason behind the at times considerable controversy over whether economic theory really did, or does, provide a good enough model to motivate such a research agenda. The debate over the book by J. de V. Graaff, 'Theoretical Welfare Economics', and the many reprints of this book since its first publication in 1957, provide some

indication of the discussions at the time. Directly after its first publication, the book was reviewed in the top economics journals by Franklin Fisher, Paul Samuelson, Murray Kemp, William Baumol, I.M.D. Little, and others. An interesting and clarifying review by Siven, landing on the side of positive economics, appeared in the 'Swedish Journal of Economics' in 1965, after the book's first reprinting. (Intriguingly, Graaff himself seems to have left academic economics soon after having so successfully stirred up the debate.)

### Recent and present times

In the middle of the 1990s, the Department had entered a bit of a slump. Werin was retiring and the successor to his chair, which was joint with the Department of Law, was on permanent leave and not taking up the position as full-time professor. The research funds for energy applications had dried up and Carling had left the Department, first to KI and later to become an economic advisor to the Mandela government in South Africa. The improvements in graduate student financing meant that the doctoral students no longer took the responsibility for teaching that they had done in previous times. This was obviously in many ways a good change, but meant that most of the teaching was now done by temporary replacement teachers. These young people did good work, but the necessary long-term development of courses in response to the research advancement in the different fields of the discipline could not occur.

To move the Department from this state, it was necessary to recruit people who would be qualified and interested in doing both research and teaching. Moreover, it was essential to attract a large enough number of people to create a research environment. The construction of academic positions in Sweden at the time, where the choice was basically between fulltime teaching positions and full-time research positions, was not well-suited to achieve this the full-time research positions were too few and the full-time teaching positions were not attractive enough. The slow and unpredictable hiring process used in Swedish universities did not help in this case. However, in the mid-1990s a change in the way the Employment Protection Act was implemented in the universities made it temporarily possible to create attractive positions. This opportunity was used by Wijkander to enable the Department to recruit young promising PhDs who were given positions that were split between teaching and research. The first who were recruited in that manner were Jonas Häckner and Sten Nyberg. Both have been promoted to professors and Häckner is the current department chair. After them Michael Lundholm was recruited. He was also promoted to professor and is currently (May 2014) on leave to be undersecretary at the Ministry of Finance. In the years following 1996, a number of promising young persons have moved to the Department from other universities and taken up professorial positions at the department. Some have also left the Department such as Martin Dufwenberg, who moved to the University of Arizona, and Karolina Ekholm and Martin Flodén, who both have become deputy governors at Sveriges Riksbank.

An important change in the Swedish academic system is the possibility of promotion from senior lecturer to professor. This made teaching positions more attractive in themselves, and contributed to changing the focus of academic competition from being mainly within the Department (for docent positions and professorial chairs), to being outside and between departments (for good research environments, high rankings, the best junior researchers, etc.). An effect of that change is that the number of full professors at the Department has increased substantially from three full professors in the mid-1990s to now 17 (including professors on leave). The change in competitive focus may also have contributed to making the academic atmosphere more pleasant than in the old days - boosting one's own department can seem more productive than criticizing one's colleagues. This does not and should not remove the critical attitude and habit which must always be an important part of academia, but the balance between criticism and cooperation may be better nowadays.



Departmental coffee breaks and collective cake eating is advertised by the ringing of the bell. (Photo: Mats Danielson)

In the Department of Economics at Stockholm University the policy is that all faculty members should do both teaching and research and be free to choose their preferred area of research. Everyone should teach basic courses as well as specialized courses in their area of choice and should have access to their schedule long in advance. We make it easier for both female and male faculty to combine work and parenthood, for example by using long planning horizons,

opportunities to plan working time, and by not scheduling meetings and seminars in the early mornings or late afternoons. Also, we make sure that the doctoral students and post docs on stipends do not miss out on their rights to parental leave. Both women and men in the Department take out parental leave and sick child-days.

The present Department of Economics has about 30 faculty members with at least a PhD degree, 50 graduate students, 100 master stu-

dents and well over 1,000 students in introductory and intermediate courses each semester. Of the 17 full professors four are women. Most of the faculty members have their doctoral degrees from other institutions of higher learning than Stockholm University, an indication of the growth of academic mobility and contact areas. A sign of the low level of academic endogamy at the Department is that there is only one straight link to the early Stockholm school economists: Wijkander, who wrote his doctoral dissertation on second best pricing within public economics, had Peter Bohm as his advisor. He can thereby count Erik Lundberg as his 'academic grandfather', whom he never met.

The current research at the Department covers a wide range of fields from monetary economics to social network theory. Within that wide span economic geography, public finance, financial markets, behavioural economics, political economy, labour markets, competition policy, development economics, economics of crime and education economics can be found. There has been an emphasized shift from theoretical methods into more empirical research. It can of course be expected that the range of research topics has increased since the number of researchers has increased substantially. A benefit of that is that the Department nowadays can offer a broad spectrum of courses and qualified advising of students at all levels.

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# Department of Education

**Anders Gustavsson** 

WRITING THE HISTORY of one's department and discipline to some extent always means writing one's own history. This has some advantages. My history has been linked to that of the Department of Education for the better part of the 50 years of the history of the Faculty of Social Science. But an insider's perspective also makes it difficult to see the whole picture. Here, my experience as deputy vice-chancellor during the last years has been valuable. The new responsibilities have, to some extent, made me an outsider of the Department and given me new insights into its role within the university and within the field of education as a whole. In retrospect, I can for instance see that the Stockholm University Department of Education, where I 'grew up' and still have most of my 'social science heart', contributed to a debated fragmentation of the discipline, which I will discuss in this short history of education-a development that might have been broken by the establishment of the new Stockholm Department of Education a few years ago. This development from fragmentation to consolidation will be the running thread of the chapter and of my analysis of how the last 50 years of educational sciences at Stockholm can be understood. Another way of countering my egocentrism has been to ask colleagues for information. A few of them have read and commented the text, but I alone am responsible for the history presented here.

## The emergence of two academic traditions of education in Stockholm

The academic discipline of education has a long history in Sweden and at Stockholm University. The first professors were appointed in 1910 and 1912 in Uppsala and Lund and in Stockholm 1937. During the first years (1937–1953), the new Department of Education at Stockholm University College (Stockholms högskola) hosted both education and psychology. Separate departments did not exist until 1952–53.

When the Faculty of Social Sciences was established in 1964, education had thus far had a rather long and somewhat complex disciplinary history. Before 1964, education belonged to the Faculty of Humanities, like some other disciplines which today are part of the social sciences.

The complexity of the history of education is due to several reasons. One of the most important factors is that education is both a practice field and a discipline—the latter often referred to as 'educational sciences'. (I will here sometimes use this term in order to make the distinction clear, even if the discipline often is referred to just as education at Stockholm University and most other Swedish universities.) When education was established in Sweden as an academic discipline, schooling was regarded as the key field of educational practice. One of the former professors of the Stockholm University department phrased it like this in an earlier history of education:

We can immediately state that the academic discipline of education almost exclusively was established in order to provide the teacher education for secondary school with a sustainable potential for research and development (Edfeldt 1989:189, my translation).

However, in order to understand the history of educational sciences in Stockholm, one must also know that a second department of education was established only three years after the first, when the Teachers' Training College (*Lärarhögskolan*, LHS) was opened. In English, this unit was referred to as the Stockholm Institute of Education. As a result, educational sciences in Stockholm developed in two quite different directions: one school-oriented at the Institute of Education (LHS) and another at the Stockholm University department, which grew out of the historical link between education and psychology, an academic field that can best be described as applied social psychology. Let's take a closer look at what happened.

Torsten Husén, who was appointed the first professor of education at Stockholm University College in 1953, was called to a new chair at the Stockholm Institute of Education. Husén was a typical representative of the schooloriented research the new discipline was supposed to contribute. The development of the social psychological approach was initiated and strongly supported by the second professor at Stockholm University College, Arne Trankell. In a presentation of social science research published by the Faculty in 1979, Trankell described his discipline:

Education as a discipline has a mainly formal character and relates to, for instance, psychology, as the discipline of statistics does to mathematics. Its main focus is on methods for the transmission of knowledge, attitudes and ways of relating to other

people – and lately – also on the conditions for and the consequences of the on-going changes in all human societies (Trankell 1970:67, my translation).

In a review of the bachelor's theses produced at the Department of Education during the 1950s and 1960s, Trankell (1970) found that traditional educational-didactical issues dominated during the 1950s, while applied psychological issues dominated in the early 1960s with a growing interest in current societal problems, like health care services, in the latter part of the decade.

Both the educational science traditions in Stockholm have, in their own ways, been shaped by the advantages and difficulties of the close relation between the disciplines and different practice fields. The advantages first of all consist of the obvious relevance of the research for current societal problems. At the Stockholm University department this meant taking on current societal problems, like international migration and exclusion of ethnic minorities, the development of socially-oriented psychotherapies, international aid to developing countries, adult learning within a working context and personal experiences of ill health. At LHS, schooling in a broad sense remained the key practice field even if some researchers also gradually distanced themselves from the issues of teacher education and schools.

The close relation between educational sciences and their practice fields has also meant

considerable challenges. On a terminological level, there have been constant discussions over what education and educational sciences mean and really are. A strong practice influence risks reducing the space around which an academic discipline needs to raise productive questions and can study these questions without too much interference from the people engaged in everyday educational problems. This was probably one reason why schooling gradually lost its position as the main research focus, at LHS as well. As we will see later on, the dynamics of the fragmentation of educational sciences in the whole of Sweden during the last decades of the 20th century can be understood in terms of the development of different strategies applied by individual researchers and groups to embrace or distance themselves from the practice fields at hand.

Another characteristic of the complex history of educational sciences is its multi-disciplinarity. On several occasions, Husén (1996) has argued that education is not an independent discipline, but a knowledge field drawing on theories, methods and empirical experiences of other disciplines. Basically I agree, and this is one argument for talking about educational sciences in plural. However, Husén's idea of *independent* disciplines raises questions concerning how self-sufficient any discipline can, and should be. Several social sciences oriented towards current societal problems share this



multi-disciplinarity and the scientific evolution over the last decades also raises the question whether there is really support for such ideas of disciplinary purism. It should also be remembered that in many other countries education constitutes a faculty of its own, including several disciplines and separate departments. From this perspective it comes as no surprise that educational research in Sweden also adopts psychological, sociological, cultural, historical and philosophical approaches, just to name the most frequently used conceptual frameworks. And—as we will see later on—all these orientations can today be found in the new Department of Education at Stockholm University.

## Educational sciences at the Institute of Education, LHS

When Husén was called to the new chair of education in 1956 at LHS, he left his chair at Stockholm University College, but only on the condition the he would be able to keep his membership in the Faculty of Humanities (later Social Sciences) of the College (Husén 2003). This meant that the doctoral students from the Institute of Education graduated from Stockholm University College and that the new Department of Educational sciences remained part of the faculty of the College. In spite of several attempts from LHS to get its own degree-awarding power, the research and responsibility

for third-cycle courses for doctoral students remained at the College and the University until the final fusion between LHS and the University in 2008. However, it should be noted that teacher education and other undergraduate programmes at LHS were run by the institute itself as a separate organisational unit and will not be discussed here.

The newly established Institute of Education (1956) also organised research and research education within the discipline of pedagogik (education, sometimes translated to 'pedagogics' in order to distinguish between different educational sciences) with a focus on teacher education and schooling along quite different lines than the Stockholm University Department of Education. However, it should be noted that critique was also soon heard at the institute, that the research began to distance itself from the practice field of schooling. In fact, a critique for lack of interest in the schooling and teacher education-relevant research grew stronger at all Swedish units for teacher education during the 1980s and 1990s and paved the way for the establishment of more practice-oriented educational sciences orientations. During the first years of the 21st century, three new disciplines grew out of educational sciences at the Stockholm Institute of Education: special education, child and youth studies and didactics.

The new discipline of *didaktik*, established by the Faculty of Social Sciences at Stockholm

University in 2004, was the Stockholm response to the critique concerning reduced interest in school-relevant research. In Umeå and Luleå, new disciplinary constructions, such as *pedagogiskt arbete* (pedagogical work) and *lärande* (learning), were launched and later spread to other teacher education units in the country. The history of child and youth studies and special education are discussed more in detail elsewhere in this book.

To some extent, this development of new school-relevant disciplines can be understood as a process of differentiation, where the earlier broad discipline of *pedagogik* (education) developed into a number of new practice-oriented educational sciences. This process of differentiation grew stronger and stronger during the 1990s and the first years of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, contributing to an inevitable fragmentation of the old discipline. Below, I will argue that there are signs that this trend now has been broken, for example, by the gradual establishment of the new Department of Education at Stockholm University during 2008–2011.

The process of differentiation can be illustrated in more detail in the development of the educational sciences at LHS. During the first years, the new Institute focused simultaneously on research linked to the current school reforms and the new demands for knowledge concerning educational differentiation and assessment raised by the introduction of the

comprehensive school for all pupils. Typically, these projects were initiated by the government and placed at the research units linked to teacher education. LHS, for instance, received the responsibility for the development and administration of the new standardised test used to assess the achievements of the pupils in the comprehensive school-a work that was first lead by Torsten Husén and later by Bengt-Olov Ljung. Earlier, Husén also played an important role in developing international comparative assessments. The International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievements, originally located in Hamburg in 1960, moved with the support of UNESCO in 1969 to Stockholm where it was made a part of the new Institute of International and Comparative Education (IIE) established by the Faculty of Social Sciences at Stockholm University in 1971. Husén was, once again, called to chair the new department (more about this below).

During the 1970s, 80s and 90s, educational sciences at the institute linked to teacher education developed into a rich and diversified research environment. This was due to the influence of two main factors: the interests of the rapidly growing group of researchers—from a handful of persons during the first year to over 70 persons in the middle of the 1990s—and the growing demands from a teacher education which came to include more and more diversi-

fied programs such as pre-school teachers, vocational teachers and teachers in sports, music and special education. In a book published in connection with the 40<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the institute, a critical review of the weak focus on practice oriented class-room research was presented:

In retrospect, we can see that an order gradually developed [in the orientation of the educational sciences] which was characterised by a basic problem. The researchers in educational sciences worked within projects, which did not focus on the everyday of the schools, the classes, the pupils or the teachers—the everyday life that engaged the "methods lecturers" and the supervisors in the schools and the everyday life that the future teachers encountered in the practice field (Arfwedson 1996, my translation).

In trying to understand this problem, the authors of the celebratory text pointed to difficulties created by all the commissioned research the Department had to do, but it is also obvious that any ordinary research unit—over time—will produce both more theoretically oriented work and studies with immediate relevance for a specific practice field. To some extent, these variations can probably also be seen as expressions of the concerned researchers personal strategies to manage the lack of space for intra-disciplinary development of the educational sciences

-a lack of space created by the expected, close relation with the practice fields.

The issue of practice-oriented educational science research has been raised and answered differently over the years. Inspired by the American so called 'methods tradition', i.e. the practical know-how related to how a teacher organises his or her work in the classroom, a number of 'methods lecturers' were appointed at LHS. As a response to even more increasing demands for teacher know-how in the new teacher education, which was designed to support the implementation of the comprehensive school reform, a didactic centre (Didaktikcentrum) was established in 1988 with the aim of developing a knowledge field that was now referred to as didaktik (didactics). This can be understood as the first phase of the didactic development at LHS. In connection with the celebration of the 40th anniversary, the first professor of didactics with a special focus on subject didactics (didaktik med inriktning mot ämnesdidaktik), Staffan Selander, was appointed. This marked the beginning of the second phase of the development of didaktik. In the years to follow, a number of studies were carried out and several special series of didactical publications were initiated at the Institute. Over the years almost 30 doctoral students were associated with Didaktikcentrum and the new research milieu headed by Selander, 'Didaktik-design' and other didactically oriented



The main staircase at the new Department of Education building. (Photo: Mats Danielson)

research groups. The development of different, content-oriented subject didactics were later supported—in a third phase—and made the cornerstone of the new teacher education programme after the fusion with Stockholm University in 2008. The third phase meant a very important new step towards realising the basic idea of the content-oriented didactics and by this evolu-

tion a divide between subject didactics-belonging to disciplines like language, science, humanities and the social sciences-and more general, comparative didactics was made more and more manifest.

However, it should be noted that the main part of the educational sciences research of the institute belonged to the general discipline of pedagogik. A strong line of development headed by Ulf P. Lundgren had its base in the group for curriculum theory and cultural reproduction, which carried out a considerable number of studies concerning what goes on within classrooms, in terms of communication, roles and power, and how on-going activities are framed by a host of restricting factors. Other important contributions came from the research and developmental work concerning assessment of the achievements in the new comprehensive school, mentioned above and from research groups of adult education and sports education. Before the establishment of the three new disciplines of didactics, special education and child and youth studies, all PhDs within these fields also graduated at Stockholm University in pedagogik, the discipline of education.

# Educational sciences at the Stockholm University department

The division of responsibilities between the Institute of Education (LHS), and the Stockholm University Department of Education, created a space for the social psychological research tradition initiated by Trankell. In retrospect, we can see that the University tradition of educational science was, in one sense, quite peripheral to mainstream educational research at the time. However, the space for innovative research, to some extent, also filled a long-lasting gap in mainstream educational research. It focused on

learning and socialisation outside of the formal school system—an area that in fact covers many of the most influential processes of personal and social development.

During the time before and the first years after the establishment of the Faculty of Social Sciences in 1964, research at the university department included a wide range of studies. The research dealt both with traditional educational phenomena (like left-handedness and manual writing; silent reading) and the new scope of educational psychology focusing on current societal problems (like family planning in developing countries; schooling and societal inclusion of the Roma minority; the expanding preschool sector; education for pregnant mothers; breast cancer patients' experiences; rehabilitation of blind people; immigration and identity construction; experiences and effects of psychotherapy, etc.). The concept of social in this social psychologically-oriented research setting had two different meanings. First, it referred to current societal problems engaging the researchers and large groups of people in Swedish society at the time. Secondly, social referred to a theoretical perspective applied to traditionally psychological and educational phenomena, like children's cognitive development, psychotherapy, children's use of media, experiences of disease and disability and how to understand life-long learning. The social perspective often meant revisiting existing theories

and findings, pointing to the importance of social interaction and of cultural factors influencing learning and developmental processes in ways seldom described in mainstream educational research. A popular undergraduate programme, which captured both these aspects, was the programme 'Social Pedagogy and Educational Technology' in the 1970s.

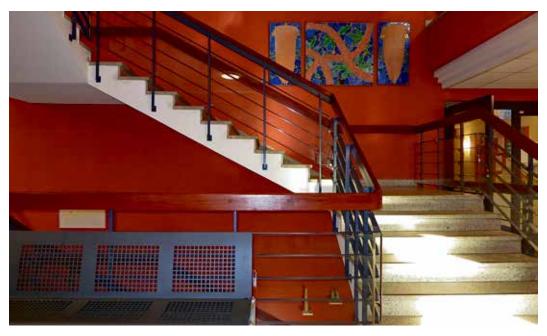
In order to understand the particular perspective of educational sciences at the Stockholm University department, the old link between education and psychology must be highlighted. As an expression of this link, Trankell's chair had the disciplinary description "Education and educational psychology". In Trankell's own words, we can identify the social psychological perspective and the sensitivity to current societal problems:

Educational psychology studies how human beings of all ages are influenced and influence each other in all kinds of environments. One could say that we in this way have a practice-oriented form of psychological research at the various departments of education as a complement to the theoretically oriented research at the departments of psychology. The most obvious difference between the educational psychology. [...] The psychology done within the graduation discipline of psychology lies in the way problems are chosen. The educational psychologists are pragmatic in this sense, as their problems are almost always to be found within what is considered important for society.

They can be important for the maintenance of a democratic type of society, as in the case of how an effective socialisation of critical thinking is achieved, how criminal policy concerning the issue of effective treatment of delinquents is developed, or for larger or smaller groups of citizens, how to address the issue concerning different kinds of disturbances in adaptation and performance at school or at a work place, etc. (Trankell 1961:105—106, my translation).

This pragmatic, societal approach also had important implications for the methodological, developmental work carried out at the Department during the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s Trankell continues his description of the applied psychological research, referring to a number of doctoral theses published by the Stockholm University department:

A characteristic of the problems (of these theses) is that they usually cannot be solved by using any of the standard methods of the kind which are used within psychophysics. The result cannot be expressed in exponential equations or other mathematical models (however, there are exceptions). As a consequence, they (the theses) are annoyingly complicated and do not just demand confidence and careful planning from the researcher, but also a considerable amount of fantasy and sense of the human dimension of the problem in order for the studies



Frescativägen 54 has several interesting pieces of art – here a triptych by Kerstin Hörnlund: 'The memory of Minos'. (Photo: Mats Danielson)

to provide meaningful results (Trankell 1961:107, my translation).

Trankell and his colleagues at the Stockholm University department played a role in the broad methodological development of the social sciences during the second half of the century, today often just summarised by 'the development of qualitative methods'. Charles Westin's thesis (1973) studying Swedish immigration, and Per-Johan Ödman's textbook on hermeneutics

in theory and practice (1979), are examples of methodological work from the Department. At the time, there were of course many other important contributions to this methodological development at the Faculty. One of the most well-known is Soulside, Ulf Hannerz' thesis in social anthropology (1969).

In 2003, when the Department of Education celebrated its 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary, its special research profile was still quite visible. One of the new professors of education at that time,

Agnieszka Bron, who has an extensive experience of education in Poland and several other countries, discussed how different the Stockholm University department was in relation to other mainstream educational departments in Europe. She stressed the uniqueness of the Department, for example its perspective on education that allowed for a much broader scope than the usual school-oriented views characterising other departments. She also pointed to the engagement of the researchers, wanting to make a difference in society and not just in the research community, which was an engagement that she herself supported. Furthermore, she commented on the research climate of the Department, characterised by a methodological openness. Birgitta Qvarsell, who had the old chair of the Department at the time, and who got the same question, found the Department more mainstream. Both view-points are perfectly understandable. The fact that the social psychological perspective was so well integrated into the work of most of the researchers made it invisible. In addition, this taken-for-granted perspective was applied to many traditional educational phenomena. Qvarsell herself has done a lot of research in schools. From an insider's viewpoint, the research profile appeared as mainstream in many ways while its special characteristics probably were easier to discover for a newcomer.

For the 50th anniversary, the current research at the Stockholm University Department of Education was presented in a special publication describing nine thematic fields, all illustrating the close connection to current societal problems: Work and Learning Environment, Children, Youth and Culture, Participation and Marginalisation, Gender, International Migration and Ethnicity, Communication and Construction of Knowledge, Education and Media and finally School. Over the years, the department has produced more than 200 doctoral theses in pedagogik. A typical characteristic of the undergraduate programmes offered at this time was that the research groups were responsible for planning and offering courses based on on-going research. Thus, the link between research and undergraduate programmes was very strong.

## A third department of education in Stockholm

As already mentioned, the Faculty of Social Sciences in Stockholm, in 1971 took the decision to establish what in English became the Institute of International and Comparative Education (IIE). An important background was the growing interest for international comparisons of school achievements at the time (forerunners of today's PISA and Timms evaluations). The work of Torsten Husén and his colleagues on construction of assessments and

tests contributed to this work. When The International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievements (IAE) was moved to Stockholm, the question of creating a new academic unit at Stockholm University was raised. However, international and comparative education also is a field of its own within the educational sciences and the scope of the new department was gradually broadened over the years to come. Up to the late 1980s, IIE was the only department of international and comparative education in Northern Europe.

In the beginning, the IIE was mainly a research unit with a doctoral programme. Over the years, IIE has produced approximately 70 doctoral theses. Today, the international Master's programme is noteworthy with more than 90 % foreign students. IIE always heavily depended on external funding. The budget of 1983 included, for instance, only 600,000 SEK in internal funding, compared to 2.2 million SEK in external funding from the UNESCO, The World Bank, UNDP, The European Union, The Swedish Agency for Education, The Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency, The Swedish Institute, etc.

The initially dominating interest in school achievements was later gradually replaced by an interest in international education planning, especially in developing countries. The book, 'Education and National Development' (Fägerlind & Saha 1983), described an on-going

departmental project, exploring educational planning in several African, Asian and European developing countries. The shift from the comparative focus to the focus on international education also meant a shift from big quantitative top-down comparisons designed by academics to more multi-methodological, bottom-up studies exploring the meaning of education for people in a specific country and culture.

It is obvious that the development of the international and comparative field at Stockholm University was an important fortification of the educational sciences in Stockholm. However, the fact that this research was organised within a separate unit also contributed to some extent, to the gradual fragmentation of the educational science field that took place during the last decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

## Fragmentation in the name of school centred research

The critique against educational research for having abandoned the basic field of schooling was by no means a local discussion at the Institute of Education (LHS). On the contrary, this discussion has been heard all over Sweden during the 1990s and the first years of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. In a report from The Swedish Agency for Higher Education, assessing the quality of education (HSV Rapport 2009:22 R), one of the authors of the final report, Sven G. Hartman, stated that there has been a repeated cri-

tique against the research within the field of education for its lack of relevance for schooling.

School-oriented researchers at LHS responded to the critique by arguing for the renaissance of 'didactics' and 'subject didactics', while school-oriented scholars at other units for teacher education argued for developing the fields 'pedagogical work' or 'learning'. The typical history of these new fields was that they were launched as new disciplines recruiting doctoral students for a new, more practice-oriented research career. The problem with this debate is, of course, not the critique itself. There was obviously a lack of research closely related to teacher education and schooling, not only in the University, but at the departments of education linked to teacher education as well. The challenge was in the great diversity of the solutions initiated by the problem. Already Pedagogikutredningen (the official government report concerning education) from 1970, pointed to the importance of keeping the discipline of education together as a united academic discipline.

In the first years of the new millennium, I attended the annual meetings for professors of education in Sweden. I remember that I started wondering whether the old discipline of *pedagogik* would disappear altogether, so strong was the enthusiasm for the new disciplines. However, several voices were also raised, indi-

cating the obvious risks of this fragmentation. In an article from 2004, Thomas Englund argued against the disciplinary fragmentation, pointing to the fact that it is to some extent driven by the researcher's quest for individual recognition and ambition to build his—for it had seemed to have been only male projects—own educational territory. In their 'Manifesto for Education', Gert Biesta and Carl-Anders Säfström also lamented the fragmentation of the educational science field:

This expansion of 'educational' research in universities, mainly through teacher education, in effect diffuses the field even more. Education has been severely marginalized as an intellectual tradition in its own right, and new inventions are constantly made in order to meet the demands of a confused field and determined policymakers alike. The inventions are called, for example, subject didactics, educational work, educational sociology, special education and educational psychology, and are established as their own disciplines but often with the same content, only named differently at different universities, and all of them supposedly distinctively different from education (pedagogik), confusing students and staff on all levels (Biesta & Säfström 2011:545).

However important the reasons might be for creating a new, school-centred research, fragmentation risks to jeopardize the whole field of educational sciences. A strong academic discipline is not just built on a close relation to a field of practice. Three arguments against fragmentation seem especially important.

- (i) A big enough mass of critical colleagues is of utmost importance to a discipline. The cumulative growth of knowledge within a narrow field can never be subjected to the necessary critique and quality control. Representatives of other disciplines cannot fulfil this task. As a consequence, a small number of researchers in a field–however important this field might becannot maintain a scientific growth of good quality.
- (ii) The innovation and creativity of good research also demand that the research field itself comprises a certain diversity. Scholarly progress is seldom the result of continuous work along the same lines, however innovative this line of development was in the beginning. Opposition and critique are necessary components of all scientific growth and this, in turn, demands space for persons with different backgrounds and ways of thinking. A homogenous milieu runs the risk of running out of new ideas.
- (iii) third argument against fragmentation concerns stability and survival over time. It is impossible to guarantee quality in the appointment of new representatives of a research field if the total number of members of the field is limited. Dependence on one or a few leading

figures for all work concerning quality control means a risk that personal interests are given priority over quality.

### Consolidation

There are many good arguments against fragmentation—and some of them have been put forward in the discussions over the years. In fact, the question was discussed regularly from the 1960s to the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, when the fusion of the three educational science departments discussed took place. As mentioned above, the so called *Pedagogikutred*-



Wooden sculpture by Britt Ignell. (Photo: Mats Danielson)

ningen (the official government report concerning education 1970), carried out by representatives from both the existing university departments of education and the departments closely linked to teacher education, discussed the issue in detail but concluded that there was a continued need for both kinds of organisations. The report, first of all, proposed increased funding. However, it was also stated that increased collaboration was needed. A special terminology was introduced: collaboration within the group of educational departments-an idea that was concretely proposed by Torsten Husén at Stockholm University and realised in connection with the establishment of the third department of education in 1971.

Around 1990, the question of integrating teacher education with the Stockholm University Departments of Education was again raised, but the final decision this time, too, was to keep the three separate units. A collegium of the group of departments still existed and contributed to some joint courses and regular discussions between the departments, first of all concerning research education. The resistance against a fusion was strong from all parties, apart from some professors at the Institute of Education (LHS). I can still remember the fears expressed by many of my colleagues that the existing profiles and special interests of the separate units would be lost if the three departments were to become one.

The decisions to finally integrate the educational sciences in Stockholm came first when external conditions changed radically. The first step, involving the integration of the Department of International and Comparative Education with the old Stockholm University Department of Education, was almost forced on both parties. Due to gradually reduced external funding, the Faculty Board saw integration as the only alternative to a permanent closing of the unit for international and comparative education. As head of the Department of Education at that time, I found it easy to accept the proposition of integration, as this was the only way of saving our sister department.

A few years later, in late 2007, The Institute of Education (LHS), was closed by a governmental decision. Its assignments were transferred to Stockholm University. All faculty within the field of pedagogik moved to the existing university department from the beginning of 2008. After an initial period of searching for an adequate organisation of the university integrated teacher education, the University Board decided also to include the field of didaktik into the Department of Education and its Swedish name was changed to Institutionen för pedagogik och didaktik from 2011. A year later, the new Department of Education was definitely established, when yrkesdidaktik (vocational didactics) and vårdpedagogik (care and nursing education) also were included.

Even if these reorganisations were initiated by external factors, it is most likely that the effect will also be a consolidation of the educational sciences as a unified research field. A true and productive integration of all the three educational science orientations, of course, demands hard work, probably over several years. Another condition for successful integration is most probably that there will be enough space for each of the old orientations to maintain their strengths and continue to develop in interaction with similar orientations in the international research community. I am fully aware of the fact that many of my colleagues have found the integration work hard and exhausting. Nevertheless, there are signs of growing integration and consolidation. The departmental decision to announce this year's new doctoral positions jointly for all three disciplines (pedagogics, didactics and international and comparative education), with opportunities for specialisations later according to the applicants' personal profile and strengths seems to be such a sign. However, and most importantly, the eight research milieus at the new department now constitute a rather complete educational science arena, including most of the international educational science fields. For historical reasons—and perhaps also for reasons of personal belonging and professional identity-the eight milieus are still organised within the frames of the old graduation disciplines,

but future, creative collaboration will most probably call for new orders.

Pedagogik today includes four milieus: cultural studies; higher education and philosophy; adult learning, organization, pedagogics and leadership and education and health. The milieu of cultural studies is a lot broader than the current terminology indicates and includes classical fields as history and sociology of education. Higher education includes philosophy of education. The milieus of adult learning, organization, pedagogics and leadership focus on learning in working life, organisation as well as leadership issues. The milieu of education and health addresses issues of personal and social meaning-making associated with health and illness, normality and deviance. Didaktik includes three milieus: research within didactic design deals with studies of textbooks and educational media, communication in classrooms and on the Internet, trans-professional communication, the role of narratives in learning and relations between academic, professional training and professional work. In focus for the research group 'Cultures of Knowing and Teaching Practices' are issues related to knowing, learning, teaching, and assessment in various institutional contexts from comprehensive school to higher education. And finally, the research group VET/YL focuses on issues within vocational education and training. The large field of internationell och jämförande pedagogik includes multiple theoretical and methodological perspectives on education all over the world with a special focus on developing countries. Together, all these groups and milieus certainly constitute a strong research environment with access to expertise in almost all of the existing educational science fields. Thus, opportunities for exchange and collaboration are ideal.

In a more everyday perspective, I can see that interactions and dialogues between members of the departments take place in the open spaces of the coffee room, the nearby lunch restaurant at the Museum of Natural History and in all the possible and impossible spaces where we find opportunities to meet and discuss what is important to us for the moment. Certainly most of the positive consequences of the consolidation are still to come. I have to admit that there are also a few worrying signs of new kinds of fragmentation—as in the case of the break-away concerning one of the traditional educational science fields, child and youth research, which is today being more and more associated with the new Department of Child and Youth Studies. Some might also add that fields like language education and science education, which today are integrated parts of their specific subject studies within the faculties of Humanities and Science, also are signs of fragmentation. However, I would object to such an understanding arguing that the organisation of today is more adequate

and that these fields really are parts of the studies of languages and science. In conclusion, my basic impression is that conditions for a strong educational science development at our Department have never been better than now. I even see opportunities for some of the traditional problems of school-centred research to find solutions, drawing on the strong heritage of problem-oriented research at the old university Department of Education.



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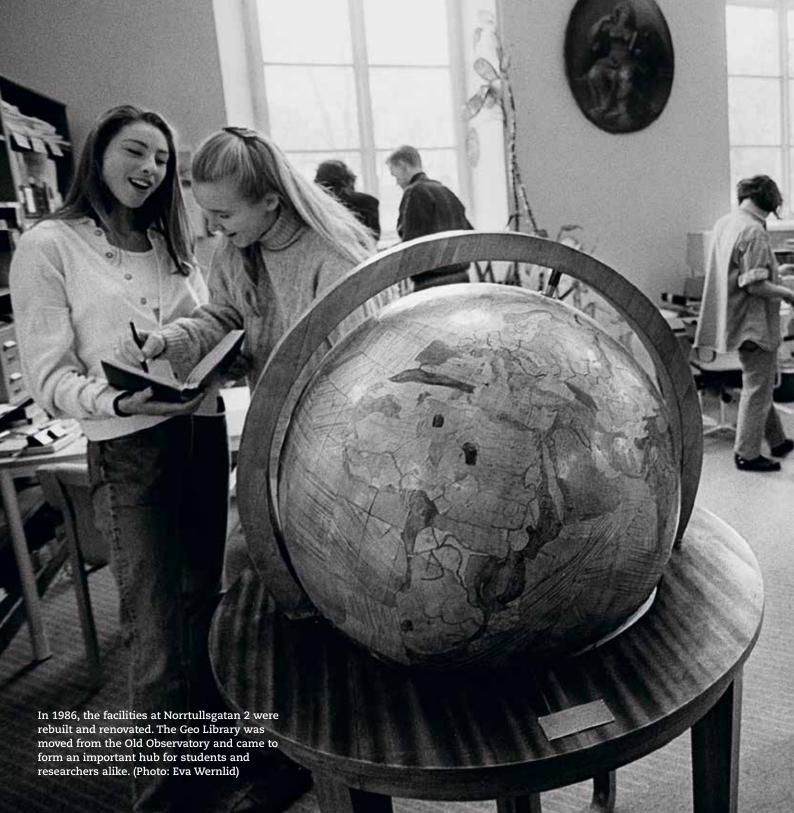
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# Department of Human Geography

Mats Widgren

AMONG THE DIFFERENT factors that influence the character, the culture and the achievements of a university department, the intellectual and practical leadership is of course instrumental. During the first thirty years of the Department of Human Geography, it was a one-professor department. The professor most often also served as head of department. As geographers, we also believe that space and location matter. In the documentation from the early years, the obstacle that distance created is a current theme (Hannerberg 1965, Lundén 1970, Helmfrid & Sporrong n.d.). Economic geography has shown that easy access to faceto-face contacts enables creative development and is a force behind clustering and creative cities. For the Department of Human Geography, its locations over the last 50 years have offered qualitatively different possibilities for face-to-face contact within the Department, with colleagues in physical geography and with other departments in social science and the university as a whole. During the first years (1956–1971), the Department was internally dispersed at several addresses. It shared one area of the city, Vasastan, with many other departments of social science (see map in Helmfrid 2001). Later on, we became internally concentrated but were left behind in the inner city (1971-1997). Most other disciplines moved to the Frescati campus. Our departmental premises were subject to a profound rebuilding and reorganisation in 1986–1987, coinciding in time with the appointment of a new professor. In the summer of 1997 we finally moved to Frescati and were co-localised with the geosciences and in convenient proximity to most other social sciences.

In the beginning of the spring term 1971, I lined up with other students in the stairways at Kungstensgatan 45 and registered as an undergraduate in human geography after having studied statistics, political science and economics. This semester was my only direct contact



Kungstensgatan 45, now used by Folkuniversitetet. (Photo: Mats Danielson)

with the first of the four phases I will describe below. In 1973, I was employed as an assistant and started my doctoral studies. From my doctoral defence in 1983 and onward, I have been employed in different positions at the Department. Thus, the position of this text's author moves from the curious investigator of what was prior to my own memories (pre-1971) to the perspective of the 1970s' post-graduate stu-

dent, the active member of a successful research group on historical landscapes in the 1980s and 1990s, and the professor (1999–) and head of department (2001–2007, 2013–2014). The following is based on my own memories, notes and reflections, a browsing through 50 years of university catalogues, some printed material on the history of the Department and a few archival documents. The history of the Department

until 1997, written by Helmfrid and Sporrong, also serves as a base for my account (Helmfrid & Sporrong n.d.). For the broader context of Swedish geography in the 20th century, the works by Helmfrid (1999) and Buttimer and Mels (2006) form a background. Staffan Helmfrid and Ulf Sporrong have read this manuscript at a preliminary stage and added important information and perspectives. A list of 78 dissertations published on the web provides an insight into the themes researched during this period. Much of the ongoing intellectual activity has not yet made a clear imprint in the form of an identifiable group of dissertations from a specific research group or school in this list.1 There is usually a long delay between the establishment of a research group and the finalisation of an identifiable group of dissertations.

### Positioning geography as social science

Kulturgeografi was part of Samhällsveten-skapliga fakulteten (the Faculty of Social Sciences) at Stockholm University from the birth of the Faculty. In 1956 David Hannerberg, then professor in Lund, had been summoned to Stockholm to take up a new position as professor of 'Geografi, särskilt kulturgeografi med ekonomisk geografi' and became a member of the Faculty of Humanities. This split of

the chairs in geography into physical and human geography had already started in the late 1940s at other Swedish universities. At the time of the split in Stockholm, the professor of geography in Stockholm, Gunnar Hoppe, chose to specialise in physical geography. The Institute of Geography (*Geografiska Institutet*) from then on had one professor in the Faculty of Mathematics and Science (Hoppe) and one in the Faculty of Humanities (Hannerberg). The two professors shared the directorship of the Institute. The formal split into two separate departments seems to have been made in 1965, one year after the establishment of the Faculty.

The reason I use Swedish above is because the term 'kulturgeografi' has been somewhat controversial in different periods of the intellectual development of human geography in Sweden. It is also not intuitively well understood but often mixed up with cultural history, cultural anthropology and, not least, with the English term cultural geography, which is the subfield of human geography that deals explicitly with culture (see Cosgrove 2000). Going through some documents and articles from the 1950s and 1960s, I have also realised that the term was seen as problematic already in the 1960s. In a debate with Hannerberg, William William-Olsson wrote that the term was unfortunate, and could give rise to any kind of interpretation. William-Olsson claimed that when the professorships in Sweden were divided into

<sup>1</sup> http://www.humangeo.su.se/publikationer/avhandlingar/avhandlingar-för-doktorsexamen.

physical and human geography in the 1940s, most of those that had qualifications in human geography were specialised in the historical geography of the 16th century and hence specialised in what was then called kulturgeografi (William-Olsson 1962:152). In 1968, Sven Dahl (as always meticulous with terms) in his assessment of candidates for the successors of Hannerberg also considered the term unclear and discussed why the then current terms Antropogeographie (German) and human geography (English) were not more directly translated to Swedish (Dahl 1968, see also Dahl 1972).<sup>2</sup> But as Dahl also points out, the newer and wider sense of kulturgeografi has since then become synonymous with human geography. The issue concerning the naming of our discipline has come back now and then. Many human geographers today find the term 'samhällsgeografi' (lit. societal geography) more appropriate, as it clearly conveys the idea of geography as social science. Nevertheless, as will be shown below,

that term has also shifted meanings in the history of Swedish human geography.

A reason why I also use Swedish for the name of the Faculty - Samhällsvetenskapliga fakulteten – is that I want to point out the difference between 'vetenskap' and 'science'. The difference between the German/Swedish Wissenschaft/vetenskap and the English science has namely played a central role in the debates within geography. "Wissenschaft for a German is any organized body of knowledge, not only what we call a science" wrote Fred K. Schaefer in 1953. Is geography a science? Yes, said Schaefer, geography should be a law-seeking science, where the speciality of the geographers were "the laws concerning spatial arrangements" (Schaefer 1953:228). His article was an early clarion call for positivism in geography and for the spatial paradigm that would then come to rule in geography for two decades or more, especially in Sweden and in the English-speaking countries. Schaefer's article was formulated as a direct critique against previous conceptions of geography as mainly a descriptive discipline, where the ultimate goal was a synthesis in the form of a regional monograph. In present Euro-English, the distinction between 'Wissenschaft' and 'science' is becoming more and more blurred. At our university, the confusion is manifested in the fact that we (in English) have a Faculty of Science (naturvetenskap) and another one in Social Sciences (samhällsvetenskap).

<sup>2 &</sup>quot;Formuleringen 'kulturgeografi med ekonomisk geografi' synes icke ha varit helt lyckad. Den klassiska tyska termen var 'Antropogeographie'; på engelska har man ofta sagt 'human geography'. Troligen av språkliga skäl har man i Sverige icke velat använda uttryck som antropogeografi eller människogeografi, än mindre human eller humanistisk geografi. Begreppet kulturgeografi vore å andra sidan utomordentligt svårt att definiera, om därmed skulle mena något annat än vad tyskarna avsett med uttrycket antropogeografi. Flertalet geografer torde numera uppfatta termen kulturgeografi som liktydig med antropogeografi. Formuleringen 'med ekonomisk geografi' gör emellertid att man måste bli tveksam om vad som egentligen i Sverige skall avses med termen kulturgeografi". (Sven Dahl, sakkunnigutlåtande 26 sept. 1968, Stockholms universitets arkiv)



The artist Calle Drakenmark (1931-2009) studied geography under David Hannerberg. This painting was made for the latter's 60<sup>th</sup> birthday in 1960. It shows a typical field scene, where Hannerberg (in goggles and beret) delivers his interpretation of a cadastral map. Some of the students have been busy measuring fossil agricultural fields – the reason for the rod to the left and the field map to the right. (Photo: Mats Widgren)

Hannerberg was only active as a professor in Stockholm for twelve years. During these years he influenced the future development of the Department in a very profound way. He was a quantitative geographer with a deep knowledge of agrarian history, and had connections to ethnology, history, etc. At a time when hypothetico-deductive approaches and quantitative methods were coming more and more into focus in social science generally, and especially in geography, his background as an undergraduate in mathematics and physics was an obvious strength. He also wrote the first textbooks on quantitative geography in the Scandinavian languages (Hannerberg 1969, 1970). At the same time, his own research focussed on the historical geography of agrarian landscapes. Himself the son of a farmer, he brought a different perspective to agrarian and economic history, a perspective that challenged the then sometimes patronizing view of farming and peasants in history (Helmfrid 1982). He also succinctly developed arguments for geography as *socialvetenskap* and for the need to understand labour relations (Hannerberg 1944). Buttimer and Mels (2006) summarise (with reference to Helmfrid) the role of Hannerberg:

His quantitative inclination, unorthodox enthusiasm for novel methods, and his tendency towards spatial generalisations on a northern European scale, represented an explicit rapprochement between traditional landscape research and what would become the positivist turn in geography (Buttimer & Mels 2006:66–67).

It can be confidently stated that Hannerberg's unique combination of skills and interests had a decisive role for human geography at Stockholm University. When all other geographical departments in Sweden during the 1970s and 1980s focussed on the geography of contemporary Swedish society and on quantitative methods, the Stockholm geographers went against the grain. In a period of modernism

and the building of the welfare state, many of them focussed on basic research concerning past agrarian landscapes. Within that field, the Stockholm school of historical geography developed into a strong and internationally visible centre. This would hardly have been possible if Hannerberg was not at the same time respected as a modern geographer. As mentioned by Gerd Enequist in her assessment of Hannerberg for the post in Stockholm in 1956, he was the supervisor of both Sven Godlund and Torsten Hägerstrand. For Enequist this served to show that he was well acquainted with the latest developments in modern geography (Enequist n.d).

How did this, for his time, very modern geographer explain to his students what kulturgeografi was? I read his book Att studera kulturgeografi as an undergraduate in the early 1970s but do not remember much of it, perhaps just because it took such a pragmatic (and therefore not very interesting) position towards something that at this time was a much debated topic: What is (human) geography? In his book, Hannerberg defined kulturgeografi from the research projects that had been funded by the Swedish Council for Social Science Research, which he grouped under economic geography, social geography and geographical cultural landscape research. These three fields he considered to be separate branches (vetenskapsgrenar).

A common view, still alive in the 1950s, was that regional geography was at the core of geography and that the systematic branches of geography (e.g. social geography, historical geography, economic geography, biogeography, climatology, geomorphology, etc.) were there to serve that core. Hannerberg, somewhat surprisingly to me now, just lumped together the systematic geographies that had anything to do with humans under the heading of kulturgeografi. He denied that there was any core or that these systematic branches were integrated parts of a synthetic subject, geography. "It is a conception, which, according to my view, is unnecessary and leads to logical problems"<sup>3</sup> (Hannerberg 1968b:24). His critique against the idea of a synthetic subject of geography was a position that was fully in line with the spatial and quantitative school that was dominant in the 1970s.

On the other hand, his pragmatic view, that each of these sub-branches of human geography had their own *objects* of research, was in sharp contrast to the then ruling paradigm of geography as spatial science. This paradigm presumed that geography, unlike e.g. zoology, astronomy, etc., did not have its own objects. Following the ideas of Immanuel Kant, geography and history were disciplines not defined by their objects but by their organising principles:

chorological (spatial) and chronological approaches, respectively. What the emerging spatial paradigm claimed, which was in fact in line with Kant, was that it was the spatial structures, not the objects as such, that defined geography.

At about the time of his retirement, Hannerberg reflected in an essay on the relations between objects, data and models very much in line with emerging quantitative and spatial geography. However, he again left the question of geography's definition open: "A beautiful summer day, when waves are rolling in over shallow beaches, I feel comfortably far away from the rather sterile discussion about what human geography is"4 (Hannerberg 1968a:12). Hannerberg was evidently defending one of the textbook explanations of what geography is: Geography is what geographers do. This pragmatic view can be said to characterise much of the later developments at the Department. There have been contradictions and intellectual debates, but very few serious contests over what human geography is, neither have Stockholm human geographers been especially visible on the national and international arenas of discussion regarding the theoretical aspects of our discipline.

<sup>3 &</sup>quot;det är en uppfattning, som enligt min mening är onödig och som leder till logiska svårigheter"

<sup>4 &</sup>quot;En vacker sommardag när vågorna rullar in över långgrunda stränder känner jag mig behagligt fjärran från den ganska sterila diskussionen om vad kulturgeografien är." (Hannerberg 1968a:12)

William-Olsson, then professor of economic geography at the Stockholm School of Economics (SSE), wrote a critical review of the first (1961) edition of Hannerberg's book 'Att studera kulturgeografi'. He questioned Hannerberg's division of human geography into several sub-branches and instead defended the old view of geography (human + physical) as a synthesis. William-Olsson's review and Hannerberg's answer are a useful read to understand how geography was discussed at this time (William-Olsson 1962, Hannerberg 1962). As a young postgraduate in the 1970s, I often had to listen to William-Olsson's lamentations of where geography was heading. When he as an emeritus from SSE visited the Department, he could ask: "To where are you planning your next expedition? " Or he said "Somebody must study the relief of Africa. It is often erroneously conceived as just a large tableland". With his Stockholm studies, William-Olsson was the real pioneer of a true social scientific geography. It was always a conundrum to me why he spent so much of his later life and especially his emeritus years defending an old-fashioned view of what geography should be. His Stockholm studies were characterised by detailed research on the social inner differentiation of the city, and was focussed on causes and effects, explanation, and searching for the laws behind the inner differentiation (William-Olsson 1937). His doctoral thesis and his other studies

of Stockholm are often referred to when discussing Swedish early contributions to the development of international geography. The reader who wants a deeper understanding of this colourful and innovative geographer should read Helmfrid's analysis of William-Olsson's last uncompleted project on the geography of Europe (Helmfrid 2008).

## 1956–1971: Around the Old Observatory

The home of geography in Stockholm since the 1930s was the Old Observatory, and still so when the chair was divided between physical and human geography in the mid-1950s. As student numbers increased and research expanded, additional localities had to be sought elsewhere. In 1964, Hannerberg had his office in the Old Observatory. Societal geography (samhällsgeografi) was taught by Gunnar Törnqvist at Observatoriegatan 1. Population geography was taught by Nils Friberg at Observatoriegatan 2A. Teaching in general chorology took place at Observatoriegatan 11. Many of these addresses were in old residential apartments, in buildings earmarked for demolition.

In his reply to William-Olsson's book review in 1962, and in a special report about the Department in the journal Ymer in 1965, Hannerberg gives a vivid picture of teaching and research activities at the new department. The largest group was in *modern sambällsgeografi* 

(modern societal geography) with economic geography and samhällsplanering (urban and regional planning). In this field, docent Godlund was in charge until he took up a position in Gothenburg in 1962. In 1963, Törnqvist defended his doctoral thesis on industrial location. He was after that in charge of teaching samhällsgeografi, until appointed professor in Lund in 1967 (where he is still active as emeritus). Other researchers that later came to play a role in the history of the Department mentioned by Hannerberg under samhällsgeografi were Bruno Johnsson (docent 1965), Torvald Gerger (docent 1970) and Gunilla Beckman (later Gunilla Andrae, PhD 1981, docent 1998).

The other main field he described was allmän och historisk kulturgeografi (general and historical human geography). The division between this field and that of modern samhällsgeografi seems somewhat arbitrary since Claes-Fredrik Claesson's spatial studies of cinema audiences are mentioned under allmän och historisk kulturgeografi. Hannerberg also admits that the boundaries are blurred ("mycket oskarpa"). It is interesting to note that Hannerberg already then emphasised that "in fact everything within kulturgeografi can be counted as samhällsgeografi". Seen in retrospect, the historical geography of agrarian landscapes was the field under this heading that came to influence future research at the Department in the most profound way.

A third field, that clearly interacted with the two mentioned above, was the research and development of quantitative spatial methods (metodutveckling och korologisk teori). None of the researchers mentioned under this heading came to play a role in the further development of research at the Department, but the legacy of this group survives in Hannerberg's own textbooks (Hannerberg 1969, 1970). More importantly, they do so in the development of computer cartography and geographic information systems, which since the visit of Duane Marble in Stockholm in 1969-70 has remained a core speciality of the Stockholm department. As emphasised by Helmfrid and Sporrong (n.d.), Hannerberg was heavily engaged in raising the funds to acquire the most recent technical equipment for enlarging and reducing maps, measuring areas on maps and making advanced statistical calculations. At the time of his report from the Department in 1965, this concerned machinery that often combined mechanical and optical parts with transistorised electromechanical calculators (for illustrations see photos in Hannerberg 1965). The Olivetti Programma 101 that I remember well from the early 1970s seems to have been a hybrid between an electromechanical calculator and a desktop computer.

An interesting question relating to this period is why historical geography came to dominate the research. I have mentioned Han-

nerberg's personal qualities as one explanation, but the question can also be asked from the other perspective. Why did Hannerberg's interest in quantitative methods, and the presence at Stockholm University of influential figures in quantitative and modern human geography such as Godlund and Törnqvist, not lead to the development of a spatial school of research focussing on contemporary planning? It is clear that this was a concern for Hannerberg. He was personally involved in planning issues and also worked towards the establishment of a separate chair for Modern samhällsgeografi at the Department (Hannerberg 1962:157). The anecdotic explanation for why modern societal geography never took off and recruited many successful doctoral students, which can be heard from older colleagues, is that a large number of participants in Godlund's and Törnqvist's seminars were soon recruited to the then growing government planning administration in the capital and at county boards, where regional planning was growing fast (see also Lundén 1970:35).

The flip side of the coin was that the research on the history of agrarian landscapes was of high quality and innovative for its time. Staffan Helmfrid had already started his studies in Östergötland, when Hannerberg was recruited. In 1962, Helmfrid published a thesis that introduced the morphogenetic approach on Swedish landscapes. It was highly influenced by the

dynamic development of this field in post-war Germany. With its problem formulation, it marked a sharp contrast to the regional monographs that had dominated historical geography until then. Hannerberg had also launched a programme for using field evidence to reach further back in time in the search for the origin of field patterns (Hannerberg 1963). It was in this context that Sven-Olof Lindquist was researching the remnants of Iron Age field boundaries and stone walls in Östergötland in cooperation with archaeologists from Stockholm University, which became the basis for his dissertation in 1968. The geographical approach to ancient fields, using a morphological approach inspired by geomorphology and with meticulous surveys in the field, was combined with the new possibilities for archaeological dating that the radiocarbon method offered. This led to a rapid development of new results and new questions on the prehistoric and early medieval agrarian landscapes. It laid the foundation for a close interdisciplinary cooperation with medieval history and archaeology in the years to come.

Towards the end of this period, the chair after Hannerberg was advertised, this time as 'Human Geography with Economic Geography' (*Kulturgeografi med ekonomisk geografi*). After a drawn-out process, Helmfrid was appointed in 1969. He has himself described the turbulent situation in the late 1960s and early 1970s,



The Old Observatory on the hill Observatoriekullen. (Photo: Mats Danielson)

when he took charge of the Department's leadership. More liberal university entrance requirements and a removal of the restrictions concerning the number of students admitted had caused an increase in student numbers from about eighty in the mid-1960s to over eight hundred four years later (Helmfrid & Sporrong n.d.). Many students did like I did in 1971, lining up on the street outside a popular department to register for courses a few days before they started. Regardless of all other planning problems, the question of premises for teaching and an increasing demand for

extra lecturers to take care of all the students became acute problems.

Already in 1965, a move to Frescati was discussed by Hannerberg but the plans were never realised. In the presentation of Human Geography in 1970, Thomas Lundén mentions that the activities of the Department still took place at four different addresses. One of them was even more distant from the central office than before, at Tulegatan, where the desktop computer and an optical pantograph were located. "The staff is forced to use a large part of their time to carry papers. Exchange of information is made more difficult and has to be formalised. Students are forced to make time-consuming searches for their supervisors" writes Lundén (1970, my translation).

#### 1971–1987 Norrtullsgatan 2 – period 1

When most other social science departments moved to the new campus, there were still no concrete plans for the geography departments to be relocated. Instead, a new provisory solution was made possible, when the Faculty of Law moved to Frescati in the summer of 1971. For 26 years, the neo-classical 'temple' at Norrtullsgatan 2, originally built in 1925–27 to house the faculties of Humanities and Law, became the home of human geography (Program 1927, Strömdahl & Wåhlin 2001). This was a huge building with enormous halls and stairways, built to house



Norrtullsgatan 2, presently referred to as *Studentpalatset* (the Student Palace) and offering study places in the city centre for students. (Photo: Mats Danielson)

eight professors, administrative staff, libraries and several large lecture theatres. Internal communication within the Department became easier. Having to climb three flights of stairs or to wait for the slow two-person elevator, combined with competition between different research groups, however led to hat coffee was brewed on three different floors. Interaction with other social sciences at the new Frescati campus was severed by physical distance. For those of us who spent our first years as university employees at Norrtullsgatan, the distance to Frescati made us talk about the University (at Frescati) as something external to us.

Student numbers continued to increase. This also affected the PhD programme. A large number of postgraduates were admitted to the new type of PhD programme introduced in the early 1970s. My list of fellow students active during my first year as a PhD candidate (1973) contains 39 students admitted according to the new rules. Of these, only twelve graduated.

Internationally, the late 1960s and early 1970s was a period when the positivist paradigm came to influence geography heavily. The textbook answer taught to us advanced undergraduates was that the "distinctively geographical question is 'why are spatial distributions structured the way they are?'" (Abler et al. 1972:56, Lundén 1970). Hempel's book 'Vetenskapsteori' was recommended reading

on postgraduate courses. Nobody asked why the English title was 'Philosophy of Natural Science' and what the implications were for us human geographers studying humans in the past. Some of the answers to that question were to be found in David Harvey's inspiring and reflexive book 'Explanation in Geography' (1969). Only a few years later, critique against positivism started to flow in geography. Gunnar Olsson returned to Sweden from the US. In early 1978 he gave lectures at the Stockholm School of Economics, which many of the human geography postgraduates from the University attended. In 1974, Olsson had attacked the basic premises of geography as science and especially the spatial paradigm (Olsson 1974). According to him, the impossibility of drawing inference from form to process was like a hit under the waterline of the whole ship of geography. Harvey developed his Marxist approaches to urban geography and showed, on the other hand, how space mattered for social justice. Perhaps more interesting for those of us who were studying farming, landscapes and resources, Harvey sharply stated that 'resources' is not a scientific but an ideological concept (Harvey 1974). The theoretical approaches to human geography changed rapidly at this time. For those who eagerly searched for the core of the discipline, the whole foundation of the spatial paradigm was shaking. Perhaps typical for Stockholm, this did not shake the fundamentals of what we were doing.

During much of this period Helmfrid, the new professor, was increasingly drawn into services for the University at the faculty level. Between 1978 and 1988 he served as vice-chancellor of the University. As expressed by himself, the "scientific and administrative leadership of the Department was taken up by Torvald Gerger and Ulf Sporrong, thus reflecting the natural division of the Department into two fields, the socio-scientific and the humanist" (Helmfrid & Sporrong n.d.).

These two docents intermittently held posts as head of department and at the same time developed their own research groups. This interregnum was in many ways productive for the development of new research, but was not without tensions.

Within the group of historical geographers, docent Sven-Olof Lindquist continued his research on both historical and recent changes in agrarian landscapes and continued the exploration of ancient fields, especially on Gotland and in Västergötland. In 1977, he was appointed to one of the new posts as county antiquarian on Gotland. From then on, Sporrong took academic leadership of the research on historical landscapes. One of the strengths that Helmfrid had brought to landscape research was his international network and his international overview, something pointed out already by

Hägerstrand in his assessment of Helmfrid for the professorship in 1968. Helmfrid's inspiring lectures on the broader picture of the history of the European agrarian landscape since the medieval period made it possible for us to put our field work in different parts of Sweden into an international context. This was unique both in a Swedish and the rest of Scandinavia for this time, and was further developed during this period. A field symposium in Sweden with a group of UK historical geographers in September 1978 became instrumental in this respect for many of us. The international orientation and the connection to current debates in social science turned out to be an important strength, especially in relation to the emerging hunger in archaeology and history for models from social science and for international approaches. During this period, Hannerberg worked as an emeritus to finalise his grand synthesis on the connection between regularities in the physical layout of medieval fields and settlements, on the measurements used, and their relation to the administrative levels of early societies (Hannerberg 1976, 1977). Hannerberg's research programme was special and is difficult to assess even today. The results, which came out of his ambitious programme to include the field evidence in the form of fossil field patterns, did not really fit into his model, but, as shown by dissertations in the 1970s and 1980s, opened up new lines of enquiry. In

1985, Sporrong synthesised his work in the Mälardalen area in a regional overview that, in a way, combined the strength of the old regional monograph - understanding the broader geographical context - with the detailed analyses of changes in field patterns and settlements as reflecting wider societal change from the late Iron Age to the 17th century (Sporrong 1985). The results from this active group of researchers were recognised nationally by historians and archaeologists and among the international community of historical geographers. One UK observer compared the achievements of this research programme with "the success of the recent Japanese industrial effort" (Whittington 1987:74).

At the same time, Gerger developed a research programme that drew on the excellent Swedish population sources on the 18th and 19th centuries, in combination with historical maps. The combination of these two types of sources, and others, made possible an early historical GIS database for a parish in Sweden. Gerger developed, together with Stefan Fogelvik, Göran Hoppe and Roger Miller, a number of investigations into the local social and spatial processes of change in the Swedish countryside. A series of doctoral dissertations and other monographs were published from this group between 1979 and 1992. The group had a clearly international orientation and were inspired by recent European social and economic history. A major monograph by Göran Hoppe and John Langton on the development of capitalism in the countryside of Östergötland during the 19th century combined the general questions of a social historical geography with the rich Swedish sources from that period (Hoppe & Langton 1994). As a result, a second partly overlapping research group reinforced the dominance of historical geography at the Stockholm department. However, the two groups emphasised different time periods (1700s and earlier vs. 19th. to early 20th century) and different objects of research (agrarian land-scape change vs. broader societal change on the countryside).

Parallel to this, there has always been research on contemporary societal issues. Six of the fifteen dissertations from this period concerned modern social geography, but during this period these research interests hardly formed schools. As pointed out by many observers, the lack of research on urban issues is indeed a notable feature. "The situation is paradoxical: the city, a geographical play box surrounds the Department" wrote Lundén (Jonsson & Lundén 1984). As mentioned above, William-Olsson's Stockholm studies from the 1930s provided early inspiration for urban geography internationally. In 1965, Hannerberg wrote about the emerging studies on the urban geography of Stockholm, and the university catalogue for 1967 even provided a telephone

number for "Stadsbygdsprojektet / storstadsprojektet". For unknown reasons this never developed much more than that. During the 1970s and 1980s urban geography was nevertheless one of the core themes in the undergraduate curriculum. Anyone who has followed lectures and excursions by Bertil Sannel, Kerstin Bodström and Lennart Tonell know about their capacity to connect local urban geography to wider research issues. In this period, however, the time for research for lecturers was minimal, so a research group never really developed. Their experience from urban development was nevertheless an important base for the undergraduate programme in 'Urban and Regional Planning' (Samhällsplanering) launched in 1977 in cooperation with other departments at the Faculties of Social Science and the Humanities (Bodström et al. 1978). In somewhat altered form, this programme remains today and draws a large group of students. A full review of academic staff and research interests for a representative year in this period can be found in Sporrong (ed. 1978).

#### 1987-1997 Norrtullsgatan 2 - period 2

In 1986, Helmfrid was given a personal chair after his service as vice-chancellor. Sporrong was appointed to the thus open professorship in 1987, which was once again named 'Geography, especially human geography'. He also became head of department. This coincided

with a major renovation and reorganisation of the house at Norrtullsgatan 2. The law library finally moved out and two of the large lecture theatres were converted into a library and map library, respectively. The Geo Library, which had until then been located in the Old Observatory, was moved in.

For research on historical landscapes, this was a period when the concept of cultural landscape had entered the general debate. Already in 1979, Staffan Helmfrid on behalf of the Royal Academy of Letters and Antiquities had organised a large conference in Folkets Hus called 'Människan, kulturlandskapet och framtiden'. Three regionally focussed interdisciplinary projects based at the universities of Lund, Stockholm and Umeå were the outcome of this effort. By the late 1980s they had started to deliver results. Parallel to this, the general appreciation of the long term role of humans in shaping the landscape had increased among decision makers and in state agencies for cultural heritage, as well as in environmental conservation. The achievements of this research group, until then mainly curiosity-driven, therefore entered into a period of applied research with many contacts in planning, cultural heritage and environmental conservation.

During this time, Sporrong made a huge contribution towards popularising the historical understanding of Swedish agricultural landscapes. He personally flew over large parts of



Entrance to Norrtullsgatan 2. (Photo: Mats Danielson)



Sweden in a helicopter in order to gather first-hand knowledge of the status of the historical aspects of settlements and field patterns (Sporrong 1995). Parallel to this, Helmfrid led the large project concerning a new National Atlas of Sweden, which also synthesised the knowledge of the landscape history of Sweden (Helmfrid 1994).

Methods of recording historical features in the landscape, based on cadastral maps and on field surveys, were standardised and introduced in special courses for rescue archaeologists and planners, and the Department became a centre for applied work with the cadastral maps. A method for producing map overlays to compare the 17th and 18th century agrarian landscape was introduced. The new map library became a laboratory at the interface between basic and applied research. At this time, map overlays and rectification of maps were still made with pens, photocopiers and ink-pens. The laboratory also became a breeding ground for advanced students aspiring towards doctoral degrees. Many of the doctors in this field that would graduate in the next period were engaged in this applied work.

Parallel to this, a new programme for historical landscape research was formulated by Sporrong and Widgren. It emphasised the use of landscape evidence in the deciphering of historical property rights and social structures (Sporrong & Widgren 1988).

With few exceptions, most research up until this period had been focussed on the human geography of Sweden. In the early 1970s, Prime Minister Olof Palme had initiated a commission for the internationalisation of Swedish universities, led by the former leader of the main academic trade union, Bertil Östergren. Staffan Helmfrid and the physical geographer Anders Rapp worked for the commission. They developed a new curriculum in university geography, where resources should be guaranteed for undergraduate field courses in developing countries (Rapp 1974). Stockholm University was the only university to respond to this possibility, but this was sufficient to guarantee the provision of the necessary funds needed to start regular field courses in Kenya, and it was also the start of the building of a research capacity in development geography. Since then a non-European field course has been part of the geography curriculum common to physical and human geography.

In the early 1990s, a Sarec-sponsored project to strengthen links and research cooperation with the Institute of Resource Assessment in Tanzania and the University of Botswana opened up possibilities for PhD students from Tanzania and Botswana to study at Stockholm University, and also for a limited number of Swedish PhD students to be financed by the programme. This project was, on the Swedish side, run through a cooperation between Carl

Christianson at the Department of Physical Geography and Ulf Sporrong at the Department of Human Geography. The Environment and Development Studies Unit (EDSU) was set up, based at the Department of Physical Geography. It focused on land use and land degradation. In the wake of the Sahel crisis in the 1970s, new frameworks had been developed. Political ecology provided a radical answer to Malthusian arguments, in which population increase and poor farmers' mismanagement of their lands were to blame for desertification and land degradation. Three doctoral dissertations were written in 1995-1996 on this theme, followed by several similar dissertations in the following period.

This project indicated the strength of an interdisciplinary cooperation between physical and human geography. A line of thought strongly developed by Sporrong at this time was that the undivided subject of geography would be able to give significant contributions to the understanding of environment-society relations. With growing research on environment-society relations, geographers found their old capacity of dealing with such issues overrun by human ecology, systems ecology and new centres for interdisciplinary environmental studies. Again the Stockholm department, at least initially, went against the grain of development in human geography. At this time neither the modernist societal geographers nor

the radical human geographers favoured an integrated geography. Some of the radical geographers at that time were especially sharp in their opposition to the idea of geography as a synthesising discipline.

Starting in 1979, a series of meetings between Nordic critical geographers had been held, and in 1984 the journal 'Nordisk Samhällsgeografisk Tidskrift' was launched by partly the same group. Stockholm was to large extent outside of this network, while postgraduate students and young lecturers from Uppsala, Roskilde, Oslo, etc. were more involved. I can only find three Stockholm geographers among the contributors to 'Nordisk Samhällsgeografisk Tidskrift' during its entire lifetime (1984 to 2007): one undergraduate student, one doctoral student and one researcher, the latter two only contributing with book reviews. On the other hand, three later members of staff in Stockholm, who were then still in Uppsala, made one or several contributions to this journal (Gunnel Forsberg, Bo Malmberg and Brita Hermelin). The fact that Stockholm geographers were outsiders to this network is also reflected in the meagre representation of references to Stockholm-based research in the overviews of Nordic geography produced by this group (I can find no references to contemporaneous Stockholm researchers in Öhman & Asheim ed. 1994 and only a few in Öhman & Simonsen ed. 2003).

Among those critical geographers, the concept of 'samhällsgeografi' had a meaning different from the one used by Hannerberg. While Hannerberg (1962, 1965) considered to a large degree 'samhällsgeografi' as a geography in service of the state, the concept of 'samhällsgeografi' among the critical geographers was often much more clearly associated with the critical strand: "Samhällsgeografi [...] refers here to Nordic critical human geography launched during the 1970s in connection to the radical leftist orientation among the students and younger university teachers" writes Lehtinen (2003).

As mentioned above, the tendency among many radical geographers in the 1980s was to oppose the idea that geography was a discipline able to transcend the nature-culture dichotomy. To understand why, we have to go back to the original split between human and physical geography. While this split had started in the 1940s in Sweden and was more or less completed with the establishment of a chair in Stockholm in 1955, the situation was different in other Nordic countries. In Norway, such a split was not yet fully achieved in the late 1980s. Only later did Norwegian geographers organise a separate organisation for human geographers. In Oslo human geography become a sub-section of sociology under the Faculty of Social Sciences. The idea of geography as a synthetic discipline was in Norway

associated with the idea of a natural science-dominated regional geography, and later with a systems oriented type of resource geography that did not take social science fully into account. This was seen as an obstacle for developing radical human geography as social science. A prolific voice for the radical Norwegian view was Björn Terje Asheim (Asheim 1987). A similar scepticism towards a rapprochement to physical geography and the idea of geography as an undivided discipline was often voiced by Uppsala geographers.

In 1997, an international evaluation of Swedish human geography was carried out by HSFR (Swedish Council for Research in the Humanities and Social Sciences). It noted the strong position in Sweden generally for the study of historical rural landscapes and commented upon its "well deserved international reputation" (Christiansen et al. 1999:65). Among the recommendations of the evaluators there are two themes I want to highlight. One was their recommendation of increased research on environmental issues and cooperation with physical geography. This lead to the announcement of a six year research post, sponsored by the research council, which after competition was awarded to a candidate from Stockholm University. The other is their recommendations for increased mobility and for better postgraduate courses. Since then an organisation of national research courses has been established to secure



The Geo Building at Frescati, originally shared by human and natural geographers and geologists. (Photo: Mats Danielson)

cross fertilisation at the postgraduate level between departments.

#### 1997 - The Geo Building, Frescati

In the summer of 1997, the Department finally moved to the Frescati campus. Face-to-face contact and cooperation were made easier at three spatial levels. Instead of sharing a voluminous building, the Department was gathered in two floors in one of the wings of the new geoscience building. Common coffee and lunch rooms for the whole Department guaranteed that none of three old coffee factions survived.

At the level of geosciences, contacts were also made easier. The building was shared with the then three departments of Physical Geography, Quaternary Geology and Geology, respectively. Moving in close to Physical Geography was a deliberate plan, where the Heads of Department Ulf Sporrong (human geography) and Leif Wastensson (physical geography) were instrumental. The Geo Library was preserved as a separate unit within the broader Stockholm University library and formed the core of the building. The move contrasted with the developments in Uppsala and Gothenburg, where

human and physical geography were now located at large distances from each other and where physical geography has become anonymous within the new large constellations of geosciences. It is only in Stockholm that the departments of geography share a building like this. The aim to establish a close cooperation between physical and human geography can still be read in the details of this building. The Stockholm Geoscience Building was planned according to the comb principle (cf. Beckman 2004), which presupposes a common front, but a sharp labour division between different disciplines behind this common front. In order to counteract this, a special bridge was built in the far end of one of the wings so that direct physical contact was established between landscape researchers in physical and human geography. This bridge remains today the physical manifestation of the idea of close cooperation between physical and human geography. This proximity has facilitated collaboration in GIS and remote sensing, in research on Swedish landscapes, and on past and present African environments, and not the least, made work for all those engaged in teaching the common courses in geography easier.

The final arrival of human geography at the Frescati campus also made contact with the other social sciences, the humanities and the university administration, much easier. The occasional contact on the long escalator from the under-

ground, during lunches at Lantis or at the Faculty Club, does indeed facilitate formal and informal contact. Many of us who were part of the move from Norrtullsgatan 2 to Campus Frescati in the autumn of 1997 felt that we had finally become part of the Faculty of Social Sciences.

When it comes to the academic staff in human geography, the late 1990s marked a definite end to the one-professor system. Already in 1994 at Norrtullsgatan a second chair in 'Geography, especially Human Geography' had been established with Bo Lenntorp as its first holder. Lenntorp had until then been docent in Lund, a student of Hägerstrand, and had specialised in time geography. He brought a different intellectual sphere closer to Stockholm. Being in charge of doctoral studies, he influenced theory and method in many dissertations. Moreover, in the late 1990s, a professorship in 'Human Geography, especially Urban and Regional Planning' was secured to Stockholm University as part of a governmental programme to increase the share of female professors. Gunnel Forsberg from Uppsala was appointed. She brought not only research competence on urban and regional planning to the Department, but was already then a central scholar in gender geography, with her application of the 'gender contract' concept to spatial issues. When the Department gathered for a kick-off on an archipelago island in August 1998, this new setup was clearly manifested with Bo Lenntorp as head of department and the new professor Gunnel Forsberg giving the introductory talk on planning research. The teaching programme in 'Urban and Regional Planning' (samhällsplanering) did finally get a permanent research superstructure with an active research group. Hannerberg's old wishes for a second professorship in 'Modern Societal Geography' had come through by a wide margin, with Forsberg, Lenntorp and Sporrong representing different and complementary research interests: planning, gender, time-geography and landscapes. Since then, Sporrong has been succeeded by Mats Widgren (2002)

and Lenntorp by Bo Malmberg (population geographer from Uppsala, 2005). In 2012 Brita Hermelin (economic geography) was promoted to professor, but unfortunately left for Linköping University in 2013.

During the early period at Frescati, the breadth of the research was further developed by Docent Gunilla Andrae, who in the late 1990s set up a research programme on People, Provisioning and Place in African Cities (PPP) with funding from the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida). The programme focussed on the consequences of liberalisation and globalisation for access to



The central stairway of the Geo Building. (Photo: Mats Danielson)

the basic means of livelihood in African cities. No less than seven doctoral dissertations were published within this framework between 2002 and 2007. Besides the dominant historical geography group and the Gerger-Hoppe group (see above), this is the quantitatively clearest mark in the list of dissertations of a distinctive school of research at the Department. An external reviewer reviewed one the theses from this research group but also commented on the other: "The PPP research group has developed quite a knack for combining what one expects of a quality dissertation—thorough, rich and original empirical research—with probing interrogations of cutting edge theory" (Myers 2007).

In the list of dissertations from this period a notable feature is the increased representation of research at the interface of urban geography and planning in Sweden and elsewhere in Europe. These dissertations represent approaches from ethnology, time-geography, environmental psychology, economic geography and gender studies. The previously often mentioned lack of urban geography and studies on Stockholm at the Department is no longer true, although no coherent school of urban studies can yet be identified in the list of theses.

During the period 1997–2014 dissertations on agrarian landscape history still represented a large share of the output but were no longer as dominating as in previous periods. Several of those theses published in the early 2000s are

the outcomes of the 1986 research programme on property and landscapes. Historical geography of rural landscapes remains a strong research group, especially among the senior researchers. In 2001, with support from Sida, a research environment for African landscape history was launched under the acronym PLA-TINA (People Land and Time in Africa). This reflected the continued close collaboration between physical and human geography established in the late 1990s and was led by Karin Holmgren and Mats Widgren (Holmgren et al. 2008). Research on the past and present of African farming environments is a growing field of research.

As mentioned above, the move to Frescati facilitated contact not only with physical geography, but also with the other social sciences. In 2007, an interdisciplinary master's programme on 'Globalisation, Environment and Social Change' was launched in collaboration with the Department of Economic History and the Department of Physical Geography and Quaternary Geology. It has a close connection to research interests at the involved departments, with climate studies (physical geography), globalisation (economic history/international relations) and global urban environments (human geography) forming the core curriculum. At the BA level, the Department collaborates with the Departments of Social Anthropology, Economic History and Political Science in a programme on 'Global Development'. The Department also participates in a graduate school of international studies that gathers doctoral students also from economic history, political science, media studies and law. Bo Malmberg's very active and visible research group in population geography and migration has a close collaboration with the Demography Unit at the Department of Sociology and forms part of one of the Faculty's appointed leading research areas.

#### Reflections

Hannerberg gave a picture of a great width of research interests in his overview from 1965. Yet, most of the research initiatives he mentioned then never developed very strongly during the following decades. Instead, the focus during this half century has very clearly been on the history of agrarian landscapes, which has formed a very strong school of research with documented international impact. Nevertheless, slightly more than half of the doctoral theses during this period were not in historical geography. These theses only seldom represented identifiable and coherent schools of research to the same extent as those in historical landscape research. Initiatives to strengthen other fields of human geography have been made over the years. A presentation of the Department from 1995 reflects the ambition to represent a truly broad span of branches in hu-

man geography (Människan och landskapet, 1995). Attempts were also made to establish an interdisciplinary centre for urban planning at about this period. Only with the establishment of a second and third professorship in 1994 and 1998 was the basis established for the breadth that is now represented both in teaching and research. We now have research groups that in different constellations focus on urban and regional planning, including global urbanism and gender geography, population geography with geographical information systems and remote sensing, as well as past and present farming landscapes in Sweden and Africa. A university department today must nonetheless balance on one hand the full width that teaching programmes motivate, and the need for optimally sized research groups that can establish international networks and be nationally and internationally visible on the other. It is unlikely that the research interests at the Department in the future will be much broader, but the themes and constellations will definitely change and reconfigure. Our present size with three professors, twelve lecturers (of which five have docent competence), and a few researchers on soft money makes possible a close interaction and creative innovations in the borderland between research groups. Thus, several research projects involve themes and researchers from more than one of the three main strands of research mentioned above.

Looking back at the roughly 40 years from which I have first-hand knowledge, this increase in the scope of teaching and research represents probably the most fundamental change at the Department, besides the increase in numbers of staff. It also goes hand in hand with – and has been supported by – the increased emphasis on research done by lecturers. During the coming academic year, half of the lecturers will spend substantial time on externally funded research projects. This comes in addition to the 30 percent research that is now funded from the University for each lecturer. This is a clear contrast to the situation in the 1970s to 1990s, when the heavy teaching loads led to a marked labour division between researchers and teachers.

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## Department of Political Science

**Olof Ruin** 

A PICTURE OF Herbert Tingsten is hanging on the wall of the seminar room of the Department of Political Science on the 7th floor in the F building at Frescati. In 1935 he was appointed the first holder of a newly established professorship, the Lars Hierta chair of government, devoted solely to research and teaching in political science. This branch of learning had existed as an independent discipline for many centuries at Uppsala University. In the beginning of the present century, it had also been introduced at the universities in Lund and Gothenburg. The appointment of Herbert Tingsten in 1935 also marks the beginning of political science as a distinct discipline at Stockholm University College (Stockholms högskola).

The growth of this new social science community was fairly slow up to the 1960s. Herbert Tingsten himself resigned in 1945 and was succeeded first by Elis Håstad and thereafter by Gunnar Heckscher. Besides the holder of the Lars Hierta chair, the staff remained limited;

the number of students was little above one hundred annually. The PhD dissertations approved were not more than nine before 1960.

My own inside view of the development at the Department covers more than fifty years. In the early 1960s, I became associated with Stockholm University with a PhD from Lund. From 1976 until 1994 I was the permanent holder of the Lars Hierta chair and thereafter I have been allowed to occupy a desk in a corner of Skogstorpet (the Forest Cot), situated on campus, as a professor emeritus. From the early 1970s until my retirement I also served as head of department, alternating with my colleague Gunnar Wallin. This overview of the development of political science will deal mainly with the consequences of the rapid expansion of student enrolment in the very beginning of these fifty years but also, more briefly, with the research pursued during the whole period.

Most social science departments grew during the 1960s due to free access to higher



The reality of national election campaigns reaches also into Campus – here to the site of the Department of Political Science at Building F of Södra huset. (Photo: Mats Danielson)

studies still being in force. The development at our department was, however, exceptional. In the fall of 1964, the same year as our faculty was formed, 508 new students were registered for courses on the elementary (A) level. During the following years, the number increased by almost 200 students annually. At the end of the 1960s, the Department of Political Science at Stockholm University was for a short time the second largest university department in Sweden.

This exceptional expansion was due to many circumstances. One of these applied to all the Departments of Political Science in the country. They all benefited from an interest in matters political that was increasing among young people. One was special for us in Stockholm, and consisted of the fact that many of our teachers were involved in a popular course in political science, broadcast on the national radio. In order to handle these enormous crowds, large

premises had to be rented in town for lectures and examinations. I remember that I often had to lecture to new students in the main hall of the Norra Latin secondary school in downtown Stockholm. Still, the seats did not suffice and listeners had to crowd along the walls or in the doorway. The office of the Department was located at various addresses during the 1960s, at Kungstensgatan, Observatoriegatan, Drottninggatan, Ynglingagatan and Hagagatan, before we moved out to Frescati among the first of the downtown departments.

#### Unrest at the University

A few years earlier, the Department had been the first in Sweden to be hit by the student unrest that swept through the Western world. Our overcrowding was partly the reason. Everything had started on the 10th of May 1968, at an international politics lecture for undergraduates. A group of students interrupted the lecturer and accused him vehemently of having been partial in his definition of 'subversive activities' and in his illustration of how Soviet authorities tended to take advantage of this kind of activity. After the accusations were made, the protesters left the room and demanded that the lecturer himself be removed from further teaching. This criticism grew rapidly into a harsh criticism of the teaching at the Department as a whole and of the literature required for reading. Mass meetings were organized. Demands were

raised for studies to be structured differently and for students to have more of a say in running the Department. For a few days the media coverage of our department was intense. Even Olof Palme, who at that time was Minister of Education and whom I knew from the time we both had been active in student politics, called and was worried about what was going on at the Department of Political Science in Stockholm.

The turmoil at our place calmed down after two weeks. The revolutionary students moved on and joined other dissatisfied groups at the University. The idea came up that they should occupy their own union building at Holländargatan. Among those we saw on TV mounting the rostrum and later flocking through the streets down to Gustav Adolfs Torg and the Opera House, we recognized quite a number of students from our own department. In the middle of the occupation, Olof Palme unexpectedly turned up and, among all the shouting, gave his passionate speech – often referred to later – about the meaning of democracy and how to express opinions in such a democracy.

The way the Department of Political Science reacted to the unrest that it had triggered off was, I venture to say, rather pragmatic. This applies both to the dramatic days in May 1968 as well as the more quiet months thereafter.

The stormy days in May were promptly recorded and analysed by a student who pre-



sented his results in the form of a graduate paper the following year. The student was Anders Mellbourn, who later became a wellknown journalist. He showed that the Department leadership was willing to listen to all complaints, talk to the dissatisfied and not take strong action. The leadership at the time consisted of Hans Meijer, who was the holder of the Lars Hierta chair after Gunnar Heckscher, and myself, who had obtained a permanent associate professorship. At the same time as we tried to listen to grievances, we also strongly emphasized that demands for central changes must be attended to in accordance with "the constitution in force", a political science line of talk that some of us tended to use. The student body had two elected representatives present at staff meetings. Their role was to forward complaints, function as an intermediary and to participate in the decision-making process regarding changes. Of course we understood that this was a very difficult position to hold. Therefore, immediately after the hectic May weeks, the Department embarked upon framing a new constitution, which was to give students more of a say in the running of the Department.

# Efforts at democratic representation

Our initiative coincided with attempts of a similar kind instigated by the central educational authorities as a reaction to the student unrest

in the country. The Department of Political Science in Stockholm was, however, expressly allowed to continue its own work, which was strongly suffused with principles of representative democracy. The policy-making mass meetings of the kind that the revolutionary students had demanded in May were regarded as anathema.

A central element for us in making new rules for running the Department was to construe a representative assembly, similar to a miniature parliament. It consisted of all members of the departmental staff and of student representatives who were elected with courses and seminar groups as constituencies. Individual proposals put forward were given in the form of motions on which an executive committee, elected by this assembly, was to make pronouncements. Proposals from the executive committee were in turn drafted by different committees on which teachers and students were equally represented. To accommodate all, the rooms in which we met had to be fairly large, especially as the student representatives initially demanded gallery accommodation for fellow students who were not part of the assembly.

Of course this new decision making procedure took time. Demands were, for example, constantly being made for the guillotine and for a final list of speakers. Furthermore, meetings were often adjourned because of insufficient attendance. Teachers brought up in an



Trophies of academic work exhibited at the elevator exit. (Photo: Mats Danielson)

old-fashioned public servant tradition often felt rather out of place in a setting where various coalitions, many of them unholy, where formed. Others - myself among them - with previous personal experience from student politics felt more at home. In the long run, this time-consuming organization could not be sustained. It contained too many conflicts of principle. The teachers as public employees were expected to comply with central directives whereas students did not need to do so; they furthermore possessed expert knowledge that students did not have. The students, from their side, expected to be on an equal level with the teachers as decision-makers, while they were at the same time subordinate to and dependent on them in their own studies.

Our special constitution was abolished during the 1970s. In principle, the same decision making model was adopted as in most other university departments. The attempts to practice ideas taught in courses on constitution in daily departmental life remained vivid in the memory of the staff for many years. For some, these memories were rather painful; for others, filled with a certain nostalgia. For the staff, the unrest of 1968 and its immediate consequences continued, for a long time, to be looked upon as fairly recent events, while for new waves of students, often expressing different kinds of demands, it was seen as pre-history.

## A period of decline

Our overflow of students diminished during the 1970s and early 1980s. This was partly due to the general decline in the number of new students, and partly because the organization of undergraduate studies in well-coordinated study programmes disfavoured political science. In addition, the discipline as such had lost its former popularity. Thereby, a department which had been almost inundated with students began to worry about the lack of them.

Again, a change occurred in the middle of the 1980s. The well-coordinated study programmes were loosened up and interest in matters political was also rising, a rise coinciding to some extent with the assassination of Olof Palme. The student population has thereafter



The departmental annex, Skogstorpet (The Forest Cot), has housed some of the department's researchers and emeriti. (Photo: Mats Danielson)

remained both large and stable with minor annual variations. Now, in the spring of 2014, the Department has 525 students registered at the undergraduate level, 139 at the master's level and 46 at the PhD level.

Naturally, the fluctuation of the number of students also influenced the size of the departmental staff. In the expansive 1960s, new teachers had to be hired continually on a permanent or non-permanent basis, but later stabili-

zation also occurred in this respect. Furthermore, the Lars Hierta chair was supplemented with two new chairs, one, to begin with, was held by Kjell Goldmann and the other by Daniel Tarschys. Now, in the spring of 2014, the total number of people employed at the Department of Political Science is 89. The staff consists of two holders of a chair, seven university lecturers promoted to professors, 27 university lecturers, four teachers with a lower

rank, and 31 researchers all differently financed. Finally, there are 13 people carrying out administrative duties. Political scientists are today also part of the staff at Score, the multi-disciplinary centre which was founded in the early 1980s.

#### Lines of research

It is also natural to use Herbert Tingsten's extensive political science production as a starting point for a short overview of the research pursued at the Department. Three different perspectives, each associated with a related academic subject, were accommodated in his work as well as that of other political scientists of his time. One perspective was legal, stemming from constitutional law, another historical, arising from the study of history, and a third idea-oriented associated with philosophy. Tingsten also introduced a totally new perspective, a behaviouristic one shared with the subject of sociology. His remarkable and many-sided production is today primarily remembered for works on ideas and ideologies, particularly those about fascism, problems of democracy and the ideas of the Swedish Social Democratic party.

Political science research at our Department during the almost seven decades that have passed since Tingsten left his professorship has covered all dimensions of the discipline. However, there have been variations of both emphasis and orientation over time. Scholars in political science, like scholars in other disciplines, have shown a natural tendency to be influenced by issues of current general interest in their selection of objects for research. There continues to be areas where many researchers tend to congregate regardless of time. I shall limit myself to three such broad areas and add two more specific ones that have lately come into focus.

One broad area is the study of political institutions and public policy. Institutionally oriented works have dealt with the system of parliamentarism and parliamentary proceedings, with the office of Swedish prime minister and proceedings inside the ministries. Particularly, many scholars at the Department have been involved in a study of public administration, regarding both the recruitment and the activity of central bureaucrats. The policy oriented studies have covered different policies, particularly those on educational, constitutional and environmental matters. In a political science department situated in the capital of a country, it appears especially fitting to be interested in a study of central political and administrative entities.

One type of institutionally oriented research pursued at our Department was in focus at all political science departments in the 1970s and 1980s. It concerned the local authorities, the municipalities. How do they function, how are their relations to the central authorities in Stockholm, etc.? This research was not least influenced by a national policy of merging small local entities into larger ones at the time, partly in order to facilitate a transfer of duties from the centre to the periphery. For a welfare state, often overburdened with tasks to be handled centrally, a move towards decentralization was seen to be of great value.

A second broad area, closely related to the previous one, is the study of political parties and interest organizations.

Party oriented works, published at our Department, have dealt with ideologies, strategies, leadership and membership of different parties as well as with relations between them. Less has been done in Stockholm on election behaviour, although Tingsten was once a forerunner for this kind of research. Our studies of parties have often, as far as Swedish conditions are concerned, been influenced by a characteristic trait of the national party system during most of the past century. A multitude of parties existed, but at the same time, they tended to divide into two distinct sides with one party, the Social Democratic one, dominating one side.

Works on interest organizations have mostly been oriented towards those on the labour market. Again, as far as Sweden is concerned, this research has often reflected another feature that is characteristic of our political system. We have talked about the existence of a form of "corporatization". This means that interest organizations not only seem to generally have great importance but that they also have deliberately tended to be integrated into formal governmental policy making.

A third, broad area is the study of international politics and development in the third world. Mostly around the middle of the period this area attracted many scholars at the Department. Their works, generally published in English, have often received international attention. The international politics oriented research has covered both foreign policy, conducted by central actors, as well as the principles, both old and new, adhered to on the global stage. The development oriented research has foremost been concentrated on countries in Africa but also on parts of Asia. This type of research has been very much in tune with the great attention given in Sweden to offering aid to developing areas.

The two specific study areas, which have been in focus during the past two decades, are further examples of research on issues of current interest in society. One is gender research. The Swedish government has not only generally stressed the importance of a policy of equality between the sexes but has also established research positions solely reserved for gender studies. The Department has shown a particularly great interest in this area of research. An extensive number of books have been pub-



The Department of Political Science also houses CESAM, a unit for education in and research on the learning and teaching of social science disciplines. (Photo: Mats Danielson)

lished. Mostly they have dealt with women, and their position in political life but also with many other problems that they tend to encounter in daily life. The other specific study area that has come into the foreground lately con-

cerns the EU and the Europeanization of politics. It is a natural consequence of Sweden having been a member of the EU since the middle of 1990s. The research in this area at our department has dealt both with the complicated decision making structure of the EU as well as with the effects of the union membership on our own political structure and policies.

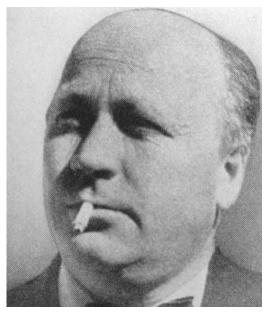
The coexistence at the Department of Political Science of these different study areas during the past fifty years has been rather peaceful. The shifts in attention that have occurred from one group of issues to another have as a whole not produced bitterness or resistance. Nor has the use of new research methods caused internal problems. An illustration of the tranquil development in this respect is for example that the wave of Marxist-oriented analysis, which shook many social science departments in the country during some years, did not hit the political science community, either in Stockholm or elsewhere.

# Engaging with the world

The results of studies undertaken at the Department, regardless of the type of area, have of course had a certain impact on the surrounding society. This applies hopefully to all social sciences. Individual political scientists have also, like other social science scholars, been expressly asked for advice and have themselves occasionally recommended a course of action

to be followed by public authorities. Still, in my view, political science as a discipline is more reluctant than many other branches of social science to provide recommendations for action. The research ethos is more descriptive/analytical than normative.

I would like to finish this essay by underlining that political scientists, particularly in Stockholm, at the same time as they adhere to this ethos in their position as scholars, have often been willing to engage in the outside world. Herbert Tingsten left his chair to be the editor-in-chief of the liberal newspaper Dagens Nyheter. Elis Håstad and Gunnar Heckscher combined their professorships with being conservative members of Parliament before they both left their chairs to go on to other positions in public administration. Likewise, during the following decades, researchers at our department have had important positions in political life or public administration. The latest examples of this pattern are Daniel Tarschys and Björn von Sydow. The former was a liberal member of Parliament for 15 years and the latter is still a Social Democratic member of this assembly after earlier having been Minister of Defence and Speaker of the Parliament. The belief that it is possible to pursue research on political matters objectively, and at the same time engage in politics, has thus been put into practice at the Department of Political Science at Stockholm University.



Herbert Tingsten 1876-1973



# Department of Psychology

**Gunn Johansson** 

**TO GIVE A** fair and substantial account of the most important events over fifty years at a large university department in a limited space is impossible. Therefore, this account will have to be read as an utterly summarizing sketch with some highlights of particular traits of the Department of Psychology. An invaluable source of information has been the jubilee book compiled at the 50 years' celebration of the Department of Psychology (Nilsson 2003).

When the Faculty of Social Sciences was formed in 1964, the Department of Psychology was four years old. Stockholm University College had recently become a state university, and psychology had become an autonomous subject of examination. What had, until 1960, been an Institute of Psychology, had turned into a regular university department that had just moved from a backyard house at Observatoriegatan to premises in the old main building of the Royal Institute of Technology (KTH) on Drottninggatan, opposite "The Haunted Castle" (*Spökslottet*).

#### **Background**

An embryo for the Department of Psychology can be traced back to 1934, when the board of Stockholm University College decided to create the Olof Eneroth Chair. Olof Eneroth, a pomologist, i.e. an expert in the cultivation of apples and other fruits, had already in 1876 donated his fortune to a chair, but the resources were insufficient and only after additional money had been allocated could the chair be instituted. Perhaps the testator's phrasing of the donation's purpose raised some consternation, delaying the matter. The will prescribed a chair in the "study of the connection between natural law and the virtuous and physical nature of Man, with particular concern for the upbringing of the growing generation into spiritual and bodily health". Despite this cryptic formulation, finally, after various turns, the decision was made to advertise a professorship in education and psychology, the first incumbent of which, David Katz, was appointed in 1937.

Later, a professorship in education was created, and the Olof Eneroth Chair was changed into a chair only in psychology, with Gösta Ekman as incumbent.

#### The 1960s

That was the situation when I first became acquainted with the Department of Psychology. At that time, examination results from a preparatory course, in combination with the marks from the General Certificate of Education (studentexa*men*), made up the selection instrument for about forty positions offered for first semester students. Eminent lectures were given at 'proppen' ('the plug', the propaedeutic course) by the most prominent researchers of the Department: Gösta Ekman, Daisy Schalling, David Magnusson, Gunnar Goude, Hannes Eisler and Marianne Frankenhaeuser. For those who were admitted, it soon became clear that the studies in psychology were heavily scheduled with extensive group work and laboratory experiments. Test theory and comprehensive group work with quite a bit of statistical calculation formed an important part. A feared ingredient was the training in interview methodology, where the interviewees were lower-level students. Interviews were taped and replayed in front of the group and teacher, who gave feedback about the performance. A strong sense of togetherness arose in some of the groups and study mates from that time have stayed my close friends.

### Early research

Research and education in the 1960s were both marked by an academic and theoretical direction, with a strong focus on classical, experimental psychology, methods and method development. The work of the professor, Gösta Ekman, within psychophysics and scaling methodology, inspired a growing number of PhD students at the new Department. Later, they bore witness to the dynamic and creative research environment formed under the leadership of Ekman (Härnqvist 2003:53, Sjöberg 2003:142). Right from the start there was a strong relation to international research. The research tradition cultivated during this time was later strengthened and developed along different tracks, e.g. towards learning psychology, cognitive psychology and cognitive neuroscience. Psychophysics has, for example, become relevant when new technologies for brain imagery have made possible a dynamic development of the study of brain processes. Presently, this tradition stands strong in the research carried out at the Division for Perception and Psychophysics, which is now housed in a separate building in Frescati Hage, the Gösta Ekman Laboratory.

# Longitudinal research

At the end of the 1960s, preparations went on at the Department of Psychology for one of the extensive, longitudinal research projects



The Gösta Ekman Laboratory for Sensory Research is named after Professor Gösta Ekman (1920-71), specialist in psychophysics and scale methodology. (Photo: Mats Danielson)

that have become an important part of the Faculty of Social Sciences' profile. The initiator and principal investigator of the project Individual Adjustment and Development (IDA) was David Magnusson, who succeeded Gösta Ekman on the Olof Eneroth Chair in 1969. The project deals with the individual development process in a life perspective, and from the beginning its aim was to widen the study of psychological development from cross-sectional analyses to the interaction be-

tween the individual and her context over time, i.e. the processes that characterize the individual pattern of development (see e.g. Magnusson & Stattin 1998). This project has followed several year-cohorts of school children in Örebro into middle age, and collected a large and valuable database, which is still in use for analyses of new research questions. It is worth mentioning that the IDA project passed relatively unaffected by the crisis for big longitudinal databases that hit our faculty

in the aftermath of the so-called Metropolit affair. The reason for this was probably that the project, already before its start and throughout, was well-anchored in Örebro through the school administration and the media. Yet another longitudinal undertaking, the Betula project, has later been added as an important basis for research at the Department of Psychology (see below under Research in Cognitive Psychology).

# Education with and without an occupational focus

The Psychology students of the 1960s had a range of purposes for their studies. There were, like today, some who studied psychology in order to better understand themselves and their fellow humans. There was also a group who, by acquiring some grades in behavioural disciplines, hoped to increase their chances for admission to medical studies. But most students had a general and genuine interest in psychology as a discipline and saw it as an important part of a *fil.kand*. (Bachelor of Philosophy) degree, many with the intention to pursue a career as a professional psychologist.

However, the establishment of this new occupation had just begun, and posts were very few. An impatient *Sveriges Psykologförbund* (The Swedish Psychological Association) and its predecessor had long been struggling to achieve a uniform education for psychologists

and, as a long-term goal, a formal, governmental licensing of psychologists. A government commission put forward a proposal already in the 1950s, but the decision was delayed. Among other things, the teaching in theoretical subjects had to be supplemented by more applied elements, and this was accomplished in the form of courses in personality psychology, elementary psychiatry, and interview methodology. Not until the beginning of the 1960s did the final choice fall upon a tri-annual model, with at least two grades (*betyg* = semesters) in either psychology or education, and the rest of the grades in statistics and sociology. In 1958, the Swedish Medical Board had confirmed the formalization of merits through the decision that a degree based on this model would be required for posts in clinical areas. Responsibility for the required practical training, however, still rested outside the University. Such training was provided through a local agency in cooperation with the Psychological Association. Thus, all psychology students still followed the same study plan regardless of their occupational goals. This was the order that ruled at the time of the establishment of the Faculty of Social Sciences.

#### Student dissent

Over time, the student revolution of 1968 also reached the Department of Psychology, although not in very dramatic forms. Like elsewhere, student dissatisfaction concerned the hierarchical structure of the University, with autocratic heads of department, and also the contents of the curriculum. The theory-oriented teaching offered at the Department of Psychology satisfied neither the expectations of future psychologists, nor those who studied psychology for other reasons.

There was a wish for educational content that was more relevant for application and less comprised of test theory, as well as more concerned with clinical issues and less with experimental methodology. Some asked for textbooks in Swedish rather than the Anglo-American literature that dominated Western university education in psychology. The debate was lively, and on occasion teachers had to fight for critical analysis and scientific stringency. A working group consisting of teachers and students was formed with the assignment to prepare suggestions for change. The first suggestion concerning a changed form of governance was rejected by the student representatives, who considered the suggestion as putting too much responsibility on them. Instead, an advisory committee was formed, consisting of professors and lecturers plus five student representatives. With the exception of one year, this model was in use until 1977, when a new reform of higher education made student influence permanent (Högskoleförordningen 1977:263).

#### 1970s stress research

One of the early research orientations at the Department of Psychology was psychophysiology or, as it is now called, biological psychology. In the 1970s Marianne Frankenhaeuser was professor (laborator) of experimental psychology at the Council of Medical Research (MFR, Medicinska Forskningsrådet), and her activities were mainly located at the University's Department of Psychology. Her research concerned stress, a concept originally used in experimental animal research, but which had now become highly relevant within psychological research on motivation. Frankenhaeuser built a research team of co-workers recruited from among the psychology students of the University. Licentiate and PhD theses based on psycho-biological and behavioural theory, as well as biomedical empirical theory, began to be presented (Frankenhaeuser 1979). This research made use of advanced biochemical analyses of stress hormones initially performed at Karolinska Institutet. The extent of stress research grew, and in the 1980s a biochemical laboratory was established at the Department of Psychology in Frescati Hage. It was run there for about 25 years, entirely on external research funds.

The experimental stress research at the Department contributed basic knowledge about the intricate interaction between the social environment, the individual and her health. As

the methodology was developed and became more robust, stress research moved from the laboratory into real life, such as the school setting that was studied in collaboration with the IDA project in Örebro.

## Research in work psychology

In the 1970s, a chair in Social Psychology of Working Life was established, with Bertil Gardell as the first incumbent. Work-related research had been performed before at the Department, but was now intensified by a debate on working conditions in industry that had followed upon the miners' strike in Malmfälten, an area of mineral extraction in Northern Sweden. Organizational psychology and social psychology now became relevant for critical scrutiny of working conditions and forms of organization. The interest was expanded to also include the working situation of white-collar workers and thus a new term, psychosocial working conditions, was minted. Since that time, working life has undergone radical changes and new issues of investigation have been addressed. Organizational and technical change still generates new questions for research along with some classic ones, such as the never-ending issue of how to obtain valid and reliable test instruments to be used for recruitment and selection. A large part of contemporary research, however, deals with new and changing work conditions: new forms of organization and employment, new systems of remuneration, in addition to the increasing flexibility of work.

#### Stress and work

A fruitful collaboration was started in the 1970s between work psychologists and stress researchers who shared a bio-psychosocial perspective on the conditions of work that over time came to undergo an accelerating change, not least through the digital revolution. Above all, the focus was on how to identify the work-related factors that contribute to stress and encumbrance and – in a longer perspective - somatic ill-health. This cooperation continued for a long time and has resulted in several big field research projects during the 1980s, 1990s and 2000s. Researchers active in this theme today are also part of the Stockholm Stress Centre (SSC), which has the overarching goal of adding to the knowledge of psychobiological mechanisms in stress and health.

## Uniform training of psychologists

Efforts to establish a unified and appropriate occupational training of psychologists, and to counteract irresponsible and dubious applications of psychological knowledge, had gone on since the mid-1900s. During the 1970s, there was a breakthrough. Through several steps a new order of studies was ratified, containing strong elements of application and in-



Corridors in one of the old College of Forestry buildings convey a strange feeling of travelling by train. (Photo: Mats Danielson)

built practical training (Jonsson 2003). The term *psykologlinjen* (the psychologists' curriculum) became official, and in 1978 the occupational certification was issued by the National Board of Health and Welfare (*Socialstyrelsen*). Additional confirmation was given in 1982 when an integrated, five-year training programme for psychologists was ratified, with further specification of the goals of education (*lärandemålen*), e.g., demands for competence to take part in psycho-therapeutic tasks.

A specifically formed, five-year education for psychologists implied of course that the competence profile of the teaching staff has had to be improved. The faculty nowadays includes a number of teachers with a PhD, who at the same time are themselves licensed psychologists and certified psychotherapists.

# Premises and internal structure: the 1970s and 1980s

The strong growth of research and the expanded education of psychologists made the Department creak at the joints. At the same time, the subject attracted an increasing number of students to the regular academic education in psychology, on both the basic and advanced levels. For a time it was also necessary to create special opportunities for previously educated professional psychologists to supplement their education up to the new standard. This assignment included the BA degree described above, but also the higher level of Licentiate of Philosophy degree.

For decades, the question of how to harbour a permanently growing and diversified activity was a headache for department heads and the department board. Much work and engaged involvement was invested in one plan after the other, but for different reasons they could not be realized. Before the Department finally moved out from the city centre to Frescati, an intermediate stop was made from 1971 to 1982 in locations scattered over a couple of blocks in Vasastaden: at Hagagatan 25, where

mainly basic-level education was undertaken, and at Norrtullsgatan 41 and Norrtullsgatan 43–45 – the former *Borgerskapets änkehus* (The House for Bourgeois Widows). Here, research, PhD education and departmental administration were located. The move solved the worst of the overcrowding but was, of course, less than ideal from other points of view. Among other aspects, the integration of research and teaching was hampered for a period.

Towards the end of the 1970s, the Department had grown to the degree that it also became complicated to handle information about department activities internally within the University, as well as externally towards society. The Department was a sizeable part of the Faculty of Social Sciences, and for a while the possibility of splitting it into several, smaller departments was even discussed. In the end, formalizing the informal division between dominating research areas that had existed for a long time proved the best option. As a result six divisions were formed: Psychology of Work and Organization, Biological Psychology, Clinical Psychology, Cognitive Psychology, Perception and Psychophysics and The Psychology of Personality, Social Psychology and Development. With somewhat varying nomenclature, and in somewhat varying shape, the six divisions have lived on until today. Each of the divisions comprises a number of research groups. The divisions are involved in the education

within their own particular special areas, and therefore it becomes natural for staff who are primarily involved in teaching to choose a home location within these divisions. The formalization of an already existing structure contributed to make the width of departmental activities more visible. One aim was that each division should be represented by at least one professor. In the present situation, after the reform introducing the possibility for lecturers to apply for promotion to professor, this ambition is well fulfilled.

Much later, there was a new period of growing pains. Successful competition for research funds, and increased societal demands for professional psychologists, resulted in each of the six divisions growing to the size of other 'normally sized' departments within the Faculty of Social Sciences. Following the example of foreign universities, the Department then made a serious attempt to establish a new, independent Faculty within the University. This proposal, however, gained no support.

# The 1980s and 1990s: Clinical research gains speed

Many people associate the discipline of psychology primarily with issues of mental illness and psychological problems and difficulties. At the Stockholm Department of Psychology, clinical research made up a minor part of the total volume of research up to the 1990s. Ever since the

1960s, there had been a division of applied psychology, where clinical research was carried out. But it was only when Carl-Otto Jonsson was appointed to professor and acting head of department that clinical psychology gained a more prominent role.

In 1992, a chair was created with the specification of clinical psychology. Thereby, the activity within this field grew further, and research with an international orientation gained speed. The chair's first incumbent was Lars-Göran Öst, and the research became directed towards issues of treatment. Since then salient themes have concerned cognitive behavioural therapy, treatment of phobias and of states of anxiety, depression, and also the unwanted side effects of psychological treatment. Presently, there is research on internet-based psychological treatment, a vital and growing field of research and application. Another theme within this field is forensic psychology, for instance the way in which children and adults perceive, remember and narrate traumatic experiences. Another theme is the study of the attachment process and parentchild interaction, both in the normal development context and in a clinical perspective.

# Social psychological research

The research field of social psychology is another area that has grown in span and importance in our Department during recent decades. Social cognition is the general theme and the

research is concerned with how people's thoughts, behaviour and emotions influence and are influenced by other people. Recent examples concern research on intergroup biases in judgements, decision making, and memory, as applied in legal settings and in relation to stereotyping and prejudice. Another theme concerns the relation between psychological attachment and religiosity. Some of this research is performed as laboratory experiments, while other studies are conducted in real life.

# Research in developmental psychology

To the field of developmental psychology we have to count the entire longitudinal IDA-project, as it has been pursued ever since the 1960s. Another early example of research within this field concerns studies dealing with intrapersonal communication in relation to deafness, blindness and other functional disorders. Attention theory has inspired research on the particularly strong bonds between parents and children and their role in a development perspective.

### Research in cognitive psychology

Since the 1990s a central theme has been the human memory functions. In 1993, Lars-Göran Nilsson succeeded David Magnusson as the Eneroth Chair. He also remained leader of a comprehensive longitudinal project that he had started at Umeå University in 1988 called the

Betula Project. This longitudinal project studies aging, and its purpose is to explore how memory functions change in adult life and old age, how to define risk factors for dementia, and how to find early, pre-clinical signs of dementia. The project is interdisciplinary and apart from cognitive psychology it involves neurophysiology, brain imaging, genetics and gerontology. The personnel union between Stockholm and Umeå has provided researchers in cognitive psychology at the Department access to material from this very rich database. A salient theme concerns auto-biographic memory, the individual's memories from her/his life, and the complex combination of mental processes that interact in the construction of such memories. The field of cognitive psychology has always been represented at the Department, for example through extensive research

on decision making, as it is performed by individuals, by groups, and by organizations. Risk-taking behaviour has also been a closely related research theme.

# The Psychotherapy Clinic and the education of psychotherapists

After the formal demand that psychologists must have competence for therapeutic tasks, the Department started a clinic for psychotherapy. The clinic offers opportunities for students in the final stage of their professional psychologist training to conduct individual therapy sessions under the surveillance of experienced, licensed psychologists/psychotherapists. The clinic is now one of the biggest in Stockholm, receiving about 4,000 visits per year. The problems addressed are of varying nature such as anxiety, depression, fears, sleeping problems, stress, etc.



The David Magnusson Lecture Hall. (Photo: Henrik Dunér)



Frescati Hage (the Frescati Meadow). (Photo: Henrik Dunér)



The Psychotherapy Clinic of the Department of Psychology. (Photo: Mats Danielson)

Since 2011, the Department of Psychology offers a supplementary training in psychotherapy, leading to a government license, ratified by the National Board of Health and Welfare. It is given at a half-time pace for the duration of three years, and is intended for persons who already have basic academic education in a caring profession, i.e. psychologists, physicians and social workers. One requirement is that the candidate her/himself has gone through therapy and has at least two years' experience with psychotherapy under qualified supervi-

sion. The participants choose one of two psychotherapeutic orientations: cognitive behavioural therapy (KBT) or psycho-dynamic therapy (PDT).

#### PhD education

Up until 1974, ten traditional PhD dissertations were defended in psychology. After the reform of higher education in 1969, and the introduction of the new doctoral degree, the yearly number of new PhD degrees steadily increased. For the period 1974–1983, 34 disser-

tations were registered. From 1984–93 there were 47, 1994–2003 94, and 2004–2013 83 PhD dissertations (Nilsson 2003). This makes an average for the whole period of 5.9 dissertations yearly. International publication and compilation theses have dominated. The sub-studies of such theses usually consist of scientific articles that are either already published or accepted for publication in international, peer-reviewed journals. It can be noted that since the normal time for PhD studies of about four years was introduced, the requirements for the *number* of sub-studies have been lowered while the quality demands on the frame paper (*kappa*) have increased.

#### The third task

Education and research in the subject of psychology have over the years created broad surfaces of contact with the surrounding society. Co-workers at the Department of Psychology have in many different contexts been able to offer expertise. I will select only two examples. In the 1960s, some of the researchers at the Department played a significant role in the preparations for the right-hand traffic reform to be implemented in 1967. Docent Mats Björkman, later professor at Umeå University, was appointed chairperson for the 'Scientific Workgroup for Traffic Security, Learning, Teaching and Media' appointed by the Right Hand Traffic Commission (Trafikverket 2004).

Together with colleagues at the Department and from Uppsala, he contributed expertise from the psychology of perception and the psychology of learning to one of the most comprehensive and successful information campaigns that has ever been implemented in our country.

An example of a concrete product is the socalled Borg Scale, named after its originator, Gunnar Borg (Borg 1998). Borg had been a student of psychology at the Stockholm Department already at the time of David Katz. He returned to Stockholm as professor in perception and psychophysics in 1980, when his research group was transferred from the Psychotechnical Institute to Stockholm University. The Borg Scale is a theoretical scale of estimation, provided with carefully chosen verbal labels for the different numerical steps. It was originally intended for the estimation of perceived physical effort, including shortness of breath and muscular fatigue. Presently it is used all over the world, not only in the training of athletes but also within rehabilitation and in medical care, where it offers patients an opportunity to communicate their experience of pain. Those of us who have moved in international circles of psychological research and have identified the Department of Psychology in Stockholm as our home base, have often heard the comment "Aha, the Borg scale!"

## The Department today

Close to 180 persons have some form of employment at the Department. Just under 130 of these co-workers are engaged mainly in research, and of these about 50 are active PhD students. Roughly 30 persons have the title of professor. Some 50 people work mainly with teaching, and about 20 are administrators and technicians.

All included – the basic and advanced levels, PhD education, the programmes for psychologists and psychotherapists and other specialist educations consist of over 1,000 students per semester enrolled in the Department's education. Through the Institute for Applied Behavioural Science (ITB), the Department also supplies commissioned courses for external organisations and for departments and administrative units within Stockholm University.

The researchers publish between 150 and 190 texts per year according to the publication database DiVA. Around 90 to 100 of these are articles in scientific journals. The rest are books, chapters in books, and reports. Today, the Department of Psychology is represented in two of the University's leading research fields: 'cognitive aging' and 'stress, work and health'.

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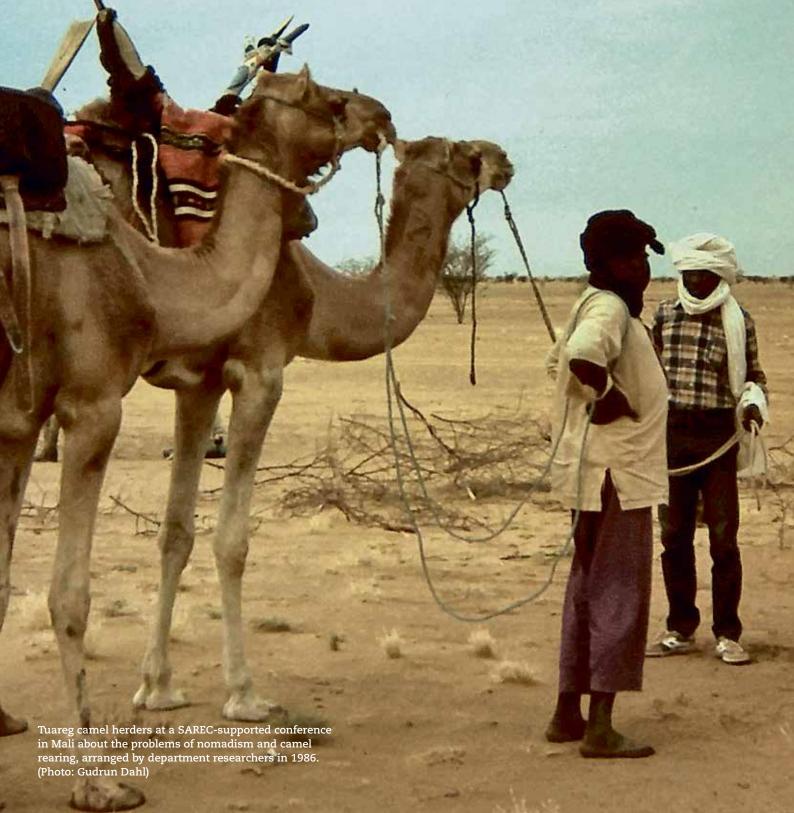
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# Department of Social Anthropology

**Karin Norman** 

"IT IS NO SECRET that anthropologists are mobile, but when going through the material presented in this chapter, I'm struck by the extent to which the world is our workplace and subject of enquiry. Seminars, publications, research projects and conferences straddle places and topics across the globe. The longstanding claim that transnational connections are a key defining feature of our Department still seems to hold true. Yet, through our special mode of engaging with the world, the specificities of place and the diversity of human experiences are still brought to the fore." Thus writes the head of department in his introductory words to the latest annual report from the Department of Social Anthropology.

Fifty years earlier, there was no annual report to be had and no Department of Anthropology. There was its outdated ancestor, the Department of General and Comparative Ethnography, housed at the Ethnographic Museum in Djurgården. How did we get from there

to this professionalized, internationally-oriented department with elaborate undergraduate and graduate courses, active researchers, and a long list of accomplished publications and doctoral theses?

That is a long, complex story. By reminiscing with colleagues, being reminded of events and persons, and by looking through a disparate assortment of documents, I have tried to sort it out. I hope to give some glimpses of what this department is and has been about.

## The early days

"The 1960s and 1970s constitute a period that the older generation consider especially important and memorable – and not (just) because they have reached the age where you love to dwell on memories of the 'time when everything was much better,' but because these were the formative years of the Department and the discipline in Stockholm. It was in 1970 that the first professorship in Social Anthropology was

installed, while remnants of the eccentricities of bygone days would make themselves felt all through the 1960s."

The Department of Ethnography was in the beginning oriented toward the study of cultural traits seen as isolated phenomena to be studied through artefacts and techniques. In lectures among the collections of masks, axes and arrows, students were told intriguing stories about fieldwork in New Guinea with lively descriptions of the men's penis sheaths and elaborate ritual adornments, forming some ideas of what fieldwork could be. The old professor, Sigvald Linné, made sporadic appearances serving anecdotal tales from his archaeological excavations in Mexico. As one of the early students remembers from his first year at the department, Linné would persistently pose more or less far-fetched questions, such as "Why are Eskimos so well clothed while the Indians of the Magellan Strait who have no less cold weather, wear such little clothing?" He never gave any answer.

Although this trait-oriented outlook was kept alive into the 1960s by the older teachers, there was a generational shift during those years. The researchers and teachers became influenced by British social anthropology and its structural functional studies of social organization, in time also by the more culturally orient-

ed North American anthropology. Some of the course literature of that time has become obsolete. Other parts have been raised to the status of 'Classics.' The view was of local cultures as coherent, territorialized wholes. Ideas of origin and diffusion at this time lost a former interest. This theoretical shift had a political aspect in its recognition of local cultural creativity.

From the mid- and late 1960s, the Department was in the throes of being transformed into social anthropology. In 1968-69, for those young students yearning to 'change the world' or to know something about it, anthropology seemed a politically radical alternative to the stuffiness of conventional academic subjects. Those were the days of strong political movements - the anti-Vietnam war, anti-imperialism, anti-authoritarian pedagogics, and the women's movement. With the younger, more up-todate and ambitious teachers, most of them only graduate students themselves, things were getting more interesting but also more confusing and conflictual. 'It was a breaking point, and it was exciting to be part of it,' one of the young students/teachers of that time remembers.

When Linné retired in 1968, the suggestion for professorship caused upheaval and student protests. The whole procedure was rewound, surprisingly with support by the government. Karl Eric Knutsson from the Gothenburg department, who applied, was appointed. This found the support of both staff and students.

<sup>1</sup> Ulf Hannerz, personal communication.

The Department was renamed 'Social Anthropology' and transferred from the Faculty of Humanities to the Faculty of Social Sciences. During the year-long lapse between professors, acting Head of Department Göran Aijmer took hold of the situation by setting a stricter agenda for teaching and curriculum. To everyone's horror 'he failed everyone on their current course exams,' as one former graduate student remembers.

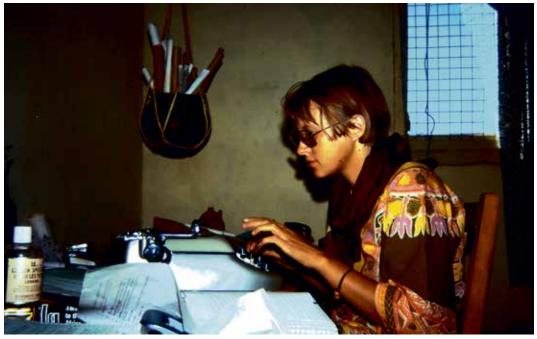
The Department moved from the Museum in 1969, to an old apartment at Sveavägen. The Geology Department used the apartment before us and left an assortment of rock specimens lying around on shelves, like some ironic inversion of the masks and axes. Lecture halls were spread out in different buildings in the city. Students and teachers mingled fairly freely. C-students were welcome to the seminars and hung around in the library. They organized various study groups on their own or together with graduate students/teachers. Some of them were recruited to teach first year students, while the more accomplished graduate students were responsible for much of the second and third-year courses.

A temporary rift between the Museum and the Department arose due to the students' involvement in a demonstration against a (seemingly) uncritical exhibition on the Maya Indians of Guatemala. In time, several of the Department's researchers, however, found positions and employment at the Museum or arranged temporary exhibitions. Throughout there have been guided tours of exhibitions with undergraduate students. The head of the museum was in later years Ulla Wagner, who received her PhD in 1971 at the Department.

The journal *Ethnos* has been an important link between the Museum and the Department. It still has an editor from the Department, although it is no longer published in the name of the Museum. It has gone through a number of editorial changes and is no longer specifically turning to Scandinavian contributors and readership. The first issue was published in 1936 with a focus on material culture and 'extra-European ethnography and archaeology.' Today "there are no restrictions on the range of anthropological topics and fields of interest covered in the journal" (Bubandt et al. 2006:5–8).

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, teachers and students were turning to fields and theories that they felt relevant to the political urgency of the world in which they lived – theories of political economy with a neo-Marxist turn and about the nature of patriarchy.

The concern with 'changing the world' also meant our own world. Students were enthusiastic about the Norwegian anthropologist Ottar Brox's study of Northern Norway (1966) and Daun's '*Upp till kamp i Båtskärsnäs*' (1969). Several young students were keen to conduct studies in rural Sweden for their BA theses, per-



PhD candidate Gudrun Dahl writes field notes in Kenya in 1974. (Photo: Anders Hjort af Ornäs)

haps for their future doctoral work. This ran into some opposition among the oldest professors – 'you must first go abroad, girl!' as Izikowitz, professor in Gothenburg, exclaimed on a visit to the Department. That is, leave the world you take for granted, confront the unknown!

To come to grips with the 'unknown,' students formed various study groups – the Northern Europe Group, the Rural Group (*Glesbygdsgruppen*), and later on the Turkish Group (con-

sidering the large number of immigrants from Turkey) and the Southern Europe group. Other groups were explicitly oriented towards theoretical/political issues. A stencilled document was at some point sent out by two amanuenses/doctoral students with the query, "A critical social anthropology – where will it lead?" They wrote: "Last semester a few student groups arranged informal discussions about what characterizes social anthropology in comparison with sociology. An attempt was also made to

clarify the potential usefulness of anthropology for society. This coming semester we are planning to widen these discussions and form one or two study groups. Two themes have been preliminarily decided upon: 'Applied Anthropology' and 'Marx or Malinowski?'.

### Identifying anthropology

For his instalment in 1970 as the first professor in Social Anthropology, Knutsson presented a text titled 'The Anthropological Perspective, Reflections about the identity of a discipline'. In the text, he grapples with the task of identifying what anthropology is. What is specific about anthropology? What creates its disciplinary unity?, he asks.

Anthropology is no longer a regionally identifiable discipline, nor is it limited to a specific set of empirical or theoretical problems, Knutsson tells us. Neither can the method of participant observation define the discipline. Participant observation is not only a method for gathering information but an attitude towards the 'material,' he writes. It is about striving to create social relations based on trust and reciprocity. This research attitude Knutsson refers to as 'the anthropological perspective.'

Its most basic characteristic is to take the view from inside the universe of the people being studied. Inside implies from below, he goes on; it is a grassroots perspective, or an asphalt perspective, he adds, referring to an early paper by Ulf Hannerz (1970), 'The Management of Danger.' This perspective is the definite strength of the discipline. Anthropology is nonetheless a generalizing and comparative science, Knutsson states, foreboding a classic debate that has been on the critical agenda many times since (cf. Abu-Lughod 1991, Gingrich & Fox 2002, Bubandt & Otto 2010).

This perspective raises ethical problems about the responsible uses of anthropology, something that greatly preoccupied Knutsson. He points to anthropology's social relevance, which was high on the agenda for many students and younger teachers, a prominent issue in the continued formation of the Anthropology conducted at the Department and its subsequent engagement in research on 'ideologies of development.'

# "The next ten years" – anthropology in Stockholm

Knutsson was an enthusiastic, networking person, wanting to get things moving. He was engaged in getting students out into the field and finding channels to finance doctoral students' fieldwork. This had a great significance for the many who did fieldwork during the 1970s and early 1980s. "Who else would have taken students (C-level and graduate students) to the AAA Annual Meeting in New York (1971), finding ways and means of financing it? It was

an amazing experience, most of us had never been to New York before," a former amanuensis remembers.

"With you (the students/teachers/researchers) there are no problems – but what will happen in the next ten years?" Knutsson wondered. A conference for the Department was arranged in 1973 to discuss the future of anthropology, called 'The Next Ten Years'. A number of different topics were on the agenda – teaching, research specializations, the job market, international exchange, the role of Swedish anthropology. The aim was that the conference would have an 'open and spontaneous atmosphere.'

The question was what we could contribute to anthropology, given that Sweden was on the periphery of the 'established centres of the discipline' (Great Britain and USA) and had "a lot to learn from them given our lack of tradition," according to Knutsson. Endorsing the international contacts, Hannerz emphasized that "too great attention to, and dependence on, metropolitan anthropologies could be detrimental." Perhaps it would be possible for us at some point in the future to take a role in decentralizing anthropology, he suggested.

Although all contributions were concerned with the 'social relevance' of anthropology, the emphasis went in different directions. Some argued specifically for the study of the effects of neo-colonialism and for establishing

a Marxist anthropology, critiquing the continued focus on 'micro-level questions' and 'the desperate search for new fields of inquiry, such as the anthropology of hierarchies, linguistic anthropology, urban anthropology' when most people in the world are part of a 'world-embracing system' where the 'mechanisms of underdevelopment' are prolific. For Knutsson it meant problematizing the 'neo-colonial consequences of development' and working against ethnocentrism.

Others lifted questions such as the organizational goals of the doctoral studies. Should there be specific field training courses? What kind of anthropological competence would be sought after in the future? Should doctoral training promote specialization or broad general anthropological knowledge?

Ten years had not passed, however, before Knutsson left the department for other pastures. He initiated the funding organization for development research, SAREC, and became its first head in 1975. In terms of funding research, this was significant, but it left the Department in a kind of limbo during the second half of the seventies. A row of temporary visiting professors, such as Sandra Wallman, Robert Paine, Harald Eidheim, Maurice Bloch and others, all had significance for the graduate students who often were left to their own devices and heavy teaching loads, since their supervisors and the department head were absent.

### Being a doctoral student

"You don't need to have read the classics, it is enough if you just have held them [the books]" is one of Knutsson's more memorable statements.

There were no definite criteria for admittance to doctoral studies. Being an amanuensis meant an automatic admittance, although becoming an amanuensis was not just about being willing to shuffle paper, fix schedules or make stencilled copies of all sorts. You must have been an active C-level student, shown an interest. There was hardly any doctoral programme and no regular courses. Knutsson met up once a year with the doctoral students who then reported on the credits they had attained during the previous year. "I have seen that you are all hard-working," he would say, which was sufficient for him. He was fully preoccupied with getting the Department adjusted to the new surroundings at Frescati and the Faculty.

Knutsson was open and supportive in general, letting people engage in different fields and research issues. This was also the stance of Hannerz, and has continued to be so. Others worried about the proliferation of research interests and the 'fragmented state of the Department." For the graduate students, this openness to a variety of studies and approaches was stimulating but made it more difficult for them to find their theoretical bearings and formulate reasonable research questions.

Even if there was no dominating regional or theoretical 'school,' some of the new 'elders' and guest professors were influential. Knutsson was a significant supporter of the early graduate students turning to studies in East Africa and development issues. Hannerz was more influential for those interested in 'complex societies' and urban life, a group which evolved into the so-called PLUS project, four studies on 'social stratification' in different urban contexts.

It has always been hard work to be a doctoral student, difficult to get adjusted to the workings of the Department, the requirements, the loneliness of writing, worries of not succeeding. During the first decades, the doctoral studies were disorganized. The great worry for many students was money - how to support yourself, perhaps even a family? It was either about having a well-to-do and supportive family or finding a job that allowed for time to study. Or it meant teaching and administrative work at the Department. Such work was seldom full-time. It was low paid and often on an hourly basis. In time it became clear that you had to have credits in order to at some point have a chance to get the small student grant.

Dissatisfaction with the disorganized doctoral studies and the hierarchical atmosphere at the Department, especially in terms of gender, made the active female students at the time feel that something must be done, both with the organization of studies and with tendencies towards



Dissertation defence audience 1987. (Photo: Gudrun Dahl)



Opponent, grading committee member and respondent. Professors Aijmer and Adamson congratulate Claes Hallgren after viva examination. (Photo: Gudrun Dahl)

male favouritism. They demanded change! The protests resulted in the establishment of AKSA, the Working Group for Women Social Anthropologists (*Arbetsgruppen för kvinnliga social-antropologer*), in 1973.

To his credit, Knutsson took it seriously. "You say that I am oppressing you, I don't think I am, but if you say so, then I probably am," said Knutsson, "so go find out what to do."

He rather unconventionally supported AKSA. He made the Department finance a weekend conference at *Bergendahls folkhögskola*, where the issue could really be debated among the women and something concrete come out. As one of the participants notes, remembering this historic event: "It turned into a regular revival meeting!"

Much of the 'looseness' of the 1970s, however, continued into the 1980s. There was periodically no real leadership or continuous supervision to count on. The seminars were supplemented by visiting professors who all took an interest in the research projects. In the 1980s, Moshe Shokeid came several times and Bruce Kapferer for a semester. The study group on phenomenology that he held in his dungeon-like apartment on Kungstensgatan in the mid-1980s is unforgettable.

There was a kind of blurred hierarchy with doctoral students keeping the ship afloat with teaching and doing administrative work, while arranging their own small series of seminars. It was exciting to be part of something new. All were young and engaged in finding out about anthropology. Yet this involvement had its disadvantages in the long run – it postponed their own dissertations and advancements. They became learned teachers – worried about not being 'good enough' and able to manage the critical students – now as they were on the other side of the fence. No matter, "it will work out, it always has...", several people reasoned, not concerned enough with their careers, until they realized that time was no longer on their side and the University became a more demanding controller of academic careers and increasingly scarce positions. This process has sharpened over the years.

In the end, the doctoral studies became more clearly organized with regular courses given, although more sporadically than in later years. Students again formed their own reading groups. People tend to remember such groups as important and stimulating, something they miss. Such seminars/discussion groups seldom have a specific goal; they are about searching, learning, and they have an ambient value.

With a reform of the universities in 1998, doctoral students have become more hedged in. Studies are more narrowly oriented to their own projects, which they must have decided on as they apply to the programme. They are more secure financially and in terms of social security. Yet their time is restricted. In four years they are supposed to have accomplished reading courses,

more or less a year of fieldwork, and writing up their ethnographic material into a thesis. In addition, they are of course still expected to participate in research seminars. Their teaching experiences are restricted to being assistants to the lecturers. For all that, their future as researchers or in finding employment is uncertain. "This streamlining is a misguided view of what research is about, and the varying conditions that universities have. The whole 'new management' drive is detrimental for the life of a department and the creativity of its students and researchers", one supervisor summarized the view that several others also have expressed. No wonder students hope that 'having a theory' from the start will more effectively and professionally solve their dilemmas of gathering their ethnography and writing it up in time.

#### Publishing theses

In 1974, the Department started its own publication series, the SSSA, to accommodate the printing of doctoral theses and other booklength manuscripts. The first book printed was Hannerz's "Caymanian Politics" in that year. The last to be published in the old series was Anette Nyqvist's "Opening the Orange Envelope" in 2008. Nowadays, the doctoral theses of the University are packaged in a blue-white Acta series – perhaps symptomatic of the centralizing regulatory frame in which research is finding itself.

SSSA was organized as a non-profit association with statutes, a board and a paying membership – in 1983, for example, the annual fee was 10 Swedish Crowns. Managing the SSSA series was as so much else in the hands of researchers and doctoral students. According to a rotating schedule – one month each – they were responsible for taking in orders of books and distributing them to customers, answering letters and keeping track of payments. In time, the work became too extensive as did problems with storage, so this was outsourced.

A council was constituted in the early 1970s, during Knutsson's era, in order to give department researchers the opportunity to influence the division of resources, the distribution of student scholarships, teaching, and administration. There was no constitutional ground for the council. It was instead a way for the head of department to delegate power, something the later formal Department Council also decided to do. The 'Resource Council' (Resursnämnden) was informal and advisory, with no power of decision. In the council resided the head of department, elected representatives from among the doctoral students, teachers and researchers, all who read through documents of applications and made recommendations to the Department Council. However, one of the professors was in the end not so pleased with this set-up, feeling that the committee was "more into equality than quality."

### A variety of projects and interests

In the 1970s, and the 1980s, there were a number of group projects, more or less loosely tied together. Many projects were individual. Quite a few were studies in Europe, some 'at home' in Sweden, but the majority outside Europe – countries in Africa, the Middle East, Asia, and Latin America. The variety has continued, now including the USA and some of the post-socialist countries in Europe.

The individual projects had a broad range of topics – an Indian reservation community in Canada, household management in a French municipality, Maasai pastoralism and changing gender relations, child raising and ideologies of personhood in Germany, class relations in a Swedish working-class community, young girls growing up in London, and a development project and local relations in Syria.

A study of the Sami minority in Sweden was conducted in the 1970s (Svensson 1976) and in 1981, Ulf Björklund conducted fieldwork among the Suryoyo from Turkey in Södertälje, one of the first anthropological studies of immigration in Sweden. He and several others at the Department working with issues of migration and ethnic relations at that time had close contacts with CEIFO, The Centre for Research in International Migration and Ethnic Relations, a multidisciplinary research centre of long-standing and international acclaim which for many years was a neighbour and collaborator with the Depart-

ment. Only very recently was CEIFO transferred, in diminished form, into the Department of Anthropology, as a research programme.

The Turkish group (*Damturken*) consisted of a small group of three doctoral students. They all located their studies among Turkish immigrants in a suburb to Stockholm. One was a study of Turkish women in Swedish health care. The other two turned to children in a daycare centre and in an elementary school. Those were the days when Swedish immigration policy on integration and the right to one's cultural heritage was to offer children 'home language' education. The Turkish children were learning mainly in Turkish, going to a Turkish class. The study of the day-care centre became an ethnographic film, one of the first among the few that have appeared at the Department.

#### Plural societies / PLUS

Although a quite different group project, the Plural Societies Project (PLUS) was launched and funded during the 1970s, but lasted to the end of the 1980s when the last of the three theses was completed. The research was linked to the early interest emanating from Hannerz's study of an urban ghetto and developed a focus on 'complex societies,' with forerunners in British studies of African towns and of the networks of ethnic and 'tribal' relations and in the American sociological studies of urban life. The three male doctoral students conducted

fieldwork in Yemen, Malaysia, and India, respectively. Hannerz conducted his study in Nigeria. Their theoretical approaches varied, but 'social stratification' is a recurring concept in their project descriptions. From the beginning, one of them was attempting a Marxist analysis of the mode of production, but found that it did not work. As one, now retired colleague contemplates, "For me, Marxist anthropology has been important, emotionally and politically, and still is, but I haven't succeeded in making a Marxist analysis of my material."

#### KOS – women and social change

In 1976, one could read in the largest evening paper: "The Tercentennial Fund of the National Bank has this year given its largest grant, half a million Swedish Crowns, to a research team of five women for their project 'Women and Social Change' in different parts of the world." It was an unusual endeavour, and prestigious for the Department.

They had all participated in AKSA and supported by Knutsson decided to organize a collaborative research project on women and social change for their PhDs, a comparative study of women in five different societies including Colombia, Ghana, Yugoslavia, Morocco, and Sweden, which was. Their stated aim was to "correct an anthropological deficit and give a more complete and valid view of social life which must include the work and lives of wom-

en, as well as that of men; to explore what opportunities and power women have of taking control of their lives; and to see how social changes have influenced women's lives." It was the first and most ambitious group project at the Department (AS 1981).

In their common 'log book', they made notes of topics to discuss with each other: since it was to be a comparative study, how would this be accomplished? They had many, many discussions about how to proceed gathering the empirical material, what kind of material was needed and how to go about gathering this "without constantly feeling at a loss as to how to structure the data." Should they concentrate on the same issues? What concepts to work with? In a sense, they put the cart before the horse, realizing this only when the different fieldwork had gotten underway. Like generations of doctoral students after them, they were prone to be too theoretical, too structured before they knew their fields well enough. "We should have done each our own study and then from our results drawn out issues that could have been raised to a level of comparison," one of the former participants reflects.

Another entry is a brief, somewhat despondent reflection from one Friday afternoon during the autumn semester. Sitting in the project room, E, who is temporarily home, writes in their log-book, "The wind is blowing right through the room here, making the glass façade



KOS ("Women and Social Change") were pioneers in Swedish feminist research. Here Eva Sköld, Eva Evers-Rosander, Prudence Berger and Gunilla Bjeren. (Aftonbladet 1976)

and the aluminium roofing creak and moan. It sounds as if this whole ice-blue university building will fall apart any minute, like a house of cards...There was a report from ER that arrived today – desperation. The usual conflict of roles in the field. Sometimes I wonder if we were just too naïve and optimistic about this whole project. Will all the suffering feel worth it in the end? Yes, maybe. Probably."

#### Fieldwork/Life in the field

"To me, the most important aspect of anthropology is that of fieldwork, the detailed and indepth work with the 'people themselves,' taking part in how they see their lives," an older colleague once said. As one younger colleague comments, 'fieldwork raises questions, it is a kind of problematization."

What is fieldwork all about? How do we go about conducting fieldwork in our different projects? In the late 1970s, edited volumes on fieldwork methods began to see the light of day, often less technical and distanced. One or the other were more personal, however, like that of Freilich's 'Marginal Natives' (1970) or the edited volume by Golde, 'Women in the Field' (1970). The few more detailed and sensitive descriptions such as Briggs' (1970) or Bowen's (1954) were far apart, and not seen as intellectually compelling as the ethnographic monographs and theoretical treatises. They were mainly written by women, which is noted in the much later volume 'Anthropology and Autobiography' (Okely & Callaway 1992).

At this time, an initiative was taken to arrange a seminar series about 'life in the field.' The publications in existence were not about the *whole* field situation and *our own* experiences. How do people live in the field? What demands are they confronted with? Who are one's contacts? What influences one's sense of well-being or discomfort in the field? What influences choice of field site?

Every Wednesday morning for a year, an informal and open group of the Department's researchers and doctoral candidates met to exchange experiences on a variety of issues relevant to their different projects and fieldwork.

The point was that the seminar should have a 'holistic view' of fieldwork and not just take up questions of method in a circumscribed, technical sense. The discussions revolved around the significance and problematics of one's gender, family situation, the language difficulties one had, how one's network of contacts evolved, and relations with assistants. People's fields were widely dispersed geographically, but many difficulties and methodological/theoretical issues were shared. This rich material was compiled in a modest form in a special issue of the small local student-led magazine, *Antro-pologiska Studier* (1977: 21).

One of the more difficult topics was that of field notes. "The tendency to one-up-manship, that at times made itself felt during the seminars, became more prominent and the atmosphere became more defensive" wrote Birgitta Percivall (1977: 33), going on to write about the participants' struggle with doing 'real work' - that is, interviewing, writing notes, and the more participatory activities of 'hanging around.' The contradiction became apparent, between the critique of positivism and the general agreement, that anthropology cannot become an 'exact' science, one the one hand, and the unhappy admiration for the social sciences' use of more technically sophisticated methods than ours on the other.

Since then, the debates on the meaning of participant observation, the formation and de-

limitation of a field site, the relationship between experience and anthropological knowledge, as well as the more practical aspects of conducting fieldwork, have gone on. For many years it has been formally included in graduate course work as well as in undergraduate teaching.

For anthropology, it has always been problematic, whether implicitly or explicitly, 'who' the anthropologist is in relation to her or his research subjects, and what the possible sources of bias are. In the 1960s and 1970s we learned that we should see things from "the native's point of view," as Malinowski wrote, yet avoid the dangers of 'going native.' We were taught to distinguish between the 'emic' and the 'etic' the native's views and experiences and the anthropologist's privileged analytical position. Subsequently, this gave rise to worries whether the people we studied were 'informants' or if they could be called 'friends.'

In time, this 'native' has become all the more problematic, as if everyone were the same. Did people not think and do things differently everywhere? In other words, what is 'culture?' Was it difference or sameness that we were concerned with? What was being compared in the comparative project that anthropology claimed to be? Issues of hierarchy, power, and gender entered the debates and 'the Other' became a different kind of dilemma. Again, who was the anthropologist in this post-colonial world? Whose voices were being heard in the ethnog-

raphies? The problem sharpened and became more politicized. It was the post-structuralist era, and the reflexive turn of the 1980s and 1990s. This 'turn' has shifted its intention and meaning, but the significance of the anthropologist as a political subject has remained a compelling problem. It questions concepts of culture, of representation and cultural translation.

## End of a decade and a new professor

Already in 1969, Hannerz received his Doctorate and thereby made the newspaper headlines. In the provincial thinking of those days, his thesis, 'Soulside', an ethnographic study of an African American ghetto, was with its lack of statistics not really seen as scientific by the social scientists in the examination committee. None of them were anthropologists and competent to judge, having no clue about anthropological methods or theoretical perspectives, or that the book would become a classic. They were unwilling to give him the highest grade, which would have made him Docent and eligible to apply for professorship. He is quoted as saying: "[T]he kind of one-man show that a professorship is will disappear. Becoming professor or county governor (landshövding) is the end-station of a long career and there you sit until you die. If you wish to do research it is not especially attractive to have to sacrifice half of your time on office work".

He was 29 at the time. A little more than ten years later, nearing the prime of his career, he must have changed his mind since he applied for and took on a professorship after all. In addition, he was head of department for several longer or shorter periods until he retired in 2007.

#### Performing an initiation ritual

By the time of Hannerz's instalment, the graduate students he had known at the Department were also much more in the know, compared to the days of Knutsson. They had read and taught van Gennep, Mauss, Turner, and Douglas, so Hannerz was installed and celebrated accordingly. Academic formalities were one thing, but the tribe at the Department wished to celebrate its new headman. With meticulous preparations, a rite of passage was to be arranged. Everyone stood gathered in the venue that had been rented (a restaurant in town). The room was lit only with candles. In a Turneresque mode, two ritual experts, two of the female graduate students, dressed in flowing textiles, their faces painted white, led the trembling initiate to the centre of the room, placed him prostrate on the floor and covered him with leaves. The music throbbed and the ritual experts danced around and around the still body. As his old identity successfully died he was raised up and placed in a special chair, covered in a royal mantel. Our chief was born! The audience cheered and the ritual experts departed. And the party lasted far into the night.

#### Research in the 1980s

Gender continued

Studies of women and gender have been a continuous and more and more complex issue in anthropology since the 1970s and the days of AKSA and KOS. Like most other research issues, it has been linked to the wider theoretical and political debates. Perspectives have shifted from studies primarily on women, by women – few men have proven specifically interested in studies of women – to a wider scope on gender and sexuality and the problematization of feminism, subsequently taking in theories of queer and heteronormativity.

The body and sexuality have been part of anthropological research since the days of Malinowski and Mead, but then mainly in relation to marriage, socialization processes, initiation rituals, circumcision, and homosexual behaviour. Issues of sexuality and the body in terms of power relations and performance are a much later theoretical development. However, socially and culturally pervasive, gender analysis is a more or less separate topic and research focus and has at the Department its own reading course. Some 'do gender,' others don't, as it were.

The seminar series on women at the Department had been going on for quite some time



Mona Rosendahl acted as ritual leader when the Department in 1981 celebrated its new professor, Ulf Hannerz. (Photo: Gudrun Dahl)

when, at the end of the 1980s, the suggestion was to rename it 'The gender theory seminar,' GET (Genusteoretiska seminariet). In 1987, a volume with contributions from several of the researchers at the Department was published with the title Från kön till genus (From Sex to Gender, ed. Kulick 1987). Although some were afraid that the use of the gender concept would again make women invisible, most of the participants opted for 'gender.' Although the nature/ culture dichotomy had been discussed and critiqued for some time, a seemingly indisputable distinction made between biological sex and the social/cultural sex was still taken for granted, which, it was argued, would be confounded if

the term 'kön/sex' were to be retained instead of the more distinctive concept gender.

Since most of the participants in the gender seminar were graduate students, they decided to compile a reading list for a credit-giving course. The papers they wrote were discussed in the seminar and later printed in abbreviated form in the special issue, 'The Gender Debate,' of the departmental student journal, *Antropologiska Studier* (1990).

### Development as ideology and folk model

'Development' and related issues of social change, modernization, and progress had been a prominent interest since the days of Knutsson. Already in 1974, the Development Studies Unit was established, an initiative of Knutsson, leading to the constitution of 'Sektionen' - the Development Studies Unit - connected to the Department but financed by SIDA assignments. Unfortunately, it became marked by a division between applied and theoretical anthropology, and almost turned into 'a supplier of convenient labour for SIDA,' in the opinion of some. However, the Unit arranged a series of seminars at which the Department's researchers and students would sometimes participate. It was for quite a few of the Department's doctoral students and researchers a source of experience in development work, what it entailed, and a source of shorter and longer periods of employment.

In the mid-1980s, a group project was initiated by Gudrun Dahl, focusing on development as an ideological and cultural concept and 'the processes through which Western thinking about development is reproduced and communicated in developing countries.' A variety of research issues were part of this overarching project and the series of seminars that were organized every semester for quite a few years discussed a number of different theoretical and ethnographic problems. The projects included a large variety of studies - how the 'concept of development among the Boraana nomads of Ethiopia and Kenya relate to their traditional notion of growth as a central cultural value and fate as a cyclical phenomenon'; comparing notions of development in Jordan, Kuwait and Syria as this was communicated in political speeches, education and mass media; language shift in a small village in Papua New Guinea and villager's cargo-oriented ideas about development and its relation to Catholicism and white skin; the conceptions of development in local and regional notions of belonging and cultural identity and processes of mobilization in Sweden. 'Kam-ap or Take-off' was an edited volume with contributions from the different participants of the seminar series (Dahl & Rabo 1992), in addition to the Swedish volume, 'Bortom bruksandan' ('Beyond the Company Town Mentality', Ekman 1996).

In 1989, the Department had received a second professor in 'Anthropology, especially development research.' 'Development,' which is central in Western thinking, is a problematic concept. It "has a normative and evaluative meaning," as Dahl notes (Dahl 1989:4), which goes against the grain of anthropology. So, the appointed professor herself, Dahl, commented on the paradox of the specification of the professorship (ibid). This interest in conceptualizations of 'development' has been extended to the more current theoretical interests in environmental issues, sustainability, resilience concepts that today are common, yet problematic, and the focus of critical studies in several of the Department's projects.

## Research on cultural organization

'Cultural organization' had become a significant research focus at the Department, so far expressed on an unarticulated basis in various projects. To create a forum for such interests, a seminar group, FOKO, was loosely formed in 1987 by Hannerz, open to researchers and doctoral students concerned with theories of culture. The notion of cultural organization was meant to problematize the relationship between culture and social organization. The world is all the more complex, it is stated in the presentation of the group. In terms of ideas and forms of expression and representation, culture may still be seen as a collective phenomenon,

but hardly as something undifferentially shared. Culture is diversely distributed but socially organized. Quite concretely, the group's participants represented varying areas of interest – the division of labour as a division of knowledge; popular culture; research and education as cultural processes; the significance of information and media technologies for the organization of cultures; transnational cultural flows; cultural identity in relation to ethnicity and nationalism.

These regularly recurring seminars stretched over many years, reflecting one of the more prominent research profiles at the Department at the time. It has continued and been reformulated into various projects, and is one of the predecessors of the current 'profile area' of the Department – transnational anthropology.

To some, the focus on culture seemed to disregard the workings of economic and political structures and power relations. A group of (doctoral) students declared that the interest in economy and economic organization had "decreased to the extent that we must do something radical! The individualisation of doctoral studies and the interest in so-called cultural analyses shows that we need to take a renewed interest in studies of economic organization and inequality". Seminars were to be organized and those interested were instructed to contact the two initiators, calling themselves 'Not yet PhD' and 'Never Attaining Docentship.' How-

ever, there was, and has been, an ongoing diversity of interests and theoretical debates at the Department about power, economic organization and shifts in the labour market and meanings of labour, work that has incorporated both culture, power, mechanisms of control and dependence.

#### The material and the visual

The interest in 'material culture' is of course an old one, central to the Museum, and so something the critical students in early years were more interested in avoiding than studying. Slowly, the material aspects of social life reappeared in a different theoretical guise and became an important part of the anthropological project in terms of 'the social life of things' (Appadurai 1986) and their uses and consumption (Miller 1987). But 'things' raise problems. What is a 'thing,' and what is its materiality? In other words, the problem concerns severing life from things, the material. Today, doctoral students confront in their courses the disconcerting question if 'glaciers listen' or 'forests think.' It may seem far-fetched, but the issue is whether or not we can understand and come close to a world, where some of our interlocutors think that glaciers do listen (Cruikshank 2005) or forests think (Kohn 2013). This raises anew the question of what difference is and what it means for the anthropological project and our conceptions of who 'the Other' is.

'Material culture' was about documenting, and in a different way so are the images - photos, films - that anthropologists make. These are, however, also much more, since the whole idea of documentation alludes to some kind of objectivity. Most anthropologists will remember one or another of the ethnographic films they have seen during their studies and the strong impression it made, and the seemingly odd black and white photos in early monographs - Malinowski sitting on his veranda talking to some 'informant,' Margaret Mead wearing a Samoan dress, standing beside her female informant, or the Nuer leopard-chief holding his status paraphernalia in Evans-Pritchard's monograph.

Most anthropologists take photos during fieldwork; many monographs contain pictures of various field situations and persons, including the anthropologist herself. Yet, what is the relation between image and text? What message is conveyed? What are the aesthetics employed? How is ethnographic film-making related to fieldwork? Somewhat differently, how do we study the images produced by others? Ethnographic films have always been used in teaching, especially in undergraduate courses. Visual anthropology has also been a growing interest, both in the making of various images and in the study of images produced by the people being studied.

Already in 1972, a Nordic film association, NAFA, was initiated at the anthropology depart-

ment in Uppsala. It engaged a number of our department's graduate students and researchers. For many years, the Ethnographic Museum was responsible for archiving the films. Several of the graduate students were engaged in the festivals and workshops, but there has not been any training as such at the Department (AS 1986). A few films have nonetheless been produced. An early film, Pinnarävar, was based on fieldwork among workers in a Swedish smalltown factory. A more recent film, "B.A.T.A.M." was based on work among migrants in a freetrade zone in Indonesia. Today, members of the Department are invited to participate in a departmental lab workshop on digital photography and HD video.

# The research seminars and thinking about hierarchy

What are seminars for?

"The research seminar is the backbone (or the 'life blood') of the Department, both academically and socially," as one colleague formulates it. "It is something akin to a gift economy – by participating, giving, you also receive," as another sees it. "But now it's more of the neoliberal attitude – what-can-I-get-out-of-this-type-of-thinking."

Throughout the past 50-odd years, a variety of seminars have been a standing phenomenon at the Department, as in any other academic department. The complaint that students do not

participate enough is an unresolved issue that transcends every generation.

Apart from the weekly or bi-weekly general research seminars, there have been an array of temporary or long-term seminars for different purposes and topics - regional, methodological, theoretical, and seminars for presenting work in progress. In the 1970s and 1980s, the few formal courses offered to doctoral students made the various seminars all the more important and encouraged students to take initiatives to form reading and discussion groups. There was in the beginning a sense of enthusiasm among the generationally fairly homogenous, and at times acephalous, group of graduate students/teachers/administrators. There was "an implicit but pervasive denial of academic hierarchy," as Tomas Gerholm wrote in a document.

Research seminars are meant to be fora for thought and communication but easily become fora for personal positioning and experiences of uncertainty. There is a tension between the wish for the uncensored openness and the formality of the institutional seminars, however informal they are meant to be. The seminar room seems to constitute a supreme place in the academic world for performing hierarchy. The emplacement in the room, who tends to sit where, is part of this performance. Then again, "if you don't participate at the seminar, take part in the discussion, you can get caught up in hierarchies, seeing more of that than the poten-

tials of the seminars, the learning," as one researcher reflected. One may feel or act as if one's whole intellectual credibility is at stake. Even in the early days, the intended openness of the 'Life in the field' seminar ran into trouble as "some tended to dominate discussions at the expense of others," Gerholm writes (AS 1976). Already in 1970, a group of female students felt that the research seminars were such a "demoralizing pain," given the dominance of some of the males, and arranged a form of 'pre-seminars' to prepare themselves by discussing the paper and conjuring good arguments. "It was very helpful, lasted a couple of years."

## Alternative fora

In the 1990s a series of debates were arranged with those doctoral students who so wished to participate. They were based on the recurring debates at Manchester University, a number of them which were gathered in a volume, 'Key Debates in Anthropology' (Ingold 1996), and followed the format in simplified form: two speakers argue, one for, the other against a chosen theoretical statement, followed by general discussion. A number of interesting and compelling issues were debated. It was intriguing and great fun, inspiring people who tended to be silent at regular seminars to actively participate and not succumb to a sense of uncertainty or unease that is such a common occurrence at seminars.

About ten years ago a small group of doctoral students decided to arrange their own reading group, the Vasa seminar, named after the pub where they met. After a while, the group transformed into more of a thesis-text group. They took turns carefully commenting on each other's texts at various stages. "We tried to be constructive, but thinking back, we were probably too critical, too detailed. We may even have contributed in delaying each other in finishing our theses. Then again, it led to some rewarding general anthropological discussions. Apart from that it has always been nice to meet regularly in a relaxing pub environment!."

# The move towards 'internationalization' – 'centre and periphery'

In the introduction to a special issue on national anthropologies in *Ethnos*, Gerholm and Hannerz state that "one of our interests is in the inequalities of international anthropology; in the ways the strong influence the relatively weaker" (1982:6). Their concern coincides with the general interest in anthropology at the time, namely the tensions between 'centre' and 'periphery.' How does this relate to the Stockholm Department?

What is the meaning of 'international?' What constitutes a 'centre?' What is a 'periphery?' In different ways the issue has been an ongoing aspect of our discussions about research, teaching, publications, and language

use. Concepts and notions of centre and periphery may, however, easily reify relations, overlooking temporal, spatial and intellectual shifts and changes.

To what extent do we cultivate our own signum? The dilemma is that a small national research community can end up becoming just a "safe haven for mediocrity" (ibid:12).

Although differentiated, centres may remain on the whole intact, self-sufficient with little awareness of the peripheries. Peripheries do not necessarily turn to each other as much as to centres. Whether we could, at some point in the future, take a role in decentralizing anthropology (and if) Swedish anthropology (would) be any more acceptable to the Third World than the metropolitan, great-power anthropologies is still an open question. Individual researchers have through their networks and specific interests and publications surely had an impact within their specialities, or even in terms of broader issues – such as transnationalism, globalization, migration, organization, development, and law.

At the same time, a department may have its own version of 'centre' and 'periphery' – or hierarchy, perhaps more to the point. Some researchers are for various reasons central in terms of formal position, generation, gender and scholarly accomplishments – while others revolve around them as constant or temporary and shifting peripheries. What are the consequences of such a division of labour?

On the Vega Day Symposium of 1995, 'Culture and Voice in Social Anthropology,' Veena Das, the Indian anthropologist, was awarded the Retzius medal. Hannerz refers to the issue of periphery in his presentation: "She asks us to listen to more voices than what mainstream metropolitan anthropologists have historically done: to the scholars of the periphery, grounding their work in other experiences and world views; to women, youth and children; to victims of disaster and upheaval" (Hannerz 1995:158, Restrepo & Escobar 2005). What have we ourselves taken in of the various 'peripheries'?

#### Stockholm Roundtable

The suggestion for an annual Stockholm Roundtable in Anthropology was raised some years ago, to create an unconventional meeting place for discussing particular issues. One or two of the Department's researchers are responsible for organizing a particular meeting. The main contributions are to be given by the Department's own researchers, with a few invited speakers/ interlocutors. All papers are brief, the point being to discuss and to exchange ideas and experiences. The stimulation of guest participants from different places has, however, come to rather dominate the scene. As some feel "there is too much emphasis on guests, while our own researchers come in second hand, risking that we place ourselves in the periphery" and assume that we have less to offer than others.

#### The last few decades

The FOKO seminars continued into the 1990s and globalization entered the research vocabulary, together with transnational connections, cultural complexity and 'flow.' While culture was on the agenda, far from the earlier straight-jacket of the territorialized, trait-oriented view of culture, the culture concept became an issue to reflect over. Could 'culture' both be a descriptive and an analytical concept? What could Marxist analyses do with this concept? With Geertz stepping out onto the scene early on with his 'webs of meaning' and interpretative take, the concept raised problems of symbolization and representation. Over time it became an even more problematic issue for us to think about.

On the one hand, there were issues of culture and globalization, of culture mediated through the media and the internet. The topic of cultural flows raised problems in relation to method and fieldwork – where to do fieldwork? The 'field' as place and locality could be anywhere, as before, but also everywhere simultaneously. The article by Marcus on multi-sited anthropology from 1995 raised what had been going on to the status of (an American) discovery. It was referred to so often that finally the whole issue seemed to become an end in itself. Recently, the pendulum swung back a bit to a defence of the 'one sited' field (cf. Candea 2007). However, before it got to

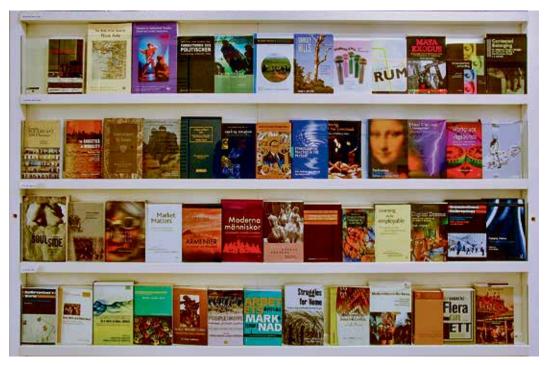


In the spring of 2014, the Department held a competition for the best student photo documentation. This is a corridor exhibition featuring female tea workers at Siliguri in Northern India, made by Sandra Åhman. (Photo: Mats Danielson)

that, Hannerz edited a volume (2001) with contributions from department researchers, *Flera fält i ett* ('Several sites in one').

On the other hand, there were the problems of power and practice addressed by Bourdieu and the theories of political economy: power and knowledge as forms of surveillance, governmentality in the terms of Foucault, opening for analyses of the 'audit culture' of Neoliberalism and of the increasing 'benevolent' surveil-

lance of educational systems and practices. Such theorizing could also be connected to the organization and diversification of the labour market and how people experience work. This interest has developed into a number of current projects both in Sweden and abroad on 'flexible labour' and manpower agencies, EU bureaucrats at work, as well as normative educational policies, and, lately, how 'think tanks' work and influence policies.



The book cabinet mirrors the width of thematic and regional interests at the Department of Social Anthropology. (Photo: Mats Danielson)

With the growing interest in mobilities of all kinds, and the practical and ideational movements that make up people's lives in relation to migration, labour, organizations, policies, and kinship, the Department formulated a programme for its overarching profile, Transnational Anthropology. Subsequently, four thematic clusters were formed – Migration, Media, Environment and Organization.

These clusters are fora for paper presentation, small workshops with outside researchers, and reading groups. Thematically and theoretically they overlap and 'membership' is loose. Most find something in these clusters that relate to their different research interests. In different ways, many issues connect the 21<sup>st</sup> century decades with the theoretical and political concerns of the 1960s and 1970s.



Thoughtful listeners at an anthropological seminar: Mark Graham and Simon Johansson. (Photo: Gudrun Dahl)

#### Some final words

As anthropology goes through its twists and turns, some turns are declared to be more crucial than others. Such declarations of turns or crises appear to come mainly from the more established centres. An 'ontological turn' is the most recent, leaving us in a somewhat bewildered state, as crises tend to do. This 'turn' questions any conceptions of what anthropology is all about. We are again asked to ponder: "[W]hat is an anthropologist and who's the native?" (Viveiros de Castro 2003:2). Waiting to figure out an answer, we must also 'get on with anthropology' as best we can. A colleague

mused while thinking about anthropology, that it has changed her as a person, made her see things differently, and question assumptions and relations in a way that colleagues in other disciplines find unnecessarily complicates matters. The problem is, how do we know what is unnecessary?

Not only professors, researchers and doctoral students move about in the Department corridors, attending all the 'very important seminars with very important guests,' queuing in the stuffy little copy machine room to print out articles, schedules or project proposals in the last hectic minute, or hanging around in the kitchen talking and joking, planning the next 'beer seminar,' Persons have varied - from the professor's own somewhat scary secretary many years ago in the age of typewriters and black telephones, to the present staff of efficient and open internet users - but the staff of administrators are the reliable presence at the Department. The bureaucratic superstructure is unavoidably there to keep absolutely everyone in the folds of university rules and regulations. Who would be able to manage without this small local group of administrators? Who would be able to offer such a sense of stability and good company? Certainly, through the years, some have at times given up on us, tired of confusions, heavy workloads, unclear hierarchies and empty corridors, and left us for more interesting projects. Others have come,

tried us out and found that, "yes, why not stay on, researchers aren't always such a bad, incomprehensible lot" as it were.

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# Department of Social Work

**Tommy Lundström** 

THE DEPARTMENT of Social Work was not part of the Faculty of Social Sciences when it was formed 50 years ago, but the Department still has a fairly lengthy history. The main theme of this text is to show how a professional education programme at the college level can be included in a university system, and to do this we must go far back in time.

# The early history of social work

In 1981, the School of Social Work (Socialhögskolan), as it was known at that time, published an anniversary issue – '60 years of the School of Social Work' (Socialhögskolan – 60 år). In other words, the first Swedish social work programme started in 1921 as what was then known as the Institute of Social Policy and Municipal Education and Research (Institutet för socialpolitisk och kommunal utbildning och forskning). The institute was founded to provide the expanding cities and municipalities with trained administrators and social workers.

The Stockholm programme was, for more than 20 years, the only one in Sweden. It was initially run privately (at least formally) by the National Association for Social Work, a voluntary association with its roots in the 19<sup>th</sup> century charity movements.

One of the texts in the anniversary issue was written by Gunnar Heckscher, who was dean of the school from 1945 to 1954. Heckscher describes a history where the School of Social Work was tasked with providing a university education for persons who had previously been excluded from these environments. He points to a number of successful examples of persons, who graduated at the institute, including a couple of government ministers (Heckscher 1981). Heckscher was one of several well-known deans at the School of Social Work. Others include Gösta Bagge, professor of Economics and right-wing politician (dean from 1921 to 1941) and Bengt Börjeson, who was known for participating in public debates on social issues and



Past rectors of the College of Social Work: Gösta Bagge (1921-1938), Gunnar Heckscher (1939-1954), Hans Meijer (1961–1966) and Gunnar Hellström (1972-1980). (Photo: Mats Danielson)

who was later vice-chancellor of the Stockholm Institute of Education, LHS.

The schools of social work were nationalised in the early 1960s, at around the same time as the social science faculties were founded. The nationalisation meant that a Degree of Bachelor in Social Work (*socionomexamen*) was now considered to be on a par with regular academic degrees, although there was no specific academic discipline entitled 'Social Work'. Back then, approximately 200 students per

year graduated from all the schools that existed at that time – Stockholm, Lund, Umeå and Gothenburg. This figure is slightly lower than the number of students now graduating each year from the Department in Stockholm alone.

It was not until the major university reform of 1977 that the School of Social Work became part of the university system. In the 1981 publication earlier mentioned, a few years after the reform, one can still perceive some confusion regarding the new system and some sentimental-

ity for the 'good old days' when the schools were independent institutions, even if they were firmly governed by the state (Mundebo 1981).

Reidar Larsson, political scientist and the first head of department, interpreted the situation so that, following the 1997 reform, it was mainly the universities that conformed to the schools of social work, rather than the other way around. Think what you will about this claim, but there was one aspect where it was very clear that the entity that became the Department of Social Work was to conform to the University and the Faculty of Social Sciences. It was to offer doctoral studies in the new academic field of social work.

In the anniversary issue, Reidar Larsson expressed conventional sentiments regarding the doctoral education (which back in 1981 already had 15 admitted doctoral students). He emphasised that the doctoral education should not be detached from the undergraduate studies, that good methodological training was required and that research should not distance itself from the practice of social work. One can, however, sense a concern regarding the ties to practical work: "How were the academic teachers to keep contact with their professional field?" he asked himself. There was also some remorse regarding how they would be received by the established academia: "Some dyed-in-the-wool academics may, slightly dismissively, call our education workmanlike"

(Larsson 1981:82). This more or less constructed contradiction between theory and practice, or academia and the "real world", was of some importance during the early years of establishing the discipline and is still, but to a lesser extent, discussed today.

Thus a doctoral education in the field of social work had to be introduced. The first professor was Hans Berglind, who at the time was docent at the Department of Sociology in Stockholm. He was already working on a project, which had strong ties to social work, before he started his work as professor in 1979. Berglind was the second professor of social work. The first professorship was announced in Gothenburg slightly before when another sociologist, Harald Swedner, was appointed (Sunesson 2003).

Maybe it is not so strange that the first professorships were given to sociologists. Several sociologists, including Walter Korpi and Hans Berglind, both from the Faculty of Social Science in Stockholm, had in various ways, and sometimes with considerable opposition, been involved, with the support from the social workers' union and their contacts within the government bureaucracy, in the work to introduce the new academic discipline. In one way, the model which they strived for was the American, where social work had long been an established academic field. But as Berglind later said: "We were not, however, interested in

making the Swedish field as micro-focused as its American precursor." (Berglind 1991:12–13, see also Sunesson 2003).

# Establishing an academic discipline

Social work as an academic discipline was created through an administrative reform rather than as the result of an internal academic demand. Historically, new academic disciplines often come about by breaking off from existing disciplines, such as sociology developing from philosophy – i.e., evolution through specialisation (Janson 1995). Social work can instead be described as an interdisciplinary field, with connections to sociology, psychology, law, etc. It has a special focus on what could roughly be described as social problems, and later also on matters concerning the elderly and persons with functional disabilities.

In the early years there was much discussion regarding the content, methodology and theoretical grounding of the new subject. This was often conducted with reference to profession theory, based on the discipline's international background (mainly in the US), and as a delimitation with respect to other subjects. It is of course quite natural for a new academic discipline to focus on these kinds of introverted issues, even if the answers to the questions posed may often fail to advance things very much. In very general terms, the focus of social work is still usually described as social problems and

various types of measures – both socio-political and individually targeted - for solving such problems. The subject is therefore designed more around a research object than any specific range of theories or methodologies. The research object is, however, changeable and partly determined by historical circumstances, such as the issues with which the profession has previously been concerned. As far as the latter is concerned, this differs from country to country. For a good overview of the early establishment of the discipline on a national level, you can consult Sune Sunesson's 'Socialt arbete - en bakgrund till ett forskningsämne' (Social Work - a background to the research subject), which he wrote for a national review of the subject of social work that was conducted by the then Swedish Research Council for Health, Working Life and Welfare (FAS) and the National Agency for Higher Education (Sunesson 2003).

The teachers employed by the Department of Social Work in Stockholm in the late 1970s often had a background in sociology, psychology or law, or had a background in applied social work. It could be said that the Department was brought in line with the academic world from the top down; the first positions appointed were professorships and the persons appointed were recruited from other subjects. Via the doctoral education, the Department could subsequently appoint senior lecturers with expertise in the new subject.



The entrance to the building known as Sveaplans gymnasium where the Department of Social Work is located, together with the research institutes CHESS and SoRAD. (Photo: Mats Danielson)

With the aid of special government support, another professorship was created in the late 1980s that focused on substance abuse issues. Anders Bergmark currently holds this position. Later, in the 1990s, another professorship was created – again as a result of specific government support – this time with a focus on social work with the elderly. The current holder of this position is Marta Szebehely. It would take almost 20 more years before the next professorship was created, this time with a focus on social work with children and adolescents. This position

was financed by the Faculty as part of an ambition to generally strengthen research on children in the context of the University's take-over of the responsibilities for teachers' training. Its current holder is Tommy Lundström. Counting the original professorship that is currently held by Åke Bergmark, this means that there are four professorships in total. The Department also has three promoted professors: Evy Gunnarsson, Marie Sallnäs and Bo Vinnerljung.

Let us go back to the discipline's formation, development and academic establishment. The



Bo Beskow's wall painting (1939) at Sveaplans gymnasium reflects that the building was originally one of Sweden's only two secondary schools for girls, built when it had been decided that women could become state employees. The gender roles reflected in the painting may however feel a bit outdated today. (Photo: Mats Danielson)

first Stockholm-based doctoral thesis was presented in 1983, but it had, to all intents and purposes, been created outside of the Department. Theses from the Department's own doctoral programme started to be published at the end of the 1980s. A decent publishing rate was not achieved until the beginning of the 1990s. Many of the early doctoral projects were financed by what was then the Delegation for Social Research, the support of which was im-

portant for establishing the social work research field.

It is difficult to distinguish any clear theme in the first 20 or 30 Stockholm theses. Their subject matters are quite disparate, but there is a clear connection to the professional field of social work. In attempting to discern a common denominator, it can be noted that some of them had their roots in the 'Social Services Project' (Socialtjänstprojektet) led by Docent

Ulla Pettersson. The empirical focus of the project was on what is normally referred to as individual and family care or personal social services, i.e. the social work with and organisation of child protection, drug abuse treatment and social assistance at the municipal level.

When FAS and the National Agency for Higher Education evaluated the subject of social work in 1983, they noted that the Stockholm department's research had become academically established. This is how the assessors described the Stockholm department:

"The conclusion is that the research at the School of Social Work /in Stockholm/ should be considered very positively /.../ The Department is at the forefront nationally when it comes to research into social work, is on a par with other university departments in Sweden, ahead of corresponding departments in other Nordic countries, and measures up well internationally with respect to social work research." (FAS & Högskoleverket [the National Agency for Higher Education] 2003:324, my translation)

The report also commends Stockholm University and the Faculty of Social Sciences, which may be something worth citing in this context:

"This positive status is largely due to the Department, the Faculty and the University Board systematically and consciously working to allow the

Department to develop its research." (FAS & Hög-skoleverket 2003, 324, my translation)

It is reasonable to suggest that, since then, the Department has improved its position still further, both in absolute and relative terms. The Department is still at the "forefront nationally" when it comes to social work research. The researchers have managed to retain a decent admission percentage in applications to research councils. They therefore enjoy an extensive level of external financing for research that exceeds the faculty financed research grants. The number of doctoral degrees awarded is currently around 80 and the rate of thesis production is steady.

Personal social services in the municipalities still constitute an important focus for the Department's research. In other words, a large number of persons have graduated in areas connected with child protection, drug abuse treatment and social assistance. These are also the areas where the majority of social workers are active. In this sense, the research has a high degree of practical relevance. In addition to this, there is a distinct expansion of research focusing on social work with the elderly, most recently through a six-year program grant of SEK 18 million. Research is also conducted regarding the knowledge base applicable to social work and the forms of evidence-based policymaking that have been employed in social work over the last 20 years. One particular area of importance concerns the effects

that privatisation of services has on elderly care and personal social services.

### **Education**

In the early 1990s, about 10 years after the formation of the new discipline, it was noted that the recruitment of senior lecturers at the Department had gone slower than expected: "This somewhat peculiar situation has thus arisen, that whilst there now [...] are professorships and various doctoral positions within social work, positions in undergraduate education are still fairly sparse" (Berglind 1991:12, my translation). In retrospect, it can be said that the education in the early 1990s was in many ways characterised by its history, i.e. independent schools operating outside of the university system. The teaching staff to a large degree still consisted of persons without a doctoral degree. Newly graduated doctors were focusing more on research than on undergraduate education. Combined with the fact that students spent long periods on placements (there were two semesters of placements back then), this meant that the academic part of the social work programme was being somewhat neglected.

A few years later, the social work programme in Stockholm was expanded significantly. Through an agreement between Karolinska Institutet and Stockholm University, the County Council-owned School of Health Sciences in Stockholm transferred in 1998 its so-

cial care programmes to the Department. This meant that the Department was tasked with creating two new programmes – 'Social Pedagogics' and 'Social Work with the Elderly and with Persons with Functional Disabilities' – as versions of the social work programme.

At the same time 20 teachers, most of them without a doctoral degree, and 250 students were moved from the School of Health Sciences to the Department. The first students were admitted to the new programmes in the autumn semester of 1998 and graduated in January 2002. The addition, which meant that the student stock in the social work programme increased by around 30 per cent to approximately 1,000 students, was obviously welcome. There was no doubt that the programmes that had been transferred belonged within the social work programme. This also provided the new professorship, with a focus on social work for the elderly, a clearer foundation in undergraduate education. Naturally, the integration of the new teachers and students required time and resources. This all took place fairly shortly after the Department had made a rather demanding move from Frescati to Sveaplan.

When the National Agency for Higher Education and FAS presented their evaluation of social work in 2003, it can be noted that the Department was performing well as far as research was concerned. However, the education was not quite up to this level. While it was not-

ed that there had been several improvements made since the previous assessment in 1999, there were still problems, for example with respect to inferior performance levels and a lack of organisation in the teaching. Admittedly, it is hard to compare the various assessments made by the National Agency for Higher Education – there has not exactly been a focus on continuity – but it could still be noted that the 2009 assessment gave the Department decidedly better marks. Together with three other programmes, the Stockholm department met the requirements for very high quality (The National Agency for Higher Education 2009).

According to the National Agency for Higher Education, the education has in other words significantly improved in the first ten years of the new millennium. It is possible to identify at least two factors that have been important for this positive development. The first factor concerns that which was previously discussed: the academisation of the education. During the early 2000s, the Department had, pure and simple, recruited more teachers whose research base was in social work. The other factor concerns the Bologna process which, whilst strenuous, has led to a better quality of education. For example, the programme has adopted a seven-grade system instead of the old twograde system. This means that the teachers had to spend a great deal of time discussing the quality of the students' performances and that we have been able to reward good performances all the more. We have also had reason to spend time on determining what constitutes progression and how this should be expressed, from the first semester up to master's level.

One external factor that has influenced us to some degree is the very rapid increase in social work programmes on a national level. The number has almost tripled since 1977, when there were six programmes in the entire country. The social worker programmes at Stockholm University have, however, managed to maintain a high level of applications despite this competition. Prior to the 2013 autumn semester, the social worker programmes received almost 6,000 applications, which was an increase compared with 2012. The total number of applications per place was around 30 for one of the two programmes and around 24 for the other. The admission scores for both social worker programmes are fairly high, and there are currently no indications of a decrease in applications.

Students graduating from the social work programme are in high demand on the labour market and there are no indications of a negative change to this trend. The broad and growing field of social work both nationally and internationally means that social workers today have a good labour market and that social worker students have therefore a good chance of finding employment after graduating.

# Some closing words

One may ask how long it takes to establish an academic discipline of good quality when the starting point is a professional education at a college or university college level. Judging by the history of the Department of Social Work, it takes around 20 years if being 'established' implies being primarily self-sufficient with respect to teachers, having relatively extensive educational operations, and if the research in the academic discipline in question starts basically from scratch.

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# Department of Sociology

Göran Ahrne

**IMMEDIATELY AFTER** the Second World War, sociology was in the air. The Swedish government had set up a committee to investigate the position of the social sciences in higher education and research. In its report, the committee especially emphasised sociology as one of the most important disciplines in the strengthening of education and research in the social sciences. Several academics and influential writers, among them Herbert Tingsten and Gunnar Myrdal, had also pointed out the underdevelopment of and bad conditions for the social sciences at the universities in Sweden. The reasons for the uneasiness about the lack of research on contemporary social conditions were of course experiences from the 1930s and the war. In order to avoid similar social disasters in the future, many politicians as well as the general public felt a strong need for more knowledge about how the citizens could be adjusted to the modern life: from life in country villages and farm work to a life in the suburbs

of big cities and monotonous work in industry. Torgny Segerstedt, a professor of practical philosophy at Uppsala University, was one of the most outspoken representatives of such thoughts. He wrote about how the mobility from the countryside to cities had split up the primary groups that previously created togetherness and a strong social identity. In this way, modern man was exposed to impulses from different social fields that created an uncertainty about social norms. Segerstedt was also a member of the committee for the investigation of the social sciences. In 1947 he chose to leave his chair in practical philosophy in favour of a new chair in sociology.

Also, at Stockholm University College (*Stockholms högskola*), sociology developed within the discipline of philosophy and in 1949 sociology was taught for the first time within the Department of Philosophy. The professor of practical philosophy, Einar Tegen, had spent several years in the United States and returned to Swe-

den with a great interest in sociology and social psychology. His Friday night seminars at Odengatan 61 became a meeting point for future sociologists in Stockholm. One topic discussed at the seminars was the origin of Nazism. Among those participating in Tegen's seminars were several future professors of sociology, and not only in Stockholm (Jansson 1995a).

Gunnar Boalt, who became the first holder of the chair in sociology in Stockholm in 1954, had got a little ahead of the others. In many respects he was an autodidact. His first academic degree was in the natural sciences (biology, chemistry and zoology). He has himself described how he started his career as a sociologist when he worked as a teacher in a secondary school in Hallsberg in the 1930s (Boalt 1995). He became curious about the correlation between the home conditions of the pupils and their marks in school. His means of investigating this was to compare the food-packs the pupils had brought to school, for instance how heavy they were, with their marks. He also discovered how far from the school they lived and their father's profession. When Boalt had to return to Stockholm at the outbreak of the war, he also returned to the academia, but this time to the pedagogical seminar where he also got in touch with practical philosophy. He was encouraged to write a licentiate thesis based on his results. After he had received his exam in



Professor Gunnar Boalt, 1910-2000.

1943, he was able to continue his research on social background and school results, but this time through a survey supported by the Stockholm School Board. In the meantime, he attended Tegen's seminar and studied the required literature at the Stockholm Library for the Social Sciences (Socialvetenskapliga biblioteket). In the autumn of 1947, he put forward his doctoral dissertation on school results for children of different social groups in Stock-

holm (Boalt 1947). Boalt's research laid the foundation for the internationally well-known sociological research in Stockholm concerning social selection and social mobility with followers such as Gösta Carlsson, Robert Eriksson and Jan O. Jonsson. The dissertation made him a docent of practical philosophy, and after a while he deputized for Tegen and started to give lectures in sociology and social psychology.

Sociology as an academic discipline was established in Sweden as a somewhat peculiar mix of philosophy and statistics. The kind of sociology that was expected by representatives of the new discipline was a scientific sociology based on statistics (Olsson 1997:227). The mission of sociology was to find the quantitative indicators required to measure and compare social phenomena and processes. There was indeed some opposition against this view of sociology, but the different views were seen as a division between continental (European) and American sociology, and at this time there was no doubt about what variant was the one preferred.

At this time American sociology was first and foremost represented in Sweden by George Lundberg. Boalt writes that Lundberg's book *Foundations of Sociology* published in 1939 had become like a bible for him and several others of those who participated in Tegen's seminars (Boalt 1995: 44). Lundberg had also been invited by the newly established Research Council for the Social Sciences to lecture in Sweden.

The Swedish idea of American sociology was, however, somewhat distorted. It has later been brought forward that Lundberg had become pleasantly surprised by the attention and status he received in Sweden, since he had hardly had the same recognition in the United States (Törnqvist 1997:251, Platt 1996:98). This is confirmed by the American sociologist Alvin Gouldner, who made friends with Gunnar Boalt around 1965 and wrote an introduction to Boalt's book on sociology of research. Gouldner mentions his surprise at the methodological consensus among sociologists in Sweden. He points out that the methodological subculture in the US is far more varied and multifaceted (Gouldner 1969:xxvii). This is how Gouldner describes the Swedish methodological subculture: "It was my impression that there is no group of sociologists anywhere in the world today who, more than those in Sweden, have a clearer and more agreed-upon view of the standards and values to which good sociology should conform. Swedish sociologists seemed to me to be the people of, by and for a formal methodology" (1969: xxviii). This statement was more accurate for the sociology department in Stockholm than for other departments in Sweden. Gouldner adds that his description does not necessarily state what sociologists in Sweden do but above all their culture and morals.

The background of the interest in quantitative methods was the development of survey methodology seen in the US. Sending out



Restrictive policies against changing the intentions of the architect leave little room for the creativity of interior decoration in the many identical corridors of Södra huset. (Photo: Mats Danielson)

questionnaires and getting relevant answers from a representative sample of the population was a sensational innovation that raised hopes of being able to investigate people's attitudes in an entirely new way. Such surveys had never been done on a greater scale before (Platt 1996).

Although sociology had been established within practical philosophy, the new-born discipline dissociated itself quickly from the humanities in general and looked towards the sciences. There was a tension within the discipline of sociology between the philosophical and humanistic roots, and the scientific ideal affects the subject even today.

Sociology differed from the already established disciplines within social science such as political science, economics and pedagogics. Sociology deals with the entire society and not with a particular part of society. Sociology does not have any other object than society itself and the relations between man and society in general. The new discipline could offer a number of concepts to analyse relations between individuals and society such as roles, norms and status groups. Sociologists talk about social stratification, social classes and social mobility, but in order to develop these concepts much theoretical work is required. The expectations of the new sociologists were, however, to produce empirical results as a basis for social planning and the solving of various social problems. Looking back at this period, Gunnar Boalt has written that the expectations of the sociologists were high but the resources given were very limited (Boalt 1969:83).

# The development of sociological research in Stockholm

In order to give an overview of the development of the discipline of sociology at Stockholm University College, it is not enough to look at the Department of Sociology. Since sociology does not have a particular part of society as its object of research, and from the start was strongly identified with a special type of research method, the boundaries of the discipline are quite vague. Sociology can be applied through a number of different analyses of society. The titles of the text-books that Gunnar Boalt started to write as a new professor can illustrate the span of what sociologists do: sociology of the family, sociology of religion, sociology of work and sociology of illness. But these are just some examples.

Gunnar Boalt once pointed out that the Stockholm sociologists often cooperated with other academic institutions within and outside the university, and several of the professorships at the Department of Sociology in the 1960s were shared with other departments or research institutes (Boalt 1970:107).

In order to give a correct picture of sociology at Stockholm University, it is necessary to take up the shifts that have taken place in the organisation of sociological research at the University. I would like to emphasise three such tendencies that also illustrate what sociological research at the University has been about. First of all, several fields of study have hived off from sociology. The most obvious case is criminology. The first chair in criminology was established at the Department of So-

ciology in 1964. In 1970, criminology became an independent division within the Department and it was turned into a department of its own in 1987. When social work was set up as a doctoral programme at the School of Social Studies in 1977, the first professor, Hans Berglind, came from the Department of Sociology. Several other sociologists soon moved to the Department of Social Work (Ulla Pettersson, Annika Puide). Yet another sociologist from the Department became professor of social work, Sune Sunesson, but this time in Lund. Second, there is a long history of the establishment of sociological research within specialized research institutes at the Faculty of Social Sciences. The earliest was the Institute for Social Research (SOFI) established in 1972 with professorships in sociology as well as economics. The first two professors of sociology at SOFI were Walter Korpi (social politics) and Sten Johansson (level of living studies). Korpi had his PhD from Stockholm University in 1966. Johansson moved from the Department of Sociology in Uppsala where he had been the director of the first Level of Living Study. In 1985, Johansson was succeeded by Robert Eriksson.

By the end of the 1990s, two new research institutes with professorships in sociology were established. The Centre for Social Research on Alcohol and Drugs (SoRAD) was

set up as a cooperation between sociology, psychology and social work. Eckart Kühlhorn, who held the chair in sociological research on alcohol, moved to this institute as well as several other researchers from the Department of Sociology. This professorship had been instituted by the government in the early 1980s. There had been some research within the field already in the 1960s, but this new chair was held by the prominent Finnish alcohol researcher Kettil Bruun, who died already in 1985. The Centre for Health Equity Studies (CHESS) was established in 2000 as a joint venture between Stockholm University and Karolinska Institutet. A professorship of medical sociology held by Denny Vågerö was transferred to CHESS, and several other sociologists joined.

Some years earlier in 1992, the Stockholm Centre for Organizational Research (Score) was established as a result of an initiative from the Swedish Parliament to support research on organisation of the public sector. Score is a joint venture between the Faculty of Social Sciences and the Stockholm School of Economics. Score is organised in a different way compared to other research institutes. There is only one permanent position at Score, a professorship in one of its core subjects, currently political science. All other researchers at Score are expected to share their time between their home department and Score. The disciplines represented at Score have above all been business administra-

tion, political science, sociology and social anthropology. In 1995 I was engaged at Score, which meant new interesting opportunities for research across disciplinary boundaries. My engagement at Score also gave opportunities for several PhD students as well as some post doc positions.

Sociology has many interfaces with other disciplines and sociology is represented in many multidisciplinary co-operations. This is more or less a typical feature of sociological research, and multidisciplinary research is necessary and important. Nevertheless, this is also a problem for sociology. In the long run it is a threat against sociological competence if researchers become specialists in multidisciplinary fields. In order to be able to contribute something to a multidisciplinary environment, sociologists also have to maintain and develop their sociological competence. This competence has to be acquired together with sociologists working in other research fields. It is only in this way we can develop social explanations of human behaviour as a complement to cultural, economic, and psychological explanations.

There is a decided risk that the independent research institutes will exploit the departments. I believe it is important to develop organisational forms in order to facilitate the cooperation between research institutes and departments. Departments often have to pull the heaviest load with less rewarding tasks and they are also disadvantaged when applying for research grants.

One can also note that sociological theories, concepts and methods have spread to many other social science disciplines. Today, sociology as a research practice is pursued within many academic disciplines other than sociology proper, both within the humanities, medicine and social sciences (cf. Allardt 1995:19). I cannot develop this idea further within this context.

# The Department of Sociology

In 1954, sociology became an independent discipline at Stockholm University College, and Gunnar Boalt was appointed the first professor. Another two new professorships of sociology were created in Sweden in the 1950s and the incumbents were both former participants of Einar Tegen's seminars: Gösta Carlsson in Lund and Edmund Dahlström in Gothenburg. To the new professorship in Stockholm was attached an assistant position held by Carl-Gunnar Jansson, who succeeded Boalt in 1977.

The largest and most dominating research project at the Department during this time was a project led by Jansson. Project Metropolitan, which was its early name, was originally conceived as a comparative Nordic project. The initiative came from the Danish sociologist Kaare Svalastoga in the early 1960s. The aim was to compare the impact of socio-economic

background on education and future living conditions among children in Copenhagen, Oslo, Stockholm and Helsinki through non-retrospective longitudinal data. The project was in line with previous studies at the Department by Boalt, among others. This project, however, was much more extensive and one was aware that it would take at least twenty years before there were any interesting results (Jansson 1995b). Helsinki and Oslo disappeared early from the picture, but the work had started in Stockholm and was supported already from the beginning by *Riksbankens Jubileumsfond* (The Tercentenary Fund of Sweden's Central Bank).

The sample for Project Metropolitan in Stockholm consisted of 15,117 children living in Stockholm in 1963 and born in 1953. The investigation started in 1966 with a survey distributed to all children in schools. Two years later their families received a survey. Apart from these surveys, data were collected from various public registers. In 1985 a new survey was conducted that was sent out to all 15,000. This survey dealt especially with recreational activities. Following this survey, a huge public debate broke out. It started with a long article in Dagens Nyheter on the 10th of February 1986. Headlines shouted that 15,000 Swedes had been secretly investigated for 20 years. The debate that followed in the spring of 1986 was absurd and can only be explained by the spirit

of the times and the criticism of bureaucracy and authorities that was prevalent, but it was also easy for those who were involved in the investigation to recognise each other and mobilise resistance. Referring to the Data Protection Act, thousands of them demanded information about what data that had been collected about them. The result of the debate was that the data had to be anonymised, which made further investigations impossible. However, in later years it has been possible to complete the material with recent data from public registers, which has made some new analyses possible. The whole story about the project and its results has recently been excellently documented in a book by Sten-Åke Stenberg, professor at SOFI and himself included in the sample of the investigation (Stenberg 2013).

The critique against Project Metropolitan in 1986 was misdirected and incorrect and has to be understood in connection with a general scepticism of much of the social science that was formulated in the 1980s. Yet, it is also obvious that Project Metropolitan was an impossible project in many ways. Nobody would come up with the idea of starting such a project today and it would hardly be possible. Just as the criticism of the project can be understood as an expression of the political climate and the spirit of the times, one can also understand the start of the project as an expression of the totally different spirit of the early 1960s.

Since its beginning in 1954, the development at the Department has been intermittent. From the beginning up until 1979 there was a steady expansion, and in the 1960s the number of students exploded. In the spring term 1970 the Department employed around 60 teachers and there were 3,000 students. The Department has never before or after been bigger, neither in terms of the number of students nor number of teachers. At the beginning of the 1970s, the number of students decreased, first of all because of university reforms but also because of smaller age groups.

Most of the teachers were not permanently employed and had to leave. However, during the expansion years, a number of younger teachers had been hired on a permanent basis, but most of them did not have a PhD. Their teaching loads had been very heavy, which had prevented them from being able to pursue careers as researchers. Moreover, some teachers and researchers moved to other neighbouring disciplines. For many years after 1970, hardly any new teachers were hired at the Department.

The situation was similar at all the old sociology departments at the undergraduate level during the 1970s and 1980s. The difference between the Stockholm department and the rest was at the graduate level. When the PhD education was reformed in 1969, the effect was a fast increase in the number of dissertations, es-

pecially at the departments in Uppsala and Lund. In Stockholm, however, the number of "new" sociology dissertations was very low for a long time. The department in Stockholm had produced twice as many "old" dissertations as the next department (Uppsala), but at the end of the 1980s the number of "new" dissertations was far behind the rest (especially Lund and Uppsala) (Wennemo 1995).

In many sociology departments in Sweden and elsewhere the discipline itself was in a state of turbulence: new theories were brought forward and there was above all a heavy dispute over sociological methods. The strong consensus that Alvin Gouldner had observed was quickly being broken. The critique against the dominance of quantitative methods was generally formulated as a critique of a positivistic research tradition, but concerning alternatives there were many ideas such as soft data, "verstehen", hermeneutics or phenomenology. Unfortunately, the positions soon became fairly locked and unnecessarily polarised. In many departments qualitative methods became dominant, not least because most students find soft data more interesting.

The Stockholm department was relatively quiet during this period, however, and work with quantitative methods continued as before. For sociology in Sweden at large it has been a good thing that the sociologists in Stockholm defended and developed quantitative methods during these

years. In several other departments they were almost disappearing. Today there is a rather strong consensus and awareness that sociological research requires both quantitative and qualitative methods and that they can be combined.

In 1985 I received an appointment as docent at the Department of Sociology in Stockholm. I had then been a graduate student and been employed at the Department of Sociology in Uppsala since the beginning of the 1970s. In 1976 I received my PhD there. My first employment as a sociologist was as an assistant within the Level of Living investigation led by Sten Johansson. After my PhD, I had worked as a research assistant to Ulf Himmelstrand in his big project on the future of the welfare state in Sweden. I also had a couple of other projects. One was in cooperation with the



From the time of the first student boom, when the Department of Sociology was housed in the city centre. Lots of teachers had been recruited but still, lots and lots of examination papers had to be marked by everyone.

American sociologist Erik Olin Wright in his 'Comparative Class Structure' project. The other was a project about bureaucracy and the welfare state. Since there were no open positions at the department in Uppsala I was very happy to get the opportunity to move to Stockholm. I had studied my first semester of sociology in Stockholm in 1964 where I had read several of Boalt's books. In the first half of 1971, I worked at the Institute for Labour Market Research at Stockholm University, which was the predecessor of SOFI, with analvsis of data from the Level of Living survey. Methodologically, I had used both quantitative and qualitative data in my research, and I had actively conducted several surveys. I have always been convinced that there is no contradiction between using different kinds of data and methods of analysis. When moving to the department in Stockholm in 1985, I immediately felt at home, and from the middle of the 1980s the research environment at the Department was slowly changing through a number of new recruitments.

Already in 1983 a professorship in demography, funded by the Social Science Research Council, was placed at the Department. Jan Hoem, who had held professorships in Oslo as well as Copenhagen, was appointed. It was on his initiative that the chair came to the Department of Sociology. From the outset, demography became a separate division within the De-

partment with between 5 and 10 researchers and PhD students.

In 1987, Richard Swedberg became an assistant professor at the Department. He had obtained his PhD in the United States (from Boston College). After returning to Sweden he had been working together with Ulf Himmelstrand in Uppsala. Two years later, Peter Hedström was appointed professor. He had previously worked as a researcher at SOFI, had obtained his PhD from Harvard and later worked at University of Chicago where he had collaborated with James Coleman, among others. A few years later Barbara Hobson, who had a PhD from the United States, was employed.

These new recruitments gave many new impulses to the research at the Department. Swedberg was internationally active in the development of the "new economic sociology" and was an outstanding editor of anthologies and a biographer. He also developed his own theoretical contributions, for instance a theory of interests. With Hedström he had a project on social mechanisms in which they cooperated with Jon Elster and some other internationally prominent sociologists. Through the research in this project, Hedström developed the foundations for an analytical sociology. Hobson launched the gender research at the Department. This research had above all a comparative and social political direction. From 1994 to 2002, Hobson was the head of CGS, an interdisciplinary graduate school for comparative gender studies funded by *Riksbankens Jubileumsfond*. This school had graduate students from disciplines such as political science, anthropology, history and law. Many international scholars were invited to give mini-courses.

When I succeeded Carl-Gunnar Jansson on the chair in sociology, my possibilities of developing research in the field of organisation theory improved considerably. My aim was to connect organisation theory and general social theory. One of my projects dealt with organisational and social change. Other projects concerned the organisation of service work or new voluntary associations.

The graduate education changed as well. In the middle of the 1980s, the graduate education did not function very well and the postgraduate environment was experienced as poor (Wennemo 1995:173). From the early 1990s, we had opportunities to build up a new graduate education with an extensive supply of courses in sociological theories and methods as well as many special fields. We also had the opportunity to invite Thomas Coniavitis as a guest professor to teach theory. He was a professor in Athens, but had graduated from Uppsala University in 1977. Later, a professorship in sociological theory was established, which from 2004 was held by Lars Udéhn, who has a PhD from Uppsala.

In the first years of the new century, the Department got several new professors who fur-

ther strengthened the research environment: Karin Bergmark, Carl le Grand, Arni Sverrisson and Ryszard Szulkin. By that, the number of graduate students increased, not least because of the new projects initiated by the new professors. Many graduate students were also employed at the research institutes. The number of dissertations increased considerably during these years. During the 1980s, 19 dissertations were produced, but during the 1990s there were 33 dissertations and most of them during the last years. The largest increase happened in the years 2000 and 2001 with 8 and 13 dissertations, respectively. Since then the number of dissertations has varied between 5 and 12 a year. As a matter of fact, more than half of the dissertations at the Department of Sociology have been produced during the 21st century (even if one includes 'old' dissertations). In the last few years new graduate students have been recruited internationally to an increasing extent.

From the early 1990s the number of undergraduate students started to increase again: from a couple of hundred each term in the beginning of the 1990s to more than five hundred at the middle and the end of the decennium. This figure has remained relatively constant since then. The increased amount of teaching at the undergraduate level made it possible to engage graduate students and post docs in teaching, which often has provided a bridge to continued academic work.



Much information is conveyed at the central notice board opposite the elevators. (Photo: Mats Danielson)

In the last ten years there has been a marked change of generations at the Department. In 2002 Richard Swedberg moved to the United States and a position at Cornell University. Peter Hedström obtained a professorship in sociology at the University of Oxford. Both of them have, however, maintained contact with the Department. Many of the lecturers who were employed at the end of the 1960s had retired. Of those lecturers who were employed at

the Department in the last ten years, many were relatively new PhDs. Most of them are now docents and one of them, Fredrik Liljeros, is now a professor. Today the Department is not, as before, split between a group of teachers at the undergraduate level and another group of researchers, but research and teaching are integrated to a much larger extent than earlier.

In 2009, Jens Rydgren was appointed to the chair in sociology after Boalt and Jansson,

which I had held since 1994. Rydgren is a political sociologist who has done excellent research on ethnic relations and on networks. Proof of the graduate education's vitality at the Department is that many of the sociologists that obtained their PhD at the Department since 1995 have been appointed to professorships at several other universities in Sweden: Patrik Aspers at Uppsala University, Christoffer Edling at Lund University, Magnus Boström at Örebro University, as well as Apostolis Papakostas at Södertörn University College.

The organisation of demographic research has fluctuated, too. At the end of the 1990s, Jan Hoem moved to a professorship at the Max Planck institute for demography in Rostock, followed by some of the other demographers. A couple of years later, the activities at the division of demography had decreased dramatically and the remaining researchers were integrated into the Department of Sociology. When a new professorship in demography was announced, the chair went to the internationally well-known demographer Elisabeth Thomson at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. She had previously been guest researcher at the division and chose to place the professorship at the Department of Sociology. After her arrival in 2004, the demographic research group grew rapidly when they received several large research grants. Today, demographic research is a considerable part of the research at

the Department of Sociology. Thomson was in 2013 succeeded by Gunnar Andersson, who has a PhD from the Division of Demography and after that had spent some time in Rostock.

In spite of the somewhat uneven development, there is at the same time an apparent continuity in the sociological research at the Department. It is still known as the Swedish department where quantitative methods dominate and where competence in this area is the most developed. In several respects, quantitative methods have developed enormously in the last fifty years when it comes to the possibilities to analyse large data. The survey technique itself, however, and methods to make people answer questions, are at a standstill. Today there are real problems in getting enough people to participate in survey research (cf. Eriksson 2014:46). Moreover, sociology is not as dependent on its methods as it once was: not as strongly identified with a particular method. There is a greater awareness of the advantages and limitations of various methods. Today both quantitative and qualitative methods are taught in Stockholm, and quite a few successful researchers at the Department work with qualitative methods.

The competence and breadth developed in Stockholm sociology through cooperation between the Department and the research institutes in quantitative analyses has been a main reason for their increased external funding. Sociological research in Stockholm has a marked international circulation and the Department usually does well in international rankings of publications and citations.

For sociology to be able to contribute to interdisciplinary cooperation in the long run, I hope that the Department will continue to be the arena where sociologists can develop their competence in confrontations and interchange with different kinds of sociological research. For this to be possible a strong competence in general sociological theory is also required. Different theories and methods must be able to meet and be tested against each other. Only in this way can sociology and our understanding of society increase.

So far has this been an embarrassingly male story. Of those mentioned in this overview the vast majority have been men; only a few women appear. This is a mirror of how it has been. Although the absolute majority of the students at the undergraduate level since the 1970s have been women, the proportion of women on higher positions has remained very low. Are there no signs that the male dominance on higher positions will be broken? One can on the one hand look at dissertations, and on the other newly hired lecturers.

When it comes to dissertations there has been a tangible change in the last 15 years. If we go far back we can notice that only one of the 'old' dissertations had a female author. Up until the year 2000 about one third of the

'new' dissertations had a female author. From 2000, however, a majority of new PhDs are women: 60 women and 42 men from 2000 to 2012.

Among the 10 most recently employed lecturers, six are women, five of which are docents. In all likelihood, this indicates that the Department in the near future will finally have far more female than male professors.

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# Department of Special Education

Siv Fischbein, Margareta Ahlström, Inger Assarson, Lise Roll-Pettersson and Mara Westling Allodi

HISTORICALLY, special education has been part of the academic discipline of education. When the compulsory school was introduced in Sweden, it soon became obvious that some children had difficulties following the curriculum in the same time and at the same pace as their schoolmates. The reason for this could be individual factors such as intellectual disabilities as well as environmental circumstances, for instance socio-economic adversities. This challenge was either met by prolonging the time available for the student or by reducing the content of the course. In several countries with a compulsory school system, there was, however, a discussion about adjusting teaching to the variation among pupils. This led to the organisation of 'special education' as a practice, for instance special classes for children with intellectual disabilities. In France, Alfred Binet was assigned by the government to construct a test to select children for such classes. The history of intelligence testing in

that way became closely connected to special education.

To understand why special education has become a separate subject at Stockholm University, it is necessary to briefly describe the historical development of the academic discipline of education. Originally, the discipline was part of philosophy at Swedish universities. In 1910, the first Swedish professor of education was installed in Uppsala. His name was Bertil Hammer. He had a broad view of the discipline, which meant he included behavioural, societal, didactical and philosophical perspectives. His followers were mostly interested in psychological aspects. During the first part of the twentieth century, the discipline remained practically synonymous with psychology. In 1953, psychology became a separate subject. Many of the professors in education chose to transfer from education to psychology. From then on, the educational science subject gradually changed towards educational sociology and philosophy. It must be remembered, however, that as late as the beginning of the 1960s the courses in education and psychology were practically identical at Stockholm University. In the 1970s and 1980s, drastic changes took place. Theories of environmental circumstances instead of ideas about individual prerequisites began to dominate the educational discipline, not only in Stockholm but generally in Sweden and other countries.

#### Stockholm Institute of Education

The Department of Education at the Stockholm Institute of Education (the Teachers' Training College, LHS) had a long tradition of behavioural research. Torsten Husén had used data from Swedish conscripts to study the relations between ability and social background, occupation, length of schooling and school performance. This was the start of several very successful longitudinal studies. Husén also became involved in twin studies as a method to investigate the relations between genetic and environmental influences. Bengt-Olov Ljung was one of his many doctoral students. He became a professor in education at the Institute when Husén moved to Stockholm University to become the first professor in international education. This was another of his main research interests. He was the initiator of the large international comparative studies, performed within the International Educational Association

(IEA). Today this has turned into well-known systems of pupil testing, such as PISA and PIRLS. Ljung was also a major spokesman for the behavioural tradition in education. He had written his thesis about the growth spurt during adolescence. When he retired in the 1980s, a struggle took place between the behavioural tradition and its rivalling sociological and philosophical perspectives. One of the applicants for the professorship was Siv Fischbein, who had had both Husén and Ljung as supervisors. Her thesis, based on twin studies, emphasised the importance of the interactional influences of both genetic and environmental factors. In the appointment procedure, her research was considered psychological and not educational, reflecting the change of educational sciences from a focus on behavioural aspects towards societal and philosophical perspectives.

## The Department of Special Education

Supplementary education for regular teachers to become teachers in special education had been given at the Stockholm Institute of Education (LHS), from 1962 but to a fairly limited extent and without any connection to research at the educational department. In 1990, however, a new education for special pedagogues was started. The ambition was to make it scientifically based and more research oriented. The programme comprised one and a half year and was divided into four different streams: 'Com-

plicated Learning Situations', 'Deafness and Hearing Deficiency', 'Blindness and Visual Deficiency' and 'Intellectual Deficiency'. From the beginning, these streams were clearly separated. They catered to different school systems: the ordinary compulsory school and special schools for deaf, blind and intellectually disabled children. Gradually, some common contents were developed for these different streams, forming a general course, which incorporated 10 to 20 of the 60 credit points. The ambition was to give the students different perspectives on special education: a behavioural, societal, philosophical and historical perspective. The course included knowledge about pupils in need of special support, considering individual aspects and environmental circumstances as well as ethical questions and aspects pertaining to justice and human rights. Above all, emphasis was laid on the interaction of individual and environmental influences in different situations and on the need to adjust the school system to pupil variation. Before 1990, there had been different educations for special teachers depending upon which pupil group they were catering to: intellectual or speech difficulties and hearing or sight deficiencies. The students enrolled in such education often had extensive experience working with pupils that had functional deficiencies. However, the educational authorities considered this streaming of education as reflecting a compensating strategy, trying to change pupils instead of adjusting the setting to suite them. The new teacher training in special education that started in 1990 was therefore more concerned with the supervision of regular teachers and headmasters instead of work with individual pupils. The students recruited to this new supplementary teacher education were preschool teachers as well as regular teachers. Gradually, the educational streams oriented to intellectual deficiencies and complicated learning situations were combined. In the long run, knowledge about pupil deficiencies and didactic aspects-such as early reading, writing and mathematics learning-were reduced in favour of more theoretical and philosophical aspects on special education. Questions concerning the participation and inclusion of pupils in need of special education were given priority.

## Research in special education

At the end of the 1980s a temporary professorship had been advertised at the Department of Special Education. Ingemar Emanuelsson, who was the first doctoral student of Bengt-Olov Ljung, applied for and received this position. Emanuelsson was also raised in the behavioural tradition. Over time, however, he became more interested in the importance of including all children at school and how the educational system could be changed to promote it. When he moved to Gothenburg in 1990, he was succeeded by Siv Fischbein. In 1995, the appointment was changed to a permanent professorship. Fischbein became the first female professor at LHS. She remained in that position for fifteen years and was a strong advocate for making special education into a separate discipline at Stockholm University. This was difficult since the academic traditions were fairly weak at the Department of Special Education. The main research at the LHS had been performed at Department of Education.

The supplementary special teacher education that started in 1990 included an examination paper at the C-level. This implied that around 200 students each year had to be trained in scientific theory and methodology as well as supervised and examined. This was a challenge. Only two persons at the Department, Siv Fischbein and Gunnar Kylén, had a doctoral degree. The latter initiated research focused on persons with intellectual disabilities and their dependence on a stimulating environment.

After some years, the recruitment of researchers with varying perspectives on special education – behavioural, societal, handicapand praxis-oriented – began.

A programme grant for six years was given to Fischbein by the Research Council for Working Life and Social Sciences (SFR/FAS) for a project named 'Pupils in Special Educational Activities' (ESV). This project underlined the necessity to combine behavioural, societal and

didactical perspectives on special education. Another important project was financed by Axel and Margaret Ax:son Johnson's Foundation and the purpose was to investigate students at risk for exclusion in the upper secondary school (GURU). The approach was societal and philosophical, focusing on experiences of teachers and the possibilities for students at risk of exclusion to succeed in the Swedish school system. Other colleagues at the Department were successfully granted EU and SIDA projects (about video telephone for people with intellectual deficiencies; people with low vision in Botswana and Tanzania, and alternative communication in Russia).

In 1995, many new professors in special education had been appointed in the Nordic countries. Together with these partners, courses were arranged for our doctoral students, who since the start of LHS were formally examined at the Faculty of Social Sciences at Stockholm University, since LHS lacked independent rights of doctoral examination. Scandinavian colleagues were engaged as opponents and representatives in examination boards as well as experts in the appointment of applicants for academic positions in special education in our different countries. While special education was a fairly new subject in Sweden and Denmark, Norway and Finland had a long tradition and four professors already in 1948. Contributing to the good cooperation was an interest that the two female professors in Finland and Sweden had in common. They were both breeding horses and passionate visitors to horse races. The probability for this to happen must be practically zero!

### A department without a letter-box

In 2002 there was a major reorganisation at LHS. Three new departments were established: the departments of Individual, Society and Learning (IOL); Society, Culture and Learning (SKL); and Teaching Processes, Communication and Learning (UKL). These departments were thought to represent the behavioural, societal and didactic streams in education. Special education was included in IOL - a major disadvantage since it made it more difficult to maintain the interactional and interdisciplinary character of the subject. It was also perceived as a risk that special education would again be classified as a subject with a focus on pupil problems and compensating strategies. There was a discussion about where doctoral students in special education should be placed, since they could potentially have a behavioural, societal or didactic focus. The professor in a subject could not choose which department to whom he/she should belong, but teachers and doctoral students could do that.

The area of the new department, IOL, comprised special education and child and youth science. In the former subject, the streaming of

the special educational programme disappeared. Instead, there were basic course and optional course alternatives. The teaching of child and youth science focused on the education of preschool and leisure time teachers. The number of persons belonging to this subject was considerably larger than those belonging to special education. Preschool education dominated the new department and it was difficult for special education to maintain its status as a separate subject. It virtually became invisible. One of the lecturers in special education said that it was like a subject without a letter-box. The students in the special educational programme were also protesting against the institutional invisibility. In addition, they maintained that they received too little knowledge of neuropsychiatric diagnoses and reading and writing problems/dyslexia.

In that situation it became very important to convince the Faculty of Social Sciences at the university to make it possible for doctoral students to become doctors in special education and not in education. In 2003, special education became a separate research subject with its own doctoral students. A thesis in special education covered a broad field, from individual development and family background to societal perspectives, as well as didactic questions. Another trend in research and production of literature has been the close relationships between theory and practice. Fischbein worked for many years teaching and writing books and articles together

with experienced teachers and teacher educators. Rolf Helldin, the successor to Fischbein as professor in special education, started several development projects with cities and municipalities sending students to supplementary education. Generally, one can say that behavioural, societal and didactic perspectives have mutually stimulated the special educational field.

## Special education – an interdisciplinary subject

Making special education a research subject separate from general education was one way of enhancing its visibility. Another fruitful approach was to start cooperation both nationally and internationally with other disciplines.

Together with Per-Anders Rydelius, professor in child and youth psychiatry at Karolinska Institutet, and Eva Björck Åkesson, professor in special education/habilitation at Mälardalen University College, we initiated cooperation in master's and doctoral studies, research projects and seminars. This project was called Forum for Special Education and was funded by the Swedish Research Council. This was a way to combine influences from different subjects and achieve interdisciplinary cooperation, which is vital for both research and practice. Psychological knowledge, for instance about cognition and emotions related to learning and the formation of self-concepts, has to be in focus as well as biological factors,

physical development, neurophysiology and disabilities of different kinds. Environmental influences at the societal, institutional and group level can be categorized as sociology or social psychology. In the philosophical field, power relations and questions of justice are important as well as conceptualizations of normality and diversity. Ethics is also an important area in special education, where you risk defining problems in a biased way from an advantaged position. Critical educational theory is relevant wherever the impacts of societal changes or humanistic and epistemological perspectives on special education are studied. The physical/technical field of research is also necessary to include in special education. In recent years there has been an amazing development in this area, helping many children and adults to optimal achievement. Above all, however, the significance of the interaction between individual prerequisites and environmental influences is recognised. This implies incorporating different theoretical perspectives at varying levels: risk factors in individual development, leadership and group processes to prevent exclusion, and participation and justice in education and society. Functional disabilities are central in all these areas. A person with a functional disability tends to be at risk of being marginalised and excluded in different situations. Special education is thus engaged in questions of participation and influence at the individual, group and societal levels.

In this multifaceted field of practice and research, cooperation with persons from other disciplines and professions makes it easier to see possibilities instead of obstacles. The interlocutors and cooperation partners can be teachers, special educators, social workers, physical therapists, speech therapists, psychologists, medical doctors', etc. An important area both for practical involvement and as a research topic is the cooperation between parents and school professionals where questions of power relations and submissiveness are in focus. The more perspectives that are taken into consideration, the better we can handle critical educational situations involving children, youth and grown-ups in risk of marginalisation.

Theory and practice must be combined with ethical judgments, as well as mobilising varying perspectives on special educational situations. On the one hand, there is a risk that everyone is treated similarly irrespective of individual differences and experiences, and on the other, that there is too narrow an individual diagnosis. A pervasive problem is balancing the need to use the most up-to-date understanding of how different functional deficiencies work and the resources that can be mobilised to remediate or compensate them, along with the risks of stigmatisation and marginalisation as-

sociated with diagnoses. How can individual needs be apprehended without losing the awareness of how the general teaching environment can be improved to benefit all? These are ethical problems that teachers in special education as well as their students in their future professional life always have to deal with.

Special education is internationally an established discipline with varying focus in different countries. Often there is a tendency to sort out children in the educational system and to gear the education to issues about how you can compensate for shortcomings, e.g. functional disabilities. In other instances the whole variation of individual capacities is included in the teaching of special education, and the expression "exceptional children" is used. Some countries have a long tradition of using alternative tools to include all children in regular activities. In both Norway and Finland, special education has been an established discipline for a long time with its own professors and doctoral studies. When, as was earlier the case in Sweden and Denmark, general education incorporates special education, the problem is that the average educational situations come into focus rather than the special situations. An interdisciplinary and interactional approach, working in cooperation with other countries, makes it possible to enhance research and education in special education from a holistic perspective and avoid some of these pitfalls.

#### Research from year 2008

When the Stockholm Institute of Education, LHS, was incorporated into Stockholm University in January 2008, the Department of Special Education was reborn and the possibilities to develop the subject further increased. Doctoral studies, as well as the basic and advanced courses in the discipline of special education and the supplementary programme for special educators, became part of the Faculty for Social Sciences. We can today proudly say that the Department of Special Education is the only one in Sweden.

In the following, some of the important areas of research that are pursued in the new department will be presented. The Department of Special Education has cemented its position in scientific research in many different areas of interest.

## Disabilities from a lifespan perspective

This research cluster is led by Professors Ulla Ek and Lise Roll-Pettersson. Individuals with disabilities and their families are confronted with barriers inherent in policies, attitudes, and services, which can lead to significant consequences such as reduced learning opportunities, lower quality of life and isolation over the course of their lifespan. The focus of research in this area is on addressing these mechanisms within inclusive and specialized preschool or school settings (and habilitation services) as a

means to pragmatically establish optimal developmental and learning opportunities. Interventional, as well as descriptive, research concerning the development and learning of children and youth (0-22 years) with neurodevelopmental issues (autism, ADHD, intellectual disabilities), sensory impairments and co-occurrence of diagnoses will be conducted. This area deals with the multi-dimensional examination of a variety of interrelated variables such as: communication/language, social (e.g. play) and cognitive development, in addition to environmental aspects such as classroom climate, professional competence, attitudes and perceived efficacy. These issues can also be studied comparatively, looking at both Swedish and culturally diverse families.

In Sweden, there is a lack of studies on the effects of psycho-educational intervention targeting children and youth with autism (ASD) and ADHD (SBU) as well as hearing, visual and intellectual disabilities. A major purpose of the research group is to contribute to meeting this societal need. This relevance is underscored by the rising prevalence of neurodevelopmental disabilities. Most probably teachers and special educators will come in contact with a child/pupil with ASD or ADHD difficulties.

The Department of Special Education is building an interdisciplinary multi-professional consortium within the Stockholm region with the purpose of developing and implementing sustainable socially valid interventions for individuals with neurodevelopmental disabilities across their lifespan. There are three main national partners: The Consortium is made up of the Center of Neurodevelopmental Disorders at Karolinska Institutet (KIND), the Psychology Division at Karolinska Institutet the Department of Clinical Neuroscience, in cooperation with the Neuropsychiatry Assessment Unit at Sachs' Children and Youth Hospital (Sachs), the Division of Child and Adolescent Psychiatry in Stockholm (BUP), PRIMA Psychiatry Stockholm and the Centre for Habilitation and Health Stockholm. It is coordinated with four major neurodevelopmental parental and interest organizations.

The Karolinska-Huddinge collaboration includes several ongoing projects concerning visual outcome for children with optic nerve hypoplasia, and visual and perceptual outcome after allogeneic stem cell transplantations.

For the 'National Agency for Special Needs Education and Schools' (*Specialpedagogiska skolmyndigheten*, SPSM), the partnership is concerned with visual impairments as well as cognitive and intellectual disabilities.

At present we have in this field of research three main international collaborative partner setups. The first is the Frank Porter Graham Development Institute at the University of North Carolina in Chapel Hill. The institute conducts prominent research and outreach in early childhood special education in the USA concerning disabilities, families and learning environments. Especially recognized is their research concerning early intervention and educational interventions for children/pupils with neurodevelopmental disabilities (i.e. autism spectrum disorders and co-occurring diagnosis). Secondly, the Department of Special Education has also been part of the European Commission Leonardo Project and collaborated with universities in Northern Ireland, Iceland, Italy, England, Holland, Norway, Germany, and Spain in developing an instructional multi-media programme with a psycho-educational learning theoretical focus on autism interventions and will hopefully continue with comparative studies. Finally, our unique master's programme in visual impairment is given in collaboration with NTNU (Norwegian University of Science and Technology, Trondheim) and entails ongoing collaboration and development of research projects.

Learning environments, didactics and inclusive education in school and preschool

This second research cluster is led by Professor Mara Westling Allodi (successor of Rolf Helldin). It is conducting research with a variety of approaches and contents that nevertheless has the common denominator of focusing on describing, assessing and evaluating the special educational policies, activities, strategies and methods that are practiced. The aim is to identify promising approaches that should be employed in educational situations and organizations, in order to prevent difficulties that can arise in learning environments – intended in a broad meaning – and to support optimal learning, participation and equity in the educational system and in society. In contrast to other and still prevalent applications and interpretations of Special Educational research in Sweden, which have taken a rather practice-distant, predominantly theoretical stance, or also an exclusively critical standpoint in relation to practice,

this research field wants to contribute to bridging the gap between research and practice. This can be done by various means: through the development of practices through theory and evidence-based interventions, prevention programmes, participatory research, collaboration with stakeholders and internationalization.

### Democracy and fundamental values

The third cluster is led by Senior Lecturer Ulf Sivertun. Research within inclusive education reveals how segregation based on culture, social class, gender, disability and knowledge bring about negative consequences for person-



The staff of the Department after the move to Frescati. (Photo: Eleonor Svensson Lindholm)

al development as well as the learning development of students. Concepts like democracy, justice, and ethics are at the center of the analysis in which society's design as well as views of humanity, values issues, and views of knowledge are critically examined from a historic perspective in which ruling discursive power relations are in focus.

Research within the cluster concerns structures of power and justice, where democracy, equity and ethics are in focus. Praxis related research projects scrutinize how different actions and educational settings in school create constraints and boundaries and how tensions between homogeneity and heterogeneity, as well as between the individual and the collective, are managed. This extensive analysis is relevant for studies of those groups of students regarded as being in need of special support. The research area includes among others studies of school systems, school organizations and resources, the organization of support and working environment.

The Department also houses independent researchers, and among their interests we can mention multiple disabilities with a focus on communicative and cognitive disabilities, and the use of aesthetical methods in connection with cognitive and linguistic impairment. Finally, one project deals with the use of creative play in longitudinal formative intervention, using inspiration from Vygotsky.

## Basic courses and master's programmes on an advanced level

The Department offers courses in special needs education within the general teacher training programmes, and several basic courses such as 'Special Education 1', 'Intellectual Disability 1', and 'Development and Mental Health of Children'. On the advanced level we have two programmes educating 'Special Educational Needs' teachers and 'Special Needs Training' teachers. These professions are highly requested and the latter programme is expanded by being much more than doubled, from 100 students to 285, in 2015. As the only department of this kind in Sweden, we offer a Master's programme in 'Specialization in Visual Impairment Pedagogy'.

All the above described programmes are offered in Swedish. However, the Department offers a few courses in English for both Swedish and our international students. A good many international agreements with other European universities under the Erasmus programme, as well as bilateral departmental agreements for students outside the EU, have been established.

"Study statistics!" The labour market for statisticians is constantly hungry for more students to graduate, so this exhortation is well-founded. (Photo: Mats Danielson)



## Vill du ha ett spännande jobb? - Läs statistik!

Behovet av statistiker är redan nu stort och behovet kommer dessutom att ökal Statistik utgör ofta ett ovärderligt underlag för viktiga beslut inom samhällsplanering och ekonomi. Beroende på vad du vill arbeta med kombinerar du statistik med andra ämnen, exempelvis företagsekonomi, nationalekonomi, sociologi, psykologi, datavetenskap eller matematik. Statistiska kunskaper efterfrågas både av näringslivet och inom offentlig sektor.

#### Vi erbjuder:

- Fristående kurser på grund- och avancerad nivå
- Kandidatprogram i nationalekonomi och Statistik
- Masterprogram i statistik

Statistiska institutionen









## Department of Statistics

**Daniel Thorburn** 

THE DEPARTMENT OF Statistics celebrated 100 years of statistics at Stockholm University College (Stockholms högskola) on the 20th of October, 2003 (Frank et al. 2003). This makes it one of the oldest statistical departments in Sweden. Exactly 100 years earlier, Gustav Sundbärg (1857–1914) had been appointed docent. He was a statistician in the old sense, more interested in describing the world than in developing new methods to be used by others. He had made a long series of statistical studies, mainly on demography but also on other subjects like agriculture, railways and traffic, e.g. 'La Suède, son people et son industrie' (Sundbärg 1900), intended for the World Exhibition in Paris. Sundbärg is probably best known as the one responsible for 'Emigrationsutredningen', where he in 21 large volumes (Sundbärg 1907-13) tried to find the reasons why so many Swedes emigrated and what measures should be taken to make them stay in Sweden. The reports emphasised that the large social clefts and poverty were the

main reasons. He suggested, for instance, 'universal' suffrage (for men, that is), improved housing and economic development. Sundbärg also emphasised the importance of a broad general education.

After Sundbärg, Nils Wohlin (1881–1948) and Karl Arvid Edin (1880-1937) were responsible for statistics. As a curiosity, it can be mentioned that the first two professors of statistics in Uppsala were Sundbärg and Wohlin, both of whom were recruited from Stockholm. When Edin died, the City of Stockholm decided that the head of their statistical office, Sten Wahlund (1901–76), could also serve as a parttime professor. He was thus appointed in 1938 as the first professor. The University College had at that time close ties to the City, so this solution was quite natural. However, the Department grew and the workload became too heavy. In 1949, Wahlund left the statistical office to become a full-time professor. During his last years at the Department, Wahlund was also a prominent member of the parliament for the Agrarian Party. He sometimes asked students to come to his office in the parliament, where he examined them. As a researcher, he was a demographer particularly interested in the nomadic people of Northern Sweden. He introduced the Wahlund effect, a concept that is still used in population genetics. As a politician, he played an influential role in the introduction of the public child allowance and the ATP pension reform.

In 1953, Wahlund left for the parliament and he was succeeded by Sten Malmquist in 1954. With him came the new view that statistics is a science that also deals with methods and not only with contents, even though the change was gradual. Malmquist was at the Department for 30 years. He has characterised the period when it expanded from a one-man unit to a modern department with many people working there. A one-man unit was not literally true, since at that time every professor always had a secretary and an assistant.

Statistics, in the sense of describing society in figures, started in the 17<sup>th</sup> century mainly as a part of political science. The division between subjects was nevertheless not clear, and statistics was taught in connection with other subjects as well, such as history (Uppsala) and astronomy (Lund). A former lecturer at the Department, Olle Sjöström, has described the early years in several treatises (e.g. Sjöström 1980, see also Jo-

hannesson 1988, Höijer 2001). Before the Faculty of Social Sciences was created, statistics was part of the Faculty of Humanities.

One division of the Department of Mathematics also deals with statistics. In 1919 a mathematician, Harald Cramér (1893 - 1985), became interested in insurance. During the late 19th century, many insurance companies had gone bankrupt. The situation was quite similar to the banks' situation at the turn of the millennium and corresponded to the rise of financial mathematics. Cramér realised not only that insurance needed a firm basis of probability, but also that statistics needed a firm basis of probability. In the 1920s and 1930s, an institute for actuarial mathematics was created together with a chair for him. Cramér is the best known of all Swedish academic statisticians. In the 1930s, some people had started to realise the need for a firm theory regarding statistical inference. Cramér made many contributions, and his book 'Mathematical methods in statistics' (1946) was used as a graduate textbook all over the world until the 1970s. He is famous for many results, for instance the 'Information inequality', which is usually called the 'Cramér-Rao inequality'. He was not only a great scientist but also well liked and a good administrator. He became both vice-chancellor of the Stockholm University College and later national chancellor. One of his dreams was to create one large and unified statistical department in Stockholm. Even though there are some differences between mathematical statistics, which contains deeper concerns with probability, and statistics, which contains more about data collection and handling, and is thus more oriented towards applied statistics and the social sciences, the similarities are quite strong.

## Development of statistics and research

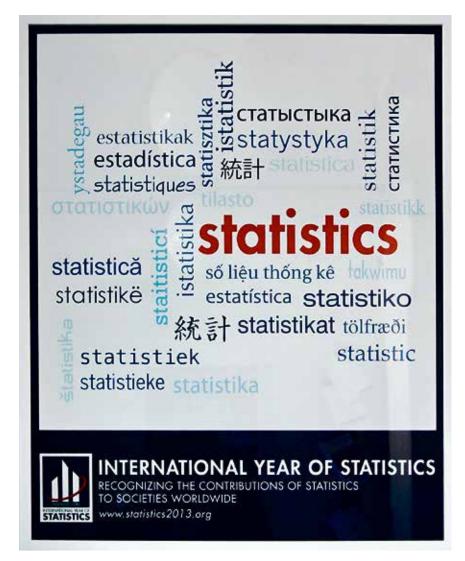
The classical statistical theory developed by, for example, Cramér (1946) was the framework for most research in the 1960s. New methods were developed within the theory such as large econometric models, rudimentary structural equation models and the Box-Jenkins' ARIMA approach as well as non-parametrics, operations analysis and stationary processes. Very few mainframe computers were available in the 1960s and they were used only for simple simulations and tedious calculations. The first statistical programs were written and simple packages like BMD began to appear. Statistics Sweden had started to use a computer for adding, sorting and tabulating data, but most of the work was still done manually or by punch card sorters. The Department was quite early in using computers and realising their importance for statistics.

The Department has always helped researchers from other departments in statistical matters. During the 1970s, there were even

special positions financed by the Scientific Council ('forskningsrådsassistenter') who gave free advice to researchers from other subjects. These positions disappeared in the middle of the 1970s. After that, consultancy has not been formalised but depends on the available time and on the inclination of the staff. Most consulting had to be done along with the ordinary tasks. At the beginning of the semester, when teaching was planned, the demand for consultancy was generally not known. When researchers in need turned up with questions, everyone was 100 % occupied with other duties.

In 1964, almost all statisticians used frequency-based inference, but internationally there has been a successive increase in Bayesian methods since then. One might say that classical statistics focus on reliable methods, while the Bayesians focus on reliable results. One main theme of the Department's research is Bayesian methods with the use of advanced MCMC-methods. A recent example is the dissertation of Feng Li, who received the Cramér prize for the best statistical dissertation in Sweden in 2013. He can be seen as the third generation of Bayesians at the Department.

One trend in statistics was towards computer-intensive methods. Such methods are, for example, projection pursuit, resampling methods, GLIM and high-dimensional methods. In 1964, survey sampling was considered



The various posters at the department reflect membership in an international 'epistemic community'. (Photo: Mats Danielson)

as fully developed. The advent of computers has led to new methods, for instance propensity scores and model based estimators. Much of the Department's research has focused on the use of auxiliary variables in survey sampling and when correcting for biased samples. The Department's speciality of network sampling also fits well into that field.

Another trend is the increased use of more complicated probability and statistical models in applied sciences. One example is hazard regression in epidemiology and behavioural sciences in the 1970s. Hoem was one of the forerunners of this and later Gebrenegus Ghilagaber. One should also mention Docent Gunnar Eklund (1923–), who in 1975 left the Department to become professor of cancer epidemiology at *Radiumhemmet*. Other applied examples are financial economics, twenty years later, but also the analysis of social networks and high-dimensional data.

In the 1960s, every professor had a secretary who was responsible for much of the administrative work at the department. To be the secretary of a professor was a qualified job comparable to the title administrative officer (byrådirektör) today. They had often attended special secretarial schools. Malmquist's secretary, Gun Ogenäs, was a central person in the life of the Department. By the time she was replaced by Kari Blomberg in the 1980s and 1990s, the role had shifted from being a sub-

servient secretary to being in charge of the salaries and the economy in her own right.

One part of the early professor's secretaries' work was to take hand-written manuscripts and type them, but there were also other secretaries typing for the entire staff. Before the era of computers, everything had to be typed. Research papers, memoranda, applications, test papers and so on. When more than five copies were needed, it was typed on special waxed paper for later duplication. This was not easy with all the mathematical formulas and with no possibility to change a typo. Around 1970 came machines with exchangeable balls for different fonts in addition to rubber facilities for erasing and also primitive copiers. With the advent of computers, it became possible for everyone to produce their own documents and the need for typists had almost disappeared by the 1990s. Computing thus had consequences for the lives of administrators, the students in statistics, and statistical research in general.

In the 1960s, the computer central QZ was built up in Stockholm with an IBM computer that was used for analysing data and statistical research. Around 1980, both statistics and mathematics used a shared computer owned by the Department of Physics in the building at Hagagatan 22, with terminals in the rooms of the researchers. This computer was heavily used by, for example, Jan Hoem and some PhD students. At that time computer runs were

cumbersome and computers were not very reliable. Hoem once lost more than three months' work during a computer crash. When statistics moved to Frescati in 1987, the department acquired its own computer. The development was fast and this shared computer was soon replaced by one PC for every person.

## Important people

In the 1960s, Erland Hofsten (1911–96) was asked to comment on the voting figures on TV during election nights. He was later supplemented and eventually succeeded by Thorbjörn Thedéen (1931), who was responsible for the development of the early election forecasts during election nights. In this work, he was assisted by Per Näsman. These forecasts were successively improved and complemented by exit polls. Thedéen moved to KTH, but persons from the Department participated during many elections.

Sten Malmquist (1917–2004) was both an economist and a statistician. Like Hofsten previously, he made significant contributions to the theory of indices. His best known work deals with productivity indices and it is still appreciated (Färe et al. 1998). His work on utility is sometimes cited as well. Malmquist also contributed to the theories of demand and probability, and worked with applied statistics at the same time he was active at the Department. For example, he took an active part in the discus-

sion concerning the relation between smoking and cancer, now taken for granted but much debated at that time. Malmquist was a timid man who did not make much fuss about himself, but it was during his leadership that the unit took its form and changed into a modern Department. However, the Department and Malmquist's students took up much of his time. He had little time left to do research of his own, not even after resigning from being head of department.

When Malmquist had resigned as head of department, it had no steady leadership for a period. During the following 20 years, no head stayed in office for more than one period of three years. The department had its first female head, Carita Gundberg, as early as 1981, but she stayed for only one year.

Another important person was Tore Dalenius (1917–2002). If Malmquist was a timid man, Dalenius was his opposite. He was a very active and intense person, working within the field of surveys. Having been the originator of the Office of Investigation (*Utredningsinstitutet*) at Statistics Sweden, he came to the Department in 1965. He had a position as 'preceptor', which was later transformed to a full professorship with special emphasis on official statistics. This speciality was for a long time unique to Stockholm. Similar chairs have since been created internationally. At Statistics Sweden, he had been responsible for many important studies such as



2013 was the year of statistics all over the world, not least at the Department of Statistics. (Photo: Mats Danielson)

the 'The Living Conditions Surveys' (ULF). Dalenius was also active internationally. He had good contacts with the best survey researchers all over the world. He was quite early with bringing home ideas from the US, not only in

his own field but also in related fields. During his last ten years, he shared his time between Stockholm and Brown University in Rhode Island, USA. Dalenius knew a lot about different fields and he was mostly right, but he was not an easy person and he often offended people. He wrote, for instance, a nonsense article with the right vocabulary, which he got published in a medical journal (1964) in order to show that the refereeing system did not work. It created more animosity than positive results. Dalenius was a demanding, but also a very encouraging, leader and supervisor. As an example, he once called one of his PhD students, Lars Lyberg, on Christmas Eve and asked him to come to the Department.

Dalenius is known for his contributions to survey statistics; for example, the 'Dalenius-Hodges allocation' in stratified sampling bears his name. He was responsible for several large research projects. In all these he was often ahead of his time. The project 'Errors in surveys' (Fel i undersökningar, 1970-74) resulted in 81 different reports. There Dalenius coined the term 'Total Survey Error' and emphasised that the sampling error was only a (small) part of the total error. His view on statistical quality has influenced not only Statistics Sweden but also many international statistical offices, such as the US Census Bureau. Another large project was 'Access to information through censuses and surveys', where he emphasised the upcoming role of computers and the need for statistical knowledge when creating databases. His work was met by very little interest in the statistical community but many of his ideas have been reinvented in computer science. If statistical bureaus and researchers had followed

his advice about confidentiality, the debates about the Census (FoB85) and the Metropolitan Project could have been avoided.

Demography played a large role at the department from its beginning. During the 1950s and 1960s, other subjects took over, but in 1981 the Department recruited a new professor in demography named Jan Hoem (1939-). He was originally from Norway but had previously been a professor of actuarial mathematics in Copenhagen. The arrival of Hoem meant a rise and rekindling of demography. He introduced modern methods like point processes and hazard regression and put Stockholm University at the scientific frontier of demography. Yet, he was fairly isolated at the Department and only a few years later demography was made an autonomous unit within the Department of Sociology. After his departure, demography played only a minor role at the Department until Gebrenegus Ghilagaber (1958-) arrived as a lecturer in 1999.

Both Malmquist and Dalenius retired in 1983. Hoem left the Department one year later. They were replaced in 1984 by Ove Frank (1937–) and in 1989 by Daniel Thorburn (1945–). This can be seen as an important time of change for the Department when new persons arrived with new interests and specialities.

Frank has his PhD from the Department but had been professor in Lund for ten years in between. He is an international authority on statistics regarding graphs and social networks. His thesis from 1971 was the first large treatment on the subject. It is difficult to single out only one of his results, but his work on exponential graphs should be counted among his best. The field has received more interest with the advent of modern computers. Statistical graphs have played an important role in the research at the Department. In 1987, Ove Frank succeeded to gather the most important international scientists working with stochastic graphs to one of the many conferences that have been arranged at the Department. Frank retired in 2002 but is still quite active, writing research papers and supervising students.

Thorburn had come to the Department in 1984. The Department of Statistics has a long tradition of cooperation with official statistical agencies. Sundbärg, Wahlund and Hofsten all shared their time between statistical offices and teaching. This was reflected in the name of Dalenius' chair: 'Statistics, especially official statistics'. With Thorburn, the cooperation was even more formalised because his employment description explicitly prescribed that he should spend 20 % of his time at Statistics Sweden, but did not say what he was supposed to do during this time. In practice that percentage of time was spent on discussions, seminars, courses and supervision. The cooperation with Statistics Sweden benefited the Department, since the very problems met by Statistics Sweden

could be taken up both in research and undergraduate courses. This has led to a long series of dissertations relevant for official statistics, dealing with issues like index theory (continuing the tradition from Hofsten and Malmquist), methods for seasonal adjustment, measurement errors, interviewer effects and nonresponse adjustment. With Thorburn, Bayesian theory also became one of the Department specialities. In 2012, he was succeeded by Dan Hedlin (1960–) on a chair with the same orientation.

In the late 1990s the possibility to be promoted to professor was introduced. Jan Wretman, who had then been a lecturer at the Department for almost ten years, was the first one to be promoted at the Department in 2000. His main research deals with sampling designs, but he had extensive experience as chief statistician at Statistics Sweden before coming to the Department. He is one of the three authors of the international standard book on advanced survey sampling (Särndal et al. 2003). He is a very timid and kind man who was well liked by the whole Department and appreciated by the students. He was born in the night of New Year's Eve in 1939 and sometimes joked by saying "We who have got experience from the thirties" when he wanted to stress some point.

Another prominent lecturer was Rolf Larsson (1962–) who is a good econometrician with VAR-models and unit roots as his specialties.

In 2002, he followed the examples of Sundbärg and Wohlin to leave the Department for a chair in Uppsala.

Hans Nyquist (1950–) succeeded Frank in 2002. His main research area is asymptotically optimal allocation in model dependent design of experiments. His presentations are always lucid and enjoyable, and he is a good supervisor for graduate students. Experimental design has recently become one of the Department's three specialties, with a couple of academic theses. Nyquist is also a keen winter sportsman. When he became head of department in 2005, he arranged a Department gathering in Hemavan during the winter.

The Department has also had many guest researchers and adjunct professors. Hofsten, Hoem and Thedéen have already been mentioned. Others that may be mentioned are: Mats Rudemo from Copenhagen, specialising in point processes (in the early 1980s); Carl Erik Särndal from Montreal working in sampling (in the 1990s); Thomas Polfeldt and Peter Guttorp, interested in environmental statistics (the former staying for six years and the latter for one year, both around the millennium); Lars Erik Öller dealing with time series and economic statistics (eight years from 2004) and Lars Lyberg working on survey quality (today). These are only a few names. Over time there have time been a lot of foreign guests for shorter periods. During recent years, the number has

increased and the staff has grown more international. Today, there are three lecturers and two guest researchers or post docs with PhDs from abroad. The goal of the Department is to have many international contacts and to invite at least one guest every semester.

There was a change of generations around 1984 when Malmquist and Dalenius retired. A similar change came around 2010, when Hedlin became the new professor of official statistics and Ghilagaber was promoted to professor and presently being head of department. His specialty is duration and event history data. Recently, some qualified lecturers have been employed coming from other universities like Tatjana von Rosen specialising in linear models, Andriy Andreev in business and financial statistics and Frank Miller in biostatistics. They will strengthen what are now the Department's main areas: Bayesian methods, financial statistics, design of experiments and biostatistical applications. But all the staff is not new. Nyquist and a couple of other teachers are still active and contribute to the development. Several people who have graduated here are employed as lecturers such as Raul Cano, Michael Carlsson, Ellinor Fackle-Fornius and Jessica Franzén.

In 2013, the Survey Research and Education Centre, SuREC, was launched. Its goals are to promote the use of modern survey methods and to increase cooperation with other univer-

sity departments interested in surveys and also with surrounding society. The vision is that Stockholm University shall become a world-leading centre for survey education and research in social sciences, theory and methods as well as applications, and, more specifically, a world leader on how to use administrative data and other non-statistical data in combination with survey data for statistical purposes.

One goal of the Department is to reintroduce and expand interdisciplinary work where statisticians and subject matter researchers combine their knowledge and abilities to create a good research environment at Stockholm University. SuREC has hitherto been successful in this respect, but it has only been active for a short period so the knowledge of its existence has not spread to all who might be interested. The cooperation between the Department and the rest of the faculty has become more vivid during the last three years, not only with SuREC, but also in many other constellations.

## Premises and technology

Between 1950 and 1964, the Department had four different addresses in Vasastan. In 1964, it gained more permanent premises in a functionalist building at Hagagatan 23, where it remained until 1987. It was perhaps not the most inspiring building. On one side, the windows faced a stone wall five metres away, and on the other side was a grey and dull street. In the

middle of the floor where the statisticians resided there was a large, dark library room with bad ventilation and without windows, where the shelves were filled with old books since the days of Sundbärg as well as modern ones. The Department subscribed to many scientific journals, which were sent to the binder every year. In the library, there were many series of such bound volumes, some of the series starting with volumes from the 19th century. The seminar rooms were in the same house. Larger lecture halls and examination rooms had to be found elsewhere. Most major lectures were held in the old law building at Norrtullsgatan.

In 1987, the Department moved to Frescati where it still occupies the seventh floor of building B. There is still a small library, but the Internet has made paper copies of old journals obsolete. One advantage was that the Department came closer to the other subjects in the Faculty, which has created possibilities for interdisciplinary cooperation.

One important factor of change has been the introduction of computers and of statistical packages, which has meant that the focus of teaching has changed. Fifty years ago, the Department had rooms filled with mechanical calculators ('Facitsnurror'), where the students learned how to compute, for example, long sum of squares for regression and for analysis of variance. These rooms were quite noisy when filled with practising students. In the 1970s, the

calculators were replaced by electronic hand calculators and ten years later they were replaced by the first simple computers like ABC80. By 1990, the rooms were filled with terminals to a mainframe computer. Today they are packed with advanced personal computers, equipped with statistical and other program packages, and with access to the Internet and statistical databases. These rooms have lately become less important, as almost all students have their own laptops and are able to download datasets and do the calculations there.

The discussion on merging statistics and mathematical statistics has continued on and off for a long time. At Hagagatan 23, the two departments were in the same building, but statistics was on one floor and mathematical statistics on the floor above. There were sometimes common arrangements and staff parties. However, even though some teachers crossed the departmental border and some persons visited seminars in the other department, the two units have never come close to becoming one unit. There have, also with varying intensity, been discussions on a mathematical centre in Stockholm and statistics has mostly been a part of them. When the College of Forestry moved to Umeå in the early 1980s, there was even a concrete plan to create a common mathematical centre at their former location. However, plans changed at the university. Today there is a virtual mathematical centre, but a smaller

physical centre has been planned for in the Albano area and Cramér's dream of one large statistical unit may come true.

## Teaching statistics

As an academic subject, statistics received its form in the 1950s. In early times, an overview of existing statistical publications was important in the curriculum. The ability to find statistical data in available reports and yearbooks was earlier a part of the examination. In 1964, the contents of the introductory course was more methodological and more or less the same all over the world. There have been only small changes in the basic outline since then, but the theory has become applied to larger data sets and to more complicated models. In the old times, there were not necessarily any books and the syllabus was defined by the lectures. Already in 1943, Erland Hofsten (1911-96) had published 'A guide to Swedish statistics' which was regularly updated until 1987, when the 10th edition was published. Hofsten worked with statistics at the National Board of Health and Welfare, but he helped out at the Department for three decades.

In the 1960s there were thus basic books, but they were complemented by supplementary material ('kompendier'), written by the teachers and sold at the Department's student office. The Department had a special box with petty cash to handle the payments. This han-

dling of money at the Department ceased around 1990.

Hofsten's book was used until the early 1980s but its importance gradually decreased. The topic of Swedish statistical sources is still taught and it is now contained in Karin Dahmström's book 'From Data Collection to Report', but its emphasis lies on how the statistics are produced and not the figures themselves. Dahmström (1943–2012) was a lecturer at the Department and she wrote the first edition in 1991. The book has now reached its fifth edition and it is used throughout the country.

The emphasis of teaching has changed from performing simple calculations to understanding the output of statistical packages. Fifty years ago it was only possible to handle small models and small data sets in the exercises. In order to do the calculations, the students nevertheless had to understand why they did them. Today, the students analyse large data sets by e.g. generalised linear models, vector-autoregressive models, structural equations, multilevel models, and propensity scores with the same ease. More of the lecture time must be spent on understanding and interpreting the results and the output of statistical packages. Earlier the students had to understand what they were doing in order to get a result. Today, they can easily obtain results but still need the understanding when interpreting them.

In the old system, students studied one subject at a time and for an entire semester. There was usually only one or two lectures a week even though small group exercises with case studies ('räkneövningar') were added on in the 1960s. The rest of the time, the students were expected to read the book and try to solve problems on their own. At the end of the term, they were tested, often both orally by a professor and in a written test. The grades were called one, two or three 'betyg' (grades) depending on whether it was the first, second or third semester course. These marks were with or without 'spets' ('point', i.e. distinction).

In the 1960s all students were admitted if they had a General Certificate of Education (*studentexamen*) which made it difficult for the Department to plan. The students only had to show up at the introductory meeting to be allowed to study the course. Sometimes, teachers had to be recruited with only one week's notice. Today, the students have to apply in the midterm before the courses start. However, there are still planning problems since many admitted students never show up.

At the end of the 1960s and in the early 1970s, the number of university students increased enormously (the 'student explosion'). The number of teachers soon became insufficient. In order to remedy this, good students were recruited as teaching assistants after less than two semesters' study and very soon be-

come responsible for lectures and for whole courses with hundreds of students. The number of lecture halls was also insufficient so that the Department sometimes had to use ordinary cinemas during daytime. Where the film screen was at night, students that had studied statistics for three semesters could be standing lecturing to hundreds of undergraduates. Even though most of these teaching assistants left the university for a job after some years or became graduate students, some of them remained as appreciated junior teachers ('assistenter' or 'adjunkter'). Three of them, Björn Järvheden, Ann-Sofi Matthiessen and Bo Rydén stayed until this century. Peter Claësson, who was recruited a little later, is now the only one remaining. He is responsible for the cooperation with Human Geography and the study programme in Urban and Regional Planning.

During the student boom period, the atmosphere was in a way dominated by the young generation. They created, for instance, a sports club "Statist IK" that participated in some outside competitions and leagues, 'korpen'. However, the club faded away and had disappeared when the Department moved to Frescati in 1987. In 1969 and 1972, the UKAS and PUKAS reforms meant a complete reorganisation of the undergraduate teaching at the philosophical faculties. Instead of one-semester courses, complete education study programmes were introduced, which were composed by

many small courses which together should give a good three-year education. Almost all tests became written exams and the marks were either 'pass' or 'pass with distinction'. The number of tests increased from one examination every semester to three or four examinations per semester, not counting hand-ins. Oral examinations almost disappeared. The compulsory bachelor's theses were introduced at the same time. At first they amounted to five weeks' work, but since then they have expanded and the student will have to spend ten or even twenty weeks to finish the thesis.

At the same time, the number of admitted students was given an upper bound for all courses. Statistics became a part of many study programmes (e.g. the programmes for economists 'ekonomlinjen', administrative manage-'förvaltningslinjen', public planning 'samhällsplanerarlinjen', systems science 'systemvetarlinjen' and behavioural science 'beteendevetarlinjen') but there was no autonomous full study programme in statistics, even though the possibility to study single courses remained. Later, many departments that were responsible for a study programme took over the statistical teaching themselves. In the early 1990s, statistics was represented only in two such study programmes: 'Business Administration' and 'Urban and Regional Planning'.

The education reforms had an even more profound impact on the undergraduate teach-



Some of the veterans of the Department: Hans Nyqvist, Daniel Thorburn, Ove Frank and Per Dahmström. (Photo: Karin Dahmström)

ing. Many study programmes contained only five, ten or at most twenty weeks of statistics. This meant that there was no natural way to continue with statistics for a second semester or to even higher levels for those interested in the subject. Instead of a 'normal' university department, statistics was transformed into a service department giving the students enough knowledge to continue their studies in other subjects or to get a job in other fields. In the

1970s, there could be 50 students taking a third semester course every year. Twenty years later this figure had decreased to about five persons writing bachelor's theses in statistics.

With the reforms came also a differentiation between the resources allocated to the subjects. Statistics, together with mathematics and mathematical statistics, was in the 1960s classified as a 'semi-laboratory subject', since they needed tutorials and teaching in small

groups but not as much as fully laboratory subjects like chemistry. The differences in allocated resources between statistics and other subjects like mathematics gradually increased. Around the millennium, statistics was funded as any other social science subject, while mathematics and mathematical statistics were funded as a natural science subject. This meant that the Department's elementary undergraduate teaching was in a way sponsored by the teachers who had no time for research and personal development. In 2006, the allocation was raised again. Today, there are many lecturers who have time to do good research and actually do so.

Jan Gustavsson (1933–) played an important role in implementing these reforms. He was director of studies (*studierektor*) for more than two decades and also head of department for three years. He was very conscientious and his spirit still hovers over the undergraduate education.

It was not until 1990, when Per Dahmström was the head, that a special statistics study programme ('statistikerlinjen') was launched. The Faculty abolished this study programme quite soon due to financial reasons. After the second admission, no more students were admitted. The students who were admitted, however, liked the study programme and were later well received by the labour market, both by the public and the private sector. With the experi-

ences from the study programme, the undergraduate education was successively reorganised, creating natural ways for the students to continue with second, third and fourth semesters in statistics. Around the millennium, the number of bachelor students was almost back to the good figures from the 1970s, e.g. almost half of all the bachelor's theses in statistics in Sweden were written in Stockholm. In 2006, a special study programme in economics and statistics was launched. However, most of its students specialise in economics.

In 1964, there were only five Swedish universities (colleges) with undergraduate teaching in statistics. Today there are more than twenty. In order to coordinate the teaching and share experience, informal coordination exists. Already in 1983, the Department took the initiative and arranged a much appreciated national conference for all statistical departments on Ljusterö. This was the first in a long series of such conferences held by different departments, which by now have become a tradition.

The Department has also given courses elsewhere. When Stockholm University in 1967 became responsible for building academic education in Linköping, the Department with Erik Leander as chief responsible handled the education in statistics. When Linköping became a university of its own in 1975, most of the teachers in statistics had been recruited from Stockholm. Further, for more than ten years,

the Department was responsible for the statistical courses at Gotland University College. Education was also commissioned from many agencies and companies; for instance, one and two-semester courses for Statistics Sweden in the 1980s. The first course based on distance learning through the Internet was a course for Telia in 2000.

#### The students

In the 1970s, the new students came to an introductory meeting without any prior application or notice. They put their names on the registration list and were then automatically admitted to the course. A card was filled out and all students had to leave a photo, which was attached to the card. All examination results were then noted on this card. This was the only university documentation. The students had their own documentation in the form of a booklet, tentamensbok, where all results were entered. Before oral exams, the teachers prepared themselves by looking at the cards and photos. These cards were used until about 1990 but the photos disappeared earlier. Computer based systems were used in parallel for about ten years before they became the only form. Today the students are more anonymous, but the databases have other advantages.

Statistics has always had a relatively good proportion of female students in our own courses outside the study programmes. One reason may be that statistics is considered to be simpler and more applied than mathematics and other subjects in the natural sciences and thus more suitable by quantitatively interested female students. This high proportion still holds for all levels. Already in the 1970s a substantial number of the PhD students were female. Today the proportion of female students is well above 50 %. In 1995, the Department organised the First Conference for Female Statisticians in Sweden, with more than 70 participants.

The Department has always received good marks for the administrative handling of students. This applies particularly to the staff at the student office and their response to all the questions from the students. For a Department with many short service courses, the student office is often the only personal contact students have with the Department. They attend the lectures but sit quietly listening and never raise their voices. Three persons, who have been responsible for the student reception during different periods, are Lillemor Moberg, Iris Claësson and Birgitta Berggren.

During the last half century, the proportion of an age cohort going to higher education has increased from only 10 % in the 1960s. Today, the technical and medical universities alone account for this fraction. This has led to a deterioration in the capacities that the students bring to their studies, since the faculty earlier received a better fraction of younger generations

in the 1960s. There has also been a drop in mathematical knowledge in general. Already in the 1980s, the technical universities reported a steady decline in mathematical knowledge and abilities among freshmen. One might say that in the 1970s, the students knew that they did not master integrals. Today many students do not even know that there is something called integrals.

In the 1960s, the students were recommended to have mathematics in their General Certificate of Education ('reallinjen') when beginning studies in statistics and also to have one semester of studies in mathematics before starting their third semester ('tre betyg'). With the new study programme system this was impossible to require. All students admitted to a study programme should be able to read all the courses in the study programme, and if the students wanted to continue with statistics there was no place in study programmes to add an extra semester of mathematics. In the 1970s, statistics was a popular subject to start with. The Department welcomed many students directly from upper secondary school. Students who intended to study business administration or economics were recommended to start with statistics. The subject was also included in a special degree, 'the pol. mag. degree' (Magister Politicus), intended for those who were training for a career as a civil servant. There was even a special preparatory course for them,

called 'proppen' (the plug, the 'propaedeutic' course).

The requirement of mathematics has over time disappeared, which means the mathematical level of some candidates is lower today than fifty years ago. The Department has introduced special lectures in mathematics for those starting their second semester and at the master's level.

The many short service courses entail special problems, since the students have very varying backgrounds and capabilities. Students with no talent for figures have trouble passing even if they work hard while others with a more solid background may get a high pass after one week of preparation. The Department has the ambition to make time spent here meaningful for all kinds of students. All students should work with their studies and all hardworking students should pass. This has always been a challenge. It is even more so now, since the diversity has a new dimension today, with more foreign students. These problems are not unique to Stockholm. In fact, when the university education in statistics was evaluated by the authorities (HSV 2006), Stockholm University was deemed to be among the best in statistics, if not the best.

Many students from the Faculty of Social Sciences study statistics. More than one thousand students participate in at least one of the Department's courses every year. Yet, the Department is one of the smallest of the Faculty, if

counted by the length of the courses. The number of students has usually been between 300 and 500 during most of the last forty years, if evaluated in terms of whole year equivalents. This figure was smaller in the 1960s, but it has also decreased during recent years. The number has almost halved from 1997 when it was around 500.

In 2005, the possibility for Swedes to get a Master's degree was introduced. Since the degree is new, neither the students nor the labour market have gotten used to it. There have been about 10 to 20 students beginning their studies for a Master each year, but most of them have so far been offered interesting jobs before finishing their studies. The actual number of students who have written master's theses and received a master's degree is thus limited so far, but there has been a slight improvement during the last years. This trend will hopefully continue in the future and the department has recently reorganised the master's education.

### Graduate education and dissertations

The first PhD who graduated in statistics in Stockholm was Alfred Söderlund in 1923. Two other students received their PhDs in 1932 and in 1953 respectively. All three theses dealt with demography. After that, there was a long period until 1970 without any dissertations.

During the 1960s, many of young teaching assistants were recruited in order to cope with

the increasing number of students. Many of the assistants soon disappeared into the labour market or became assistant senior lecturers (adjunkter) with a heavy workload, but some of them continued on to a PhD. The first one was Gunilla Elofsson in 1970, and the second one was Ove Frank, who later was to become a professor at the Department. The concentration on demography had by then disappeared, and the topics of research were chosen from many different fields of modern statistics.

Since the 1970s there has been a steady stream of new PhDs, with about one dissertation per year. There were 10 dissertation defences in the 1970s, 8 in the 1980s and 7 in the 1990s. The rate has increased since then and there have been 21 in the twenty-first century (until 2013). About one quarter of all PhDs last century were female. The proportion has increased to almost one half in recent years.

The theses do not belong to only one area of statistics. It is more natural to emphasise the diversity and plurality. During the 25 year period of 1964–89, official statistics and survey sampling were well-represented but also other fields like econometrics, non-parametrics or bivariate data. During the last 25 year period of 1989–2014, most theses have dealt with networks, survey sampling, official statistics, and econometrics with finance and/or Bayesian theory. Design of experiments has also become an increasingly important topic for the Depart-

ment. Two theses within that area have already appeared and one more is expected this year. Very few theses have been completely theoretical. Most of them contain applied parts taken from areas like economy, medicine, traffic theory or sociology. A professor was long expected to be able to supervise graduate students in any part of the subject. During the last five years, however, the range of possible directions for new students to choose has been limited by the specialties of the available supervisors.

Apart from those getting a full PhD, nine students chose to finish with a licentiate degree between 1970 and 1973. When the old system with doctoral degrees was abolished in the early 1970s, the licentiate degree also disappeared. There was a rush from many graduate students to get that degree before it was too late. Those licentiate theses had a scientific level quite close to a new PhD For example, it qualified one for a lectureship (*lektorat*).

The licentiate degree was reintroduced at the Department about fifteen years later. The old doctoral degree corresponded to at least five years study after a bachelor's degree. The new PhD is expected to be around four years. For the old licentiate degree, three years was normal, but the new one corresponds to one year less. The new licentiate degree has been used both as a final and an intermediate degree. Out of the first 14 new licentiates, seven did not proceed to a PhD. Today, it has almost ex-

clusively become an intermediate exam. Out of the fifteen licentiates since the year 2000, ten have already received their PhD's and the remaining five will do so in the near future.

Many students started their graduate studies in the 1960s and early 1970s. After that, the number of new PhD students went down. In the 1990s the output of potential PhD students increased and the Department could not admit every good student. Many left for other universities. However, the number of bachelor's students decreased and almost all new PhD students during the last five years have come from other universities.

There is, however, a clear demand for people with a PhD in statistics. The available statisticians are almost too few to fill even the needs of the universities. About twenty of the PhD's have stayed at the University, working with research or teaching. Ten of them have later become professors, most of them in Sweden but also abroad. Fifteen have received good positions in public agencies and governance, about half of them at Statistics Sweden or Eurostat. The remainder work elsewhere as, for example, statistical consultants in the pharmaceutical industry or with financial institutions.



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# Stockholm Business School

**Rolf Lind** 

IN THE PAST fifty years, business administration has entered the scene of the social sciences. The context has been an increasing, and seemingly insatiable, demand for professionally educated persons in business and public sector organization. The subject has foremost developed in response to educational demands, and is today the academic discipline attracting the largest number of students in Sweden. However, during the last decades research has been strengthened, and with respect to that, it can be said that business administration has left its adolescence and become a full-fledged member of the social science community.

## Business administration – setting the scene

To understand the development at Stockholm University, it is necessary to give a brief description on how business administration has evolved in Sweden at large. In the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, the subject was formed in relation to

what was then perceived as urgent needs in the business community and to enhance its social prestige. K.A. Wallenberg, one of the founders of the Stockholm School of Economics, argued that "knowledge and formal education will lift businessmen from the status of petty shopkeepers and merchants", giving them a position to participate in the political and cultural discussions shaping the society's further economic development (SSE 2009:15).

In the early 1900s, business administration education had a hands-on character emphasizing commercial techniques with a loose and fragmented theoretical foundation, if any. This gave ample opportunities for the subject in the years to come to assimilate theoretical ideas and constructs from other social science disciplines. In contrast, education and research have always had a clear focus on a phenomenon of foremost importance in contemporary society: business and other formally organized activities. Quite early it was also acknowledged

that the interest did not solely concern profit-oriented corporations but organizations of different kinds, including public sector and cooperative organizations (Thorburn 1966). Business administration is thus characterized by its focus on a societal 'meso-level', where macro structures, such as markets and the political system, as well as micro-level individual behaviour constitute important contingencies.

In the late 1950s, pressure rose to increase educational opportunities in business administration within the university system, as a response to the developing economy and the entry of the baby boomer generation to the labour market. Until 1957, however, academic education in business administration was provided only at two specialized and privately operated business schools: Stockholm School of Economics (SSE, established in 1909) and Gothenburg School of Economics (GSE, established in 1923). Both institutions received some financial support from the government. While GSE was later integrated into the University of Gothenburg, SSE, mainly financed by private resources, has maintained its institutional autonomy.

Significantly, the number of professorships in business administration was limited. Until the late 1950s, chairs existed only at SSE and GSE. At the suggestion from a governmental committee (SOU 1953:15), arguing for the importance of introducing business administration within the social sciences, one chair was

established in Uppsala and one in Lund in 1957. In 1965, fourteen persons held chairs: six at SSE, three at GSE, one in Uppsala, and four in Lund.<sup>1</sup> At Stockholm University, a chair was established only in 1966.

For a long time there was also a shortage of persons formally qualified for positions as academic teachers. The first PhD in business administration was awarded as late as 1950, and the second in 1953. In 1965, a total of 12 people had graduated. The number of PhDs has since then increased, first at a slow pace. In 1980, a total of 202 persons had received a PhD (28 from Stockholm University), rising to a total of 1016 (161) in 2007.

In conclusion, business administration was a newcomer in the social sciences with a background in business life, a constrained supply of academically trained teachers, a limited academic tradition (if any), and with a rather fragmented theoretical framework. This suggests that business administration can be conceived as a loosely defined cluster of theoretical perspectives. This is the big picture, given as a background to how the School of Business² developed from 1962 to 2013.

<sup>1</sup> Some professors had graduated abroad or in other social science disciplines. Statistics based on (Engwall 2009).

<sup>2</sup> The Swedish name has always been 'Företagsekonomiska institutionen', translated as 'Department of Business Administration' (1962–1993), 'School of Business' (1994–2006), 'Stockholm University School of Business' (2007–2013), and from March 2014 'Stockholm Business School'. With respect to this I will use 'School of Business' or 'the Department' up to 1993 to denote the operations, and from then on 'the School'.

The account in this chapter expresses my personal viewpoint, reflecting experiences of some 25 years as senior lecturer at the School of Business, and before that as a student and assistant teacher at SSE since the late 1960s.3 The narrative has also benefitted from conversations with some former and present colleagues at the School, and from reviewing some formal documents, primarily degree programmes in business administration. I will present a rough outline of how the School has developed through the past fifty years, giving snapshots of some significant processes, events and actors. The presentation follows a chronological order, divided into six sections. Each period has some specific characteristics with respect to developments in education, research, and administrative matters.

## Starting up a business (1962-1970)

Education in business administration at Stockholm University started on a small scale, basically as a subsidiary to the Stockholm School of Economics (SSE). Based on an agreement made in 1957, a limited number of students were allowed to follow courses at SSE covering the first two semesters of studies. In 1962, the operations expanded somewhat when the De-

partment was established. Instrumental in this was Professor T. Paulsson Frenckner, on partial leave from SSE, but acting as the Department's first head between 1962 and 1966.

This raises a question concerning why a department at Stockholm University was supported by SSE? A background is that in the 1960s, the public sector expanded, and so did higher education. There also seems to have existed political pressure on SSE to admit more students, as the Ministry of Education was hesitant to create a second education in business administration in Stockholm. So it is possible that a threat was perceived, influencing SSE to support the new Department. By this, SSE could maintain control over their operations, where a very limited enrolment of students was (and still is) a strategic parameter. Instead, the new department at Stockholm University would bear the burden of mass education.

In a study based on protocols from the professorial council at the SSE and on an interview with Paulsson Frenckner, the latter is quoted in the following way:

In this way one could avoid destroying the well-functioning unit made up by the Stockholm School of Economics. The new unit would at its start be able to exploit many of the teaching and examination experiences available at SSE. The development towards broader and deeper education would then be able to take place in steps, at the

<sup>3</sup> I was employed at Stockholm University in 1985. I have worked with undergraduate education, but also held administrative positions as head teacher in management 2002– 2004 and director of studies 2005–2009.

rate that resources and capacities grew. (Arvidsson 2000:20)

The strategy from SSE thus seems to have been to start up the education in order to subsequently decouple. A prerequisite was that a chair was provided. In 1964, seven years after Uppsala and Lund, the government decided to allocate a professorship in business administration to Stockholm University. In March 1966, Bertil Näslund was appointed as the first professor in Business Administration.

Until 1966, studies in business administration had only been provided for the first two semesters. With the professor in place, courses for the third and fourth semesters could be offered. Lars Engwall, the second to graduate from the Department in 1970, and later professor at Uppsala University, was then a student. He has witnessed that the new professor was much wanted:

Now we hoped that the third semester, education would get started. Some of us, who had been active in the students' association, just took on to form a small group for assisting the professor with points of view [...] Our discussions about a program aimed for the start of the autumn semester 1966, and we presented our proposal to the new representative of the discipline. It is unclear whether this initiative was of any significance, but anyhow the result was the one we had

wished for. The third semester teaching could start. (Engwall 1993:57)

The teaching expanded quickly. In 1969, a total of 2,658 students were enrolled at the Department, primarily students in the social sciences studying for the first two semesters (1,942 students), but also law students taking a preparatory course in business administration (409 students). Studies on higher levels had also expanded. In 1969, there was a total of 276 students, and 31 individuals had started their PhD studies (Engwall 1970:56).

After staying in some temporary, and as it seems, poor office premises, the Department became located at Hagagatan 23, where some office and seminar rooms were available. As an auditorium big enough to accommodate all students was lacking, lectures were held in nearby cinemas. Almost all teaching staff came with Paulsson Frenckner, employed as teaching or research assistants at SSE while pursuing their PhD studies. Toward the end of the 1960s, some senior lecturers were appointed on permanent tenure, among them Solveig Wikström and somewhat later Lars Engwall. Others were enrolled as 'special teachers', and some of them had their main occupation in the business world.

Significant for the 1960s was the system with free admission to higher education in the social sciences and the humanities. Basically all

students fulfilling the formal requirement, a degree from upper secondary education, were admitted. So, all students who registered for business administration – they were many already in the late 1960s – were to have a seat. Sten Söderman, later professor, was then employed as administrative assistant responsible for staff planning. He remembers:

When the semester started in September, a great number of students wanted to register for studies in business administration. All administrative work required that the applicants actually came at a specific time to the office of the Department, where the administrative staff made notes on paper cards. Therefore, the students had to line up on Hagagatan and wait for their turn at the registration desk. There was a huge line of people, going from Freigatan up to Surbrunnsgatan. Based on the length of the queue a rough estimate could be made of the number of teachers required, approximately one teacher for each 30 meters. Based on this estimate a call was made to an officer at the central agency (Universitetskanslersämbetet), who decided on the number of temporary teaching positions that should be allocated to the Department.

This episode illuminates a feature of the educational system of the 1960s: administrative procedures were regulated and decision-making centralized, but at the same time there were no

limitations on enrolment. This illustrates that higher education had, until then, been in a state where only a small fraction of a generation leaving secondary school went on to higher education.<sup>4</sup> In the 1960s, however, the number of students increased in a way to which the system was not adapted.

At this time, research in business administration was influenced by operational research and quantitative methods developed in the US. Bertil Näslund had, for example, his PhD from Carnegie Mellon University. Inspired by him, a group of doctoral students started their projects on simulation, programming and prognostication. The overall objective was to study societal problems with financial implications for companies and organizations. In 1969, the first PhD degree was awarded, and in the subsequent years some ten of his doctoral students graduated. Many of them contributed to a book, presenting a framework for strategic planning summarizing some of the research pursued during the early years (Linde 1971).

## A commitment to teaching (1970–1983)

The first two buildings in 'Södra huset' at Campus Frescati were ready to accommodate their new residents in the summer of 1970. The area was still a building site, and going by public

<sup>4</sup> In 1960 universities in Sweden enrolled a total of some 40,000 students, fifty years later more than 425,000.



For several years, before Building A became a social centre of the University with its various present-day offerings of ready-made food and kiosk commodities, the Department of Business Administration occupied a sizeable part of this building. (Photo: Mats Danielson)

transportation to the new campus took some effort, as the subway was not built until 1975. The facilities and buildings that nowadays form the campus, foremost the library building and Aula Magna, did not exist.

In spite of the poor infrastructure, an entrepreneurial spirit seems to have been vibrant at the School of Business in the early 1970s. This was due to several coinciding factors. Of primary importance was a high demand from

students for courses in business administration. The bonds with the SSE also weakened, as the Department now had a professor in office. There was now also office space available for all staff on floors 5 and 6 in the A-building, where the Department stayed until the move to Kräftriket in the summer of 2000. The Department began to develop an identity of its own.

In retrospect, the early 1970s were foundational for the culture that came to characterize

the Department until the millennium shift. The expanding education, in combination with the retreat of 'the first generation of teachers' coming from SSE, made it necessary to enrol a new cadre. Some were permanently employed as docents or senior lecturers, among them Bo Schyberger and Hunter Mabon, but the majority of the teachers were in the early 1970s employed on temporary contracts. They were homogenous in age, most in their late twenties. The recruitment process was often improvised and informal. Usually, potential teachers were approached as students finalizing their bachelor education. From a start as amanuenses, administrative assistants or study counsellors they could, when they had proved their capability in teaching, be temporary employed as lecturers, and only later enrolled in doctoral education.

There was a short step from being a student of business administration, to becoming a teacher *in* business administration, and later a doctoral student.<sup>5</sup> However, the conditions for employment were as unsecure as the recruitment was informal: the teachers were employed on temporary contracts renewed every six months. Despite this, it seems as if they did not worry about job security, as there was a high demand for courses in business administration,

This cohort consists of roughly 30-35 individuals. Some were employed for only a few years, but a substantial group of some 20 individuals became deeply involved in the Department's teaching operations, forming a core of the academic staff for the decades to come. Some graduated in the late 1970s, but many in the 1980s or the early 1990s. Many in this group, forming the 'second generation of teachers', came later to hold administrative positions, such as heads, deputy heads, directors of studies or as heads of teaching groups. Some finished their doctoral studies in a comparatively short time, laying a foundation for an academic career, among them Jan-Erik Gröjer, later professor at Uppsala University, and Agneta Stark, later guest professor in Tema Genus at Linköping University and vice-chancellor of Dalarna University College.<sup>6</sup>

The permanently employed staff were, compared to the temporary staff necessary to manage the undergraduate education, few. They also had a different focus, as their primary responsibility was to provide doctoral education and develop research. In the early 1970s, Lars Persson became the Department's second full professor. He had a

and always a possibility to look for a job in the business sector.

<sup>5</sup> This was common for many social sciences in those years (HSV 2006:17).

<sup>6</sup> Other individuals in this cohort are Jens Lindberg, Marianne Nilson, Olle Högberg, Christer Lindgren, Sten Köpniwsky, Lillemor Westerberg, Roland Hansson, Stig Johansson and Sören Bergström.



The Frescati university was built according to a hierarchical mode of thinking, even if modern and functional. Students were expected to dwell mainly on the lower (3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup>) floors. The style gave rise to conspirational myths of the buildings having been built for alternative uses as a military hospital or that the corridors were lined with surveillance bridges. Students at the Department of Business Administration were mainly seen between the buildings A and B. (Photo: Mats Danielson)

degree from SSE with a specialization in marketing, and was employed until his retirement in 1996. As Näslund was on leave from 1971 and then returned to SSE, it was only in 1975 when Paulsson Frenckner was appointed that the Department had two full professors on duty. Beside them, the permanently employed academic staff consisted of four docents and two senior lectur-

ers. Some 30 individuals were employed as lecturers working on temporary contracts, some with a PhD but a large group were still completing their doctoral studies. In addition, 13 amanuenses performed administrative work (many also enrolled in doctoral education). Notably only four administrative staff were permanently employed at the Department.

What is business all about?

In the early years, courses were 'copy-pasted' from SSE following a conception of the subject articulated at SSE in the late 1950s. Earlier, education had a rather practical orientation, and was to some extent adapted to the need of specific industries. Inspired by developments in US business schools after the Second World War, a more analytical and generalist orientation became emphasized. The intention was to deliver an education relevant for work at the top executive level of firms, irrespective of their industrial sector (HHS 1959).

As the focus was on problems that the top management had to deal with, an overarching interest concerned decision making and problem solving. Top management also had to integrate what was then perceived as the basic functional needs of a business corporation, supposedly an industrial firm. From these days emanates a division of business administration in four sub-areas, reflected both in education and in research: management (or 'administration' as it was earlier denoted), accounting ('book-keeping'), financial analysis/finance ('calculus') and marketing ('distribution') (Thorburn 1966:15-18). The modern terms more frequently used from the 1980s onward and today taken for granted - signify a shift within the subject, from being anchored in a 'practical' vocabulary to more analytical frameworks and concepts.

Many of the emerging research studies had a distinct empirical focus, dealing with different aspects of a firm's behaviour. A step was thus taken to break off from earlier normative approaches, but also from being more or less solely dependent on theoretical frameworks anchored in economics and to some extent in economic history and cultural geography. In these years, the subject opened up for influences from other social sciences, mainly psychology, sociology and political science. The general systems theory framing many social sciences in the 1970s was also influential. In the following decades, interest grew to associate with developments in sciences such as social anthropology and computer and systems sciences, but also within the humanities such as ethnology and philosophy.

Both the theoretical perspectives and the sub-specializations from the 1960s have over the years been debated, developed and reframed. New specialized areas have evolved, for example 'entrepreneurship' and 'operations management'. Important border zones exist, and many specialized areas of research have developed. Nevertheless, the 1960/70s were in many respects foundational, both in education and in research, reflecting a subject in search of distinct and legitimate theoretical perspectives.

<sup>7</sup> The work by Cyert and March is illustrative (Cyert & March 1963).

## Nationally defined degree programmes

The development of business administration has not solely mirrored developments in research, but always been influenced by trends and problems in the contemporary practice of business administration. Furthermore, the subject has been deeply shaped by changes in the Swedish higher educational context. It can be mentioned that the governmental agency for the universities (*Universitetskanslersämbetet*) in the early 1970s defined a nationally valid curriculum ('normalstudieplan') for the first two semesters, thus to some extent standardizing the content of an academic subject. More importantly, other changes emerging in the 1970s were foundational.

In the late 1960s, it was obvious that the system with 'free admission' to higher education was no longer feasible, and a system with fixed study programmes combining different subjects was suggested. The proposal, presented by the government in 1968, was much opposed. In spite of that, a revised proposition was implemented one year later. In business administration this combination of subjects was denominated as 'linje 6A'. In 1977, this system was elaborated and several degree programmes were introduced, among them one in business administration and economics -'Ekonomlinjen'. Instead of regulating the content of the courses, the programme introduced nationally defined goals that the education

should attain. This programme, which has been modified over the years, has been of primary importance for the development of the subject and the School of Business.

The degree programme from 1977 was studied for six semesters. The first semester was an integrative course, called 'Introductory Course in the Social Sciences'. This was followed by a course in economics for one semester, and a semester with courses in law and statistics. Business administration was studied for a total of 90 credits during the last three semesters. The content of the courses in business administration was characterized by high flexibility, since only the 'Introductory Course in Business Administration' and the BSc thesis were mandatory. All other modules covering the subject's different specialized areas, studied at the basic, intermediate and advanced level were, with a few limitations, optional. The final BSc thesis was also written without any specialization based on the course modules earlier studied. Progression was de-emphasized in order to increase the student's freedom of choice.

Since the degree programme introduced in the 1970s was similar to the education offered at SSE, it attracted a large number of students. Yet, compared to SSE, the number of students admitted at Stockholm University was, and has since then always been much larger, approximately 200–250 students each semester. As the number of applicants has always exceeded the



Students carrying out assignments in business administration. (Photo: Mats Danielson)

number of students admitted, there existed an excess demand, which was assimilated by enrolling many in freestanding courses amounting to some 200 students each semester.

Contrary to some other departments, the School has not solely depended on students studying freestanding courses. The course delivery has also profited from economies of scale as students enrolled in the degree programme and freestanding courses to a large extent have

studied the same course modules. Since the late 1970s until today, 400–600 students have studied business administration on the basic and intermediate level, and some 250–300 on higher levels – each semester. The total number of students enrolled each academic year has for a long time amounted to some 3,500. From the 1970s on, the Department had become an institution delivering 'mass education'. However, the education has always been well adapted to

the labour market, ensuring the students employability.

The 1970s was not solely characterized by the entrepreneurial spirit of the 'second generation of teachers'. They also benefitted from acting in a context plentiful of resources. The supply of students seemed unlimited; the overriding problem was to recruit teachers and to deliver the courses. Also, the financial resources were allotted on the basis of the number of students admitted and the number of students enrolled in the degree programme was decided by the national agency, not by the Department nor the University. Obviously, this was long before the system with 'HÅS' and 'HÅP'. Furthermore, the framework provided by the degree programme was loose, waiting to be filled with various courses. Pedagogical development and experiments in the design of the courses and curricula thus flourished. "Everything was possible, only the sky was the limit", was an attitude during these years, expressed in a conversation with a former colleague.

#### Research

Not only undergraduate education expanded at the Department of Business Administration. In 1979, some 100 doctoral students had been enrolled. Many of them were employed as teachers on temporary contracts, but there were others as well. Some PhD students worked in the business community, and many came from developing countries.<sup>8</sup> The faculty supervising thesis work was however limited, consisting of only two professors and four docents. In spite of this, some 20 PhD theses had been defended by the end of this decade.

During the 1970s, research was not differentiated according to sub-specialization. Instead, and that is a sign of the times, it addsocietal problems perceived significant. For example, Paulsson Frenckner had, together with Birger Ljung (later professor at the Royal Institute of Technology KTH) initiated a group with a focus on real estate management, reflecting the housing shortage of that time. Lars Persson worked, as did Solveig Wikström, in the field of distribution and consumer affairs. Ernst Jonsson, with a degree in economics from SSE, but then a docent in business administration, worked with efficiency and productivity issues in public administration. In addition, docent John Skår was interested in cooperative organizations, focusing on problems in the third sector.

It is significant that there was neither a clear division between the professors on the theses they supervised, nor strict borders between research areas. In a presentation of research, it is said that such a distinction would be misleading "as many research problems

<sup>8</sup> One was Cheick Wague, PhD in 1990. He worked as a senior lecturer until 1997 when he became head of the newly established department at Södertörn University College.

intersect the subject's traditional specializations in sub-disciplines" (Företagsekonomiska institutionen 1979). For a long time, there was only one higher seminar at the Department, where research, thesis work and pedagogical matters were discussed. This reflects that, however diverse perspectives the subject contained, it was seen as *one* discipline.

## **Business as usual (1983–1993)**

The entrepreneurial spirit of the 1970s is acknowledged in an ethnographic study conducted in the mid-1980s by Lena Gerholm and Tomas Gerholm, comparing six academic disciplines at Stockholm University. They noted a conscious effort to create a distinctive corporate culture at the School of Business:

Unveiling this is the noticeboards testimony on the "Departmental Day" at Grand Hôtel, in Saltsjöbaden, which started with a communal boattrip and various jollifications, interwoven with a tip quiz walk and finished by a game of croquet. And the magnificent coffee room is an expression and a monument of the collective agentive capacity: a four modules room intended for a professor was evacuated and over a weekend transformed to a lounge available for the all staff. [...] A work of textile art decorates one wall and from the opposite one, Marilyn Monroe throws a seducing glance on anyone and everybody, while Humphrey Bogart ironically contemplates the scene through

the smoke from his cigarette. This is the imprint of the generation of the 1940 (Gerholm & Gerholm 1992:48–49).

It was an open climate, not dominated by any single group or formed by the institutionalized outcome of earlier internal conflicts. Typically, many administrative staff were allocated rooms as large as the professors, while the senior lecturers dwelled in smaller cubicles. The rooms on floors 5 and 6 in the A building were randomly allocated irrespective of the teachers' specializations. Thus, the Department was not differentiated, neither hierarchically nor into different teaching groups or sections.

#### Education

In 1983, the degree programme was modified. This was based on a proposal from a group within the National Agency for Higher Education (*AU-gruppen*), defining a number of programmes with a focus on administrative and economic matters (UHÄ 1981).<sup>9</sup> This reform prolonged the degree programme to seven semesters. It started with a basic course, composed of elements from business administration, economics, economic history and political science. This was followed by a course in economics,

<sup>9</sup> Beside Ekonomlinjen there was a programme for work in the public sector, Förvaltningslinjen, and one focusing on human relations and working life, Personal, arbete och organisation.

and one semester divided between statistics and law. Only during the fourth semester, was there a basic course in business administration.

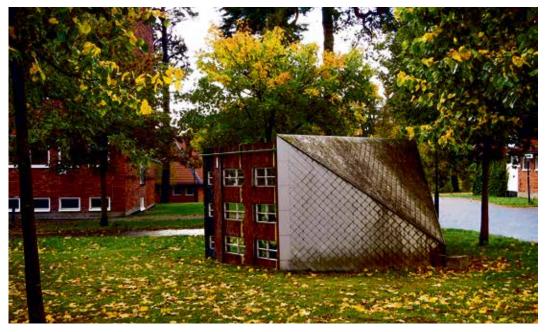
During the last three semesters, students could choose between different specializations, based on what was perceived as relevant knowledge for work in different labour market sectors, thus emphasizing the vocational character of the programmes. In business administration these conformed to the traditional sub-specialization (management, accounting, finance, marketing), but also included other areas (i.e. entrepreneurial business, transport economics and consumer affairs). There were also specializations in economics, for example with a focus on cost-benefit analyses. Compared to other social science studies, the programme also conferred an exclusive identity, as students received a special degree, i.e. 'Ekonomexamen', and not the general degree of Bachelor of Arts (fil. kand.) or Bachelor of Political Science (pol. kand.)

For business administration, the degree programme from 1983 was important, as the subdivision introduced in the 1960s was reinforced. This is indicative of how business administration, as an academic subject, had started to differentiate. Originally this was as a response to the perceived needs in the business community; now the division was confirmed by the regulation of the degree programme. The scope of the specialized studies in business administration furthermore expanded as the degree programme

comprised a total of 60 credits during two specialized semesters, in addition to the basic and intermediate courses. As a consequence, it was necessary to develop more course modules on the advanced level ('påbyggnadskursnivå') within the different specializations.

The Department's teaching operation had, as indicated, a considerable volume. However, the operations benefitted from economies of scale, and course delivery had developed into a smoothly functioning machine, mainly due to the standardization of modules at the basic and intermediate levels. The interest in enhancing teaching and various didactic experiments is moreover evident from several research reports and projects (Bergström & Stockfeldt 1987). Some days before the start of the autumn semester, referred to as 'Peddadagarna', were devoted to discussions on pedagogical and didactic matters.

An educational development, originating in the late 1970s, concerned the work with BSc theses. Traditionally, a thesis is supposed to be single authored, with a professor or docent as tutor. For business administration, such a system was impossible since the professors were far too few. As a consequence, BSc theses were regularly supervised by senior lecturers. Even then, the number of students – with some 250 theses examined each semester – required that they were authored by a pair of students, an arrangement common for the subject at all universities



Close to the main building of the Business School, the art piece 'Försjunken' (Sunk Down) by Charlotte Gyllenhammar (2001) puzzles the passer-by with its careful replication of the details of a nearby building turned over and disappearing into the ground. (Photo: Mats Danielson)

and university colleges. Writing a bachelor's or master's thesis (one year) has since the late 1970s also been organized in a course format with a group of students following a number of scheduled meetings, including seminars on methodology. Thus, students were not left on their own to write their theses and hand it in for examination whenever it was finalized. This system has persisted until today, and has meant a radical increase in the throughput.

#### Administration matters!

From the early 1960s until 1985, the formal organization of the Department was simple with only two hierarchical levels: the head supported by one or two directors of studies and some administrative staff, while the teachers formed an undifferentiated operating core. This was consistent with how the subject was defined. Teachers were appointed as professors or senior lecturers in business administration –

without any suffix indicating their specialization. To some extent it was expected that all teachers should be able to participate in all courses at the basic level.

Connected to the specializations in the degree programme was a need to elaborate the organization of the Department. The new organization, implemented in 1985, established that graduate education should be governed by a collegial group made up of the professors, but also including other faculty engaged in PhD education. In contrast, undergraduate education was to be coordinated by two directors of studies, one responsible for the degree programme and one for freestanding courses. Most significant was, however, that the senior lecturers, and the responsibility for undergraduate courses, were divided into four 'teaching groups' (kursgrupper) corresponding to the different functional areas of the subject. How the groups were denoted is significant - they had a primary focus on teaching and the courses delivered.

The new organization meant an extensive decentralization, giving the teaching groups a large degree of autonomy and responsibility for the courses offered. In charge of each group was a head teacher, always a senior lecturer, supported by a teaching group coordinator. This resulted in significant job enrichment for the administrative coordinators, who supported the head teachers with course planning, scheduling, and allotment of teaching duties.

From traditional secretarial work, they now performed important functions, providing stability and continuity to the teaching operations.

The role of the 'Student Office' must be highlighted. Over the years this unit, working in the intersection between the students, the teachers, and Student Service at the university level, has been an administrative backbone of the Department. As their operations concern enrolments, administrating examinations and notifying grades, they have always emphasized a perspective on the operations different from the teachers. Their interest has been on the flow of students through the courses and programmes, as they had to ensure that all formal requirements regulated both by law and by the university administration (but not always that emphasized by the teachers) were attended to.

The degree programme also initiated other administrative developments. As a short mandatory course module in computer science was included in the first semester, the Department had early on been allocated a VAX-computer. Some computer-oriented elements were introduced into the courses, however not to the extent expected. Instead, the VAX became the foundation for the computerization of the Department primarily through the development of an administrative system, complementary to the systems used at the University (STUDOK/LADOK). This system – Fastreg –

has since 1985 played an important role in administration and teaching activities, and has over the years increased in functionality. Nowadays, it includes a module for planning and registration of the teachers' work, and a forum system for handling different types of hand-ins from students, including automatic checks for plagiarism.

#### Research institutes

As the Department during the 1970s and 1980s received resources for only two professorships financed from the Faculty and one assistant professor (biträdande professor), there was for a long time a severe imbalance between research and undergraduate education. The Department was also less successful in obtaining external research funds as the professors, foremost Lars Persson, primarily worked with supervising doctoral students. He championed a broadminded view, emphasizing openness regarding which problems the research could address, and also on methodological approaches. Of primary importance was that the research contributed with knowledge relevant for problem solving and decision making processes in society (Persson 1980:6-9).

To increase research, a number of temporary 'research institutes' were established in the late 1980s. They acted as temporary independent units within the Department, approved by the vice-chancellor. They were organized to the control of the control of temporary independent units within the Department, approved by the vice-chancellor.

nized around areas where research competence had been established and there were constituencies in the surrounding society willing to provide financial resources. Most institutes existed only for a limited time, but one initiated in 1987 is still in operation: 'The Institute of Local Government Economics' (*Institutet för kommunal ekonomi* – IKE). It was for a long time headed by Ernst Jonsson and contributes with research on local government economics, especially on productivity and management control.

Another research institute, active 1988–2008, was the 'Personnel Economic Institute' (*Personalekonomiska institutet* – PEI), initiated by Hunter Mabon (later promoted to professor) in collaboration with Jan-Erik Gröjer. The research focussed economic aspects of human resources in organizations. In this respect PEI combined two traditional areas of research: accounting and management. The research included several PhD projects, but had also an extensive international network. It was host for an international periodical, Journal of Human Costing and Accounting, founded in 1996 and later published by Emerald.

## In search of a new path (1993-2004)

If the School of Business up to the early 1990s had a somewhat introverted orientation with a focus on refinement of undergraduate education and administrative matters, the following years took another direction. Instrumental

in this was Jan-Erik Gröjer. He had a long career at the School. In the early 1970s, he was employed together with many others belonging to 'the second generation of teachers'. For some years he was director of studies before he graduated in 1978 with a doctoral thesis (co-written with Agneta Stark) on the concept of 'social accounting', widening bookkeeping to include a broader societal perspective.

Jan-Erik Gröjer had been head in 1985-1989, implementing the organization of the School into four teaching groups. He was now back in office, but his second term lasted for only two and a half years, as he in 1995 decided to prioritize his research. However, during these years he initiated three change processes with significant impact in the following decade. First, he continued the efforts to emphasize research. Secondly, he started to develop relations with business schools in other countries. Finally, he set in motion a process which dominated internal discussions for the rest of the decade, and with consequences until today: the decision to relocate the School to new premises at Kräftriket. He left the School in 2002, having been appointed professor in 'accounting and finance' at Uppsala University.

### New professors, new research

In spite of the size of the undergraduate and graduate education, there were until the late 1980s only two professorships at the School of

Business: Lars Persson and Paulsson Frenckner. However, in the early 1990s, there was a significant addition and change in the School's research capacity. In 1987, Paulsson Frenckner retired and was succeeded by Pierre Guillet de Monthoux. Solveig Wikström, one of the first senior lecturers, returned to the School from Lund in 1989 where she had been appointed professor. In 1990, Bo Hedberg, with a background from the University of Gothenburg, was employed, first as an adjunct professor and later as full professor. Evert Gummesson, who had graduated in 1977, came back to the School after a sojourn at Karlstad University College. In addition, Ernst Jonsson was appointed professor in 1992. Some years later, Kaj Sköldberg from Umeå University was appointed when Lars Persson retired in 1996.

Of the six professors, three had graduated from other universities. This shows that the subject of business administration had expanded and was no longer an exclusive affair for the two business schools established in the early 1900s. However, three of the professorships were financed by external grants, and only later integrated into the allocation received from the Faculty of Social Sciences. A report from the Faculty Office in 1993 shows that the proportion of professors (including those financed by external grants) in relation to senior lecturers was low compared to other departments, approximately 1:9. In comparison, the ratio for

the Department of Sociology was 1:6, and for Department of Psychology 1:3. Furthermore, the resources received for research and doctoral education in relation to funds received for undergraduate education were also below that of other departments: for the School the ratio was approximately 1:6, for Sociology 1:2 and for Psychology 1:2.<sup>10</sup> Nevertheless, with the new professors in office research gained momentum, primarily within the five research programmes initiated.

Bo Hedberg was early an internationally recognized researcher in the area of organisation, having published some significant articles on organizational learning in the late 1970s and early 1980s. At the School, he initiated one major research programme exploring the concept of 'Imaginary Organizations', i.e. organizations "where important processes actors, and resources appear both inside and outside of the legal entity of enterprise, both outside and inside of the accounting system and of the organisation charts" (Företagsekonomiska institutionen 1999:29). The programme was externally funded and involved several Swedish and international co-researchers. At the School the programme consisted of some fifteen doctoral projects leading to a PhD. Two researchers from this group, Ali Yakhlef and Mikael Holmqvist, were later promoted to professors. The research is summarized in (Hedberg et al. 2002).

Another significant research programme headed by Pierre Guillet de Monthoux was 'Aesthetics, Art and Enterprise'. The programme intended to "bridge the gap between enterprise and the world of art by studying a variety of 'artistic businesses', such as design, orchestras, opera theatre and such cultural manifestations as literature and poetry" (Företagsekonomiska institutionen 1999:19). This programme indicates an interest in approaching spheres of economic activity not tightly connected to the traditional world of business. Business operations were also framed in a cultural perspective, thus developing connections with disciplines in the humanities. In collaboration with Bengt Kristensson Uggla, then an adjunct professor, Guillet de Monthoux also introduced contemporary continental philosophy in doctoral education. The programme resulted in 13 PhD dissertations and involved co-operation with researchers from SSE and the Royal Institute of Technology (KTH). The research is summarized in (Guillet de Monthoux et al. 2007).

In marketing, research was pursued both by Evert Gummesson and Solveig Wikström. Gummesson was early with studies in 'Service and relationship marketing', and had become an internationally recognized researcher in

<sup>10</sup> Utvärdering av den företagsekonomiska institutionens organisations- och utvecklingsarbete. Samhällsvetenskapliga fakultetsnämnden 1993-05-12 (Doss 621, Dnr 753/92).

this area, often referred to as the Nordic School of Service Management. His research is most distinctively expressed in (Gummesson 2002). His career is to some extent atypical for graduates from the School since he in the early 1970s was an external PhD student who did not engage in teaching. At an early stage, he published his research in international high ranked journals, while at the same time upholding contacts with the consultancy community. In contrast to the interest in quantitative studies dominating the 1970s, he also pursued research within a qualitative framework. He also engaged Philip Kotler, an internationally recognized researcher in marketing and Honorary Doctor at Stockholm University, as guest lecturer.

Solveig Wikström, employed at the Department in 1968, was the first woman in Europe to be appointed as a professor of business administration at Lund University in 1978. Until then, a total of 38 men had been appointed to professors in Sweden. Even in 2000, only five women had been appointed as professors, compared to a total of 105 men, indicating the gender bias in the discipline. When Wikström returned to the School of Business in 1989, she continued her research in marketing and consumer affairs with a focus on how consumption patterns in households are affected by new

technologies. Her research programme 'Households in Cyberspace' resulted in five PhD dissertations. Her earlier research in business strategy and change is summarized in (Wikström et. al. 1994).

Jan-Erik Gröjer initiated a fifth major research area, 'The Meritum program'. Internationally funded, the programme consisted of researchers from different universities in Europe. The research was concerned with how assets that cannot easily be measured, intangibles, which are increasingly important in a knowledge-based economy, influence key decisions in a firm. Within this programme, several PhD projects were initiated, e.g. the work by Bino Catasús, later appointed professor in 'accounting and auditing' at the School, and Ulf Johansson, later professor at Mälardalen University College. This programme reflects the growing volume of research in accounting and finance, two areas where research had been limited until the last ten-fifteen years, both at Stockholm University and nationally. Two articles published in an internationally high-ranked research journal are illustrative of the research: (Gröjer 2001) and (Johansson et al. 2001).

In 1999, the School received a donation to finance a professorship in entrepreneurship for five years, to which Björn Bjerke was appointed. Some years later, in 2003, Sven Modell was appointed as professor with a specialization in accounting. He supported a new research insti-

<sup>11</sup> Statistics based on the listing of professors in (Engwall 2009)

tute, 'The Academy for Management Control in the Governmental Sector', established in 2002 by the initiative of Docent Anders Grönlund and involving cooperation with some major central agencies. This institute, as well as IKE mentioned earlier, shows the interest within the School to pursue research with a focus on public sector organizations.

### What about education and students?

In 1993, a change in the Higher Education Ordinance was implemented. In this reform, the nationally defined degree programmes were replaced by a system with general qualifications. Students who fulfilled certain requirements, defined in number of credit points, could receive a degree, irrespective of whether the courses studied had been within a degree programme or not. The earlier special degree ('Ekonomexamen') was replaced by general degrees: bachelor and master (one year). However, the regulation defined a new type of main area, indicated in the prefix of the Swedish degree. It was now possible to receive an 'ekonomie kandidat/magisterexamen', i.e. a degree of Bachelor or Master of Science in 'Business and Economics'. Thus, the distinct character of the degree in relation to other social science subjects was preserved.

The reform had some minor implications for the design of the degree programme, now optional but still offered at Stockholm University as well as other universities and university colleges. One was that the first four semesters consisted of courses within the different subjects studied in the programme. The earlier introductory course was replaced by a basic course in business administration, reflecting a decreasing interest to provide explicitly integrative social science courses. Instead, the different academic subjects constituting the programme were emphasized.

As a consequence, more business administration was studied during the first four semesters. Furthermore, as the degree programme was prolonged and now included one bachelor and one masters' thesis (one year), there was an incentive to elaborate the different specializations and to give them a distinct identity. This reflected that the specialized education was well aligned with the competencies needed in different sectors of working life, i.e. students were trained as accountants, financial analysts, marketers, human resource managers or in general management. An example of the interest to integrate education with the business community was the Market Academy, basically an extra-curricular activity for students specialized in marketing. Complementary to the regular courses, a select group of students were offered opportunities to enhance their theoretical knowledge with applied problem solving, focussing on real-life problems.

There has always existed a close cooperation between the School and different student associations, mainly 'Föreningen Ekonomerna' (FEST). Besides providing traditional studentesque events, such as kick-offs and dinners, FEST has an important role introducing new students to their studies. The association also appoints student representatives to different decision making bodies, such as the board of the School.

Internationalization, EQUIS and Kräftriket In the autumn of 1995, Docent Sikander Khan was appointed as the new head, a position he was to hold until August 2004. He was a long-timer at the School, having graduated in 1978. He had not earlier held any administrative positions, being on leave from his position as senior lecturer for several periods, working as a guest professor or expert in various international organizations in Asia. Khan gave priority to efforts to internationalize the operations of the School with a focus on the developing economies in Asia. One sign of this was the launching of commissioned education, both a traditional MBA programme and an International Executive MBA-programme. The School turned outwards, orienting itself towards both the Swedish and the international business community.

Internationalization in undergraduate education had started on a small scale in the late 1980s. This was connected to a specialization in 'International Business Administration',

headed by Docent Birgitta Wadell, in the degree programme. In 2000, Khan had established some fifty agreements with universities in Europe, the United States, Asia and Australia. The effort to internationalize education has continued since then. Today, the School of Business has approximately 50% of the total student exchange at Stockholm University and more than 100 partner universities all over the world for student exchange as well as several for staff exchange.

A further step was Khan's initiative to obtain an international accreditation of the School, beneficial for recruiting students to the International Executive MBA-programme and to increase the status of the School. In 2002, the application to EQUIS, a recognized European accreditation body, was approved on a conditional basis for three years, giving the School an exclusive position. Only two other Swedish higher education units had earlier been accredited, among them SSE. The conditional accreditation was, however, withdrawn three years later.

Another major effort during these years was to organize the relocation of the School to the premises in Kräftriket, a process initiated in the mid-1990s but formally decided in 1999. This meant that Khan had to overcome some internal resistance, but also to manage the relations to the Faculty of Social Sciences and the Office of the Vice-Chancellor. However, the process to leave the campus at Frescati in order to develop a more



Every year, a member of the staff receives the Ballerina Prize from the students for having contributed to high quality teaching. (Photo: Mats Danielson)

clear identity as a business school was consistent with other processes initiated during the 1990s.

## Intermezzo: a quick turnaround (2004–2006)

The new premises were much appreciated by the faculty, giving the School a new start. For many the departure from Frescati signified the importance of the School not only in relation to the Faculty but also to the business community. However, the change came with a cost: all expenses, including increased rental charges, must be financed either from the allocation of resources received from the Faculty or by increasing the School's external revenues. As only a temporary financial support had been secured from the University, this necessitated a strict budgetary discipline.

The strategy to compensate for the increased costs was to expand commissioned education.

But as the market for MBA education collapsed in 2001, the revenues did not grow as expected. A factor worsening the financial situation was that the Board of the School, declining a more modest proposition from Khan, in 2002 had decided to reduce the yearly teaching load from 396 to 300 hours for all teachers. As this decision was not compensated for by a reduction in the delivered teaching hours, the operating costs increased by some 25 %, as new temporary teaching staff needed to be hired.

According to financial reports, the School had a negative cash flow for seven years from 1999, amounting in June 2005 to an accumulated deficit of 43 million SEK on direct government funding. With respect to that, the Dean of the Faculty and the University Director became worried. When Kåre Bremer, newly appointed vice-chancellor, was informed that a balanced budget for 2004 had not been presented to the Faculty Office, he decided to suspend the Board of the School, and a new external head was appointed. This decision was not well received, unexpected as it was for the staff. The resistance did not diminish when it turned out that the new head was a professor of economics, evoking some reluctance between the disciplines.

The temporary head, Harry Flam, took on his position in August 2004. His overall strategy was to gain control over costs. First, the evaluation factor for teaching hours was reset to the level

before 2002. As a consequence, contracts for the temporarily employed teachers were not renewed. Secondly, to reduce the total number of teaching hours, courses for the first two semesters were re-planned to have only one starting each semester, common for the degree programme and freestanding courses. Lectures were also to be held at Aula Magna instead of in Kräftriket, and to take advantage of economies of scale enrolment was increased to a maximum. Many specialized courses on the bachelor's and advanced levels were also closed down. A third part of the action programme was to cancel contracts for office space and some teaching rooms at Kräftriket. As a fourth component, a new strategy to emphasize research was introduced. Senior lecturers now had to apply for a reduction in teaching load which could be approved, provided they could document significant research activities.

As the academic years of 2004–2006 were years full of turmoil, resistance and disappointments, both academic and administrative staff tended to disengage.<sup>12</sup> This was facilitated by the fact that many of the academic staff was approaching retirement. From the age of 60, they could receive a beneficial deal reducing their teaching load to 50 %, while the salary only decreased by 20 %. The difference was funded by centrally allocated resources, based on an agreement between the trade unions and Stockholm

<sup>12</sup> Illustrative is a publication, highly critical of the events, by Liukkonen (2005).

University in response to the generation shift facing many departments. For the School of Business, the timing was perfect, coinciding with the exit of the 'second generation of teachers'.

In order to secure a more coordinated undergraduate education and ensure progression in the courses, some new organizational arrangements were introduced. A Committee for Undergraduate Education ('Grundutbildningsnämnden') was established. To install such a committee had earlier been recommended in a national review of business administration performed by the National Authority for Higher Education (HSV 2002:157). A corresponding body, the 'Committee for Research and Doctoral Education', was also established.

As the efforts to emphasize research took some time to gain momentum, research tended to slow down. However, in August 2004, Per Olof Berg was appointed professor in business administration with a specialization in 'Strategic Business and Market Communication', a position financed by an external grant. He had previously been professor in strategy at Copenhagen Business School and more recently director of the Stockholm School of Entrepreneurship (SSES), a co-operation between universities in Stockholm, among them SSE, KTH and KI. The research programme he initiated, 'The Stockholm Program of Place Branding', is still in progress. It includes a number of PhD projects on the strategic marketing and positioning of metropolitan cities around the world. It has resulted in a recently published book by Berg and Björner (eds. 2014).

Obviously, the all-embracing focus these years were on financial and administrative matters. Preparations were also made in anticipation of the new Higher Education Ordinance, introducing the Bologna Accord in 2007. The changes initiated during these years, partly as a result of strategic actions but also from processes independent of the financial crisis, laid the foundation for the revival of the School of Business in the following years.

## Back on track, moving on (2006–2013)

In the autumn of 2006, Professor Thomas Hartman was appointed head. As the Board had been reinstalled from the autumn of 2005, the School of Business was now in control of its operation. This was seen as a relief and a future-oriented spirit started to grow. However, to present current processes as history is not only difficult, it is dubious. What is today regarded as significant can, in a couple of years, be evaluated differently. Consequently, the presentation in this section will be synoptic, leaving the detailed history to be told in some future.

## The Bologna Accord

The Bologna Accord meant a complete remake of the School's educational programmes. Most

significant are the four master's programmes launched in 2007. These and three subsequently introduced programmes have been some of the most widely applied master's programmes at Stockholm University, including a high number of international students.

The new programmes were designed in a cross-disciplinary way, partly in cooperation with other departments. One had an integrated focus on 'Management and Marketing', another on 'International Strategic Management'. Later, they were re-designed to more clearly reflect traditional specializations within business administration. Two other programmes were developed in cooperation with other departments: 'Banking and Finance' with the Department of Economics, and 'Accounting, Auditing and Analysis' in cooperation with the Department of Business Administration at Uppsala University. The programmes introduced some years later involve cooperation with the Department of Computer and Systems Sciences, the Department of Political Science, and the Department of Education.

New bachelor's programmes in business administration were initiated in 2007, supposed to replace the four-year degree programme in 'Business Administration and Economics', which did not fit into the three-plus-two year structure of the Bologna Accord. However, only some sixth months before the reform was implemented, the Parliament decided to launch

a new degree of professional qualification ('yrkesexamen'): Master of Science in Business and Economics ('civilekonomexamen'). This degree was based on an integrated, four-year educational programme, which with some minor exceptions resembled the earlier degree programme 'Ekonomlinjen'.

Although the concept 'civilekonom' had been widely used, it was in formal terms a new degree, equivalent to other professional qualifications. Consequently, all higher educational units, irrespective of the education earlier offered, had to apply for the degree-awarding rights at the National Agency for Higher Education (Högskoleverket). This process, carried out in some rush during spring 2007, had an unexpected outcome - only six universities out of a total of 23 applications were given the right to award this degree, among them Stockholm University. Even if this degree programme was closed down after some years, the approval indicated that the School, in spite of the turbulence in the preceding years, had kept its capacity to deliver high-quality education.

The emphasis on internationalization mentioned above has also continued. In 2013, almost 100 % of the second-cycle courses were delivered in English, and two international bachelor's programmes have recently been launched. A new effort was made in 2011 to be awarded EQUIS accreditation, which, however, was not approved. In order to develop the

School's connection to its alumni and to the surrounding society, a Career Centre has been established.

### Numbers and new employees

As the focus on cost control was strongly enforced by Thomas Hartman, the School managed to recover surprisingly quickly from the financial and management crisis in 2004. The newly installed 'Committee for Undergraduate Education', with Deputy Head Marianne Nilson as chairperson, also established a more coordinated delivery of courses and programmes. As the capacity to deliver undergraduate courses to a large number of students was intact, the financial recovery took only a couple of years. The negative capital accumulated up to 2005, including the teachers' overtime, was eliminated already in 2009. The School was back on track, and the operations started to grow a surplus, laying the foundation for further developments.

As mentioned above, a process of generational change began in the early 2000s. During 2006–2013, a total of 39 positions as senior lecturers have been announced, corresponding to approximately 60 % of the permanently employed academic staff. The recruitment of this 'third generation of teachers' differed radically from how teachers were enrolled in the early 1970s. First, the positions were announced within the main areas of specialization, not in

general business administration. Secondly, they were appointed with strong competition, also in areas where a shortage had earlier existed, i.e. in finance and accounting. This demonstrates that the discipline has produced a sufficient number of PhDs with an interest to pursue an academic career. Moreover, the academic staff have been internationally recruited. Today, a total of eight senior lecturers have a non-Swedish degree.

Several of those newly employed, even if they graduated from Stockholm University, had worked some years as senior lecturers at other universities and university colleges before returning to their alma mater. This is distinctively different from the situation of the 1970s, when many teachers were enrolled directly after undergraduate studies. Nowadays, a PhD is not a guarantee for being appointed as senior lecturer. The applicant must also have shown proficiency in research and demonstrated pedagogical skills.

#### Research is the bottom line

The focus on research has been emphasized by the complete turnover of the full professors at the School when those employed in the late 1980s and 1990s retired. New allocations for research have also been received from the Faculty of Social Sciences. In 2007, two new professors were appointed: Bino Catasús with a specialization in 'accounting and auditing', and



Between two series of seminar rooms, the central hallway of the main building forms a small boulevard of constant activity, where people move and meet. (Photo: Mats Danielson)

Lars Nordén with a specialization in 'financial economics'. In 2009, Jan Löwstedt was appointed with a specialization in 'management, organization and strategy'. As Per Olof Berg still had the chair in marketing, there were now four full professors, one in each of the subject's disciplinary specializations.

The research capacity further increased in 2013 when the School of Business merged with the Department of Advertising and PR. Besides broadening the educational programmes, this

brought Jacob Östberg, recently appointed as professor in 'advertising and PR', back to the School. A number of senior lecturers, including Tony Fang, Torkild Thanem and Tommy Jensen, have been promoted to professors, in addition to Yakhlef and Holmqvist as earlier mentioned. Major research projects have been initiated, and a process started to develop more distinctive and internationally competitive research foci within the sections, leaving behind the policy from the 1970s of "letting all flowers blossom".

There has, over time, been a substantial rise in the academic levels of qualification of the staff. In the end of 2013, there were five recruited professors, six promoted professors and 14 docents at the School, together with 39 permanently employed senior lecturers. In addition, some 30 individuals were temporarily employed as senior lecturers or postdocs, 11 as part time guest professors, 32 as doctoral students and 6 as amanuenses. Another sign of the advances in research is that the School of Business in 2013 received grants amounting to 12.8 MSEK from the major Swedish research councils. A total of 53 articles were published in peer-reviewed journals by the faculty, in addition to 8 books, 22 book chapters, and 6 doctoral theses.

In conclusion, the School of Business has gone through a complete transformation during the years covered in this essay. That goes for education, where there has been a significant shift from pursuing a strategy of mass education in the first cycle to focussing on specialized master's programmes developed in cooperation with other departments. A distinctively new attitude also permeates the academic staff. Teaching is still seen as important, but not as the single focus. The importance and interest to pursue research is widely acknowledged. After some fifty years, there is now research capacity available to further the standings of the Stockholm Business School – to indicate the name in use from 2014 – within the Swedish and international research community.

## From teaching to research

What can we learn from this narration of how the School of Business has developed? One first point concerns the value of a historical perspective. As the time horizon widens, the activities shaping everyday routines in education, research and administration are set into a perspective, reducing their perceived urgency. Obviously, it takes a long time to develop an academic institution. Some tentative conclusions on what has formed the process can be suggested. The narrative indicates that the changes have come about through different processes operating independently and at a different time pace.

The national degree programmes have obviously been important, affecting both edu-

cational and organizational matters, but indirectly also research. Highly influential has been the structure of the academic staff, changing slowly as the three different generations of teachers have moved through. The physical premises, shaping the image of the operation, also have had long-run implications. Finally, development in the specialized international research communities has become increasingly important during the last decade. Within these framing processes, there is space for actors to interpret and intervene, and influence the direction of the operations.

As business administration in the 1960s was a newcomer in the social sciences, it comes as no surprise that research has lagged behind. As is clear from the case in point, it has taken time to develop a base of research and a clearer focus for research. In the last two decades, international research in the different sub-specializations have become increasingly important. With increased emphasis on research, the subject has also loosened the bonds with the business community, so important in the foundational years of the early 1900s. Instead, a more detached position in relation to business and other types of organizations has evolved (cf. Hasselbladh 2013). Business administration seems to have lost its academic innocence, not only borrowing ideas and theoretical constructs from other social sciences in order to explain and understand the phenomenon of interest, but to an increasing extent providing research from which other social sciences can benefit.

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# Former Department of Advertising and PR

**Gudrun Dahl** 

THE DEVELOPMENT of what is now the Section for Marketing and PR at the Stockholm Business School (Företagsekonomiska institutionen) started with the decision on the 17th of June 1943 to create the Institute for Graphics (Grafiska Institutet, GI), a decision made by the Swedish Printers' Association at their 50th Anniversary. Three months later, they were joined by the Swedish Media Publishers' Association (Svenska Tidningsutgivareföreningen). The force behind the initiative was Bror Zachrisson, who became the first director of the Institute (1944–1973). Another enthusiast pursuing the issue was Carl Z. Hæggström from Gebers, who held the welcome speech at the inauguration of the Institute in January 1944, but who died in October the same year. The Institute, situated at Mäster Samuelsgatan 44, arranged lectures - the first one was on bookbinding and given by the director of the printing company Esselte, Sven Dahlbäck. The activities were financed by governmental support,

student fees, and a foundation supported by about 175 graphic companies.

Zachrisson came from a family deeply involved in issues of graphic design and printing. His father was Waldemar Zachrisson, founder of the well-known Wezäta printing company and a prominent pioneer in international book printer organizations. Having himself worked as a printing company CEO and designer, Bror Zachrisson had in 1944 taken the initiative to start an education. In his own words, he could "after preparations, conferences, resistance and strife put into practice a modern education, aiming at the different activities and goals that are comprised by the graphic and communicative frameworks." This was the Institute for Graphics. "It should be mentioned that already from the start GI had a very democratic contact with its students. The initiative to a 'corporate or educational council' was taken by the leadership: all students were encouraged to partly anonymously, partly openheartedly,



Building D, 4th floor, of Södra huset was the last location of the Department of Advertising and PR before its merger with the Stockholm Business School. The idea for the 'colour organ' in the ceiling came originally from artist Olle Baertling who composed the A-building organ. The organ was designed by a young co-worker at Helldén's architectural bureau, who later became a competent and well-liked head of the Faculty Office for Social Sciences, Ann Fritzell. (Photo: Mats Danielson)

give their opinions on the teaching, the schedule and so on. Using the 'du' way of addressing each other was encouraged." (Zachrisson 2006:16)

Zachrisson was also a driving force behind the other institute that constitutes the ancestry of the present Section for Advertising and PR at the Stockholm Business School. That was the Institute for Advanced Education in Advertising (Institutet för högre reklamutbildning, IHR), originally and up to 1967 called the Institute for Educating in Communication and Advertising (Institutet för kommunikationsoch reklamutbildning). In 1953 GI, represented by Zachrisson, and the Swedish Sales and Advertising Federation, took the initiative to found IHR. Administered and housed together with GI, the new institute was to be placed in Östermalm, Stockholm, but first the twin institutes had to move to temporary premises at Centralbadet at Holländargatan for some time. The new Institute was constituted as a foundation, and Zachrisson became the first rector of this institute also, a position which he held until 1965. A donation from the Gumælius company consisting of 50,000 SEK provided the starting capital. The inaugural speech was held by Professor Gerhard Törnqvist (1894–1963), the first professor of distributional economy in Sweden, active at the Stockholm School of Economics (Handelshögskolan). The task for the two institutes was to educate competent leaders. Zachrisson was also the first rector for the Institute of Journalism (Journalistinstitutet) (1959–1961), having been active in the establishment and planning of this institute as well. The main sponsors for the Institute of Journalism (II) were the Swedish Union of Journalists (Svenska journalistförbundet), Swedish Media Publishers'Association (Tidningsutgivarna) and the Club of Publicists (Publicistklubben). Zachrisson led this institute too, until it was taken over by the government in 1962 when the University College of Journalism was created. In 1989, the latter institution merged with the Centre for Research on Mass Communication to become JMK—the Department for Journalism, Media and Communication—at Stockholm University. Today, they are part of the Department of Media Studies at the University. In the early years of the Institute of Journalism, however, it shared head, office and premises with GI and IHR without resulting in any formal merger. In 1960, GI/IHR moved to the premises of the University College of Arts, Crafts and Design (Konstfack) at Valhallavägen in central Stockholm.

In the 1950s and 1960s 'star seminars', after a model that had inspired Zachrisson when he studied in the US, were arranged by the Institute for Graphics in addition to its more traditional teaching (Zachrisson 2006:17). Prominent specialists in graphic design were invited from Japan, the Soviet Union, America, and

Europe to provide a common meeting point for professional graphic designers, book printers, pedagogues, and publishers. One of the speakers was the German typographic designer Herman Zapf, designer of the logotype of IHR, and famous for the fonts Palatino and Optima. Zapf's design career reflects the process of technological development that GI, too, has had to adapt to. Printing has gone from hot metal composition to photo typesetting and digital desktop publishing.

Zachrisson had written a number of books in Swedish about typography and writing, for example 'The ABC of script: short summary of its development, medical and psychological viewpoints...' (1943), 'The development of script, a history of style' (1943) and 'The book of texting' (1958).

He also successfully defended a PhD thesis about the readability of texts for the visually impaired at the Department of Psychology (*Läsligheten hos tryckt text för synsvaga*) in 1965. In 1973, he left IHR. His daughter, Mona Leander, who was working in the Institute as an administrator, remained until 2007. Zachrisson was succeeded as rector by Chris Ottander, who stayed in this function until 1998.

Ottander also came from a family with book-printing traditions. His grandfather Otto, a parish priest in Östervåla, had a small printing workshop for printing self-published items like small religious texts and songs. The academic publications of Ottander, who holds the title of docent, reflects a diversity of interests. Most of them do not appear to reflect a theoretical concern with the subject matters of GI/IHR, although he did partake in the publication of a handbook for information officers (Hanson et al. 1987). Other works are concerned with psychophysics and the possibility to improve visual perception and discriminative ability by training.

In 1977, GI/IHR was taken over by the government and became the independent Institute for Advanced Education in Communications and Advertising, mainly due to the work of Ottander who worked hard at systematizing the education. In 1994, GI/IHR was transferred to Stockholm University with the status of a department within the Faculty of Social Sciences and thus no longer one of the independent artistic university colleges. At the same time, the institute/department moved from the premises of the University College of Arts, Crafts and Design at Valhallavägen to Karlavägen 108, where they again became immediate neighbours to the education of journalists. To strengthen the research, Stockholm University offered two half-time posts, one with professorial status for GI, and one as research leader for IHR.

Ottander resigned in 1998 but left a memory of legendary status. A foundation was created in his name to hand out a prize for marketing achievements. The first award was given to Evert Gummeson, professor at the Department of Business Administration and nestor of 'relational marketing', that is, the creation of loyal customers in order to obtain long-term profitability. Later it has been awarded to among others Ozan Sunar, the former head of Södra Teatern and initiator of the Re-orient festival. and Helena Westin of the advertising agency Paradise, to honour her creative advertisement work and marketing at the first Pride festival. The prize sum of 30,000 SEK is awarded to someone who has demonstrated innovations in market communication or new ways of thinking about market communication, whether within the context of practical or academic work.

Richard Wahlund, with a background at the Stockholm School of Economics, succeeded Chris Ottander as the head of department for GI and IHR and also chairman of the board of the award foundation. Wahlund has double doctoral degrees from the Stockholm School of Economics; one in economic psychology (1992) and one in business administration (1991). Wahlund's interests have been the psychology of decision making, risk behaviour and influence and market communication - a broad range of interests, not confined to the subjects of GI/IHR. In the Department, Wahlund made himself known as a hard-working person. He set off to reform the curriculum, and in 1999-2000 both the major educational programmes

obtained new plans of education. The programme Advertising and Communication (*Reklam och kommunikation*) changed its name to the Programme of Market Communication.

Apart from heading the Department, Wahlund was initially employed as lecturer in 'Business Administration, especially Marketing' at GI/IHR and in 2003 he was promoted to professor. It was during his time, in 2001, that GI and IHR moved to the main Frescati Campus and were jointly renamed Department of Applied Communications Science - GI and IHR (Institutionen för tillämpad kommunikations*vetenskap – GI och IHR*). The two programmes could celebrate their 60 and 50 year jubilees, respectively, with lectures and seminars and a big anniversary party at Aula Magna. In 2004, the Department got a commission from the government to evaluate the pre-election communication of the political parties before the EU parliament election. This was significant, as it marked the extended purpose implied by the concept of 'Applied Communications' - i.e. to contribute to the understanding not only of commercially oriented marketing, but also of political rhetorics and PR. In 2005, Professor Larry Percy, Alabama, USA, recurrent guest lecturer at the Department for many years, was awarded an Honorary Doctorate at Stockholm University. Percy's research interests are among other things the role of memory and emotions in marketing.

Much of the research that Wahlund himself pursued during his time at the Department was directly related to marketing, such as the importance of brand names, packaging and price on consumers' choices, forms of direct marketing in Sweden, as well as consumer product categorizations and buying planning behaviour. Organizationally, he became involved in the Centre for Easy-to-Read Reading, thus following up a thread from the legacy of Zachrisson.

As noted, Wahlund had a wide range of research interests, and other research topics were of a more general business administration nature. In 2006, however, Wahlund left Stockholm University for a chair in 'Business Administration, especially media' at the Stockholm School of Economics (SSE).

To fill the gap after Wahlund, and in the wake of the recruitment of a new professor, popular guest lecturer Tom Anderson was recruited as head of department. He had for a period been rector of Bergh's School of Communication. In an interview with the leading magazine of the marketing business, Resumé, he said that he wanted to increase the efficiency of the marketing of education offered by the Department.

It was during Anderson's time as head that a new programme, the MarkIT Programme (Market communication and IT) was launched in cooperation with the Department of Systems and Computer Sciences (DSV). MarkIT is a three year long programme leading up to a bachelor's (BSc) degree, focusing on marketing using interactive media.

Among other ideas implemented during Anderson's time as department head (2007) was an experiment in viral information spreading undertaken by the students of the Graphic Project Leader programme in cooperation with a video production company. The experiment, inspired by Anderson's interest in epidemiology, was concerned with how the attention to different film cuts shown at the site varied according to different interventions on- and offline. Another idea, launched in the autumn of 2006, was to encourage the students to join a shared blog site about media and marketing, looking for inspiring examples of communicating activities all over the world. Each student would be scheduled to make two blog messages during the semester.

During the departmental reign of Wahlund, the Graphic Project Leader programme and the Market Communication programme had been able to offer students who already had one year's worth of credits in business administration a degree in the latter subject if they finished two years of education at the Department for GI/IHR. This was based on an informal agreement between the two departments. In 2006, the Department of Business Administration (now Stockholm Business School) hesitated to delegate to others the rights of crediting



The corridor leading up to the department entrance at the other end of the colour organ. (Photo: Mats Danielson)

in regard to courses over which the Department of Business Administration themselves did not have control. Thus, they decided to end the agreement. Anderson saw this as a backward step which would make it harder for GI/ IHR students to apply for a PhD education. Having no such education rights of their own, the Department depended on the goodwill from other departments to admit PhD candidates. Anderson felt that it would be difficult to

convince the Faculty Board to grant them an independent 'degree subject' (examensämne). The fact that the Department lacked an independent research education was indeed of concern to the Faculty of Social Sciences, but to attain this goal, it was needed to recruit a new professor as well as build up a discipline-based education since it was considered that a PhD education would require a basis in a master's education.

The Bologna reform required revision of all the course and programme plans at the universities. Finally, the turn came to consider the request from the Department to obtain an independent 'main subject' (*huvudämne*), and in February 2007, the Faculty Board agreed to make 'Advertising and PR' an official degree subject.

The underlying understanding of the subject was that it concerned both theoretical and methodological reflections and practical applications, to meet both the expectations of the scientific community and the applied demands linked to the professional labour market. The subject was to build on influences from the social sciences as well as the humanities, technology and art. It would span the subfields of strategic PR management, advertising strategy, media, theory of communication, consumer behaviour, internet marketing and graphic design, semiotics and rhetoric, as well as critical analyses of the influence of advertising in a broad societal perspective.

From the beginning, the Department and its predecessors had had a complex identity, reflected in the varying localizations of the activities in the neighbourhoods of artists, journalists or social scientists. Partly it was trying to develop practical, artisanal and artistic skills in its students, and partly to instil in them organizational capacities. This would be combined with insights in marketing from the point of view of

business administration and in the techniques of communication, rhetoric and semiotics. The early leaders, Zachrisson and Ottander, were also particularly interested in the psychological aspects of perception and communication. To this mixture, with potential for theoretical links to many disciplines, came the necessity to secure an up-to-date occupational basis by continuous contacts with the worlds of advertising and communicative technology. Some of these needs have been fulfilled by offering internships to the students, which are connected to real communication tasks.

Prior work experience from occupational life was, and still is, a must for applying both to the programme for graphic project leaders and to the 'Market Communication' programme. For the former, the basic requirements for higher studies were supplemented with requirements for a full year of professional experience from the media, the graphic industry, or a comparable activity. The marketing students also need to have either one year of experience from this kind of business or four years of working life experience with planning responsibility within marketing, advertising or PR. Another implication of the ambition to create a professionally relevant education, based on up-todate conceptions of the industry, was that many teachers were recruited on a temporary basis from industry. In the years after the loss of Wahlund's leadership, this became a particular concern. In a faculty commissioned investigation in 2007, Professor Harry Flam summarized the Department's teaching staff resources, in terms of full-time equivalents, as 5.8 senior lecturers, of which 2.3 guest lecturers were on temporally limited contracts, and two adjuncts. This implied problems not only for the recruitment of department leadership, but also in terms of forming a board. There were also practical problems in combining the Department's endeavour to keep marketing skills upto-date with applied experience from the industry with the University's strategies to use teachers employed on a permanent basis and with academic credentials.

From March 15, 2007, the Department was to be called the Department of Advertising and PR (Institutionen för Reklam och PR). Stockholm University was thereby first in Sweden with a university level degree in advertising and PR. The Faculty Board commissioned Harry Flam to make an investigation into other possible organizational arrangements for the Department, since the small size and the lack of proper research and PhD education at the Department were seen as problematic. Flam's investigation ended with a recommendation that the Department should be transferred to the Faculty of Humanities and merged with JMK, and that the Department ought to be given relative autonomy as a subdivision within IMK with separate head and budget. The transfer should be reviewed by the Faculty Board after ten years. One important argument was that journalist education had a broader concern with communication as a scientific topic than business administration, where commercial market communication would be in focus and political communication would fall out of the frame. The representatives of the Department of Advertising and PR knew from historical experience (from the 1990s) about the value clashes that tended to arise between education in critical and informative journalism and education in strategic communication. As Flam had noted, "one can differentiate between communication as information, where the purpose is increased knowledge and lessened insecurity, and strategic communication, where the purpose is to wield an influence in different ways." (Flam 2007) This distinction was probably, in the early history of the concerned institutes, a major obstacle to organizationally merge the education in marketing and PR with that of journalism. The basic values of the two educations, in both cases necessary points of departure, are divergent and the strong strands of critical questioning among the journalist teachers and students would make them hesitant to the idea of strategic communication. Historically, closeness in terms of premises in the 1990s had not helped in overcoming mutual suspicion. IMK was furthermore some years later merged with cinema studies and fashion



The entrance to the Department of Advertising and PR. (Photo: Mats Danielson)

studies into the much larger Department of Media Studies. Finally, the Faculty saw recruiting a professor as a more pertinent issue, which could in itself have implications for the placing of the Department.

That same year Björn Stolt, one of the permanent lecturers of the Department and a great enthusiast both for teaching and for the world

of marketing and communication, was appointed regular head of department, succeeding Anderson. During the following years, efforts were put into the recruitment of lecturers with academic research merits, with the aim of corresponding to the University's expectations. The people employed were primarily lecturers with a background in business administration,

with some temporary teachers with formal merits in art recruited for the graphic education. However, certain areas of competence necessary for the Department, such as political communication, semiotics and rhetoric, came to rest very much on input from Stolt himself. The Faculty made several attempts at recruiting a qualified person for the professorial chair. It turned out to be difficult to find somebody who corresponded to the width of expertise that was required due to the interdisciplinary and practically multi-facetted nature of the education. This was also a matter of finance: both the world of advertising business and the Stockholm School of Economics could compete with better economic terms.

Under Stolt as head of department, strong efforts were made in the direction of making the structure and content of courses even more academic, while still trying to take into consideration that many of the employers and practitioners in the advertising field were suspicious of such a development. The GI and IHR educations had for more than half a century been based on the assumption that theoretical, research based knowledge and practically generated knowledge within the fields of advertising and strategic information provision stand in a dialectic relation. In many cases, practice precedes theory in the area of media and communication, and academic researchers are not always at the cutting edge. This was a standpoint

shared by Stolt, who also saw it as essential to underline that the communicative and semiotic aspects of the subject warranted autonomy from marketing research in the mode of business administration. The teaching at the Department, however, had to make adjustments to the demands of the Bologna reform and provide a more solid basis for the development of adequate research in the field. In 2008, a basic course in advertising and PR was developed and launched, without the particular demands for professional experience associated with the traditional programmes offered by the Department. There were 900 applicants to 60 study positions. A decision was made to develop a bachelor's and a master's programme in the subject.

To Stolt, political communication was an important aspect of 'applied communication' that the Department needed to develop in addition to the more purely commercial. Many alumni from the marketing communication programme ended up in their work life working within the political sphere, he argued. In the summer of 2009, a new course was introduced concerned with 'Rhetoric and Politics in Almedalen'. The students would at this course meet active professionals with an expertise in political communication and rhetoric, and have the chance to identify examples within the setting of this huge yearly, national event of political speeches, lobbying and

seminars that takes place in Visby at the end of June.

In February 2011, Stolt was succeeded as head of department by Maria Frostling-Henningsson, who took up the task of recruiting a new professor and securing two new lectureships. Under her two-year period as head of department, the plans for a Master's Programme in Advertising and PR were further elaborated and implemented, on the basis of analyses made by Carina Holmberg, former head of the Department of Business Administration (a.k.a. Stockholm Business School). Stefan Lundhem, who had for a long time been the strong pillar of the graphic education, retired and the programme for graphic project leaders was reworked into a Bachelor's Program in Visual Communication.

However, in 2012, following an investigation by the then Deputy Vice-Chancellor Astrid Söderbergh Widding, the Area Board of Humanities, Law, and Social Sciences, recommended the University Board to merge the Department of Advertising and PR with the Department of Business Administration based on the consideration of a shared identity of 'marketing communication' at the latter department with what was offered at the Department of Advertising and PR. It was decided that the budgets would be kept separate for a period of five years.

In March 2013, Jacob Östberg finally took up the chair originally created for the Depart-

ment of Advertising and PR and then transferred to the Stockholm Business School, Östberg's research has been focused on consumer issues, and particularly on how different patterns and objects of consumption, and correspondingly, market offers, become loaded with symbolic value. For example, he is interested in the interaction between popular culture and marketing activities that offer alternative interpretations and make the marketing offer a matter of dynamic process. As a point of departure, Östberg declared that commercial advertising was a source of information necessary for consumers' opportunities to choose freely, but that the education should also more systematically offer a critical debate on the negative aspects of advertising and PR.

After the merger, IHR was transformed into the Market Communication Programme within the Stockholm Business School and GI into the Graphic Project Leader Programme, being more or less unchanged in direction and content. There are still both academically and practically inclined courses aiming to fulfil the needs of people who can work as information officers and lead the marketing communication of an organization or corporation tactically, strategically and practically.

The fact that among the alumni you can find several persons who are prominent in the field of communication, and that the education has had a very good reputation, bears witness that the concept of combining academic experience with professional experience, which for more than half a century had governed the Department's activities, was successful from the point of view of a professional education. Many more students were attracted than could be admitted.

The alumni of the Department and its organizational predecessors have generally been well trained in the importance of marketing and many of them have self-presenting webpages. In these webpages, education at the Department in its various incarnations is often held forth as an important merit. In more personal alumni communication, an image is conveyed of an education which has had thorough-going and generally positive influence on the students' lives. Most departments could be envious of such an impression left on the students.

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# Centre for Health Equity Studies

Denny Vågerö

ROSENBAD, SEPTEMBER 1997. It is rainy and grey outside, but in the oval conference room, underneath the prime minister's office, the mood is upbeat and the discussion lively. The Swedish Council for Social Research (SFR) had been concerned about the large differences in health within the Swedish population. Now, it had invited a number of international and Swedish experts to discuss what a national Swedish research programme on health inequalities should look like. As the discussion is drawing to its end, Sally Macintyre from Scotland puts forward her conclusion: "Sweden should put its resources into a national centre for health equity research. The researchers are out there but they are scattered around many universities and departments. Such a centre would focus Sweden's own research and allow Sweden to push forward the international research agenda in a new way". Sally Macintyre, professor of medical sociology, was head of the MRC Social and Public Health Unit, a distinguished research institute at Glasgow University which had been financed by the British Medical Research Council for decades. She had been following developments in Sweden since the 1980s and was well familiar with research here. She spoke with conviction that sprang from her own experience (Macintyre 1998).

The Swedish Research Council took note. Just over a year later, the research council invited all Swedish universities to apply for the privilege of hosting such a centre. The universities were asked to present a research programme for such a centre. They were also asked to specify in which way their own contributions to the centre would match, as a minimum, those supplied by the research council. All applications would be assessed by an international team of experts.

I took part in the meeting at Rosenbad. So did Finn Diderichsen, professor of social epidemiology at *Karolinska Institutet* (KI) and one of the leading researchers in this field in

Sweden. During the coffee break, following Sally's proposal, we spoke about the idea of a centre. We realized that if we applied together we would have a good chance of succeeding. A joint application from Stockholm University and *Karolinska Institutet* would be strong. Diderichsen suggested that we should include Ulf Lundberg, professor of psychology at Stockholm University, in our effort. Lundberg's research followed in the tradition of Marianne Frankenhäuser and was focused on work, stress and health.

The research literature on health inequalities had broadened considerably during the preceding years. So had the number of disciplines that took an interest in the issue. In fact, the interdisciplinarity of the field was one of its most striking features, and rightly so. It was not possible to understand how social forces and circumstances translate into health problems being unevenly distributed across society in much the same way as education, income and good jobs, without collaboration across disciplinary borders. We should accordingly build our application around our expertise in medical sociology, social epidemiology and stress psychology and draw heavily on our links to medicine, psychology and social science in general. This was the idea.

The ball had been kicked into motion. A series of meetings or brainstorming activities, took place with researchers from both universi-

ties. Many of them took place in a basement room at The Department of Social Work (Socialhögskolan). A grim place to spell out the future, but it worked well. Monica Åberg Yngwe was struggling to take notes and summarise these discussions. There was great consensus that the application was going to focus on how health is shaped across the life course and how social and psychological circumstances influence the distribution of health in a fundamental way. What should be the name of the proposed centre? The Pehr Wargentin Centre for Social Science and Medicine was one suggestion, in honour of Pehr Wargentin, an 18th century pioneer in population studies. However, a flash of inspiration from someone solved the problem: the name of the new centre should be the Centre for Health Equity Studies, CHESS. If you are concerned about the second S in CHESS you could read it as Centre for Health Equity Studies in Stockholm.

We asked for, and received, good support from our faculty boards and later from the two vice-chancellors at Stockholm University and Karolinska Institutet. Eskil Wadensjö, who was then the dean of the Faculty of Social Sciences, organized a series of meetings to establish what resources the University could muster to match the resources that we were going to apply for. A similar process took place at Karolinska Institutet. These discussions went very well, and a long list of positions that would be trans-

ferred to the new centre was drawn up. At the core of these were Ulf Lundberg's, Finn Diderichsen's and my own professorships. In retrospect, one might be allowed to admit that some of the commitments were not that hard to make. My own professorship in medical sociology was seen as a contribution from Stockholm University, but it had in fact been paid for by SFR itself since 1995. True, the Faculty had promised to guarantee the chair if SFR should ever withdraw, but nevertheless! Diderichsen's chair was presented as a contribution from Karolinska Institutet, but was in fact financed by the Swedish Public Health Institute and placed at KI through an agreement between the two. This was typical for the way the institutionalisation of the research field had happened until then - through improvised, individual-based, ad hoc solutions.

However, the research application was duly completed and the specification of resources given by Stockholm University and *Karolinska Institutet* was spelt out in great detail. The two vice-chancellors, Hans Wigzell and Gustaf Lindencrona, signed and submitted the application in May 1999. Their signatures guaranteed the commitment of the two universities, whatever happened concerning the sponsored positions in the future. I have never felt any doubt that their commitment was genuine. CHESS has had both moral and material support from both universities ever since.

All the large universities in Sweden applied to be the host of the centre. SFR asked three leading international researchers to assess the applications, namely Sally Macintyre together with Johan Mackenbach from Erasmus University and Johannes Siegrist from Düsseldorf: one medical doctor and two social scientists, all distinguished professors with a track record in the field. In their review of our proposal, they concluded that "on the basis on their cutting-edge research plans we expect the combined centre to develop into a major (inter)national focal point in this area". Expectations were high. The joint application from Stockholm University and Karolinska Institutet was chosen. CHESS was to become a reality.

The negotiations with SFR to establish CHESS followed immediately. In June 2000, a group of us who had worked on the application met SFR, represented by its chair of the board, Gabriel Romanus, and its permanent secretary at that time, Robert Erikson. They explained that SFR was willing to offer financing of four million Swedish kronor a year for six years, after which, if we were positively evaluated, they would foresee that the Ministry of Education would give a permanent grant. Our efforts to argue for a somewhat larger sum were unsuccessful. Romanus smiled. He seemed amused. Who could blame him?

The contract with SFR was signed on June 30<sup>th</sup> 2000. It was based on a negotiated agree-



The CHESS library, mainly originating from the Department of Social Medicine, Karolinska Institutet, Huddinge, and donated to Denny Vågerö. (Photo: Mats Danielson)

ment between Stockholm University and Karolinska Institutet. According to the agreement, CHESS was to be situated at Sveaplan, on the premises of the Department of Social Work (Socialhögskolan). This meant it was equidistant from both universities and within walking distance of both the main Stockholm University Frescati campus and Karolinska Institutet. Thus, we were to work in a beautiful building, which was also an outstanding example of 'Swedish modern' (functionalist) architecture.

We could not wish for anything better. CHESS has stayed their ever since and now occupies a long corridor giving space to more than thirty people.

The issue of a fair deal between the two universities was important, and not primarily about where CHESS was localised. It was an open question whether CHESS should fall under the administrative umbrella of Stockholm University or *Karolinska Institutet*. That was decided at the highest level. It so happened that Stock-

holm University and KI had made another joint application to SFR at the same time. This was also successful and led to the founding of ARC, the Aging Research Centre. ARC and CHESS were joint Stockholm University-Karolinska Institutet undertakings, but each centre would have to be administered by only one of the universities. Hans Wigzell, then still vice-chancellor of KI, was more interested in aging research than in research into health inequalities and put his weight behind ARC being under the auspices of the Karolinska Institutet. In the interest of fairness, CHESS would then fall under the auspices of Stockholm University. And so it was.

The formal agreements between Stockholm University and Karolinska Institutet about joint ownership of ARC and CHESS were based on the principle of power balance. And they were exact mirror images of each other. The chair of the board of CHESS should be nominated by Karolinska Institutet and the director must be a professor employed at Stockholm University. At ARC the opposite was true. Stockholm University nominates the chair of the ARC board and the director is a professor at Karolinska Institutet. Each board should have an equal number of representatives from each university. Ann Fritzell at the Faculty Office had led the drafting of the agreements. The balance of power was introduced into every detail of the agreement, which guaranteed a

very smooth negotiating process. Bengt Winblad, a pioneer in aging research who became the first director of ARC, was highly impressed. He gave the negotiators from Stockholm University big hugs and explained that "I didn't know that Stockholm University had such fantastic people". This was Fritzell's great moment.

## Where did the research field come from?

The fact that health is unevenly distributed across social classes, occupations, regions and the two sexes has been known for a very long time. Medieval church paintings portray death dancing with the different trades or occupations in society: the farmer, the priest, the merchant, the blacksmith and so on. As early as 1766, Pehr Wargentin had analysed the Swedish Population Census for the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences, comparing the mortality of men and women. He observed that male mortality was higher in every age group and concluded that men were the weaker sex. Abraham Bäck, another member of the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences, observed in 1764 that "the poverty-stricken are ravaged by pestilence while few of the wealthier fall ill...When I consider the causes behind diseases and excessive mortality among the peasantry, and the worseoff in the towns, the first and foremost are poverty, misery, lack of bread, anxiety and despair" (Bäck 1765). Thus inequalities in health seem to have deep roots in history. However, this view is not shared by everyone. Some modern economists, notably Angus Deaton, claim that they arrived with industrialization, not earlier.

The British, with their acute awareness of class, have produced decennial statistics on social class differences in mortality, based on censuses, since 1911. In every decade since then, a clear social class gradient in mortality has been reported; higher social classes live longer lives than lower. It was these persistent statistics that triggered the Black Report in Britain in 1977 (Department of Health and Social Services 1980). The British Labour government asked Sir Douglas Black to review the evidence about social class and health: what caused inequality in health and mortality, and what could be done about it? The Black Report was published in August 1980, under the new conservative government of Margaret Thatcher. Her government was not pleased; the health minister dismissed the report and only 250 copies were printed. The brutal dismissal of the report and all its suggestions, paradoxically, made it famous. Some years later, the shorter, paperback version of the report sold more than 100,000 copies. It triggered enormous research activity, partly because the report was a true landmark and partly because it left unresolved most of the explanation concerning how health inequalities re-emerge in every new generation in modern society.

I was present at Sir Douglas Black's first presentation of the report, before its publication at the Royal Free Hospital in London in 1979. To me, as a young sociologist, it was already clear that he had opened up a Pandora's Box. Not only were societies stratified by class and education, but this stratification also had profound implications for human health, creating inequalities in health. The Black Report quoted research from Sweden, claiming that Sweden had "probably" eradicated social class differences in infant mortality and child growth. The support for the first claim came from Sjölin's study of regional differences in infant mortality in Sweden. They showed a strong secular trend of narrowing gaps. However, this was by region and not by social class or education. The claim about disappearing growth inequalities came from a local study of school children in Malmö. Swedish researchers who noted these claims naturally wanted to examine them closer. Much later, both claims were rejected in two doctoral theses, by Maria Peck and Marit Gisselmann, both at Stockholm University. And Viveca Östberg, in her thesis, had shown that child and youth mortality in modern Sweden, for the ages 1-19, was still influenced by the social class of their parents.

The Black Report created a momentum in Sweden and provided Swedish public health researchers with a new focus on inequality in health. The research groups at Stockholm University and *Karolinska Institutet* that joined forces in applying for CHESS had "[...] produced 11 doctoral theses in the area of health inequalities in the 1990s and just in the period 1996–1999 around 150 international scientific publications", to quote our application for CHESS.

The most important aspect of the Black Report was that it proposed a typology of explanations for health inequalities. In particular, it introduced the distinction between explanations based on selection and explanations based on social causation. In the former case, the idea was that healthy people moved up the social ladder, and that this was the way that social class differences in health came about. A large part of the discussion among researchers in the 1980s dealt with this issue. Olle Lundberg, for instance, in his doctoral thesis in 1990, noted that health in childhood had only a very marginal impact on social mobility and on the social pattern of adult disease. Most researchers would agree today.

Mainstream public health was concerned with prevention of disease, rather than with medical care. Geoffrey Rose's pioneering book on 'the strategy of preventive medicine', published 1992, had had a profound impact and showed the great potential of public health once there was an understanding of how causes of disease were distributed in the population. Causes of ill health that were widespread in so-

ciety, even if relatively unimportant for an individual, could have a huge impact on the level of health and disease in society. However, at that time these causes were usually assumed to be individual behaviours or exposures at an adult age, such as alcohol drinking, tobacco smoking, salt intake or physical activity – a somewhat narrow perspective. Swedish researchers, such as Ulf Lundberg, Ingvar Lundberg and Töres Theorell, all emphasised the work environment as important for adult health. Swedish research on work and health was pioneering in this aspect.

David Barker, a British epidemiologist based in Southampton, challenged, in a big way, the assumption that adult behaviours or adult work environments were the most important causes of adult disease. In a series of more than 40 papers in the space of a few years in the 1990s, he demonstrated the importance of the early environment for later health (Barker 1992). The foetal and infancy periods were ones of 'biological programming' according to Barker, and what happened later in life was relatively unimportant. As a response to David Barker's tour-de-force in publishing, Dave Leon from London, together with myself and Hans Lithell in Uppsala, had started a collaboration collecting birth data from Akademiska Sjukhuset in Uppsala and linking these to later census and mortality data. We wanted to replicate Barker's studies. Working together with Ilona Koupil, Bitte Modin and Kristiina Rajaleid, all of whom are at CHESS today, we could replicate and extend Barker's studies and confirm the importance of the foetal environment. However, Bitte Modin's thesis, the first one produced at CHESS, showed that early social factors, such as being born out of wedlock, were equally important as early predictors of adult health. Thus, early environment must be thought of as both the biological and social circumstances of a new human individual.

Much later, in January 2006, David Barker visited CHESS and gave a well-attended seminar. His presentation upset some people by more or less dismissing the importance of adult nutritional intake and physical activity. Heart disease, cancer and obesity all had their roots very early in life, was his point. Of course, he understood that adult exposures had an impact. This was his style of arguing, his way of making a point which was difficult to take for some.

A bitter conflict was looming between researchers about which period of life was most important for adult disease. It was resolved by the gradually growing insight that both early life and adult life were important and, furthermore, that they may interact. Being obese in adult life, for instance, was especially hazardous if you were born with a low birth weight. Low birth weight babies tended to do worse in school and were thus less likely to be

upwardly mobile in society. People's lives unfolded in such a way that early experience influenced and modified the force of later experiences.

These insights also threw a different light on the Black Report's selection explanation. If someone was upwardly mobile due to his/her good childhood health or cognitive ability, the likelihood is that the good health or cognitive ability in childhood was itself a result of earlier social processes acting already in the foetal or infancy period. 'Health selection' could therefore be seen as just another form of 'social causation'.

There were many other theoretical problems with the Black Report. Raymond Illsley and I had in 1995 summed up the first decade of discussions of the report (Vågerö & Illsley 1995). By then, a consensus was emerging that the social distribution of health and mortality was a result of social forces acting upon the human body, from conception up to old age. In addition, most people agreed that health was likely to influence a person's social achievements and career in some way. Thus health achievements and social achievements unfolded together, mutually influencing each other during the course of life. That consensus solved several theoretical conflicts which had previously dominated the field.

On May 12th 1999, when Stockholm University and Karolinska Institutet submitted their



The CHESS corridor.
CHESS offices are
converted classrooms,
ready to be changed back
to their original purpose
on request. (Photo: Mats
Danielson)

joint proposal for a Centre for Health Equity Studies in Stockholm, our programmatic platform reflected all the above discussions synthesized into a programme. Nevertheless, the evaluators were conscientious. In a letter, they asked us to specify "the priorities among our plans". In November 1999, Finn Diderichsen and I spelt out those priorities in the following way: Firstly, to achieve "a creative interdisciplinary environment" by exploiting the different competencies of people with widely different academic backgrounds; secondly, to study the emergence of health inequalities by 1) focusing on contextual influences, including social policies; 2) exploring "the short and long term influence of the early social environment for health' and 3) examining 'how control of life circumstances, specifically at work, in the home and during other activities [...] influence psycho-biological mechanisms". The evaluators accepted our priorities and the new research centre thus had its first research programme approved and financed.

### CHESS - the first years

The contract with SFR was signed on June 30<sup>th</sup> 2000. I was appointed the first director of CHESS, and took up the position from July 1<sup>st</sup> 2000. In front of me I had a six year contract with SFR, granting us 24 million SEK to spend over six years, but no staff and no activity yet. The contract also stated that a number of positions should be guaranteed by resources

from the two collaborating universities. For me, this was a great sense of freedom and opportunity.

Six months later, in January 2001, the first researchers moved into the new premises at Sveaplan. Seven people, all from my own research group and funded by previous external grants, formed the core of the centre. Ulf Lundberg and Britt af Klintberg, both from the psychology department, moved in with three colleagues in March and April 2001. Diderichsen's research group was to be a central element of the centre, but during the spring of 2001 Diderichsen, quite unexpectedly, left us. This was a difficult moment. He had fallen deeply in love with a Danish woman, married and moved to Copenhagen where he took up a new professorship. We wished him good luck, of course, but his departure delayed considerably the move of public health scientists from KI to CHESS. Eventually, though, the public health group at KI was integrated with CHESS. In the spring of 2002, three doctoral students in public health science were appointed and financed (Gloria Macassa, Maria Kölegård Stjärne and Monica Åberg Yngwe). Their supervisors at KI (Johan Hallquist and Bo Burström) became affiliated with CHESS; all five became important members of the new research environment. Ingvar Lundberg, occupational epidemiologist from KI, also joined us for a time.

The director of CHESS was also a member of the board, working under its supervision. To chair the board, *Karolinska Institutet* nominated Kerstin Hagenfeldt, professor emerita at KI, who was duly appointed. Among the other members of the first board were Joakim Palme from Stockholm University and Christer Hogstedt from KI. Stig Wall, Gunnar Ågren, Lena Sommestad and Gabriel Romanus were appointed by SFR, and Viveca Östberg (later) represented the staff. Affiliated members were Finn Diderichsen and Ulf Lundberg. This was a formidable group of people.

The board held its first meeting on October 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2000. This dealt with how CHESS was to be built up: the balance between its role as a research centre and as a network coordinator. What kind of posts should be created and what questions were of strategic importance? At the following board meeting, in November 2000, we decided to advertise two professorships in health equity studies. One of those was to have a public health science perspective and the other a social science perspective.

We advertised in international media and received 17 applications in all. The appointments panel worked fast. In December 2001, Olle Lundberg took up the professorship in health equity studies with a social science perspective. Lundberg came from the Swedish Institute for Social Research at Stockholm University (SOFI). We had worked together for more than

a decade already. Ilona Koupil was appointed professor of health equity studies with a public health science perspective. She took up her position from September 2002. Koupil came from the Department of Epidemiology at the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine; the 'trop shop' as it was affectionately called by both friends and foes. She had previously worked with me, Dave Leon and Hans Lithell as a PhD student in Uppsala.

In the spring of 2001, the board decided to establish two more senior research positions: one in behavioural medicine the other in 'sociology, in particular social stratification and inequality'. Thus CHESS was joined by Gunilla Krantz from the Nordic School of Public Health and Johan Fritzell from SOFI. Fritzell's position was immediately upgraded to a professorship.

At the end of 2002, the first phase in the creation of CHESS was concluded. There were ten well-qualified researchers and seven PhD students from three disciplines, all working under the same roof. The atmosphere was open and lively and with a minimal amount of hierarchical relations.

### A hard question and a difficult crisis

CHESS was supposed to be a national and international research node. The first network conference was held in October 2002. Its theme was: "Health inequalities: why do they persist

in modern societies?" The assumption, as already spelt out in the Black Report, was that health inequalities should disappear with economic and social progress. It was, however, clear that health inequalities were anything but a mere relic of the past. Instead, they seemed to be re-generated in each new generation. Three plenary speakers attempted to answer this puzzle: Sara Arber from Guildford, Anton Kunst from Rotterdam and Olle Lundberg from CHESS. It was a hard issue to tackle. Much of the European research of the last two decades has dealt with this question.

The same question was asked again a decade later. In January 2013, an international symposium organized by the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences asked: "Health inequalities in modern welfare states – do we understand present trends?' By then, we had learnt that not only do health inequalities persist, but also that they are getting larger in many (most?) countries. Increasing gaps in life expectancy between those with low and high education in the Nordic countries were a concern and a puzzle.

The attempted answer at the latter symposium was threefold: 1) patterns of consumption (alcohol, tobacco, poor food) have changed for the better much faster among the highly-educated than among the more poorly-educated; 2) the erosion in later years of social protection provided by the welfare state took its toll on

lower social classes and those outside the labour market; and 3) the shortcomings of national states when it comes to coping with global pressures on labour markets, incomes and tax regimes have resulted in increasing social and economic inequalities in general.

These were tentative answers and the fundamental question still awaits clarification and resolution. Health inequalities mirror social inequalities; these also seem to have deepened in recent decades. Thus health inequalities research has good reason to be aware of what is going on in neighbouring research fields focusing on social inequalities, such as those which address economic inequalities or unequal educational or job opportunities.

The contract with SFR had stipulated that CHESS's performance should be evaluated in 2004, more than half way through the six-year contract. But even before 2004 a Nordic group, led by Finn Kamper-Jörgensen, had been busy evaluating Nordic public health research at large. In spite of its tender age, CHESS was included and the group concluded, in February 2004, that "CHESS provides an important focus, ensuring that Sweden remains internationally central within inequalities in health research over the coming decades". We were pleased and looked forward to the SFR evaluation with confidence. Sally Macintyre, Johan Mackenbach and Johannes Siegrist were asked again. Their review was a careful discussion of strengths and weaknesses at CHESS, and reflections on areas to develop further, such as the understanding of income dynamics and closer ties to some medical disciplines. They concluded that "CHESS has made an excellent start" and recommended continued funding. They advised SFR that "funding decisions be made as quickly as possible in order to reduce planning blight". However, exactly this point was to develop into the first major crisis in CHESS's history.

One sentence in the contract became disputed. It gave me sleepless nights for a period and led to an exchange in the Swedish parliament. It is this: "If the evaluation of CHESS is positive, SFR will facilitate the permanent transfer to Stockholm University of financial resources corresponding to SFR's annual contributions". This was understood by us to be a commitment of the Ministry of Education to long term financing, conditional upon the evaluation. The Aging Research Centre had an identical clause in its contract, and was given an equally positive evaluation from its review panel. Both evaluations were unambiguous, but the promise in our contracts was not. The government's legal experts explained, but not until 2005, that the paragraph in question was not binding. SFR did not have the mandate to promise such a thing. Thus, the financing of CHESS and ARC would cease when the present contract had run out on December 31, 2005. However,

as a good-will gesture, SFR (now called FAS) would make a smaller commitment after the contract had run out, phasing out its support gradually by cutting 25% each year during 2006–2009.

I know very little about what went on between the Ministry of Social Affairs, under whose auspices SFR/FAS operated, and the Ministry of Education, responsible for the long-term research financing of universities. Some harsh words, I guess. I suspect that it was the Ministry of Education that rocked the boat. When this information reached the vice-chancellors of Stockholm University and *Karolinska Institutet*, they reacted strongly. Kåre Bremer and Harriet Wallberg-Henriksson were both upset. In a pointed letter to the Minister of Education, Leif Pagrotsky, the two vice-chancellors wrote on June 1, 2005:

SU and KI assume that the original agreement shall be respected and that both universities will receive permanent resources...

#### And if this was not possible for some reason:

...we will have to reassess and cut down these activities. There is no possibility to finance the present levels of activities from the resources now available to the universities.

This was in fact a threat to close down both CHESS and ARC, or at best to radically cut their resources and positions. Rune Åberg, the



View of the Sveaplan building from the hallway outside the CHESS entrance. (Photo: Mats Danielson)

new permanent secretary of SFR/FAS met the leadership of Stockholm University and *Karolinska Institutet* for a heated discussion, which took place in CHESS's library at Sveaplan in June 2005. This occasion is difficult to forget. Rune Åberg had a hard time. He concluded that CHESS and ARC were the first two victims of the philosophy of giving large strategic grants to universities without any financial commitment after the contract time. This was of course very true.

Gabriel Romanus, on the very same day, fought the issue in the Parliament. Romanus, previously chairman of the board of SFR, was now a member of the Swedish parliament. He raised the question of long term financing of CHESS, ARC and SoRAD there, triggering a long debate. Romanus had been part of the negotiating process leading up to the creation of CHESS and ARC and knew the situation very well. He tried to get Leif Pagrotsky to make a commitment, but with no luck. That the minis-

try cannot have a view on the research priorities of the universities was Pagrotsky's dull and disappointing response. To me and my colleagues this sounded quite illogical considering that the same government had started the whole process by its call to SFR to develop "a national program for research into inequalities in health", as it had been formulated nine years earlier in the 1996 Government Bill on research. In fact, the fundamental research question of why we have (growing) health inequalities in modern Sweden played no role whatsoever in the response from the minister of education. The institutional memory did not even go back nine years (Interpellation 2004/05:663).

There we were. A chilling message had been delivered, the implication of which was surely that we had to rethink our existence as an independent research centre. Neither FAS nor the Ministry of Education would change their minds. What could we do? I and Olle Lundberg, who had been deputy director of CHESS since 2002, gradually developed a plan of action: we would have to apply for new strategic grants of similar size to the old grant. At the same time, we would try to convince both Stockholm University and Karolinska Institutet to increase their direct contributions to CHESS, arguing that we had done well so far and that we had been an asset to both universities. Thirdly, we should explore our new contacts with the World Health Organisation

where I had just been appointed a member of its Commission on Social Determinants of Health. If all this failed, we would have to cut down on staff and to begin administer a sinking ship. This gave me many restless nights.

In 2006, we applied to become a 'FAS-Centre', the new strategic grant opportunity that SFR/FAS had created. We also argued in the board of the Faculty of Social Sciences, of which I was a member, that budget allocations should be more responsive to scientific output. CHESS had a large scientific output, but this did not make any difference at all regarding how much money the faculty allocated to us. We had many discussions with Eskil Wadensjö, faculty dean, about how to secure CHESS's existence at the University. We spoke, similarly, to the vice-chancellor of KI, Harriet Wallberg-Henriksson, and her staff. Members of CHESS's board such as Chairperson Kerstin Hagenfeldt and Robert Erikson, now vice chairperson, were a great support in this.

In the end, we were lucky on all battlefronts. We managed to get a new strategic grant from FAS for ten years from 2007–2016. It gave us 55 million SEK in all, 5.5 million per year. The Faculty of Social Sciences at Stockholm University was also responsive. Our grant from the faculty grew to match the annual grant from FAS. *Karolinska Institutet* had lowered their contributions to CHESS as a response to the broken promise in the contract with SFR, but

now they were back on board with an increased annual grant again. This was evidently the Matthew principle in action: if you win one grant, you are more likely to win the other one as well. Thirdly, our new work for the WHO gave us a small but important grant directly from the Ministry of Social Affairs. Thus, during the autumn of 2006, things were starting to look very bright again. CHESS had a long term grant covering ten years, several smaller external grants and a renewed commitment from both universities on a higher level than previously.

Our research programme, which led to the ten year grant (and to our position as an official 'FAS-centre') had the title: "Human society as a life-long determinant of human health". Its leading research question is familiar to the reader by now: "Why are inequalities in health generated anew in every new generation and in every society?" It was by far the best and most comprehensive research programme that we have formulated so far. The mood had changed at CHESS. We were moving forward again.

## Social determinants of health – knowledge into practice

At CHESS's very first board meeting, Gunnar Ågren, then head of the Swedish Public Health Institute, had asked in what way our research results could be useful for practical public health purposes. If I remember right, we did

not have a very good answer. As researchers, we wanted to do research, and we hoped someone else would understand how to translate our research results into action on the part of governments, communities or individuals.

Public health has always had a very strong commitment to collective action by local or national governments. This has been most evident in dealing with epidemics, during which all governments around the world have taken coercive powers. In the past, sea ports could be closed; today it is airports, as during the bird flu epidemic. Cattle could be slaughtered en masse, as during the mad cow disease fear, or people could be coerced into being vaccinated, as during the swine flu epidemic. In contrast, governments have had much less clout when it comes to preventing chronic, non-communicable disease such as cancer, circulatory disease or mental health problems. These have often been seen as individual responsibility, full stop.

Nevertheless, Simon Szreter, a Cambridge historian, had argued with good evidence that the mortality decline in Britain during the 19<sup>th</sup> century was driven by local political reforms led by a "battling public health ideology" that achieved sanitary reforms, clean water, better housing and improved living conditions in general. Perhaps a modern version of this is what Gunnar Ågren had in mind? We do know enough to have better policies. I knew that the question of how social policies may influence



Entrance to CHESS offices from the mail hallway of the Sveaplan building, (Photo: Mats Danielson)

health had long been preoccupying two of my colleagues who joined CHESS from the Swedish Institute for Social Research (SOFI), Olle Lundberg and Johan Fritzell. Was there an opportunity to do serious research into this?

In March 2005 I received a phone call from Richard Poe at the World Health Organisation in Geneva. He told me that I had been nominated to be a member of the 'Commission on Social Determinants of Health', a three year commitment if I accepted. Twenty people were going to be appointed directly by the Head of WHO, Dr Lee Jong-wook. The issue was global health inequalities: what can we do about them. Global health inequalities

were appallingly large, with a life expectancy difference of almost 40 years between the best and the worst country at that time. The head of WHO feared that WHO was losing its leading role in world health affairs; other UN agencies were becoming more active in health, such as the World Bank, and even more so corporate actors such as the Gates Foundation. The Commission would work as an independent think tank and report directly to him. No strings attached. The Commission's advice, if accepted, would become WHO policy. The first meeting was going to be in three weeks' time in Santiago de Chile, hosted by the president of Chile, who would also be a

member of the Commission. Could I come? I was given 24 hours to think it over, but accepted straightaway. As it turned out, this appointment opened many doors for CHESS for years to come.

Michael Marmot, professor of epidemiology in London and knighted "for services to health inequalities research" was to chair the Commission. I had worked with Marmot previously and know him well. In the Santiago meeting we discussed the possibility for CHESS to study the importance of social policies for health. I was well prepared after discussions with my colleagues at CHESS. Marmot wrote a letter to the Swedish public health minister at that time, Morgan Johansson. Could Sweden perhaps support the Commission by financing a study of how social policies influence health in modern industrial states? Johansson responded positively, and offered to host one of the Commission meetings in Stockholm. Thus, CHESS was asked by the WHO Commission to produce a report, based on new research, examining the importance of Nordic welfare state policies for the health of their populations. This opened up a new line of research for CHESS.

The 'NEWS project' (Nordic experience of welfare states and public health) started. It engaged many people at CHESS: Olle Lundberg, Johan Fritzell, Monica Åberg Yngwe, Maria Kölegård Stjärne and Lisa Björk were behind the final report (2008). This was based on con-

tributions from many people; CHESS's Nordic network was especially important. The project combined data from two sources: the Human Mortality Data Base, held in Rostock, and the SCIP data base at Stockholm University. The SCIP data base (Social Citizenship Indicators Project) was a hidden treasure at Stockholm University. It had been developed and extended by Walter Korpi's research group over the decades and offered comparable data on social rights, pension rights, social insurance system indicators and benefit levels for 18 OECD countries for most of the 20th century. Through 'pooled cross-sectional time series analysis' the group was able to conclude that generous social policies towards families and children were strongly linked to low levels of child poverty and low infant mortality rates. Furthermore, generous policies in terms of basic pension rights were linked to better survival among the elderly. Even if causality was not proven by these studies, they represented the beginning of a more systematic exploration of how social and economic policies in a country may change the health chances of its population. The WHO Commission subsequently came to embrace 'social protection across the life course' as one of its main recommendations for better and more equal health in all countries. The Lancet, in an editorial, praised the work.

The global WHO Commission published its report in the autumn of 2008. Since then,

CHESS researchers have been involved in several follow-up reviews at European, national and local levels, such as the 'European Review of Social Determinants and the Health Divide' commissioned by the European office of WHO in Copenhagen; the English Marmot Review, commissioned by the British government; the Norwegian Review on Health Inequities, commissioned by the Norwegian Health Ministry and the Commission for a socially sustainable Malmö, commissioned by the City of Malmö.

These reviews represent the most important efforts so far to translate the knowledge from our research field into practice. Many of us have also lectured widely, both in Sweden and abroad, about this experience. The Master's Programme in Public Health at CHESS, which has been operating since 2008, has benefitted hugely from this engagement. Talking about CHESS engagement in the above reviews and commissions in December 2013, I could see Gunnar Ågren in the audience, nodding approvingly.

CHESS has for a long time been interested in the importance of the early environment for adult health and social achievement. Jenny Eklund, Anders Hjern, Ilona Koupil and Bitte Modin all worked to understand this. One of the recommendations, which has been common to all reviews following the original WHO Commission report, is that governments should focus on giving all children a good start in life. School and preschool, in particular, have been

in focus. It is perhaps not a coincidence that schooling has moved to the forefront in Swedish political life recently. The PISA study of 2014 pointed to shortcomings in the school results of children in Sweden. Two years earlier, the psychological well-being of school children had been in focus. An international symposium at the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences concluded that children who were left behind their peers in learning to read in the first year at school were especially vulnerable later in school. The importance of school, school achievement and peer relations in the school class, and of teacher/pupil relations for children's wellbeing and social status, has been a strongly emerging research field at CHESS.

Inequalities start early and become formative for the rest of life. The work of Viveca Östberg, Bitte Modin, Ylva Almqvist and Anton Lager has helped to transform the academic discussions about school, school achievement, and health and wellbeing in the short and long run. One particularly intriguing finding is that peer status and peer relations in a school class seem to have long term effects on both later educational achievement and adult mental wellbeing.

In 2013, CHESS could announce a new professorship in social paediatrics, financed by *Karolinska Institutet*. Anders Hjern was appointed and has joined forces with Östberg's group. This is now a creative and dynamic research area.

## Generation shift and new developments

One of the last strategic decisions that I took part in as director of CHESS was to launch an international 'Master's Programme in Population health', today renamed as 'Public health'. The board of CHESS discussed this in several meetings, realizing that it was a watershed decision. It encouraged us to take up this new task. The first students, around 25 persons, started in the autumn of 2008; half of them had a Swedish back-



The Sveaplan building from behind.

ground, the other half were foreign students. Monica Åberg Yngwe and Jenny Eklund guided them skilfully through the two-year programme. In 2014, the fourth generation of master's students started their course work. The master's students, most of them bright and engaged, have changed CHESS in positive ways. Some of them have continued to take up PhD studies with us.

In 2013, the Faculty of Social Sciences was given rights to award PhD degrees in 'public health science'. The new discipline was going to be a shared responsibility between the Stress Research Institute and CHESS. This year, five PhD students in public health science have been admitted. To support this, a new professorship in public health science was advertised in June 2014.

I left as a director at the end of 2008 and consequently left the board at the same time. I can confess in retrospect that the only time when I was somewhat nervous about what we had achieved at CHESS and what we were planning to do in the future was in the run-up to board meetings. The board was the effective power holder, if it so desired. Yet the board was immensely supportive. Kerstin Hagenfeldt in particular took great care to make sure we were all right and that things went well. Later, in 2006, Nina Rehnqvist became the chair of the board. She filled the same role. She has stayed as chair of the board until today and been able to oversee the many new developments.

Thus, a new generation of CHESS researchers took over from 2009. Olle Lundberg became the new director, Viveca Östberg deputy director, Monica Åberg Yngwe was director of studies and later deputy director. Bitte Modin became head of CHESS's postgraduate school and Jenny Eklund the new director of studies with Mikael Rostila as her deputy. Susanna Toivanen and Mikael Rostila, who both received their PhD degrees during the first years of CHESS, now edited a volume of contributions around 'unfair health' for the broader Swedish public. All this has been a pleasure to watch from the ringside, without me ever feeling an urgent need to step inside the ring again.

CHESS has matured and I have no doubt that it will continue to thrive and flourish. Stockholm is one of the best places in the world in which to do health research. Our human society influences people's life chances and health in a fundamental way, both historically and in the present. To study this empirically results in gaining theoretical insights, which in turn can lead to a better way of organizing our human affairs: what could be more fun or important?

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## Institute for International Economic Studies

**Assar Lindbeck** 

AT THE BEGINNING of 1971, I took over Gunnar Myrdal's professorship in international economics at Stockholm University, where I also became the director of the Institute for International Economic Studies. The Institute was founded by Myrdal in 1962. In his period as director of the Institute, it also constituted a basis for his broad-ranging study of the development problems of Southeast Asia, 'Asian Drama', (1968). He was assisted by a number of foreign colleagues who were employed on a temporary basis. Ingvar Svennilson was director for a few years (1967-69) after Myrdal had retired. He started some ambitious projects on industrial structural change, but after a couple of years of illness, he had to take a leave of absence and later left the position. In February 1971, it became my task to develop the Institute with the aid of new colleagues and a new orientation that suited my experiences and interests. At the same time, the Institute moved, from only a few offices at Wenner-Gren Center at Sveaplan, to new premises in one of the blue buildings at the recently constructed Stockholm University campus at Frescati.

For the general public, Gunnar Myrdal is probably the best-known Swedish economist in the twentieth century. He also had a large influence on a whole generation of prominent economists in Sweden - Erik Lindahl, Erik Lundberg, Bertil Ohlin, Tord Palander, Ingvar Svennilson and Herman Wold. Myrdal already had a great influence on his colleagues through his doctoral dissertation, Prisbildningsproblemet och föränderligheten (1927), where he emphasized the role of future expectations for the trends in different markets. He was also early with proposals for using the government budget as an instrument for smoothening the business cycle - partly inspired by John Maynard Keynes' early writings on the subject from 1929 and onwards. Myrdal made his large international breakthrough with his interdisciplinary work, 'An American Dilemma', (1944) with the subtitle, 'The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy', – a successful combination of economics, sociology and political science.

Moreover, in the latter part of the 1930s, his writings, together with his wife Alva, on social policy issues played an important role in the social policy debate in Sweden. Among their work in this field, it is natural to refer to their book Kris i befolkningsfrågan ('Crisis in the Population Issue', 1934). After World War II, following a short session as Minister of Trade, Myrdal became executive secretary of the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe (ECE). But he increasingly turned towards studies of developing countries (Myrdal 1968). He also attracted a great deal of international attention through his research in this field, even if this work was neither as original nor as important as his previous work.

## How to rebuild?

Being responsible for a research institute was a new experience for me. How to manage the funding? How to organize the activities? To what extent should the director try to influence the direction of the research at the Institute as a whole? In particular, how to guarantee that both research and the graduate program reach high international standards? Moreover, I did not want the Institute to only be an internationally prominent research institute. My objective was also that the Institute should func-

tion as a 'nursery' for future prominent Swedish economists.

At the beginning, I did not have any clear view about how such a nursery should be designed. Naturally, I did realize that the basis must be a high-quality course program for graduate students and a stimulating environment for writing doctoral theses. But over the years, I started to realize that this was not enough. The first years at a research institution for people with a recent PhD - say the first three to six years - should be considered just as important a part of the training as the courses for graduate students. In my experience, it is largely through work in a strong research environment during those particular vears that research talents get the chance to flourish. Thus, it is important to give a number of recent graduates the possibility of working in such an environment for a few years, either in Sweden or in other countries. My ambition was that the Institute should be such a place. It is also important to maintain a good balance between Swedish and foreign researchers in such a group. Foreign recruitment is of great importance, not only for creating diversity, but also for reaching high standards. However, recruiting young promising Swedish students is also important, since it is those individuals in particular that can be expected to remain in Sweden during the main part of their professional life.

The recruitment of talented graduate students and researchers to the Institute went very well. When I took up the position at the beginning of 1971, there were already a couple of graduate students at the Institute. Moreover, four of my graduate students at the Stockholm School of Economics joined me at the Institute at their own request and, after some time, several other graduate students also arrived from the Stockholm School of Economics, But I mainly recruited students with an undergraduate degree from the Department of Economics at Stockholm University. I usually encountered young talents in my teaching at different levels, but several students simply turned up spontaneously at the Institutes' weekly seminars, since it was rumoured that there were interesting seminars at the Institute. The recruitment of young talents into research in economics might also have been facilitated by the fact that the interest in economic and social issues was particularly large among university students in the 1970s, as a result of the political radicalization among students at the end of the 1960s. It was not difficult to convince foreign researchers to visit the Institute. Over the years, we have had about 150 foreign visiting researchers at the Institute who have stayed for at least a month.

In my experience, there is a potential interest among talented Swedish students to do research, and it is the professors' responsibility to awaken and encourage this interest. In particular, creating enthusiasm in young talented students at the University for entering the graduate program, and possibly also investing in a career as a researcher, is an important task for professors at a research institute.

The first problem that I encountered was funding the activities at the Institute. The government funding was very small at that time, about SEK 150,000 annually. Gunnar Myrdal had also created a Foundation for the Support of the Institute for International Economic Studies. It was partly based on returns from Myrdal's book royalties. Other sources for the foundation were donations from Svenska Handelsbanken, thanks to Myrdal's friendship with the chairman of the board at Handelsbanken, Tore Browaldh, and the Swedish Cooperative Wholesale Society (KF), thanks to his friendship with Mauritz Bonow who, among other things, was secretary of the KF board. But when I took up my position, the remaining assets in the Foundation only amounted to SEK 20,000. The Foundation did, however, later become an important means of channelling funds to the activities at the Institute.

In the 1970s and 1980s, the internal funds of the Institute – principally the government grant – were mainly used to fund three secretaries; this was before the era of the PC. But the funds were also, to a certain extent, used to fund a couple of senior foreign visiting researchers every year, who in several cases stayed for an

entire academic year. Several of these researchers contributed greatly to the Institute as supervisors of our graduate students. Important examples during my first years were professors Bill Branson from Princeton University and Ron Jones from the University of Rochester.

Swedish graduate students and recent PhDs were funded by grants from various research foundations, in particular those administered by Erik Dahmén on the basis of donations from the Wallenberg group. These were The Swedish Bank Research Foundation, *Finanspolitiska forskningsinstitutet* and *Stora Kopparbergs fond* – what I called "Dahmén's pockets". In that way, we could simultaneously finance about a dozen young Swedish graduate students and PhDs.

Having produced a group of talented young researchers at the Institute, we started to apply for large research grants from various types of research foundations, in particular Riksbankens Jubileumsfond (The Tercentenary Foundation of the Swedish Central Bank). For many years, this fund was very generous to the Institute. We switched to large 'umbrella projects' – research themes involving a group of researchers. We also invited the directors of Riksbankens Jubileumsfond, Nils-Eric Svensson and later Östen Johansson, to visit us to brief them about our future project plans. Another way to financial consolidation was to replenish the IIES Foundation through grants from vari-

ous sources, mainly different research foundations. This fund raising was mainly organized by the director of the Nobel Foundation, Stig Ramel, who was chairman of the IIES Foundation for many years.

Gunnar Myrdal used to joke about the fact that I had chosen what he called "buildingcontractor's funding" in the style of the 1920s. He referred to the fact that we financed more than 75% of the activities with various kinds of external funding. By focusing hard on young promising researchers, I thought that we would eventually become good enough to obtain a more stable financial basis for our activities. This actually turned out to be true. In particular, after several years, we succeeded in increasing the government grant. At that point in time, the Institute was an independent government agency with its own board, which meant that we received our government grant directly from the government, while being part of the university in other respects. It was thus important to inform the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Finance about our work. Among other things, Ingvar Carlsson, the minister of education at that time, paid us a visit and was informed about the activities at the Institute. Moreover, Michael Sohlman, head of the budget section at the Ministry of Finance, showed great understanding for our activities in research and graduate education. Through these contacts, we succeeded in clarifying to



Several paths to choose from, in corridors as well as in research. (Photo: Mats Danielson)

the funding authorities that there now existed a group of researchers at the Institute worth financing. Many years later, when Sohlman had succeeded Ramel as director of the Nobel Foundation, he also accepted to succeed Ramel as the chairman of the IIES Foundation.

We obtained additional resources when, in 1978, the Minister of Education Jan-Erik Wikström discovered – I do not know how – that I had been offered the position as chief economist of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) when Jacques Pollak retired. Wikström called me one day and asked what would make me stay in Sweden. I answered more money to the Institute and more space. Apparently, I was unclear, since

Wikström thought that I needed larger housing myself. So I clarified that the Institute would need the entire floor at the University, where we had about ten offices at our disposal at that time. Shortly thereafter, we actually did get an offer from the University to have the entire floor at our disposal. I do not know exactly how this happened. I had previously expressed similar desires to the university administration to no avail. The increased, and in particular more stable, resources made it possible to gradually introduce permanent professorships from 1984 and onwards – the first being for Lars E.O. Svensson, who subsequently moved to Princeton in 2001 after many years at the Institute.

In the mid-1990s, we could fund a group of researchers amounting to 15–20 people: five professors, a few researchers at the docent level, a number of recent PhDs, a varying number of graduate students and a couple of foreign visiting researchers. Thus, we had reached a critical mass in the sense that each researcher had access to other researchers at the Institute who were interested in the same area of research. It was thanks to a combination of increased financial resources, a good supply of graduate students and the presence of prominent foreign visiting researchers that we succeeded in raising the quality of the research to an international level.

Thus, the Institute did not reach its success by initially having large financial assets. It was rather by building up competence on a basis of mainly external funding that we could eventually convince the government authorities and large private research foundations that we deserved more stable funding. In the last two decades, *Handelsbanken*'s Research Foundations and agencies, such as the Swedish Research Council and more recently the European Research Council, have played an important part in funding specific research projects. The grants from *Handelsbanken* have, in fact, been quite crucial for the possibilities to fund graduate students at the Institute.

In connection with the 50th anniversary of the Institute, we also received several lump-

sum grants from the University, the government and a few private foundations. But the growing importance of external funding has once more increased the need for a consolidation of the financial basis of the Institute – although at a larger volume of research than previously. Indeed, a personal chair funded by a donation from the Savings Banks' Foundation a few years ago made it possible to recruit Per Krusell to return to Sweden from Princeton, as a first step in this consolidation.

In order to get as much time for research and teaching as possible, I did, just like Myrdal had formerly done, delegate almost all administration to an administrative assistant – who later received the title of 'deputy director' and in turn mainly delegated daily administrative tasks to a pure administrator. I was fortunate enough to cooperate with several efficient deputy directors. Sven Grassman was first in line and remained in this position until 1979, when he was first succeeded by Hans T:son Söderström, then Carl B. Hamilton and later Lars Calmfors. Over the years, we have also succeeded in recruiting and keeping a very competent and efficient administrative staff.

Since the Institute for International Economic Studies not only pursues research but is also involved in the graduate program at the University, the question naturally emerges of how graduate supervision should be carried out. I myself have never spent much time on the individual supervision of graduate students. Instead I have invested time in collective supervision – by teaching graduate courses, discussing drafts for theses at seminars and, not least, through informal discussions over lunch and afternoon coffee. One way of justifying this kind of supervision is that students do then not become dependent on views and suggestions from one single person. Supervision takes place in the form of free discussion. This means that the author can decide what views to take into consideration. A less flattering interpretation of my predilection for collective rather than individual supervision is that it gave me more time for research and other activities. However, I still think that my kind of collective supervision contributed to creating independent researchers with their own driving forces. Very few of the admitted graduate students failed to complete their dissertations. I am sceptical regarding the idea of squeezing through less talented graduate students to licentiate or doctoral degrees using very extensive supervisory efforts.

There is, however, likely to have been an increase in the need for individual supervision in recent years in connection with the large increase in the number of admitted graduate students. Graduate students might also be a more heterogeneous group today than previously. This means that collective supervision might be less suitable than it was before. This might ex-

plain why my younger colleagues have chosen to spend much time on the individual supervision of graduate students in addition to the graduate courses they regularly teach. However, today there might be a trend back towards more collective graduate supervision, but now as a supplement to individual supervision. In particular, this takes place in the form of lunch seminars ('brown-bag seminars'), where graduate students at the Institute discuss drafts for their theses in the presence of one or several senior researchers.

## New directors of the Institute

When I retired and resigned from the directorship in 1995, Lars Calmfors (1995–98) was the first to take over. Then came Torsten Persson (1998–2009) and Harry Flam (2010–14) – all three were already professors at the Institute.

There have been winds of change at the Institute since I retired – both as concerns organization and research orientation. It has become increasingly common that people with a PhD from the Institute have obtained positions at foreign universities or research institutes – an expression of the internationalization of the market for researchers. It is too early to say how many of these will later return to Sweden. Since 1995, new PhDs have usually been hired by the Institute for a limited period of time, with an individual evaluation for continued employment after six years – a system corresponding to



Combined seminar and coffee room at IIES. Seminar held by Torsten Persson. (Photo: Mats Danielson)

what is called tenure track at US universities. An important change in later years is that the structure of the younger research staff has shifted from Swedish to foreign graduate students and PhDs – yet another expression of the internationalization of the market for researchers. In fact, since the mid-1990s, the recruitment of junior researchers has mainly taken place by advertising positions on the international market and interviewing some of the applicants (several hundred people from different countries) on the international market for young economists in

connection with the Annual Meeting of the American Economic Association.

Currently, the Institute has a reasonable number of professors, or more exactly nine. About 15 junior researchers with a recent PhD also work at the Institute. Moreover, some internationally prominent senior researchers at foreign universities are currently affiliated with the Institute; they return as visiting professors on a regular basis.

While it is a strength for a research institute to belong to a prominent university, the independent position in relation to the University has been favourable for the Institute. We have not been subjected to short-term competition with teaching institutions about scarce resources – a competition that is usually won by the teaching side. Moreover, we have been able to act swiftly ourselves when it comes to both funding and recruitment, without cumbersome bureaucracy.

## Shifts in the areas of research

The research content at the Institute has changed over the years. The shifts have largely occurred due to spontaneous decisions by individual researchers. But in some cases, the shifts have been due to new umbrella projects that a group of researchers have agreed on, in particular in connection with larger research grants from research foundations. In the 1970s, we largely dealt with questions about the functioning of economic policy in increasingly open economies with free foreign trade and capital movements. In particular, we emphasized the functioning of the labour market, in particular the importance of wage formation, for inflation, unemployment and international competitiveness - an area where Lars Calmfors has been particularly involved. In fact, it was research in this area at the Institute which first attracted international attention. In the 1980's, the research was shifted towards international trade and more generally international economy, in particular our globalization project funded by *Riksbankens Jubileumsfond*. Harry Flam and Henrik Horn, among others, have made important contributions in this particular area. But researchers at the Institute did also devote themselves to other questions in this period, for example the economic consequences of taxation and social insurance by in particular Mats Persson. Several researchers at the Institute have also, with Lars E.O. Svensson as the primus motor, made important contributions in the field of monetary economics and monetary policy.

From the mid 1990's, the emphasis of the research at the Institute has increasingly shifted towards the area of political economics – largely as the result of Torsten Persson's research contributions in this area. This is also an area where I have been highly active. This research, on the borderline with political science, has also dealt with the role of media for political decision-making, in particular through work by Jakob Svensson and David Strömberg at the Institute.

In contrast to the period when Gunnar Myrdal was director, there was not much research on developing countries during my period as director. But such research has expanded in recent years – in particular through research carried out by Jakob Svensson and junior colleagues. The Institute has thus, in later years, to a certain extent returned to its orientation at the time of Myrdal. This new trend might provide

some consolation to Myrdal now that he is in heaven, which he, of course, did not believe in.

At the end of the first decade of the twenty-first century, John Hassler and Per Krusell initiated new research projects in macroeconomic analysis through a macroeconomic seminar that they run together with a group of graduate students and young PhDs at the Institute and the Department of Economics at Stockholm University. Moreover, John Hassler, Per Krusell and Torsten Persson have started a large interdisciplinary project on the economic consequences of climate change and climate policy.

A criticism to which the Institute was sometimes subjected in the 1970s and 1980s - as far as I understand from Gunnar Myrdal - was that its research was uniformly theoretically oriented. The vice-chancellor of the Stockholm School of Economics at that time, Staffan Burenstam Linder, did once give our research the epithet "space science". But my general philosophy has been that it is important that young researchers develop a strong theoretical and methodological foundation for their future research. My hypothesis has been that many of them will eventually and spontaneously find their way to applications and empirics, and this has actually usually been the case. More generally, in my experience, the best applied research is usually conducted by researchers who have started their careers as theorists, while those who have only done highly specialized empirical research during their entire life seldom come up with original and interesting contributions.

## The third task

So far, I have talked about the two main tasks of the Institute: research and the graduate program. But, like other academic institutions, we have a so-called third task, i.e. to inform society about what we have learned and to participate in the public debate. Thus, it is important that there are 'economists on two feet' – economists with one foot at the international research frontier and the other in the open policy discussion. A large number of researchers at the Institute have undertaken this task over the years.

In order to increase the quality of the domestic economic debate, the Institute also initiated a new journal in Swedish, 'Ekonomisk Debatt', at the beginning of the 1970s, with financial support from the Savings Banks. The first issue was published in 1973 – and it has continued to publish eight issues a year since then. Nils Lundgren, who was at that time a researcher at the Institute, became its first editor and I have been the legally responsible publisher since the start – a job which I have considered to be an entirely legal responsibility, without any right or obligation to interfere with the work of the editors.

Over the years, new sponsors of the journal have supplemented the Savings Bank Organization, which has supported the journal from



Top row: Per Krusell, Torsten Persson, David Strömberg, John Hassler and Jakob Svensson. Bottom row: Mats Persson, Lars Calmfors, Assar Lindbeck and Harry Flam. (Photo: Hanna Weitz)

the very beginning. Highly skilled researchers at Swedish universities have gladly taken turns as editors, members of the editorial committee of the journal and its editorial council. In fact, it has been an old tradition among Swedish academic economists to participate actively in the economic and political debate – since the days of Knut Wicksell, Gustaf Cassel and Eli Heckscher in the first decades of the twentieth century.

Yet another aspect of the third task is to participate in advising public authorities on economic-policy issues. Several members of staff at the Institute have, besides their research, been active in this area over the years. Torsten Persson was chairman of the Economic Council of the Ministry of Finance 1990–92, and Lars Calmfors held the same position in the period 1993–2001. Persson was also a member



Corridor decoration by one of IIES's researchers. (Photo: Mats Danielson)

of the government appointed *Ekonomikom-missionen* ('*Lindbeckkommissionen*'), which presented its report in March 1993. Calmfors has been the chairman of the EMU-commission and the Fiscal Policy Council, and he has played an important role in the Swedish economic policy debate. Torsten Persson and Lars E.O. Svensson served as advisors to the Bank of Sweden during a large part of the 1990s, and Hassler and Krusell are currently official

advisors at the analytical department of the Ministry of Finance. Harry Flam has headed a government commission on the financial independence of the Riksbank and has been a member of the EMU commission. Mats Persson has been a board member of The Swedish National Debt Office (*Riksgäldskontoret*), *Första AP-fonden* and so on. Colleagues at the Institute have also participated in a large number of government committees, SNS reports

and international expert groups. An example of international expert groups where researchers at the Institute have participated is EEAG (European Economic Advisory Group) – a group consisting of about half a dozen economists from different European countries that has published one report a year since 2002 on forecasts and problems in the European economy. Calmfors, and later Hassler, have been Swedish representatives in this group.

## Lessons from the Institute

During my last years as director of the Institute, I tried to summarize my experience of heading a research institute in the social sciences in bullet form. These 'bullet points', which can still be read *in extenso* on my web page, can be summarized as follows:

- (i) A research institute should strive to reach the international research frontier and contribute to gradually shifting this frontier. This is the best way of avoiding mediocre or even bad research. Bad research is worse than no research at all.
- (ii) In order to fulfil this ambition, research should be published at the international level, normally in internationally respected journals. To guarantee that Institute activities are subject to international scrutiny, it is also important the Institute abstains from its own printed publications.

- (iii) It is also important to have prominent foreign visiting researchers at a research institute in order to import competence and raise the level of ambition at the Institute.
- (iv) Each researcher should develop his/her own international network.
- (v) It is important that research is concentrated to a limited number of areas.
- (vi) Successful research requires a critical mass in one or a few areas.
- (vii) At a research institute, it is important to achieve an interaction between theoretical and methodological work on the one hand and applied research on the other.
- (viii) Employment decisions and the funding of Institute activities are the most important tasks for the director of a research institute. Other questions can be largely delegated by the director to other people.
- (ix) It is a great advantage for a research institute to be part of a prominent university.
- (x) It is also a great advantage if at least some of the members of a research institute in the social sciences produce articles and books, not only for the international research society, but also for laypeople who are interested in economic and social issues. This is important both for the researchers themselves, who can thus develop their common sense, and for the possibilities of an institute receiving research grants.

I do not claim that every department/institute in the social sciences should follow these exact principles, but I think that they have worked well for the Institute for International Economic Studies. In particular, I refer to the fact that the Institute has actually succeeded in making a number of talented young people enthusiastic about getting a good graduate education in economics. While many of them have made a research career in Sweden, others have made important contributions outside the area of academic research, in several cases as chief economists at public and private institutions. Hopefully, Swedish taxpayers and private donors have recorded a decent social return to the money that they have invested in the Institute.

It is a delicate task for a former director of a research institute to evaluate its achievements. When it comes to citations in scientific journals, researchers at the Institute have always been at a high level. Among the five most cited Swedish economists, four have usually been employed at the Institute. A study for The Swedish National Agency for Higher Education, by Swedish social scientist Li Bennich-Björkman (1997), uses the activities at the Institute as an example of a research institute at the highest level - even if the name of our Institute was (barely) disguised in the published report. In an evaluation of economic research in Sweden in the 1970s and 1980s by three internationally prominent foreign researchers (Dixit et al. 1992:174), the authors drew the conclusion that: "The most successful single

centre of economics research in Sweden is undoubtedly the IIES. This Institute's permanent staff has a better record of publications in major international journals than the rest of the Swedish profession combined."

The situation does not seem to have changed to any great extent since then. Thanks largely to new generations of researchers at the Institute, almost half – that is 31 of the 65 – articles that were published in the period 2002–13 in five or six leading (general) economic journals by Swedish economists have been authored or co-authored by researchers at the IIES (Björklund 2014:4). It should, of course, be remembered that important research is also published in other journals, in particular leading field journals. Statistics that only build on papers from five or six leading general journals might thus be misleading.

There are also other indications of researchers at the Institute having been successful. The Söderberg Prize in Economics, which is awarded every fourth year by the Royal Academy of Sciences at the suggestion of a committee with a majority of foreign economists, has six times out of eight been awarded to researchers at the Institute. One of the remaining two has previously been employed at the Institute. Six out of the nine current professors at the Institute are members of the Royal Academy of Sciences. Over the years, researchers at the Institute have also held leading posi-

tions in international economic organizations, have often been invited to give plenary lectures at international economic conferences, and so on. Based on these quality indicators, the Institute has, despite its size, belonged to the half-dozen most prominent economics institutions in Europe.

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This chapter is a translated and edited version of (Lindbeck 2012).

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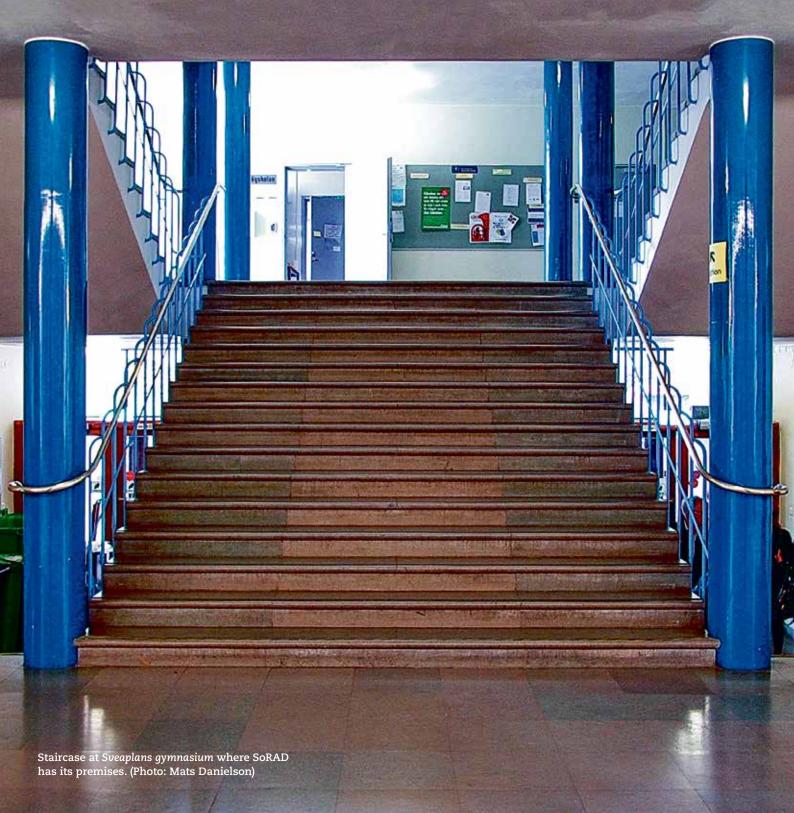
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# Centre for Social Research on Alcohol and Drugs

Jenny Cisneros Örnberg, Börje Olsson and Robin Room

SWEDEN HAS A long history of active alcohol policy actions, and the alcohol question has often been on top of the political agenda. Already in the 1800s, a strong and influential temperance movement was formed. The first half of the 20th century was first and foremost characterized by the so-called Bratt system. This was a cohesive system of alcohol policy, devised by the physician Ivan Bratt with the aim of reducing alcohol consumption and harms. In many respects, the approach to alcohol during this time rested on a clear moral basis. The Bratt system can be viewed as an alternative to alcohol prohibition, which at that time had been introduced in many other countries. Thus, when the Swedish people considered a total ban on alcohol in an advisory referendum in 1922, with the Bratt system already in place, the idea of a prohibition was dismissed, although only by a small majority.

After the end of World War II, there was a rapid modernization of Swedish society, which made alcohol rationing (the ration book) seem to be an odd and remarkable policy feature. Along with the temperance movement's criticism of the fact that the rationing system had legalized alcohol consumption, this contributed to the abolition of the rationing system (Bruun & Frånberg 1985).

In order to combat alcohol problems, it became necessary to find other measures. Alcohol prices rose relatively sharply through regular increases in alcohol taxes. Information about the harmful effects of alcohol was another policy measure that was initially thought to be effective. During the 1960s, alcohol research started to play a major role in alcohol policy. Several researchers were involved, for example, in the alcohol policy committee that published its reports in 1974. One important conclusion in its final report was that a successful alcohol policy must be based on a constantly updated knowledge base of a high scientific standard. The committee stated that the long-term task of alcohol research is to obtain results that



Payment day. Classic political poster supporting a YES! in the Swedish alcohol prohibition referendum in 1922. (from Wikipedia)

show how alcohol problems can be reduced (SOU 1974:93). Furthermore, already 40 years ago the committee noted that alcohol research was dominated by the medical disciplines. The medical knowledge base was considered to be relatively good. It was further concluded that medical alcohol research conducted internationally was also applicable in Sweden. In contrast, social conditions were often judged to

be specific to Sweden, and it was therefore very important to strengthen Swedish social alcohol research (ibid.). Even so, no comprehensive measures were taken to strengthen social alcohol research. Some specific but fragmented reinforcements were made, including a new chair as professor of sociological alcohol research at Stockholm University's Department of Sociology with the Finnish alcohol researcher Kettil Bruun as first holder.

20 years later it was once again time for a governmental alcohol policy committee to consider the role of alcohol research (SOU 1994:24). The main reason to re-examine alcohol research at that time was the impending entry into the EU. The alcohol policy model that had been designed during the 1970s and 1980s rested largely on social science and on epidemiological research that led to the formulation of the so-called "total consumption model," which argued that, in the absence of measures like the individual ration-book, heavy drinking would only be controlled by keeping down the volume of drinking in the whole population. This in turn motivated a universal and generally restrictive preventive alcohol policy, mainly based on limiting availability through state monopolies, high prices, and disallowing any private profit motive (the 'disinterest principle'). The impending EU accession worried Swedish politicians, not least because several key parts of the alcohol policy

that rested on the total consumption model were threatened. Alcohol research was highlighted as an important instrument, both to show that the Swedish restrictive alcohol policy was effective, but also in order to find what were called compensatory alcohol policy measures. It was envisioned that some important elements of the Swedish alcohol policy model could not be defended in the context of the EU single market (such as the monopolies of production, export, import and wholesale), and that it was therefore necessary to formulate new measures compatible with EU requirements.

The future of alcohol research was considered so important that, in addition to the alcohol policy committee, a special alcohol research investigation was conducted and its proposal submitted in 1995, the same year that Sweden joined the European Union (Alkoholforskningsutredningen 1995). On the basis of the investigation's proposals, The Centre for Social Research on Alcohol and Drugs (SoRAD) was formally established in 1997 as an interdisciplinary research centre within the Faculty of Social Sciences at Stockholm University. SoRAD became active in the spring of 1999, when professor Robin Room took up his position as its first director.

The Centre was thus set up following the recommendation of the alcohol research investigation. Already prior to this, Sweden



"Crayfish demand such beverages!" Poster supporting a forceful NO! in the 1922 referendum. (Albert Engström, from Wikipedia)

had conducted a substantial amount of social research on alcohol, but it was decentralized and sporadic with no career possibilities and increasingly in the shadow of biomedical research. The 1995 report pointed out the need to strengthen and coordinate efforts in social research related to alcohol with a national institute for social research, similar to those in Norway and Finland. The establishment of

SoRAD as a national centre not only marked the political administration's emphasis on scientific, evidence-based policies, but demonstrated simultaneously the view that credible research is best performed by independent scientific bodies. The different committees and investigations did not consider research on illicit drugs; however, when SoRAD was established they were included as a part of its tasks.

Apart from Robin Room, the first staff of SoRAD emanated from the Department of Sociology, with Professor Eckart Kühlhorn, and from the Department of Criminology, with Dr Börje Olsson, later a professor, and after Room's retirement, SoRAD's director. The Department was able to benefit from the large networks of these three people in the recruitment of researchers. SoRAD started out with only two professors, two researchers, two research assistants and two visiting researchers, but it soon grew. In 2005, there were four fulltime professors (Kühlhorn, Olsson, Room and Romelsjö), one part-time visiting professor (Segraeus), eight researchers and 20 research assistants, of whom nine were PhD students. During these first years, SoRAD built up its capacities and gained a reputation in Sweden as a national research centre. It became involved in several comparative projects and established international collaborations.

The aims of the Centre, as formulated during the very first years, were: to stimulate and conduct social science research on alcohol and illicit drugs, including improving methods, increasing theoretical understanding and enhancing links to policy; to provide a nexus for interdisciplinary research training, research networks and collaborative studies in Sweden; and to serve as an interdisciplinary focal point in Sweden for collaboration on comparative and international projects.

While SoRAD's initial emphasis was on alcohol, reflecting the political background of its founding in the wake of the Alcohol Research Investigation and the fact that alcohol is a much bigger question, drugs have periodically taken a substantial share of research interests. The ups and downs have not only been caused by the interest of the researchers; in 2002, the Swedish Government set up its own drug coordinator office, and with this also came funding for drug-related research projects. The office was dissolved in 2008. From 2001 to 2005, the Centre also carried out studies on gambling, starting with an evaluation of the first Swedish state-owned casinos. From the beginning, the Centre was engaged in both qualitative and quantitative research that focused upon diverse topics, such as, 'Alcohol and drug use in youth cultures and subcultures,' 'Adult population use patterns and trends,' 'The social response to alcohol and drug problems,' 'Prevention and policy impact research' and 'Gambling problem studies.' Several of these projects were international and comparative.

Financially, SoRAD initially had two main pillars of funding support. The Swedish Council for Working Life and Social Research (FAS) gave core funding to last for 8 years, but did not play a major role in the development of the research programme. Secondly, the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health funded several longterm projects covering: alcohol and drug use patterns; perceptions of drinking and intoxication and prevention of problems among youth and young adults; surveys on drinking and drinking problems in the general population; and a study of the social ecology of the treatment system as a whole. This was accomplished by examining who came to treatment under what circumstances, in addition to treatment outcomes and their determinants, in a large sample of clients from both health and social treatment services. The initial projects were put forward by SoRAD at the invitation of the Ministry, identified by the senior researchers as core issues for a national centre. The only demand from the ministry was to integrate a gender aspect into the treatment system study. Thirdly, the Swedish National Institute of Public Health gave support for project planning, guest researchers and research conferences.

In 2000, SoRAD also took on a major monitoring function, the 'Alcohol purchase and consumption monitoring project.' There was an active internal discussion in SoRAD of the pros and cons of taking on such a task before

the Ministry started to fund the project. This funding provided a platform for SoRAD, both in terms of funding and data, proving fruitful in stimulating additional research projects. Nevertheless, it also absorbed resources with expectations from the funding agency for regular delivery of reports. In 2012, however, the monitoring project was redefined as not being a research project. It was moved outside of the university and the responsibility transferred to CAN (Centralförbundet för alkohol- och narkotikaupplysning).

In 2006, Robin Room left the post as head of the Centre, due to his approaching retirement age, and was replaced by Professor Börje Olsson. The change of directors coincided in time with the gradual withdrawal of FAS's core funding. Additionally, the projects funded by the Ministry, apart from the monitoring project, had come to an end, with the Ministry of Education insisting that it should be responsible for all government funding in a university environment. The role of the Swedish National Public Health Institute was redefined slightly to include less research funding, and university funding in the country was undergoing changes. The first financially secure years were followed by the less-predictable situation of a research unit substantially dependent on competitive short-term grants. SoRAD experienced what threatened to become a vicious circle: a shrinking core budget, the disappearance



The building is decorated with various works of art in line with its functionalist origin. (Photo: Mats Danielson)

of some senior researchers for economic or career reasons, fresh PhD students having to look for other jobs, fewer senior researchers to apply for new funding, and thus less funding and fewer staff.

## Current frame and programme of work – 2006–2014

After a couple of difficult years, the economic situation substantially improved again. Hard work with applications was rewarded. This also involved Robin Room, who maintained his contacts in the position of guest professor, and the two new professors, Jukka Törrönen and Jan Blomqvist, who replaced Kühlhorn and Room. Since the beginning of 2008, the Centre has been funded through two main sources. An annual core grant, renewable on a regular basis, is paid through the budget of the Faculty of Social Sciences at the University, amounting to approximately 25% of the Centre's budget. The remaining 75% is covered by

external grants, mainly from national research councils, but also from the EU's research programmes and national authorities. International funding has played and still plays some role: for instance, the National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism (NIAAA) has provided funding for a study on the effects of alcohol taxes and for research on alcohol-related mortality. A crucial element in the new era was the receipt of a 10-year Centre of Excellence grant and the research programme attached to it, 'Exclusion and inclusion in the late welfare state: the case of alcohol and drugs', which provided the resources to consolidate and develop the research even further. The Centre of Excellence grant has been funded by FAS (now Forte).

In mid-2012, Börje Olsson was succeeded by Jenny Cisneros Örnberg as director. After a period of down-sizing, staff numbers have been growing again and consist of three regular professors (Olsson, Blomqvist and Törrönen), two part-time visiting professors (Robin Room and Kerstin Stenius), nine senior researchers, eight PhD students, four research assistants and one administrator. After Blomqvist's retirement, Tomas Hemmingsson has been hired as professor of sociological alcohol and drug research.

SoRAD's basic research follows the broad mission statement of the first years. The researchers represent sociology, psychology, social work, criminology, economics, political science and history; the multi-disciplinarity found at SoRAD is a key strength. The Centre cooperates with departments within Stockholm University and elsewhere in Sweden. SoRAD has encouraged scientific exchange. Over the years, several of SoRAD's own researchers have spent time at foreign research institutions, and many national and international researchers have spent shorter or longer periods as visiting researchers at SoRAD. Cooperation around problem-oriented research is also established with several public organizations, such as the above-mentioned Swedish National Institute of Public Health, the Board of Health and Social Welfare and the National Board of Institutional Care. Internationally, SoRAD is active in several ongoing projects.

SoRAD's research has been organized under three thematic umbrellas, all relevant from a general perspective on alcohol and drugs as instruments and markers of marginalization and normalization: (i) consumption, problems and norms; (ii) alcohol and drug policy and its implications; and (iii) addiction and dependence -societal reactions, treatment and recovery processes. The themes are built up by a range of integrated subprojects, which in several cases concern more than one theme. The first theme, with its classical epidemiological focus, uses mainly internationally established public health measures and reasoning to study the links between population consumption and harms. The second theme reflects the fact that

SoRAD has an arms-length relation to the policy process; rather than developing or modelling implementation of policy measures, it analyses policy and looks at policy measures from a post-facto perspective. The third theme has predominantly taken the perspective of the individual citizens or vulnerable groups who are the targets of societal measures.

Research conducted within theme (i) studies levels and patterns of alcohol and drug use and their association with various related problems. Topics included are, for example, methodological analyses of various measures of drinking and harms, analyses of the links between alcohol-related problems and changes in consumption level and drinking patterns, and qualitative studies of the role of alcohol and drugs in people's lives. Another important area is population-level time—series analyses of the association between per capita consumption and alcohol-related harm in different countries and drinking cultures.

Under theme (ii), SoRAD studies the marginalization and normalization processes of the late welfare state from three perspectives: (a) how substance use is perceived and defined in the policy field, in the media and among the general population; (b) what kinds of system-level implications (including side effects, stigmatizing features) alcohol and drug policies, programmes and institutions have had and have; and (c) what kinds of concrete and

specific effects particular alcohol and drug policies have. Another important aspect is how women's and men's alcohol and drug use is defined, regulated and targeted in all of these research areas. Ongoing studies focus both upon the discursive level and upon performance in alcohol and drug policies. On the discursive level, tensions between public health and free-market policies in international, national and local alcohol policies are studied; the governing images of alcohol, drugs, tobacco and gambling in the media are investigated; the framing of alcohol policy programmes targeted to pregnant women is studied; and media discourse on (illegal) alcohol and drugs is analysed.

Theme (iii) focuses on: an analysis of the societal definitions of, and reactions to, problematic substance use, and how these have changed with changing societal conditions; historical and social-ecological studies of the help-system, with a special focus on processes of marginalization and integration; and studies of assisted and unassisted recovery processes from addiction problems, and of individual and contextual prerequisites for such processes. A strong ambition is to apply a comparative perspective and combine quantitative and qualitative methods. In the long term, the aim is to: develop models for the analysis of addiction and recovery and of the helping system and its functions; to contribute to debate about, and the development of, working societal interventions; and to throw light upon basic processes, for instance of inclusion and exclusion, in late modern society.

### A SoRAD culture

SoRAD has developed a specific working culture during the 15 years of its existence. A key feature is the ambition to promote a cross-disciplinary approach to social alcohol and drug research, including a strong ambition to mix methodological approaches. Although the research is organized into different themes, priority is given to cooperation across themes; thus, bringing researchers with different perspectives and methods together is regarded as important.

Several means are used to support crossdisciplinary work. It is possible to raise a wide range of topics during SoRAD's seminars, from general theoretical work to an open discussion on concrete research issues, e.g. how to proceed with a work in progress. In addition to the internal seminar series, there is also a tradition of inviting external researchers, often people who are visiting SoRAD, to give seminars. Contacts with researchers from outside the addiction field are regarded as important for the theoretical and methodological development of the Centre. As one example, in spring 2009 a seminar around inclusion and exclusion in the Swedish society was arranged, with invited researchers on welfare state economics and the role of the third sector in the Swedish welfare system. More recent examples of seminars are: Professor Geoffrey Hunt from Aarhus University and the Institute for Scientific Analysis, San Francisco, talking on "Conceptualizing Ethnicity in Alcohol and Drug Research" as well as Professors Suzanne Frazer and David Moore from the National Drug Research Institute, Curtin University, Australia presenting their thoughts on "Remaking addiction".

SoRAD also has a tradition of stimulating attendance at national or international scientific meetings and collaborative projects. Since 2005, SoRAD has arranged a yearly national research meeting within a network called the Swedish Social Science Network for Alcohol and Drug Research (SONAD). SONAD aims at forging and strengthening relationships between social science researchers in the field from all over Sweden by arranging yearly twoday conferences in different Swedish research settings. The conferences include research presentations and workshop meetings on various topics, e.g. epidemiology, youth, policy, gender and treatment. In a parallel initiative, SoRAD was in 2012 granted funding by Forte (formerly FAS) to arrange network meetings for Swedish researchers within the gambling field. The purpose with the Gambling Research Network (GARN) is to develop a national base and meeting place where both young and more experienced researchers within the gambling field can meet. The network organizes two meetings a year.

The SoRAD staff is also represented in the yearly research meetings arranged by the Swedish Association for alcohol and drug research (SAD), as well as in most meetings for Nordic researchers arranged by the Nordic Welfare Centre (formerly the Nordic Council for Alcohol and Drug Research [NAD]). Many SoRAD researchers attend the annual meetings of the Kettil Bruun Society for Social and Epidemiological Research on Alcohol (KBS), the most important international scientific meeting in the area of social alcohol research.

Swedish social research in the alcohol and drugs field has its roots in the Nordic critical traditions established in the 1950s and 1960s by sociologists, criminologists, statisticians and psychologists. The multi-disciplinary approach was supplemented with comparisons, first within the Nordic countries, and later more broadly. The work conducted at SoRAD has no clear political or bureaucratic constraints and is best described as led by science and scholarship more than by direct political usefulness. The intellectual independence of research from government is emphasized and well-respected by decision-makers. SoRAD clearly has a different role from, for instance, that of the Swedish National Institute of Public Health. As noted, the direct financial role of the government in funding the Centre has also decreased since the early years.

With the establishment of SoRAD, the bio-medicalization of Swedish alcohol research was at least temporarily balanced (Midanik 2006); but the challenge remains for SoRAD, as for other social science and humanities institutes and departments, to compete effectively in the increased competition for research funding with basic and biomedical research. The prevailing research policy proposes a system where university grants will be dependent upon external funding and upon publication in journals with high impact factors, which alcohol and drug research journals generally do not have. For a research field which lies within applied social science, and which has a role as a national research centre, this is a considerable threat - even in a country where concern over alcohol and drug problems is high.



This chapter on SoRAD builds i.a. on (Stenius et al. 2010).

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## Stockholm Centre for Organizational Research

Christina Garsten

IN TIMES OF marketization, privatization, Europeanization, and globalization – whither the Swedish public sector? This question has occupied social scientists across disciplines for decades now, and continues to do so. The public sector is far from an ossified, stable unit of analysis — on the contrary, it offers rich opportunities for discovery, bewilderment, and surprise. Moreover, it provides ample material for the empiricist to dive into, and is fertile ground around which to organize research.

In this chapter, I will first provide a brief sketch of the beginnings of Score, and then move on to reflect on the passion for 'organizing' that lies at the heart of the research activities of the centre, but I will also provide some thoughts on the organization of the research centre itself. The continuous balancing act of exploration and exploitation in research, and the evaluative ethos, will be discussed. Last but not least, I will dwell on the multidisciplinary composition of Score, which is the lead signature of

'the score' that makes up academic life at the research centre.

## Zooming in on the public sector

The public sector, and its relation to the private sector and transnational influences, has been placed under the magnifying glass in Score's research ever since 1992, when the centre was first created. When the centre celebrated its 20th anniversary in 2012, we could look back on two decades of research concerning the transformation of the public sector. Score has now grown into an adult in the institutional landscape of the university, having been shaped by scholars at Stockholm University and the Stockholm School of Economics who have been engaged in the centre, and having made its mark on the academic community.

Score's mission is to conduct basic research on public sector management and change. The public sector in Sweden, as in many other coun-

tries, has been undergoing tremendous change over the last decades. The boundaries of the public sector itself have changed, with changing interfaces between the state, the market and the voluntary sector, and new forms of partnerships and collaboration appearing. This applies most visibly to the provision of welfare services, where the state is facing competition from a number of organizations, corporate or civil society based. The public sector has also been exposed to Europeanization and other transnational influences. A large part of the public sector is now intertwined, as regards practices as well as guiding ideas, with transnational organizations such as the European Union. Norms and rules for how the public sector should be organized have changed accordingly.

Research on the public sector must take these trends into account and should ideally include a range of issues wider than those directly relevant to the public sector in a specific nation-state at a given time. In Score's research it is emphasized that public sector development and design should be understood in relation to its history, to society in general, and to the development of other states and international organizations. The idea is that it is through a broadening of the scope that we can reach a better understanding of the public sector's changing forms of governance. This applies as well to the understanding of new and emerging forms of regulation, changing ways of welfare

provision, new modes of evaluation, changing conditions for democracy, the forms of accountability required, and how and why relations between states, and between state and citizens, develop in a certain way.

Score emerged out of an initiative in connection with the 1989 research policy proposition (Prop. 1989/90: 90). The Social Democratic Government saw a need to stimulate knowledge around the new management, control and evaluation systems that were emerging in the wake of ongoing structural change and demands for the renewal of the public sector. Recognizing the regionally scattered and discipline-based research in this area, the need for a long-term programme of independent basic research on the public sector was acknowledged. The proposition was written in the context of a research policy debate on the advisability and feasibility of organizing research so that it, without sacrificing academic quality and longterm knowledge, could overcome the divisions that characterized existing research in the field in order to meet the needs for more integrated understanding of the public sector. A rising share of externally funded research at universities and colleges also raised the question of the balance between fixed and variable resources, and posed the question of how the provision of knowledge to policy and reform of the public sector could and should be catered to. Against this background, the government in May 1990



The Score building in *Kräftriket* was formerly part of the old Veterinary College, explaining the dogs as decorative elements on its wall. (Photo: Ingrid Nordling)

assigned a special investigator to prepare a proposal for the organization of a research programme on the public sector.

After a referral treatment, the government, now a conservative coalition, presented its proposal to the Parliament in the proposition 'Research on the public sector' (Forskning om den offentliga sektorn; Prop. 1991/92:16). The proposition was based on a combination of concentration and dispersion of efforts and a

balance between fixed and variable resources. After approval by the Parliament, the government decided in December 1991 to make 17.5 million SEK available for the implementation of a research program on the public sector. It was suggested that resources be concentrated to the formation of two multidisciplinary centres, one (SCORE) at Stockholm University and Stockholm School of Economics, and the other at the University of Gothenburg (CEFOS). To com-

plement these, funds would also be allocated via the Swedish Research Council (Vetenskapsrådet) to major research programmes of national scope, which would allow researchers from universities across the country to participate in the development of knowledge in the field. Funds were also allocated to SCAS (Swedish Collegium for Advanced Sciences) with the aim of strengthening a research programme on the renewal of the public sector. The Swedish Research Council was given the mandate to evaluate the centres and the programmes after 12 years. It was hoped that this investment would contribute to create fertile conditions for long-term, innovative and internationally strong research on the public sector. This initiative, and the continued support from both Stockholm University and Stockholm School of Economics, provided a fertile basis on which to cultivate and nurture long-term, basic research on the organization of the public sector.1

## Experimenting with 'organization'

At the core of Score's research activities is organization theory. Scholars at Score share a deep-seated curiosity about social organizing in the broadest sense. More specifically, re-

searchers at the centre share a curiosity for the modes of organizing that characterize the state apparatus and its interfaces with private and civil society organizations. Score in itself resembles a laboratory of ideas, a place where new combinatory exercises are continuously tested out, not randomly, but informed by our disciplinary heritages, concepts, and methods. Historical institutionalism has a strong foothold here, as has Weberian organization theory and social constructionism. Most influential, however, has been the influx of 'new institutional theory,' in its Scandinavian version. This theoretical strand has had the capacity to hook on to established disciplinary theories in innovative ways, and to provide a common ground for discussion and interpretation. In a general sense, new institutional theory is attentive to the assemblages of ideas and norms in which organizing processes are embedded and recognizes the creative interplay between the organization and its environment. In the evaluation that the Swedish Research Council conducted of Score and other programmes in the original funding scheme of 1991, it was recognized that new institutional theory had come to characterize much of Score's research (Vetenskapsrådet 2003). To some extent, this theoretical strand has developed into the 'Score lingo' that practically all Score researchers recognize (but may not altogether align themselves with). This does not mean, however, that the different theo-

<sup>1</sup> The first director of Score was Björn Wittrock (1992–1994), followed by Kerstin Sahlin (1994–1998), Christina Garsten (1999–2003), Rune Premfors (2003–2009) and Staffan Furusten (since 2009). The first chair of the Executive Board of Score was Nils Brunsson (1992–2008), succeeded by Ulrika Mörth (2009–2011) and Christina Garsten (since 2011). The chair of the Score Advisory Board is Lars Engwall.

retical preferences have joined into a unified choir. On the contrary, the content of normative influences upon organizations, the extent of change, and the modalities of power are oftentimes hotly debated, by way of the optics provided by varying theoretical perspectives. Above all, Score remains a space for experimentation in and with organization theory, and how it may, or may not, interlink with other theoretical perspectives.

Whilst Score is a place in which to experiment with organization theory, its internal organization has also been experimented with. Over the years, the Score community of scholars has tried different ways of organizing research: in networks, research themes, and along research projects and programmes. In the first few years, the centre had a network-like organization, with looser constellations of researchers gathering around central research themes. Each network was coordinated by a research director, who took the lead in organizing seminars workshops, research funding applications, and the like. The early research directors, Göran Ahrne (sociology), Nils Brunsson (business administration, also the first Chair of the Executive Board of Score), Bengt Jacobsson (business administration), Rune Premfors (political science, also the holder of the then newly instigated professorship) and Kerstin Sahlin (business administration, also then the director of the centre), were vital to

the energetic start of Score, and for its continuation. Their curious spirit, verve, and complementarity have made a strong imprint on the centre.

As Score's research focus shifted along with that of scholars, it was decided in 1999 to organize it more tightly around research themes. The idea was that research themes would reflect central research foci, around which researchers would gather. Rather than clearly bounded groups, the idea was that they should be permeable and open to whoever wanted to partake. Even so, they provided a tighter form of organizing than did the looser network constellations, in that resources were allocated to themes and funding applications more directly linked to overarching themes.

Research themes are relatively long-lived, generally lasting for some five to seven years, or until it runs out of steam. Also, Score's research today is focused around core research themes; Organizing Knowledge; Organizing Markets; Democracy and Organization, and Rule Setting and Rule Following. Research themes have provided a degree of stability and long-term vision to research activities. Moreover, they have worked as 'communities' in the sense that a single scholar has most often been able to connect to one or more research themes, and to find a larger collective of interested colleagues in this context. For a dedicated scholar, the value of a likewise dedicated



Christina Garsten, Ulrika Mörth, Rune Premfors and Nils Brunsson receive Royal visitors to Score in 2012. (Photo: Ingrid Nordling)

group of colleagues is paramount. On the downside, research themes, while permeable and heterogeneous, nevertheless have a tendency to construct boundaries around themselves, and of contributing to 'groupthink' (Janis 1972). The flip side of groupthink is that innovation may get inhibited by tendencies to homogenization and isomorphism – processes of which organization scholars are well aware, at least in theory.

As every social scientist would know, there is an ever-present tendency to institutionalization and inertia in most social groupings – so also at Score. Organizations are havens for ritualistic practices, for the construction of taxonomic systems, and for the crafting of cosmologies in ways that make them amenable to analysis. Academia is, as we know, ripe with rituals and ceremonies. As richly described by Gerholm and Gerholm (1992), Ehn and Löf-

gren (2004) and Beecher (1989) among others, central ingredients of academic life are the ritualized patterns of interactions that provide continuity and predictability in the environment, and that confer key values onto its members. The research seminar, the peer review process, the doctoral defence, and the lecture, are examples of such rituals.

At Score, not only have scholars studied and written about the rituals of the Swedish Government Office, of the EU bureaucrats in Brussels, of auditors and evaluators, and of management consultants, but they have as well been prone to developing their own social rituals and organizational patterns. Rituals that have acquired a particular social value for Score are the weekly Thursday seminar, the coffee break, the Crayfish party, and perhaps most of all, the habit of bringing a piece of kitsch art to the (by now pretty impressive) kitsch collection. Thursdays, with the staff meeting and the seminar in the morning, and the coffee break in the afternoon, are 'Scoredays,' when most of the associated scholars show up. Since many scholars share their affiliation at Score with a tenured or temporary teaching position in one of the 'mother departments' (i.e. departments/subjects represented at Score: business administration, political science, social anthropology, sociology, and economic history), the building is not always teeming with people. Nevertheless, on Thursdays, it is.

Since Score's early days, the research seminar has been the central node around which research discussions, debates, and reviewing have oscillated. This is also the space for contentions of disciplinary identities and boundary work (more on this below).

As Ehn and Löfgren point out (2004:96), the research seminar is not only a ritual, it is also an important academic arena, where people meet, discuss, project themselves, as well as observe and evaluate each other. The seminar has its particular dramaturgy and choreography. Score seminars tend to be lively, with shorter presentations of on-going and planned research, and scholars eagerly throwing themselves into the discussion. Most comments tend to be geared towards the constructive, with the aim of providing concrete advice as to how the paper, the book chapter draft, or the research project can be improved. Some comments, however, turn into lengthy digressions about how the topic has (after all) been treated in the discipline of the commentator, hence pointing to alternative (and explicitly or implicitly more fruitful) ways to treat the topic. But most of all, Score seminars are characterized by a genuine curiosity towards what one's colleagues are up to, and what appears to be coming out of it.

At the regular Thursday afternoon coffee break, new associates and visiting scholars are introduced, birthdays are celebrated, book releases are announced, and scholars leaving the centre are thanked. The seminar, the coffee break, and other social events constitute integrative rituals and arenas that provide a punctual and cyclical stability to the working week and the academic year. For an academic community that is partly dispersed, in this sense an 'imagined community' (Anderson 1983), these rituals fulfil important functions. Whilst scholars may be absent during parts of the week, working in their respective 'mother-departments', doing fieldwork, or attending meetings elsewhere, they do their best to show up on these occasions. It is partly through these rituals and arenas that a sense of community is manifested to the associated scholars themselves and to visitors. It is at these events that what is talked about as the 'Score spirit' (Scoreandan) materializes.

## Exploration, exploitation, and the evaluative ethos

One of the founding fathers of organization theory in its present shape, James G. March, has suggested that organizations oscillate between two kinds of activities: exploration and exploitation. Part of the appeal of that insight is that it addresses a key organizational challenge – deciding between how to prioritize between present and future. Pursuing exploitation activities implies a focus on the 'refinement and extension of existing competencies, technologies and paradigms,' while an explora-

tion focus indicates 'experimentation with new alternatives' (March 1991: 85). Exploitation is necessary for improving current activities and/ or making the best out of what is at hand. Results are likely to be near-term and positive. Exploration, on the other hand, is more likely to yield the next breakthrough idea, product, or market, but returns on exploration are less certain and more distant in time.

As Carroll (2012) points out, although exploration and exploitation are both important to organizational performance, most organizations would like to be able to pursue each type of activity at the same time. Doing both simultaneously can, however, be difficult. For one thing, each approach can become self-reinforcing. Exploration, for example, is by its very nature variable and prone to failure. Research is by definition a risky enterprise. Most often, research applications fail, and when they succeed, one cannot guarantee that the project will yield substantially new or surprising results. This is the nature of research. The organization may fall prey to the 'failure trap' - always looking for the next great thing. In the case of a research centre such as Score, there is potentially a danger that one becomes overly alert to new priority areas as defined by research funding agencies, or prone to adapt tactically to university politics. Organizations eager to promote exploration before exploitation may pay the costs of experimentation

without gaining the benefits. Conversely, since an exploitation approach is more likely to yield early successes, these can reinforce the pursuit of similar efforts, creating a 'success trap.' While this promotes stability and continuity, it also keeps the organization from finding new opportunities. For research centres like Score, it might for example be comfortable to stay within established core research areas, to pay less attention to complexity, contradictions, and challenges in the field, or to stick to one's disciplinary habits.

Another challenge to pursuing both exploration and exploitation simultaneously is that resources may be, and often are, limited. Providing more resources in one area means that other areas become less well resourced. Especially in situations where the need for either exploration or exploitation seems more pressing, the lure of prioritizing one over the other may become too great to resist. Oftentimes, it is more secure to rest on one's laurels than to think anew. Prioritizing to invest in a new research theme is a 'costly' and risky endeavour. Who knows what may come out of it? Most probably, the primary value of the original governmental decision in 1991 to promote research in the area of the public sector was to allow and secure space for experimentation and exploration, to recognize that research is a long-term investment and, by its very nature, a risky endeavour.

The formation of Score has largely coincided with a formidable advancement of an 'evaluative ethos' and 'audit culture' in academia at large (see e.g. Strathern 2000). This ethos and culture has also rubbed off on the research activities of Score. The evaluative ethos transpires in the frustrations and joys connected to refusal or acceptance of external research funding, a journal publication, or a book contract, all the more so since Score's research and the engagement of scholars have been largely dependent on getting external research funding. Applying for research funding constitutes a major activity at Score, and engages practically all scholars and administrative staff. Drafts are aired in seminars and workshops, colleagues are asked to review them, and new constellations of scholars are tried out continuously. The bright side of this preoccupation is that it provides a continuous exercise in the craft of writing grant applications, in articulating project ideas, and in putting the various disciplinary theories and methodological toolkits to use. The darker side is that the future careers of younger, non-tenured researchers may be dependent on external funding, which feeds anxiety and promotes a short-term perspective. In the long-run, one might contend that Score scholars have become savvy in the art and craft of grant writing, and in making strategic use of the multidisciplinary platform. This, in itself, may promote exploration of new research questions, but conversely,

it may also lead to exploitation of established knowledge.

Li Benich-Björkman writes in her book on innovative and stagnating research environments, 'Organising Innovative Research' (1997), that the advancement of management, control and evaluation in research policy risks undermining the local social processes of dialogue and communication that are so vital in the creation of well-functioning research environments. These processes build on trust and confidence, and such dimensions of social interaction are vulnerable to the evaluative ethos. A one-sided focus on evaluation and audit can easily hamper creativity and innovation by eliminating trust. As Stefan Svallfors poignantly points out in his book 'Kunskapens människa' (2012: 99, my translation), "research policy may easily destroy environments, but not as easily create them". Svallfors, too, sees the promotion of an evaluative ethos in research policy as risking to enhance fragmentation of research activities and to undermine collegiality. For a research centre such as Score, that relies heavily on external funding and where temporary research positions are the norm, these risks are constantly lurking, mixing with the rewards of succeeding: in getting the grant, getting the article published, or being 'recognized' in some other way. Learning to balance the short-term continuous evaluative practice, and the ethos with long-term community building and investment in younger scholars, is crucial.

In today's research climate, 'excellence' has achieved a pivotal position as a goal for research. No policy programme would go against the promotion of excellence, in the sense of high academic productivity of internationally recognized research results. "'Excellence' is the holy grail of academic life", in Michèle Lamont's words (2009:1), and "mediocrity is tolerated only in practice", as Ehn and Löfgren have it (2004:142). Bennich-Björkman (1997) discovered that what characterizes departments that are considered innovative is their focus on collaboration, disciplined individualism and a collective sense of community. In addition, the leadership of such a department is clear and inspiring. There is a large scope for discussion and intense communication around research. This does not mean that conflicts do not exist, but they are not allowed to paralyze the activities of the department. In Bennich-Björkman's view, excellence takes long-term planning, a great portion of patience, and a tolerance for setbacks on the way. The built-in risks and uncertainties of research make predicted outputs difficult to calculate. Hence, a leap in the direction of exploration is the only way forward.

#### Besides academic tribes and territories: multidisciplinarity

Research policies have over the last forty years grappled with the challenge of striking a balance between the need to maintain depth by way of

discipline-based research, and the need for collaborative and multidimensional attempts at grasping complex societal problems. The discipline-based notion of the ivory tower has been poised against the image of the university as a multidisciplinary agora. Since the early 1970s, however, trans- and multidisciplinary research has gradually been promoted as desired modes of doing research (Sturesson et al. 2002). In the government proposition of 1991/92 (Prop. 1991/92:16, my translation), it was stated that there is "a silent advance of institutionalized multidisciplinary research taking place". It is also maintained that "the development of multidisciplinarity constitutes an important part of the revitalization of universities". As is evident from calls for applications in the major research councils at national and European levels, a multidisciplinary approach is nowadays almost a necessity to be able to get funded by the larger funding schemes. In a general sense, multidisciplinarity has been seen as integral to the promotion of larger collaborative research collectives, and more specifically to the promotion of academic 'excellence'. The message of research policy is that by way of collaborative efforts among disciplines, research groups may enhance possibilities for grasping multifaceted problems, promote novelty, and contribute more distinctly to policy and industry development.

Score is itself largely an offspring of the promotion of multidisciplinarity, and as such an

interesting case with which to grasp some of the challenges and opportunities attached to it. As pointed out by Bailey (1977) and Beecher (1989), academia is populated with its own 'tribes', disciplines, which develop their particular 'folklore' and work to cultivate, articulate, and defend their 'territories' that are their own disciplinary knowledge and expertise. What are the relations between the academic cultures (the 'tribes') and their disciplinary knowledge (their 'territories') involved at Score? And what goes on besides the more clear-cut disciplinary tribes and their territories, in the realm of the multidisciplinary?

Multidisciplinarity can be a vital stimulus to new research insights, but it also provides a source of continuous contestation. The research seminar, as the backbone of departmental discussion and review practices, is a central arena where this contestation takes place. At Score, it took a long time to disentangle and sort out the meaning of terms like 'institution', 'organization' and 'norm', as they were understood in the various disciplines, and even longer to figure out a way to use them that could work across disciplinary talk. The taken-for-granted assumptions so common in established disciplines were (and are) are still in use, leaving colleagues from other disciplines confused or annoyed at the concepts, terms and phrasings used. Misunderstandings were ubiquitous. As taken-for-granted assumptions were lacking in

precise meaning, a presentation was, at times, left in contention (cf. Messer-Davidow et al. 1993:19). Occasionally, the unquestioned usage of concepts left a thin layer of unquestioned agreement, shadowing underlying conflicts around assumptions and meanings. On the other side, deconstruction and experimentation with the meanings of taken-for-granted and ossified notions have often opened up new perspectives on old problems, and as we know, even misunderstandings can be creative. More to the point, the multidisciplinary composition of Score has contributed to spur interest around central disciplinary concepts and perspectives, and pushed the representatives of each discipline to read up on theory and method and polish their arguments.

The hybridity of multidisciplinary areas of research is at once their strength and a continuing source of difficulty. Part of the difficulty stems from the impossibility of doing everything (cf. Thompson Klein 1996: 58). The multidimensional nature of the public sector, its many facets of activity, its continuous change, and the many ways in which it could, and should, be studied provide an ever-present source of frustration. Awareness about the theoretical strands available in adjacent disciplines, and knowledge about the possibilities of using alternative methods, may at times open up a Pandora's box of infinite possibilities, risking to lead nowhere. The response to this opening up of a pa-



To the left: Kristoffer Strandqvist, Liv Fries and Karolina Windell. To the right: Mattias Viktorin and Göran Sundström. (Photo: Ingrid Nordling)

lette of theoretical and methodological tools at times results in innovative ideas and approaches, but may also impede disciplinary rigour.

I believe what working in a multidisciplinary environment essentially does to the academic scholar is to encourage a sharpening of the ear, the voice and the argument. When this works, it provides a richer repertoire of skills to the academic role. In any case, it stimulates and forces a sharper articulation of what the specific disciplinary perspective on a particular problem might be, and what the value of using a particular method should be. How, for example, are we to understand, sociologically, the de- and re-regulation of the Swedish labour market? How are we to make political science sense of audit society, systems of ranking, voluntary standards for transnational corpora-

tions, or management models? What can anthropological perspectives and ethnographic research methods contribute to those of other social science approaches? And how can the discipline of management assist us in shedding light on management models in the public sector? In such cases, multidisciplinarity works as well as a disciplinary stimulus, encouraging disciplinary articulation through contestation. It evokes in the scholar a drive to describe, explain and argue for the relevance of his or her disciplinary basis, and to enquire into the advances and promises of others.

All of these processes take place at the interface of the disciplines – they are a form of boundary work. They work to articulate and question disciplinary boundaries at the same time as they strengthen them. Across boundaries, the particular 'Score spirit,' with its associated Score lingo, has developed. The Score lingo is composed of the recognition of particularly pertinent concepts, of relevant references to academic works, and a plethora of influential names. In this sense, an academic research centre resembles any kind of professional community in the development of a particular ethos and vocabulary (cf. Traweek 1992).

This promotion of multidisciplinarity is, however, not by definition conducive to the career advancement of younger scholars. Research careers, promotion procedures, and tenured academic positions are still, to a large extent, built on disciplinary bases, perhaps more so in Sweden than in many other European countries. Despite the ode to multidisciplinarity that is proclaimed in research policy, it is still the fact that a recently graduated PhD in political science, sociology, social anthropology, business administration, or whatever discipline that is relevant, needs to develop his or her disciplinary research excellence to be able to advance. This double message – with a unidisciplinary basis for the structural organization of research careers on the one hand and multidisciplinarity policy emphasis on the other – remains for many a puzzle, if not in terms of vision, then at least in terms of actual practice.

The rewards of working in a multidisciplinary environment are paired with the puzzle of how to advance one's academic career whilst working at Score. Over time, some general patterns can be discerned. In the evaluation of the entire research programme on the public sector made by the Swedish Research Council (Vetenskapsrådet 2003), Score has been recognized as playing an important role as a steppingstone and breeding ground for younger scholars with recent PhD degrees. This is made possible primarily by way of participation in externally funded research projects and by gaining experience that allows them to become project leaders and secure their own funding and research base. This opens up time for advancement in research and in publishing, and



Given the distance to the main University building, a bicycle has been handy for Score staff. (Photo: Ingrid Nordling)

also opens up a wide network of thematically linked scholars, nationally and internationally. Moreover, it opens up for extensive contacts with practitioners in the field of policy, in the public sector and more broadly. On the other hand, young scholars are also pressured by

dual belongings, to Score and to their mother department, doubling up of seminars and staff meetings, and jugging teaching with research. In most cases, scholars have learned how to deal with this situation in successful or reasonably decent ways. In some cases, scholars have chosen to concentrate their energies on their disciplinary milieus.

Multidisciplinarity is thus both a blessing and a curse, a springboard and an impasse – and for most people, somewhere in between. The rewards in terms of a broadening of perspectives and networks, the cross-fertilization of ideas, and the continuous learning exercise make it a worthwhile cause. The challenges of reconciling academic career development with multidisciplinary research engagement at the level of the individual academic have, however, not yet been entirely resolved.

# Concluding note: Curious minds and moving research targets

As described above, Score emerged out of a governmental initiative to promote long-term, multidisciplinary research on the management, control and evaluation of the public sector. The seeds provided by this initiative have now grown into a relatively mature research environment with its own distinctive ethos, profile and contribution. The trajectory of Score mirrors to a large extent the major developments in Swedish research policy over the last couple

of decades. As such, Score provides, in a sense, a peephole into the fortunes and failures of some dimensions of contemporary research policy. Our experiences of working in a multi-disciplinary environment may teach us something about its pitfalls and attainments.

As we know, research policy oriented to the promotion of large-scale research programmes, the tribute paid to multidisciplinarity, the search for 'excellence', or the elicitation of 'strategic profile areas' may well be important and fruitful in organizing research, but the outcomes are far from given. These depend to a large extent on practices at the local level, on the social processes that take place between people on the ground, as it were. New knowledge may be spurred by central initiatives, but it is gained, contested, and articulated at the level of practice. First of all, it takes a group of curious minds, a bundle of people sharing a curiosity for a particular phenomenon and open-minded enough to challenge, and be challenged by, other perspectives. It relies on the development and cultivation of relations of trust and confidence, and on a spirit of constructive criticism with collective responsibility that allows for exploration, boundary transgression, and risk-taking. The most fruitful research policy initiative is, in my view, the one that allows for the creation of a space for exploration. I believe this takes us back to the original idea of the university,

as a place for the cultivation of the general powers of the mind.



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# Stress Research Institute

Torbjörn Åkerstedt

THE STRESS RESEARCH Institute was founded in December 1959. The founder was a 29-year old newly-hired intern at the Department of Medicine at the Karolinska Hospital named Lennart Levi. Apart from his medical training, he also brought along ideas from his earlier studies in psychology. He was struck by the lack of interaction between the departments of psychiatry and medicine, despite the apparent need for psychological approaches in medical treatment. So he took it upon himself to bring such interaction about. He put up a small sign on his office door, proclaiming that behind the door resided the "Laboratory for clinical stress research".

Luckily, the endeavour received moral support from four Heads of Departments, Professors Ulf von Euler (physiology), Börje Cronholm, Henrik Lagerlöf (medicine) and Åke Swensson (occupational medicine). They also provided some support in the form of laboratory assistance. Further support came from the

National Labour Market Board in the form of temporary administrative assistance. The Head of the Board of Labour, Bertil Ohlson, early on realised the value of studying work-related stress.

The budding activity needed offices and laboratories and was at the start permitted to use the light-treatment facilities as well as the staff bathrooms of the Rheumatology clinic. After some time, these facilities were needed for regular hospital activities. The solution was borrowing a small potato field belonging to the Swedish Railways (SJ), close to *Karolinska Institutet*, in combination with a small pavilion set up by the Board of Labour and economically funded by the Swedish Army. Apparently these organisations realised the need for stress research and wanted to help.

With the assistance of the above mentioned organisations and the regular research funding bodies, a number of ground breaking studies were carried out. Many of these were inspired

by the findings of the Nobel Laureate Professor Ulf von Euler and his work on catecholamines. These and other dependent variables were used in laboratory studies on the effects of stressful movies, caffeine, 72-hour sleep deprivation, food restriction and so on. One could probably argue that this work with adrenaline and noradrenaline gave biological/medical support for stress research in general and lent medical respectability to this research area. Besides Levi, Lars Lidberg, Jan Fröberg, Claes-Göran Karlsson and Jan Palmblad are important names during this era. The experimental work was internationally acknowledged. During this time field studies of real-life work conditions also started to come about. Bengt Edgren was one of the key factors here.

In 1972, Levi presented his doctoral thesis 'Stress and Distress in Response to Psychosocial Stimuli – Laboratory and Real Life Studies on Sympathoadrenomedullary and Related Reactions' with Professor Gunnar Ström (Uppsala University) as first opponent and Professor Marianne Frankenheuser (*Karolinska Institutet*) as second opponent. The same year, Levi became docent of experimental psychosomatic medicine, and the following year he received docentship at the Swedish Medical Research Council. At the same time, the laboratory was appointed a WHO collaborative centre for research and training on psychosocial factors and health.

In the 1970s, the laboratory organised five week-long international symposia on 'Society, Stress and Disease' and published the proceedings in five volumes through Oxford University Press. These meetings brought together all the leading researchers of the world in the stress field. They had a profound impact on the field.

During this time new researchers were recruited who came to influence the image of the laboratory greatly. One such was Töres Theorell (MD, PhD) who brought new kinds of field studies to the Laboratory. He pioneered attempts to link psychosocial factors and health. His specialty was cardiology. In his collaboration with Robert Karasek, the two showed that the new concept of 'work demands', or 'work demands in combination with low influence at work', could predict new cases of cardiovascular disease. The combination of demands and influence was termed 'strain', today a very well established concept in psychosocial research and implementation. Also, other combinations of the variables were seen to be of importance. Thus, for example, when high demands occurred together with high work influence, there appeared to occur anabolic/growth effects. This possibility has, however, seen much less research than the high strain approach. These early seminal findings had a great impact on international research concerning psychosocial factors and health. The so-called 'demand/control' index has come

to dominate this type of research and to inspire similar measures, for example, the effort/ reward scale.

In the same time interval, another cardiologist was recruited - Kristina Orth-Gomér. One of her foci was social support. Her work with Theorell identified such support as a buffer factor against the effects of stress. Social support, therefore, came to be included in the demand/control/support scale. Orth-Gomér also linked these variables, and sleep, to detailed cardiovascular measures, which came to further support the stress-cardiovascular link. The demand/control model was demonstrated to be related to vascular elasticity, blood lipids and many other indicators of cardiovascular ill health. She also brought women more into focus in this area. Around this time, Torbjörn Åkerstedt was recruited. His central research interests were shift work and sleep. In particular, EEG laboratory studies of the time of day influences on sleep attracted attention, as did field EEG studies of night-driving train drivers, who fell asleep while driving the train.

In 1987, the work of the institute was evaluated by the former chair of the blue-collar workers' union, Gunnar Nilsson, and the Professors Kalle Achté in Helsinki and Björn Folkow in Gothenburg. Their conclusion was that the research was quantitatively and qualitatively impressive. They noted that it had resulted in a high international reputation and was one of

the world's leading units in this important, but difficult to research, area.

At the end of this period, the government took up a suggestion of organising a research institute – The Institute for Psychosocial Medicine (IPM) – reporting to the Ministry of Social Affairs. This government research organisation became administratively linked to *Karolinska Institutet*, (while still being independent). It also remained as the small Department of Stress Research within *Karolinska Institutet* with a shared director (Lennart Levi). This gave IPM an academic connection, which was strengthened by its professors being adjunct professors at *Karolinska Institutet* through this department.

The work at IPM inspired similar processes in the International Labour Organization (a United Nations organization), in collaboration with the American Surgeon General, and in the Soviet Academy of Sciences. In the early 1990s, the European Union followed. In the year of 2000, the European Commission published our work 'Guidance on Work-Related Stress – Spice of Life, or Kiss of Death' in five languages. This was used as a foundation for the general agreement between the social partners and had effects on several hundred thousand employees.

In 1995, Lennart Levi retired at the age of 65 and was succeeded by Töres Theorell, both as the head of IPM and of the Section for Stress Research at the Department of Public Health



The Stress Research Institute, embedded in the lush foliage of Frescati Hage. (Photo: Mats Danielson)

Sciences. Since the IPM was a government organisation, it was clearly affected by the developments in Sweden and in the governmental world at this time. The economic crisis during the first years of that decade carried with it cut-downs in the public sector and a number of structural changes in society. This was very obvious in the field research carried out by the institute, and stress increased con-

siderably. One clear trend was also an increase in the demands on reporting from government organisations to the ministries. Luckily, at this time, the IPM was reinforced by a very competent administrative head, Louise Nordenskiöld, who had ended her tour as director general of another government organisation.

The IPM had previously been organised into units for work environment, health care envi-

ronment, social environment, migration and suicide research. Unemployment was a central problem for the government and a special effort was made to organise a 'field station' for research in the small city of Falköping, with the intention to study effects and interventions to ameliorate the effects of unemployment. This unit was later turned into an independent organisation with a strong regional input.

There also came about discussions about changing name of the Institute. In particular, the name 'Stress Research Institute' was thought both very appropriate and closely reflecting the activities of the Institute. The old name was seen as a bit cumbersome and had difficulties getting established in the minds of the public, media and other government organisations. The board, however, turned this suggestion down because it thought that the stress concept suggested a focus on the individual both in terms in prevention and treatment. It was considered more important to focus on psychosocial processes, that is, on the interaction between the group and the individual.

Another important question that saw much discussion was to what extent the Institute should be focusing on research only or on other tasks more related traditional roles of government organisations (overseeing, information dissemination, etc.). It appeared that the employees considered themselves mainly as researchers and thought that the Institute should

remain a research organisation. It was deemed wise, however, to accept at least one task – to coordinate Swedish research on stress. For this reason, IPM took it upon itself to organise annual meetings for stress researchers. These became very successful and became an important forum for encouraging the exchange of views and knowledge between researchers and practitioners in the field.

Theorell, who had been linked to the Institute since before its inception, was also a professor and section head for stress research at Karolinska Institutet In addition, he was part-time head physician at the occupational medicine clinic at the Karolinska Hospital. This had an influence on a number of activities within the IPM unit for health care research. Clinical studies were focusing on high blood pressure, functional stomach problems, musculoskeletal symptoms, myocardial infarction, and psychiatric disease (including post-traumatic stress). IPM also participated in several governmental studies on work hours and public health work. Several academic as well as popular books were published, also internationally. Researchers from many parts of the world worked at the Institute - from Japan, the US, Canada, Germany, the UK, Italy, Austria, Brazil, Uganda and others.

From the lists of publications it is evident that epidemiology had received a strong position. Many of these were carried out in collaboration with the Working Life Institute, the Institute for Environmental Medicine at *Karolinska Institutet*, Occupational Medicine at the Karolinska Hospital and others. IPM contributed among other things its established questionnaires for measuring the psychosocial work environment, stress reactions and a set of physiological methods for measuring sleep, blood pressure and hormones (in blood, saliva and urine).

Many of the changes in society also appeared in the scientific publications. This includes the questioned 'Swedish model' effects of reductions in societal support as well as the reluctance in many quarters to discuss psychosocial factors.

Since the usefulness of many government organisations in the early 2000s was questioned, a government group made an analysis of the activity of IPM from 2004 to 2005. The conclusion by the government was to transfer IPM from being a government organisation to being an independent and fully financed unit at a university. Since IPM had been linked to Karolinska Institutet and since part of it already formed a section within the Department of Public Health Sciences, the original idea was to transfer IPM to that university. However, the projected budget consequences were extremely negative, because of the financing policies at that university. Therefore, discussions were taken up with the vice-chancellor of Stockholm University. These discussions landed in vastly more positive financial outcomes for IPM. It was thus agreed to

have IPM form a new research institute within Stockholm University.

The transfer was led by Louise Nordenskiöld as temporary head of the Institute (Töres Theorell had retired the year before) and was very successful. Already 9 months after the transfer, the personnel responded in a work environment survey that 84% were positive to the change. Torbjörn Åkerstedt became the new head of the Institute. At this point, the Institute also changed its name to the 'Stress Research Institute' to celebrate and emphasise its new life within Stockholm University. The new name rapidly caught on within the University, the research community and the media.

The first years were characterised by consolidation and refocusing research on the core areas of stress research. It was particularly important to replace the professors that had been lost due to retirement and to *Karolinska Institutet*. It was also important to ascertain the interdisciplinary approach and to bring up psychobiological research as a second pillar besides the dominating epidemiology. The Institute was focused on providing the theoretical bridge between psychosocial factors and biology/medicine in the development of disease. Three units were created: Epidemiology, Sleep and Psychoneuroimmunology.

The present frontline research focuses on stress, work, health and restitution and seeks to understand how various work-related factors



The seminar room: also a place for unstressing and informal conversations. (Photo: Mats Danielson)

influence health and well-being, as well as to investigate the psychological and biological stress mechanisms that link exposure to risk factors and health outcomes. The research at the Stress Research Institute comprises large-scale epidemiological studies, intensive field studies, brain imaging, and experimental laboratory studies, as well as interventions. A central hypothesis is that excessive stress may interfere with biological restitution during sleep, in turn leading to negative physiological and psychological effects. What aspects of sleep promote recovery? What

is the most problematic aspect of irregular work hours? Other questions concern the long-term consequences of stress. How do retirement and aging interact with stress and health? What defines the feeling of being ill and what are the links to inflammation?

A major event in the development during the last years was the award of 10 year funding for a centre of excellence regarding 'Interdisciplinary research on stress and health' by the Research Council for Work and Social Sciences (FAS, now Forte). The centre was named the

'Stockholm Stress Centre', with Torbjörn Åkerstedt as the director. It was initiated in 2009 and has its base at the Stress Research Institute, but also involves organizational/work psychology at the Department of Psychology at the University, as well as the Department of Clinical Neuroscience (the Divisions of Psychology and of Insurance Medicine) plus the Department of Public Health (Division of Occupational Medicine) at *Karolinska Institutet*.

The centre has significantly increased the research collaboration between the Stress Research Institute and *Karolinska Institutet*. There is now intense joint work on stress, sickness absence and disability pension, carried out together with the Division of Insurance Medicine by using the access of important registers provided by that division. Also, burnout and sleep problems are studied, with outcome variables in sickness absence, disability pension, mortality and metabolic diseases.

Two of the professors (Åkerstedt and Lekander) have their own research groups at the Department of Clinical Neuroscience (Division of Psychology). This makes possible major research efforts on sleep physiology as well as immunology and brain imaging. The latter also includes important collaboration with the Department of Psychology at the University (Professor Håkan Fischer) and has resulted in a consortium to address the issue of the 'sleepy brain'. Other important research partners at

Karolinska are Professors Nancy Pedersen (Department of Epidemiology), Lars-Göran Nilsson (Aging Research Centre), Laura Fratiglioni (Aging Research Centre), and Lars Alfredsson (Department of Environmental Medicine).

Stockholm Stress Centre has also been awarded funding (1 MSEK/year for 3-5 years) for a research school. This school is run in collaboration with the Centre for Health Equity Studies (CHESS) at the University (another FAS excellence centre) and the Centre for Research on Work and Musculoskeletal Problems at Gävle University College. This has a direct effect on the collaboration within the centre as well as the sister centres. It also further raises the quality of overall work in the centre because of the frontline knowledge that can now be disseminated to students through collaboration with leading international researchers that are invited to function as guest teachers for shorter periods.

Long term collaboration outside the SU/KI network also includes Professors Ann Hammarström and Ulf Janlert (Umeå University), with the latter mainly concerning life trajectory research. Our institute also collaborates intensely with the Swedish Road and Transport Research Institute on studies of sleepiness and risk during night-time driving in simulators and on real roads. The collaboration offers internationally unique possibilities of studying sleep, sleepiness and risk.



Former and present directors and co-directors of the Stress Research Institute, depicted at the 50 year jubilee of the Institute: Töres Theorell, Lennart Levi, Louise Nordenskiöld, Hugo Westerlund and Torbjörn Åkerstedt. (Photo: Johan Nilsson)

The Stress Research Institute also has a broad international interface. There is, for example, intense collaboration with the Finnish Institute of Occupational Health, involving important Finnish cohort research such as the Finnish Public Sector Study (Mika Kivimäki, Jussi Vahtera). This is also linked to the network IDEAR (Integrated Datasets across Europe for

Ageing Research) and individual pooled data on work (IPD work). The latter pools data for more than 100,000 individuals and provides unique possibilities for settling major research questions by using extremely large datasets. Our institute also collaborates with the Finnish Institute of Occupational Health on questions regarding sleep and shift work, formalised into



The Stress Research Institute maintains a focus on publishing. (Photo: Mats Danielson)

the network 'Working Hours in Nordic countries', IWINC. Other important collaboration activities involve Professor Manfred Scherdlowski, University of Essen. He is central in the formation of a European consortium for the study of the effects of inflammation on brain function. Collaboration is also intense with Professor Mike Barnett at the University of South-

ampton in an international project on 'Fatigue risk management at sea'. This also includes the Dalien University (China), the Warsash Maritime Academy (UK) and Professor Jörgen Riis at the University of Southern Denmark.

A research institute within a university should be leading in its field internationally. We believe this is the case for several of our key research areas, and this is evidenced in citations and symposia presentations. Thus, our work on sleep and stress has a world reputation. This is also the case for our work on working time and health, in particular shift/ night work. The Institute is also internationally leading in psychosocial work environment epidemiology. Professor Emeritus Töres Theorell is one of the pioneers in the area. The large international collaboration and a unique pooling of research data is very pivotal to this work. The nationally representative cohort study, SLOSH (Swedish Longitudinal Occupational Survey of Health), confirms the leading position of the Institute in this area. The research on psychoneuroimmunology, in collaboration with Karolinska Institutet is becoming internationally leading and recently organised the International Congress of the Society of Psychoneuroimmunology (PNIRS) in Stockholm.

In terms of publications, last year's level was 82 original papers (7.5 per PhD). Several of our publications have more than 100 citations and

our researchers are often invited to give keynote lectures and to arrange symposia at international congresses. Our research area and work also receives considerable attention in the public debate. The interest in questions regarding stress, sleep, work hours, and the work environment is extensive. During the last threeyear period, the senior researchers of the Stress Research Institute have appeared more than 2,800 times in the media and more than 3,000 individuals have visited us for the Stress Research Day that each year presents our research to the public. The Institute is also consulted for expertise by different government organisations and has contributed to three governmental expert committees in the area of treatment of sleep disorders, effects of stress on sleep, and the effect of psychosocial factors and health. The researchers also participate in teaching at Stockholm University and Karolinska Institutet. Recently the Institute, together with CHESS, was given the task to oversee the new research education area of public health science.

Most indicators point to an increased lack of labour in many areas in the future. The aging population will necessitate an extension of working life. This is likely to lead to questions of health at work increasing in importance, particularly in relation to the projected extension of the retirement age. Stress related problems will constitute a major part of this development. We believe that our

research area will increase in importance in society. Questions of work environment, work hours, stress, recovery from stress (sleep), aging, retirement and the meaning of health — all will increase in importance. This suggests that external financing should continue at a reasonable level and probably increase. The most important next steps in the development for the Stress Research Institute is to recruit research leaders able to form new research groups and to secure finance for the research activities.

The work of preparing the Stress Research Institute for the future is now led by Professor Hugo Westerlund, who took over as the new director in August 2013, at the end of the appointment period of Professor Torbjörn Åkerstedt.



Levi, Lennart 1972. Stress and Distress in Response to Psychosocial Stimuli – Laboratory and Real Life Studies on Sympathoadrenomedullary and Related Reactions, *Acta Medica Scandinavica*, Supplementum 528: 191.



# Swedish Institute for Social Research

Eskil Wadensjö

THE FORM OF the organization of research financed by the state differs markedly between countries. In some countries, like in Sweden, it is carried out mainly in universities, but in other countries the majority of institutions are outside academia. In Russia, social science and other research is carried out predominantly in separate research institutes. In Germany, the Max Planck Institutes are very important for social science research. It should be emphasized that, in addition to publicly funded research institutions, there are in most countries those that have their core funding through private sources.

The Nordic countries have different models. Norway has a large sector of publicly funded institutes outside the universities, while Sweden only has a small one. There is a trend towards more research being done at universities in the Nordic countries. In conjunction with a major university reform in Denmark a few years ago, several of the university inde-

pendent institutes have now instead become part of a university. One exception is the SFI (the Danish Centre for Social Research), which is largely engaged in research in the same fields as SOFI. SFI is still an independent institute. In Norway, the previously independent NOVA (Norwegian Social Research Institute) became part of the Oslo and Akershus University College of Applied Sciences from January 1, 2014. This could be part of a new development in Norway.

During the last decade some independent research institutes in Sweden have either been closed down, such as the Centre for Working Life Studies (*Arbetslivsinstitutet*), or become part of a university, such as the Stress Research Institute. That some institutes have been shut down or become part of a university does not mean that the number of institutes has decreased – on the contrary, the number of institutes is increasing, but usually as parts of universities. So what are the government's arguments for the

creation of new institutes? Why not just give the departments at universities more resources instead? The explanation is likely that the government wants to have more knowledge in some specific areas and therefore wants sector institutes, and that it wants more research in areas where the topic will be studied by several disciplines. The formation of institutes would thus be an effort to increase research in some areas and increase collaboration between different disciplines and even across faculty boundaries. There is a strong belief in the need for interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary research. The emergence of SOFI can be seen in this light. Arguments for linking these research institutes to universities perhaps above all reflect a double desire to ensure a synergy between research and teaching, and to see to it that sector research is of high scientific quality.

### The Social Science Research Institute – a forerunner

The two oldest institutes operating within the Faculty of Social Sciences at Stockholm University are IIES (Institute for International Economics) and SOFI. However, there have been other social science research institutes at Stockholm University (or rather its predecessor, the Stockholm University College – *Stockholms högskola*) long before the advent of IIES and SOFI. The most important precursor was the Social Science Re-

search Institute, which was founded by Gustav Cassel already in the early 20th century but gained momentum only when Gösta Bagge became professor of economics two decades later. Bagge was a very successful academic entrepreneur. He built up both the Social Science Research Institute and the Social Institute (the Institute for Social Policy and Local Government Education and Research), a professional educational institution that focused mainly on training personnel for a variety of municipal services, such as counsellors and municipal administrators. The Social Institute (Socialinstitutet) later received the name the School of Social Work (Socialhögskolan) and is now the Department of Social Work within the Faculty of Social Sciences at Stockholm University.

The Social Science Research Institute conducted primarily, but not exclusively, economic research. The development of the system of national accounts, macroeconomic theory, and demographics were important areas. Many scholars who later became well-known researchers of the so-called Stockholm School participated in the work.<sup>2</sup> Funding was primarily by the Rockefeller Foundation, an American research fund, and by that the re-

<sup>1</sup> See Andreen and Boalt (1987) for an interesting study of Bagge's efforts to start and develop the two institutes.

<sup>2</sup> See Jonung (ed.) (1991) for several contributions on the start and further development of the Stockholm School.

searchers participated in various functions in a comprehensive public inquiry, the Unemployment Commission.3 The Rockefeller Foundation had decided to build up European social science research and provided support to universities in several countries.4 Stockholm and the Social Sciences Institute received one of the larger grants. The largest went to LSE (London School of Economics) in London. The Rockefeller Foundation grants funded, for example, a new building for the institute's activities, which was inaugurated in October 1932 (the address was Odengatan 61, next to the Stockholm Public Library), and a social science library. 5 Gradually, the activities of the Institute became less extensive. Bagge came to devote himself to politics instead. He became leader of Högerpartiet (the conservative party) and cabinet minister in the coalition government during World War II. The Rockefeller Foundation was prepared to inject more funds into the institute, but the institute refrained from applying. The Social Science Research Institute was closed down and the different parts of the institute came instead to be part of various departments, and among other things, to form the foundation of the Department of Sociology.

#### **Institute for Labour Studies**

In 1966, the Swedish Parliament decided to grant funds for the formation of an Institute for Labour Studies. It became an independent entity formally and directly under the University Chancellor Board (UKÄ) but tied in various ways to Stockholm University. Rudolf Meidner, a noted economist working at LO, became its director. The Institute had a small budget but started nonetheless different ambitious projects such as the development of a very extensive bibliography regarding labour market research in Sweden and a series of lectures on the labour market issues that were open to the public and various research projects. Meidner was simultaneously chairman of EFA (The Expert Group for Labour Market Studies), which funded labour market research. There was a close cooperation between the two entities. In 1969, the Institute also started AKPA, a set of courses on the undergraduate level concerning labour market studies and personnel management. Arbetsgivaren (Swedish Employers' Association's Journal) had on February 21, 1968 a full-page article with the headline "Undergraduate course prepared in the Labour Institute's auspices." I will return to these activities in basic education later on.

<sup>3</sup> See Wadensjö (1991) for a presentation of how Bagge integrated the work in the Unemployment Commission with that in the Social Sciences Research Institute. The Unemployment Commission was active between 1927 and 1935.

<sup>4</sup> See Craver (1991) for a thorough study of the role of the Rockefeller Foundation for the development of the Social Science Research Institute.

<sup>5</sup> See Andreen and Boalt (1987) for a description of the four areas that the support from the Rockefeller foundation contributed to.

### A new institute with a broader mission

The Institute for Labour was small and started having serious problems when Meidner left the institute after a conflict with the government. Meidner was responsible for the governmental commission on low incomes (*Låginkomstutredningen*) when the minister who was responsible for labour issues within the government decided to close down the commission earlier than planned and before a planned final report was completed and published. Meidner was upset and did not just leave the governmental commission on low incomes but also the presidency of the EFA and the directorship of the Institute of Labour Studies. He returned to his former employer, LO.

An investigation into social policy research was commissioned by the Ministry of Education and carried out by Bo Södersten, professor of economics at the University of Gothenburg, who acted as secretary in the investigation, see (Utbildningsdepartementet 1971:4). It resulted in a professorship in social policy being established from January 1, 1972. This chair was to be added to a reconstituted and expanded Institute of Labour Studies named the Swedish Institute for Social Research (SOFI). The directorship that Rudolf Meidner left became a professorship in labour market policies, and the level of living standard research that had been started within the work of the governmental

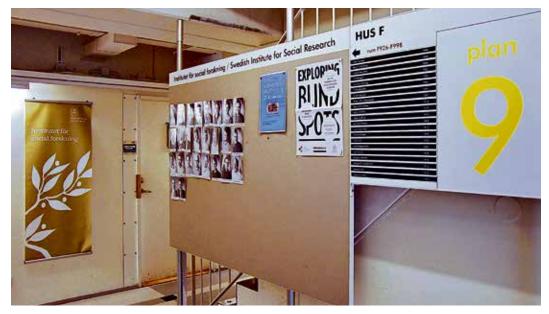
commission on low incomes was continued within the new institute. A position as associate professor in the level of living standard research was also set up.<sup>6</sup> The Institute came to administratively lie under UKÄ (University Chancellor Board). It was intended to in different ways interact with Stockholm University and the School of Social Work, not least regarding education. The importance of the role of professors in the supervision of research students was especially stressed.

Three professorships were simultaneously announced, but specified according to field of research and not according to discipline. Many people from different disciplines applied for the positions. The holders became: Gösta Rehn (labour market policy; economist), Walter Korpi (social policy; sociologist) and Sten Johansson (welfare and living standard research; sociologist). It was thus researchers in economics and sociology who became professors. That meant ultimately that SOFI became an institute where those who work as researchers are almost all from these two disciplines, even today.

## The gradual expansion of the Institute

During the 1970s, SOFI's budget allocation was too low compared to the purpose of the institute, according to SOFI's board. Instead,

<sup>6</sup> See Kungl. Majt:s propositions 1971:36 and 1971:41 for details.



Entrance to SOFI from the elevators, at the furthest end of Södra huset – at the 9<sup>th</sup> floor in Building F. (Photo: Mats Danielson)

additions to the activities came to a large extent via various external grants. SOFI's board therefore asked to get a budget increase of 50 percent in the budget process for the year 1978/79 to UHÄ (The Authority for Universities and University Colleges, the sequel to UKÄ). It did not receive such an increase. Instead, a public inquiry, the FOSAM investigation, was appointed. In February 1979 (DsU 1979:4), the committee came with a report that included a proposal for a major expansion, but also a radical reorganization of the SOFI. Ac-

cording to the proposal, SOFI would become an institute outside the university world and change its name to the Institute for Social and Labour Market Policy (ISAF). It would be headed by a director, having a very large board, accommodate the EFA secretariat, and manage research projects from the Swedish Inheritance Fund (*Allmänna arvsfonden*) and the Delegation for Social Research (DSF). Administration would become a very large part of the activities. Many of those who participated in the investigation in various functions made a reser-

vation or delivered separate opinions regarding this proposal. Many of the statements of those who had the report submitted to them for consideration were also not in favour of the proposal. I myself wrote a critique of the report on behalf of the Faculty of Social Sciences at Lund University. The proposal of the committee was not accepted, and instead SOFI became an autonomous institute within Stockholm University from January 1, 1981 (outside any faculty and with the budget set by the parliament). It was granted a somewhat but not a particularly large increase in resources on this occasion. Much later, on July 1, 1994, SOFI became part of the Faculty of Social Sciences.

The government granted on three occasions additional permanent increases to the budget to SOFI: one for a professorship in labour market policy evaluation research, one for a professorship in social policy, and one for general reinforcements. In between and afterwards, there has been a gradual erosion of the budget, common to the whole university sector, as budget increases have been lower than price inflation and wage growth. After Gösta Rehn's retirement and Sten Johansson's appointment as director general of Statistics Sweden, positions as professors were announced without specifying a scientific discipline, only research areas. Eskil Wadensjö and Robert Erikson became holders of the two professorships. Subsequent positions as professors have all been announced

as professors in economics or sociology with an indication of a specified topic in a respective discipline.

The professorships announced later have thus all been in economics or sociology with a focus on SOFI's various research areas. The new professors were Anders Björklund and Markus Jäntti in economics, as well as Thor Norström, Michael Tåhlin, Jan O. Jonsson and Sten-Åke Stenberg in sociology. In addition, a professorship in migration and ethnic studies, of which the holder (Per Lundborg) was an economist, was transferred from CEIFO to SOFI. The list of these appointments shows that all who have been employed as a professor after the announcement of a professorship have been male. However, three women have been promoted from lecturer to professor. This applies to Åsa Rosén, Ann-Charlotte Ståhlberg and Marianne Sundström. Four men have also been promoted from lecturer to professor, viz. Tomas Korpi, Matthew Lindquist, Ola Sjöberg and Bill Sund.

Very important for the business have been large several-year grants of funding for research on immigration and integration (SULCIS) from the Swedish Research Council, and funds from FAS/Forte. Also important concerning research that covers large parts of SOFI's activities is the three-year funding for specific research projects from various research councils, post-doc positions for those who have presented very good

PhD theses (Wallander scholarships) and postdoc positions for external recruitment of young qualified researchers. Contributions have also come to SOFI for the purpose of funding researchers who take part in various public inquiries. Several of the researchers have been on leave for various external duties, thereby releasing resources for hiring other researchers.

Researchers at SOFI have very often been commissioned as experts in the scientific community, such as faculty opponents on PhD examinations, members of PhD examination committees, experts in the recruitment of professors at other universities, experts in assessments of docent applications and of applications to be promoted to professor, in addition to members of various research council boards and research council priority groups.

The Institute has gradually grown from about ten people at the time of the Institute for Labour Studies to about 25 in the mid-1970s, 60 at the turn of the century and now somewhere between 80 and 90 employees. The increase in the early stages was especially high among PhD students. Later, expansion has mainly been regarding postdoctoral researchers. The number and proportion of administrative personnel has decreased continuously. Computerization has led to some tasks having disappeared or become reduced in scope. There has been a lively discussion in the institute regarding what the optimal size is for an institute

of SOFI's nature. A spin-off was made by research in medical sociology that was first transferred to the Department of Sociology and later to the research institute CHESS.

#### Economics and sociology – research at SOFI

As mentioned earlier, SOFI's researchers and teachers have with few exceptions been economists or sociologists. The exceptions among postdoctoral researchers have been one each in statistics, economic history and history. The directorship for the institute has also alternated between economists and sociologists.

There are three research areas and three units at SOFI: labour economics, social policy and level of living studies. The first is pursued by economists and the other two by sociologists. There are no watertight compartments between the three units. The economists do research not only on the labour market but also on social policy and often use data from the level of living surveys for their studies. The sociologists do research on various labour market issues. Researchers from the different units and disciplines work together on different studies.

Within the labour economics unit many different topics are dealt with such as unemployment, education, income distribution, intergenerational income mobility, immigration and integration, the effects of various social security schemes and self-employment. If we look at the dissertations and scientific articles we find besides these mentioned areas studies in economic theory and on types of labour markets other than Western European ones, such as for example those of Mexico and the Soviet Union. Most of the studies use econometric methods and different types of register data, but also, as previously mentioned, data from various interview surveys, such as the level of living surveys.

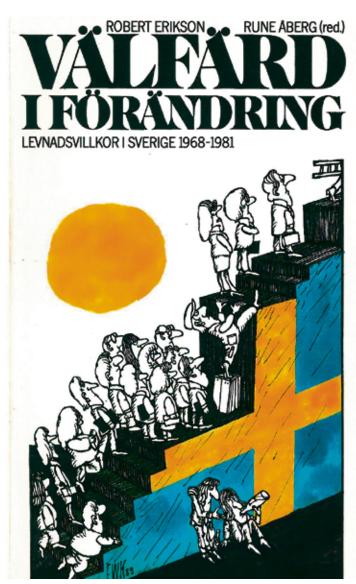
In the social policy group, many studies are based on a research program on social policy in 18 different OECD countries from the 1930s onwards (SCIP, the Social Indicator Program), but also studies about various parts of Swedish social policy. In this area there has been collaboration with the Department of History at the University. There have been many other comparative studies, especially studies in which the various Nordic countries were compared. Also, other databases have been developed and used for various studies. For example, there is a level of living survey about the unemployed, and a longitudinal database that is based on many different types of data concerning those born in Stockholm in 1953, a follow-up to the much debated Metropolitan project. In the social policy section, there is also social science research on alcohol consumption and its effects.

The first of level of living survey (LNU) was conducted in 1968 as part of the governmental commission on low incomes. Subsequently,

such surveys were conducted in 1974, 1981, 1991, 2000 and 2010. They are surveys of a random sample of the Swedish population aged between 18 and 75 years. The surveys are panel studies, but the panels are updated with random samples of those added to the survey population from the previous surveys (by young people who have reached the age when they are covered by the sample and by newcomers to Sweden). The interviews are supplemented with register data. The interviews have gradually been expanded in various ways such that children of interviewees aged between 11 and 18 years also answer questions (child-LNU) and the interviewees present their employment biographies. In recent rounds, the level of living surveys have also been conducted among persons older than 75 years – a task now in the charge of the research institute ARC (Aging Research Centre). In the last round, a separate survey of living standards among foreign-born and their children (LNU-UFB) was also conducted. It has been led by SULCIS, whose collaboration is mainly between economists at SOFI and researchers at the Departments of Economics and Sociology.

#### The graduate program

Professors at SOFI and also other researchers there have been involved in the graduate programs in economics and sociology at the Uni-



'Welfare in change: Living Conditions in Sweden 1968– 1981', Prisma Publications. A major research involvement for the Swedish Institute for Social Research has been comprehensive analyses of living conditions in the country. versity, especially since the mid-1980s. They have given different courses and not least been supervisors for many students. Already in the 1970s, PhDs were granted to a few doctoral students working at SOFI, however enrolled at another university and with the supervisor at a university other than Stockholm University, but graduate student supervision expanded dramatically in the 1980s.

There was, at the beginning of the 1980s, a few graduate students at Stockholm University whose focus was in the areas that were central to the SOFI's research. It was therefore important to get students interested in the field. One method used was to provide courses and supervise at different educational levels. Pretty soon, the number of PhD students increased. This has continued over the years. In the SOFI dissertation series there are now 91 theses (40 in economics, one in economic history and 50 in sociology). Two of these dissertations have been presented at other universities and with tutors from other universities, but written by graduate students who have worked at SOFI for a longer period. On the other hand, there are three PhD theses for which the supervisor was at SOFI but the theses were published in a form other than the SOFI dissertation series. These theses demonstrate the breadth of research activities at SOFI. They cover a wide field of research in economics and sociology (and one thesis was, as mentioned, in economic history).

In the early 1980s, most being granted a PhD were men, but gradually the distribution between male and female graduate students has become more equal. So, for example, I have myself been the principal PhD supervisor for 16 women and 14 men who successfully defended their theses.

Some students have stayed for a long time as researchers at SOFI after they have received their PhDs. Others have directly or a short time after the defence of their PhD at SOFI moved on to other jobs. Not a few have gone to positions at the Departments of Economics and of Sociology at Stockholm University, while others have been employed as a researcher at various research institutes within the university, such as CHESS (Centre for Health Equity Studies), ARC (Aging Research Centre) or the Institute of Latin American Studies. Others have gone on to other universities or to research institutes outside the university, such as FOI and IFAU. Many people have found work at a ministry or some of the various central agencies, such as the Labour Market Administration, the Social Insurance Board, the Authority for Higher Education, Sveriges Riksbank (the Central Bank of Sweden), Statistics Sweden or the National Agency for Education. Still other have gone to labour market organizations such as the Swedish Agency for Government Employers, LO (the central blue-collar association) and SACO (the central organization for



AKPA is an educational unit belonging to the Swedish Institute of Social Research, particularly offering insights into the workings of the labour market. (Photo: Mats Danielson)

university educated employees). Some have gone to work outside Sweden in places such as the EU, the EU's investment bank, and research institutes in Finland and the US.

# AKPA – SOFI's undergraduate educational program

In 1969, during the period of the Institute for Labour Studies, undergraduate courses were launched at Labour Relations and Human Resources (AKPA). The training was aimed both at those who wanted a more vocational conclusion to their academic training and to working professionals who wanted to deepen their knowledge regarding the subjects treated in the courses. It was part of a program for vocational courses at universities called YRK or DYRK courses. The institute was a pioneer in this type of course. Courses on the same topic started at other universities with AKPA as a model (I helped to start such a course at Lund University), but YRK courses were also started in other fields.

The AKPA courses were mainly based on knowledge from the research available within the two disciplines represented at the institute: economics and sociology. However, there have always been courses also in labour law within AKPA, partly with internal and partly with external teachers. The courses garner a great deal of interest from the students' side and only a small proportion of those applying can be accepted. AKPA is also involved with courses included as part of a broader educational study program.

Highly competent scientists have sought and received lectureships at AKPA. In recent years, all AKPA lecturers have been promoted to professors (in history, economics or sociology). The teachers have often been on leave of absence from a portion of their teaching for conducting research funded mainly by external grants. This has made it possible for PhD students and young postdoctoral researchers to gain teaching experience, an experience that is very important for those who want to continue with research and teaching in academia and need to qualify in order to get a teaching position.

#### The third task

The third task – contact with the surrounding society – has been a central part of SOFI's activities since its inception. Researchers at SOFI contribute in several ways. They participate in various

government investigations, write background reports to various authorities and hold many presentations and lectures outside the university. Among the many studies for public inquiries, two concerning gender equality could be mentioned: The Report on Women Power (*Kvinnomaktutredningen*) and the Delegation for Gender Equality in Working Life (*Delegationen för jämställdhet i arbetslivet*). Reports to different authorities include reports to the National Board of Health and Welfare (*Socialstyrelsen*) and the Fiscal Policy Council (*Finanspolitiska rådet*). Among the many external presentations, those during the Almedalen weeks could be mentioned.

## SOFI as part of the Faculty and the University

The Swedish Institute for Social Research, SOFI, is one of now six research institutes in the Faculty of Social Sciences. SOFI is in several ways a part of the activities of the faculty. Apart from its own successful AKPA courses, there is close cooperation at various levels with the Departments of Economics and of Sociology: in basic education, with graduate courses and through mentoring of graduate students. In research, there is close collaboration with the same departments but also with some of the Faculty's other research institutes. Researchers at SOFI have also for many years been involved in the faculty administrative work through membership in the Faculty Board, for my part three pe-

riods (nine years) as dean, and by SOFI researchers being members of various committees within the Faculty. The different forms of cooperation are very important for SOFI part and also, we believe, for the Faculty, and they are very much facilitated by the fact that SOFI is a part of the University and of the Faculty of Social Sciences.

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# **Current Research Themes**

#### **Compiled by Gunnel Forsberg**

IN THIS CHAPTER, we present a snapshot picture of major research themes pursued by the different departments and research institutes within the Faculty of Social Science at the time of its 50th anniversary. The accounts are based on presentations written by the departments and institutes in response to inquiries about their presently most prominent research fields and also fields that are seen as particularly promising and under present growth. This method of collection does only partly make justice to the width of research interests within the Faculty since a large number of individual scholars pursue particular research questions and interests that may fall outside the meshes of the thrown net. Some of these individual researchers nevertheless gather in larger thematic contexts, and we like to particularly mention one such interdepartmental form of organization before presenting the different departments and institutes: the Gender Academy. This is a collaborative network of researchers in the field of gender studies encompassing all four faculties of the University. Gender research is constituted as a multi-disciplinary field in

which researchers share common concepts and theoretical approaches. The disciplines collaborating in the Gender Academy are: art history, cinema studies, ethnology, gender studies, history, history of ideas and religious history in the Faculty of Humanities; child and youth studies, criminology, economic history, human geography, political science, social anthropology, social work and sociology in the Faculty of Social Sciences. The Faculty of Law hosts a number of established gender researchers, whereas the Faculty of Science has taken some important first steps in highlighting the significance of gender in knowledge creation.

Below follows the current themes of the departments followed by the research institutes and centres of the Faculty, in alphabetical order.

## Department of Child and Youth Studies

Children and youth in socially deprived situations 'Children and youth in socially deprived situations' is an interdisciplinary research area gathering researchers from the fields of sociology, psychology, legal studies and anthropology. The main focus is on how children and young peo-

ple understand and cope with various social circumstances and predicaments in their daily lives. Some of the research projects have explored the integration of young refugees into the school system, asylum processes, bullying, and children as crime victims and offenders. Methodologically, interviews and observations of children and young people are common, but patterns of interactions and communications with institutions such as schools, leisure centres, courts, police and immigration authorities are also analysed. Theoretically, the research builds on the idea that identities, cultural forms and daily practices of young people cannot be understood without focusing on the effects of structural conditions.

#### Children, ethics and sustainability

Within this research area ethical, social and ecological aspects of sustainability are addressed as integrated parts of social relations and of any pedagogy aiming to develop equality and solidarity across gender, ethnic, generational, religious, and species boundaries. Three different but overlapping sub-areas are explored: 1) gender, ethics and intersectionality, 2) nature-culture and child-animal relations, and 3) science, technology and learning for sustainable development.

## Social interaction and discursive theory

This research area has its focus on detailed analyses of language use and language related

phenomena. It involves both alternative readings of social and political documents and the study of social interaction and meaning making in mundane communication. These fields are explored through discourse analysis – including narrative, rhetorical and conversational analysis – and through linguistically oriented ethnography.

Learning – brain – practice: transdisciplinary studies in communication, language and literacy in preschools

This field of research is concerned with neurosensitive practices that enhance preschool children's communication, language and literacy skills. The studies are transdisciplinary, addressing the emerging fields of educational neuroscience and preschool didactics in order to critically and affirmatively problematize and learn from what is called the 'technologies of skill formation'. Children's language development is seen reflecting events of interaction in complex networks of performative agents, outside as well as inside the child's bodymind.

# Department of Computer and Systems Sciences

Design for learning

Technology enhanced learning is a research area that has been conceptualised as 'Design for learning', combining research in interaction design with learning sciences – with a focus on designs *for* and designs *in* formal and in non-for-

mal learning contexts. The research entails five main areas of research such as: social media and learning; mobile learning; game-oriented learning and simulation; ICT for development (implementation of learning tools and perspectives in developing countries); and theoretical and methodological development concerning different ways of understanding as well as studying and learning in technology rich environments. Designing activities entails both the researcher and the professional as designers of systems, activities and processes. In this perspective the individual learner is also studied as a (micro-) designer of his or her own learning processes and environments, to better inform different designs for learning.

#### Information systems design

This research activity focuses on information systems design, with the aim to create information systems that extend human and organisational capabilities. Current research in this field includes enterprise modelling, digital services and data and text mining. The knowledge produced is applied in several domains including the public sector and private sector organisations.

## Human-computer interaction

'Human-computer interaction' is an interdisciplinary field that brings together the computing and social sciences. Mobile Life Research Centre is one project that focuses on

human-computer interaction, others include interaction which is connected to education in interaction design.

#### Inclusive electronic government

The field is concerned with the technical as well as the organisational and ethical aspects of an optimally digitalized mode of governance. The complexity of e-governance, with its purpose to provide government services online, as well as to exchange information between government and a variety of recipients, has mandated the field to refocus from a service orientation to a holistic perspective integrating the entire government in coherent action. A digitally connected society causes tensions between the legitimate need of e-governance to use all available information and the equally legitimate right of privacy for its citizens who participate in democratic processes.

## **Department of Criminology**

Life course criminology

The main purpose of research within this field is to study the life courses of males and females and to explore processes of stability and change over time. Which factors are linked to continuity in and desistance from crime? What impact do individual resources during childhood and adolescence, living conditions in adulthood, substance abuse and punishment have for crim-

inal careers and pathways towards social inclusion and exclusion? What impact do structural factors have on these processes? This research area has both quantitative and qualitative parts. Different datasets and combinations of methods provide possibilities for answering questions about stability and change, both within individuals and between different cohorts, and to make significant empirical, theoretical and methodological advances within the field.

#### Crime policy

Criminology comprises the analysis of the making of laws and the reaction to the breaking of laws. The active construction of the crime problem is quite visible in the media, in the political process and in law enforcement. The factors that determine crime policy are a field in their own right, raising research questions such as: Why has imprisonment varied historically and between countries? How has the shift towards the risk society been reflected in crime policy? What new forms of control are emerging and how are they influencing traditional policing? Why has the crime victim and particularly the issue of men's violence against women become a public issue? How and why is drug policy defined and re-defined? What roles do the media play in the shaping of criminal policy, and how can the change in sanctioning towards just deserts be legitimised by reference to the public sense of justice?

## **Department of Economic History**

Gender, work and economic transformation Gender studies in economic history treat seemingly diverse topics, such as men's and women's different economic opportunities in medieval Sweden or, as in postcolonial studies, the global organisation of labour in an intersectional perspective. How people and communities have handled and managed their livelihood and how resources are allocated and distributed are key issues for gender economic historians. Research at the department has widened theoretically and empirically the economic historic scope through researching gendered informal economies, such as the sex market, pornography and domestic work. Research that applies gender and/or intersectionality theory contributes to a deepened theoretical understanding of the dynamics of social inequality and the complexity of power relations.

Economic transformation in the very long run How to explain the mechanisms behind the division of the world into rich and poor regions is a central issue in the field of economic history. Previous research focused on the immediate background of the Industrial Revolution and the transition to sustained growth beginning around 1800. Now, it is increasingly recognised that institutional (rather than technological) factors played a decisive role, and that the history of the formation of these institutions goes much

further back in time. Further exploration of this long process includes investigations into the efficiency of institutions, relative price shifts, market integration, and the relevance of the Malthusian model. Swedish sources have so far been little used in this research, even though the construction of some important macroeconomic series can be carried out from the early fifteenth century onwards. This also contains a critical discussion regarding attempts at broad interpretations presented in the international literature.

Global security: power, rules and resources Global security research focuses on security and international cooperation questions in the global political economy. Global security focuses on such issues as energy supply, migration, food shortages, the environment, and economic sustainability which are studied from multidisciplinary perspectives, including security studies, development research, urban studies, historical analysis, and international relations.

## **Department of Economics**

Evaluation of public policy

The key question for this research area is whether public expenditures come to good use: What works and what does not? Policy analysis involves having the appropriate econometric tools for policy evaluation and a consistent framework (i.e. a model) for interpreting the estimates of the policy effects. Significant contributions

have been made regarding the evaluation of particular policies (e.g. education policies), whether the impact of policies vary over social contexts (e.g. social interactions), the appropriate policy design, the extent to which political systems matter for public policy choices, and evaluation methodology (e.g. quasi-experimental methodologies).

#### International economics

Research in international economics focuses on how interactions with the rest of the world affect the domestic economy. These interactions may consist of flows of goods, people or capital, but also the international spread of pollutants, which requires an analysis based on international economics. The ongoing global economic integration, often named 'globalisation', has meant an increased focus on the analysis of international economic relationships. Examples of questions are: What does globalization imply for the location of industry? Who are the winners and who are the losers of globalization? What is the effect on the environment? To what extent is the policy of a small open economy independent?

## **Department of Education**

Adult learning, organisation pedagogics and leadership

The research area focuses on adult learners in different life settings such as educational pur-

suit, working life and civil society with special orientation towards three aspects: a) Adult learning, which focuses on issues of education on a societal, organisational and individual level and especially on how identities are formed and transformed in adult and higher education and through processes of enculturation; b) Organisation pedagogics and leadership, with an interest in processes of organising daily work activities and on how these processes enhance and/or inhibit learning; and c) Career development and counselling, which is concerned with conditions for career development from an individual and societal perspective. Especially, how do career counselling activities serve as preparation for future choices regarding education, occupation, work or life, and contribute to development in these areas?

#### Education and health

This research area addresses the construction of knowledge, communication, and processes of learning and meaning-making within the fields of health and illness, disability, caring and nursing. These are salient phenomena from a pedagogical perspective, and the research draws on multiple theoretical and methodological perspectives. The issues in question are studied at the level of the individual, in terms of people's experiences and understandings of health and illness, as well as at the institutional and societal levels, in terms of social and cul-

tural conceptions of health, illness, disability. They actualize how the discursive interaction between professionals and the individual in various institutional settings influence the everyday meaning-making of the individual. The research field also includes the health and caring professions and their training.

#### Cultural studies

This strain of research takes departure in the critical 'cultural studies' tradition, putting emphasis on discourse, language and meaning making, and applying it to the history and sociology of education and to curriculum studies.

## International and comparative education

Research and applied research within this field concerns educational policy-making, planning, development assistance, monitoring, evaluation, and capacity-building that aims to increase knowledge, skills and competencies to serve contemporary needs for education, training, research and scholarship, as such efforts take place within nations or in international cooperation. The research depends on an expanded vision of education that goes beyond formal schooling and encompasses all levels and types of education and learning in all different parts of the world.

## Design for learning

The research under this label deals with studies of textbooks and educational media, com-

munication in classrooms and on the Internet, trans-professional communication, the role of narratives in learning, and relations between academic/professional training and professional work.

Higher education and philosophy of education This strain of research combines empirical studies on students' learning processes in particular subject areas with the investigation of fundamental philosophical questions about the overall conditions for knowledge production in higher education. It deals with different aspects of feminist philosophy, analytical philosophy and critical theory, as well as continental philosophy more generally, within the context of educational practice, policy, and discourse.

Didactics – cultures of knowing and teaching practices

The focus of this research is on issues related to knowing, learning, teaching, and assessment in various institutional contexts: What knowledge is made available, for which groups of students, and in which learning environments? What does it mean to know something specific, for instance in a school subject? What creates conditions and obstacles for learning? In what contexts and for what purposes have specific kinds of knowing developed? How are they transformed into content for teaching?

Vocational education and training / vocational knowing and learning

This research deals with questions at three levels: the system at the *macro* level, the organisation and design of vocational training programmes and institutions at the *meso* level, and the analysis and shaping of education and learning processes at the *micro* level. The approach requires the integration of different scientific disciplines and research traditions.

## Department of Human Geography

Farmlands

The Farmlands research ties together three aspects: farming, landscape and society. It is concerned with farming as a practice and sees the farmers' knowledge and labour investments as important in shaping the farmlands. Landscape is an expression of society-nature relations, of history congealed in patterns of space and place. Society is in this sense a short form for institutions, gender relations, political economy and scientific relevance. The research investigates the relation between farming and livelihoods, as well as with the environment in the past, present and future. From a starting point of studying the historical geography of agricultural landscapes in Sweden, the interest has broadened to concern farming landscapes on a global scale. A substantial development of GIS, and remote sensing for reading landscapes from a social science perspective, has also taken place.

Planning and policy – Sweden and Europe

Research in the field of policy and planning is organised around urban and regional studies with a common focus on spatial relations, inequalities and interdependencies. Urban research deals primarily with questions concerning urban strategies, segregation and governance. Regional studies, in contrast, are primarily concerned with regional development and with rural and countryside planning. The research under the heading of 'planning and policy' is oriented towards planning prerequisites, such as legislation; demographic changes; political and economic visions; political processes, such as participation and deliberative planning; public planning vs. informal planning in networks; planning policies, such as economic growth strategies; public vs private space; sustainable development planning; power in planning, such as transformation of land; housing provision; welfare services; gender relations; how citizens' perspectives are integrated into the planning process; and consequences of planning, such as unsustainable development, spatial segregation and social inequalities.

## Geography and gender

The gender approach in human geographical research problematizes and analyses the impact of context-specific gender constructions in the urban and regional environments and their implications. How are gender and space related and how does this relation construct gen-

der-specific spaces and locations? Planning is analysed from a gender perspective, as based on living conditions characterised by gender-specific designs, both in metropolitan areas and in urban and rural regions.

#### Global urbanism – urban Africa

In this research the relation between cities and global processes and the challenges posed by contemporary planetary urbanisation are analysed. Of particular concern are cities in the Global South, notably Africa, where urbanisation is rampant and the pace and effects of urban transformation are most dramatic. Attentive to the global forces influencing opportunities in cities, the research also explores how poor urbanites survive, access services, strive for social inclusion and lay claims to the city.

## Department of Political Science

Global and regional governance

This area of research addresses the sources, forms, and consequences of global and regional governance, including issues of power, democracy, legitimacy, and effectiveness. Empirically, the research spans multiple issues or areas, including trade, finance, security, human rights, environmental policy, and regional integration. Methodologically, the research is distinguished by its comparative orientation, its combination of positive and normative research. It includes both qualitative and quantitative methods.

#### Politics and gender

A gender perspective is applied to political science, from the point of departure that by gendering core concepts, such as 'democracy', 'citizenship', 'representation', 'state' and 'international security', the study of politics is advanced. Contributions have been made to Swedish politics and government, comparative politics, politics and development, international politics and political theory. The research also focuses on gender quota systems, welfare state gender regimes, and conceptualisations of sexualised violence and prostitution. It pursues theory development in areas such as intersectionality, gender/nation and discourse analysis. This research is widening the scope of issues addressed within the political science discipline.

#### Environmental politics, policy and learning

A key area of this research is global environmental policy, and in particular issues related to international climate policy, the UN negotiations on sustainable development, a new climate agreement beyond 2012, and the EU's environmental policy together with a concern for the role large-scale technologies such as the storage and capture of carbon dioxide plays in the policy process, both nationally and internationally. A second key research area is environmental policies and policies in different countries with focus on the role of government in environmental issues, and what explains the differences

between countries concerning environmental performance. A third key area of research is related to learning and participation in relation to environmental and natural resource issues, such as the relation between indigenous rights and mining. The research includes participation in 143 biosphere areas in 55 different countries, as well as studies on how students from different disciplines understand environmental issues.

#### Politics and development

Research under this label has a focus on issues of development and democratisation. Current research areas include civil society and social movements, interest organisations, political economy, political identities and sustainable development. The empirical focus has often been pointed towards NGOs, political parties, and other individual and collective actors, but also towards national and international institutions.

#### Governing the modern state

This field of research increases our understanding of how governments work to cope with intensified international rule-making and social complexity, while at the same time managing to implement policy. The research draws on governance theory (as a theory on decentred inter-organisational exchanges) and organisation theory (theorising intra-organisational processes and contingencies). It explores the significance of institutional and organisational

variables for understanding the role of government in steering and the interaction between a government and its external context.

InRights – challenges to democratic rights and inclusion

The research deals with political inclusion and rights for migrants and minorities in contemporary democracies. The general research questions are two: New societal and political inequalities have followed upon the last decades of globalisation. How are they related to institutions, norms and public policy? How are they to be evaluated in terms of democracy and justice?

## Department of Psychology

Cognitive aging

People differ greatly in the degree to which their brains, and the rest of their bodies, decline with age. As people grow older, they follow more or less successful trajectories of cognitive change. The spectrum of decline ranges from normal cognitive aging to dementia. Identifying the risk factors for, and mechanisms of, individual differences in age-related cognitive decline is amongst the greatest challenges to improving the health and wellbeing of older people. Yet, cognitive aging is complex in that there is little age-related decline in some mental functions, such as vocabulary and general knowledge, while other mental capabilities de-

cline from middle age onwards, or even earlier. A major aim for research is to examine whether cognitive deficits can be identified early to provide better conditions for living and independently carrying out everyday activities, and to improve verbal and socio-emotional communication between the ageing person and relatives and friends.

#### Sensation and perception

The Gösta Ekman Laboratory is a world leading research laboratory for sensory perception. It comprises excellent research facilities (e.g. a sound proof acoustics lab, sophisticated eyetracking techniques, EEG-techniques, and olfactory exposure labs solely designed for measuring aspects of the olfactory sense). The research is multidisciplinary and organised into three topics with specific focus on the visual, auditory, and olfactory sensory systems and covers both basic and applied research. Some examples of current research themes are: (a) the role of olfactory deficits in early-stage dementia, (b) the capacity of blind individuals to use sounds for spatial navigation (echo-localisation), and (c) how attentional allocation changes the processing of visual objects of high emotional value (e.g. spiders in individuals with phobia).

Stress, work, health and restitution

The research within this theme seeks to understand how various work-related factors relate to

health and wellbeing. The research combines data at different levels, including physiological measures, self-reports, organisational records and register data. These are used to delineate the mechanisms underlying stress-related problems from those promoting sustainability. Investigating how organisational characteristics, working conditions and increasingly uncertain employment relations relate to health and well-being, as well as to satisfaction, motivation and performance at work, this research contributes to the understanding of how healthy work practices can be achieved and sustained. The goal is to develop adequate preventive measures and interventions targeting problems at individual, group and organisational levels.

## **Department of Social Anthropology**

Transnational anthropology

Anthropology's traditional focus on local society and culture has progressively given way to a focus on the transnational, disembedded character of social and cultural processes. In a world with a constant flow of information, people and goods across borders, there is a need for increased knowledge about the effects of globalisation. Research within this field covers the organisation and consequences of labour migration for family structures, economic transactions, and cultural flows, as well as related topics such as transnational adoption, the impact of trafficking, and the predicaments of

paperless refugees and asylum-seekers. The studies also deal with the consequences of intensified cultural exchanges, including, for example, the impact of increased, albeit partial, knowledge of the world beyond the local context facilitated by IT and social media, as well as their distortion by economic and political inequalities and interests. The impact of these exchanges, whether orchestrated or spontaneous, on local identities is of concern but also how they stimulate the emergence of supranational, cross-border cultural processes.

The growth of densely interconnected social, cultural and economic linkages, finally, imbricates social actors to different extents within transnational processes. Sometimes this is unavoidable (such as through consumption which connects individuals and communities to commodity chains), sometimes voluntary (such as civil rights and other movements), or sometimes in opposition (including anti-development, environmental, and indigenous movements). In response to these spatial linkages and disjunctions, new forms of brokerage and NGOs have emerged, such as think tanks that do not necessarily pursue nation-state agendas. The research carried out in this field raises important political and ethical questions surrounding the influence they exercise. The regional coverage is extensive and the research themes are organised into four clusters: migration, environment, media and organisation.

The anthropology of infrastructure

This research focuses on energy/environmental issues, migration, and urban infrastructures that facilitate the flow of resources, goods, people, or ideas and allow for their exchange over space. Infrastructures are considered as socio-technical systems, and are thus a proper object of anthropological concern and signal an approach that considers social life in constant relation to both small- and large-scale technical systems.

## Department of Social Work

Social assistance: dynamics, profession and interventions

This research is concerned with the dynamics of social assistance. It deals with specific conditions and problems attached to different recipient groups; professional strategies to counteract long-term receipt; the evolvement of activation measures and other interventions in local social services; the significance of various organisational settings; patterns of cooperation within organisations and with external actors; how applications for benefits are assessed with respect to eligibility standards/specific conditions and use of sanctions; patterns of municipal variation in assessment and policy; and activation strategies as parts of social investment models. It comparatively assesses the resilience and inclusiveness of labour markets in European countries and identifies innovative policies that have contributed to social resilience and inclusiveness.

Social work and social care for older people

Three usually unrelated theoretical perspectives are joined within this strand of research: Feminist approaches to care and everyday life, policy oriented welfare research and research on the organisation of care services and the working conditions of care workers. An important question underlying the research area is to analyse the shifting boundaries of care between state, family and market. The research is conducted in a number of interrelated projects, several involving international comparisons. One comparative project examines seven countries and explores promising practices in residential care. Another focuses on marketization of eldercare in the Nordic countries. A third third compares working conditions for care workers in nine countries. Other projects deal particularly with Sweden, e.g. investigating intimate relations in older life, and how older women and men with addiction problems are cared for by the care services.

#### Social work and mental illness

The core theme of this research is the contextual factors around the definition of mental problems (illness), the development of psychiatric problems, the management of psychiatric problems and the recovery process. A main question has been what the facilitators are as well as the hindrance factors, and how social knowledge and social interventions can participate in the common understanding and management of severe

psychiatric problems. Special themes are the social aspects of the recovery process, users' knowledge of helping factors in their recovery process, follow-up studies of persons with serious mental problems after the closure of the mental hospitals, analyses of helping professionals and working alliances in relation to persons with serious mental health problems.

#### Social work with children and youth

This research area deals with living conditions for children, youth and families. The area has a special focus on maltreated children and youth with behavioural problems, and looks at societal interventions targeting children and youth. Important institutions in this respect are child welfare agencies, which investigate child maltreatment and youth delinquency, post investigative care facilitated within foster and residential care, as well as other essential child welfare domains such as school social work. Important research fields include prerequisites and rationales for child welfare interventions, their legal basis, the clients' perspectives of care, the evidence base for different interventions and outcomes in the short and long run for those concerned.

#### Addiction research

This research includes, among other things studies of the organisation, outcomes and theoretical underpinnings of prevention and treatment, as well as the study of alcohol and drug policy, theoretical models of addiction dynamics and etiology. Research issues in the area are: How is the implementation of evidence-based practice in social services for substance abusers organised? What mechanisms are central to the treatment of addiction? What is the significance of modernity's development regarding the actual staging of prevention interventions? In what ways are standardised assessment instruments, such as systematics, links to interventions, aggregated analyses, etc. used concerning abuse in social services?

#### **Department of Sociology**

Social networks

The aim is to explore how individual behaviour is affected by the individual's position in various social networks, how these networks develop over time, and how the structure of these networks influences various collective processes, such as the diffusion of information and collective mobilisation and coordination. Sociological network research has traditionally focused on quantitative analyses with a strong element of sophisticated mathematical models (often developed by or in close collaboration with mathematicians). Methods and theories from the field of social networks are currently used in all social sciences as well as in interdisciplinary research, where human agency forms a part of the research area, such as environmental research and epidemiology of contagious diseases.

#### Demography

Demography offers techniques to study human behaviour by accounting for the temporal and spatial dimensions of demographic events. The research undertaken at the Demography Unit focusses on such dimensions in the processes that produce population change: fertility, mortality and migration. It then extends to research on processes related to family formation and family dissolution.

## **Department of Special Education**

Disabilities from a lifespan perspective

The focus of research in this area is on how school settings (and habilitation) can act as means to pragmatically establish optimal developmental and learning opportunities both within inclusive and specialised preschool contexts. Interventional as well as descriptive research is conducted concerning the development and learning of children and youth (0–22 years) with neurodevelopmental (autism, ADHD, intellectual disabilities) issues, sensory impairments and co-occurrence of diagnoses.

Learning environments, didactics and inclusive education in school and preschool

This research is focused on describing, assessing and evaluating the various special educational policies, activities, strategies and methods put into practice. It is concerned with identifying and implementing promising approaches that can be employed in educational situations and organisations, in order to prevent difficulties that arise in learning environments (intended in a broad meaning). The goal is to find methods to support optimal learning, participation and equity in the educational system and in society.

Democracy and fundamental values in inclusive education

The research mobilizes concepts like democracy, justice, and ethics for educational analysis, in which society's design, as well as value issues and prevalent views of humanity and knowledge are critically examined from a historic perspective. The discipline of special education has been characterised by an individual-oriented approach with a focus on students' shortcomings. After the Salamanca Statement in 1994, inclusive education has emerged as a research area with more of a focus on democracy and civic values. An approach more focused on the encounter between the individual learner and the learning environment became prominent. The concept of equity denotes democracy as both justice and equality. It points to an area for research that extends beyond the individual situation and instead emphasises how different social power aspects affect school activities.

## **Department of Statistics**

Official and other statistics production

The research area comprises all aspects of production concerning official statistics and similar

types of statistics. Thus it includes data collection methods, assessment of measurement errors, nonresponse issues, sampling, estimates, temporal issues of survey inference, register-based statistics, statistical disclosure control, response burden, and total survey quality. Central decisions by the Swedish government and our perceptions of society are based on official statistics (e.g. is unemployment high or low?). How to assess and improve the quality of statistics is thus a crucial and vibrant research area. Rising nonresponse levels, costs of traditional surveys and response burden issues make efficiency particularly important. Random sampling has been a gold standard since the early 20th century; however, with recent developments, current research has focused on rigorous inference based on non-random sampling, samples subject to missing data, register-based statistics, total survey quality and 'big data'.

#### Statistical models in the social sciences

This theme is an umbrella for a number of research areas in statistical models and associated method, with applications (mostly) in the social sciences. These include: statistical modelling in business and finance, statistical modelling of social networks, statistical models for duration and event-history data, univariate and multivariate linear models (in particular mixed effects models and hierarchical models), Bayesian models and hierarchical models), Bayesian models

elling of clusters and complex data, and robust non-linear regression and applications.

## Design of experiments

To conduct an experiment is a standard method for investigating a research question. In medical research, experiments are widely applied. In the social sciences, an increasing use has recently been demonstrated, e.g. in economics and psychology. They also have an important tradition in industry and have been used in educational research. In each of these areas, experiments require considerable investments because their results have huge implications. Therefore, statistical methods to improve and optimise experimental design are demanded. The statistical research area of experimental design has a history starting in the first half of the 20th century. During recent years progress in the research area has been made by applying numerical computations with computers, leading to an increased impact of methods developed for practice. Research work within this field entails theoretical work as well as the application of these statistical methods for a choice of experimental designs.

## Stockholm Business School

Marketing, advertising and PR

The research activities look at diverse aspects of marketing, such as strategic marketing, consumer marketing, business and marketing communication, advertising and PR. They capitalise on

Stockholm's geographical location—with close proximity to a large number of organisations and companies as well as a bustling consumer culture. Researchers collaborate widely, geographically and across disciplines, both in the field of marketing and in the field of advertising and PR. Throughout the last half century, society has increasingly become organised according to a market and marketing logic. Consequently it is imperative to study and theorise on marketing, to give an input to contemporary debates in society and a knowledge basis for companies and organisations striving to be competitive. This research deals with the creation, re-creation and dissemination of advanced marketing knowledge through a holistic approach acknowledging producers, consumers and society at large.

Entrepreneurship and sustainable development Research within this theme deals with the entrepreneurship that has taken form as a protest against 'traditional' entrepreneurship, where the idea of continual growth dominates. In other words, this alternative research analysis entrepreneurship criticises but also wants to adjust traditional entrepreneurship so that it can contribute to a greater extent to a more sustainable society. The research seeks to conceptualise emerging 'alternative' forms of entrepreneurship - emphasising equality, social integration and ecological concerns - and to understand how they change conditions both for doing

business and for the citizen. This involves tracing the interaction between criticisms of traditional entrepreneurship and the outbreak and spread of alternative forms of entrepreneurship so as to examine which positive determinations are linked to these forms, as well as to study the realities created in and through these new forms.

#### Financial market microstructure

'Financial market microstructure' is a field of financial economics that studies how the interaction of investors and institutions generate markets with varying efficiency and liquidity depending on different rules and regulations. Research in financial market microstructure promotes the understanding of how markets can price assets accurately, how transaction costs can be minimized, and how assets and markets can be constructed to mitigate different types of risk.

## Accounting from the inside out

The contemporary, increased emphasis on measurement cannot solely be understood as a result of technological development. This research is concerned not only with studying accounting practices involving the production of measurements but also how these measurements are disseminated and (maybe) also consumed. The proposition guiding the research is that by studying accounting practices there is a possibility to contribute beyond accounting studies. In particular, the research has been focusing on

the way accounting is consumed and how measurements are part of how families, organisations and societies are formed.

Management, technology and organising practices

Research into the relationship between organising and technologies features two dominant approaches: technological determinism and interpretive flexibility. This research examines various technology-, management-, and institution-induced changes that lead to a re-configuration among ideas, technologies and actions at a micro-level and how these innovations diffuse and migrate from the micro- to the macro-level.

## Centre for Health Equity Studies

Economic, social and health inequalities
Economic, social and health inequalities constitute central research areas for economic science, and they are often regarded as important societal issues. In this research area the mechanisms and processes that generate and sustain such inequalities, which also exist in rich and relatively egalitarian welfare states, are analysed. At the centre of the research are inequalities regarding childhood conditions, educational attainment, working life, incomes and health status, to take some key factors. In addition, how these and other factors are intertwined across the life-course are also examined. The

research is often multidisciplinary as well as historically and internationally comparative. This research combines economic, social and health inequalities and studies processes over life cycles and in different contexts that drive or reduce such inequalities. A theoretical and methodological development is central to the understanding of the processes that generate inequality and the significance and impact of the various measures that have been made and are being made to reduce inequality.

# Institute for International Economic Studies

Political economy

Political economy studies the determinants of government policy and asks questions such as what determines the size of government, the form of redistributive programmes, the level of corruption, the extent and type of public goods provision, the burden of taxation across alternative tax bases, the size of government deficits, and the stance of monetary policy during the course of business and electoral cycles. The primary methods used are analytical theoretical models of political institutions combined with large-scale empirical investigations of the predictions from these models. The area of political economy tries to understand the political processes that generate negative policy outcomes. It may have to do with voters not being sufficiently informed, or because that politicians cannot commit to following a policy that is beneficial in the long term. A better understanding of these mechanisms may be helpful in designing political institutions in a way that makes policies more responsive to voters' preferences.

#### Climate and economics

The purpose is to conduct empirical and theoretical work in the intersection of economics and climate science. A key goal is to construct so-called integrated assessment models, thus describing both the economics and the climate system and their two-way interactions at different degrees of geographical resolution aimed at studying different possible policies for combating climate change. The models are dynamic and stochastic and rely on solid microeconomic foundations, thus allowing for cost-benefit analyses using standard economic welfare theory.

#### Macroeconomics

Macroeconomics is a main field in economics that studies aggregates (like GDP, inflation, unemployment, etc.) including major policies. The IIES macro group has focused primarily on the macroeconomics of inequality, labour markets, public finance, growth and technological change, and endogenous policy. The questions analysed are rather dispersed and vary from year to year but include model development as well as empirical analysis.

## Centre for Social Research on Alcohol and Drugs

Social research on alcohol and drugs

SoRAD's research highlights phenomena such as addictive behaviours and dependence from a societal perspective and approaches those problems as multifactorial. The distribution of alcohol and drug use over time is investigated, as well as its societal determinants, related effects and consequences. Another topic concerns alcohol and drug policy, its fundaments, implementation, and the associated effects and consequences. The research includes discursive studies as well as empirical evaluations of specific alcohol and drug related policies. Also included is research that concerns the prevention of problems, treatment services and treatment systems and the impact of and responses to problematic drinking/drug use in the family and in social life. There are also studies about control systems, about cultural conceptualisations of alcohol and drug problems, and about cultural factors in intoxicated comportment.

## Stockholm Centre for Organizational Research

Management and governance of the public sector

This research field is multidisciplinary and oriented towards the development of the public sector from an organisational and management

perspective. It spans across disciplinary borders in the social sciences while contributing to the advancement of knowledge in each discipline concerning the transformation, management and governance of the public sector. More broadly, this focus is embedded in an interest in the organisation of society at large, the influences of Europeanization and globalisation, and the changing relations of the public sector to business and civil society. To contribute to the overall field, the research is organised into four themes: 'organising markets', 'organising knowledge', 'rule-setting and rule-following', and 'democracy and organisation'. The research field can be defined as management and governance of the public sector as seen through the lenses of these four themes.

#### Stress Research Institute

Stress, work, health and restitution

The research focuses on stress, work, health and restitution and seeks to understand how various work-related factors influence health and wellbeing, as well as to investigate the psychological and biological stress mechanisms that link exposures to health outcomes. The research comprises large-scale epidemiological studies, intensive field studies, brain imaging, and experimental lab studies as well as interventions. A central hypothesis is that excessive stress may interfere with natural restitution during sleep, in turn leading to nega-

tive physiological and psychological effects. The research is multidisciplinary and includes epidemiology, biological psychology, psychoneuroimmunology, work and organisational psychology, public health, occupational medicine and sociology. For certain issues, the research has an integrative and interdisciplinary nature.

## Swedish Institute for Social Research

Economic, social and health inequalities

In this research 'economic' refers to labour earnings, disposable household income (that also comprises other income sources) and wealth. The most prominent 'social' dimension is class, which is defined according to a person's position in working life. 'Health' includes mental and physical health as well as over-all and cause-specific mortality. Education (inequality) is a central mediating variable, and thus of great interest. 'Inequality' refers to differences in conditions and chances between individuals, households and families, but focuses also on groups such as gender and ethnic groups. A perennial question is whether, and how, economic and social inequalities affect health inequality. This research has several time dimensions: cross-sectional inequality, how inequality evolves of the life-cycle, and transmission across generations.



# Deans and Deputy Deans

Period	Dean	Deputy Dean
1964/65	Ernst Söderlund	Erik Lundberg
1965/66 – 1966/67	Gunnar Boalt	David Hannerberg
1967/68	Gunnar Boalt	Ernst Söderlund
1968/69 – 1969/70	Gunnar Boalt	Hans Meijer
1970/71	Gunnar Boalt	Staffan Helmfrid
1971/72 – 1973/74	Staffan Helmfrid	Olof Ruin
1974/75 – 1976/77	Olof Ruin	Rolf Adamson
1977/78 – 1983/84	Olof Ruin	Carl-Gunnar Jansson
1984/85 – 1986/87	Carl-Gunnar Jansson	Torvald Gerger
1987/88 – 1989/90	Kjell Goldmann	Rolf Adamson
1990/91 – 1992/93	Kjell Goldmann	Gunn Johansson
1993/94 – 1995/96	Kjell Goldmann	Birgitta Qvarsell
1996/97 – 1999	Eskil Wadensjö	Birgitta Qvarsell
2000 – 2005	Eskil Wadensjö	Gudrun Dahl
2006 – 2008	Gudrun Dahl	Ryszard Szulkin
2009 – 2011	Gudrun Dahl	Mats Danielson
2012 – 2014	Mats Danielson	Gunnel Forsberg



# **Professors**

## Faculty professors on Sep. 1, 2014

## **Departments**

Department of Child and

Youth Studies Bunar, Nihad Börjesson, Mats

Cederborg, Ann-Christin Lenz Taguchi, Hillevi

Department of Computer and

Systems Sciences Boström, Henrik Brown, Barry Dalianis, Hercules Danielson, Mats Ekenberg, Love Fors, Uno

Johannesson, Paul Juhlin, Oskar Kanter, Theo Kjellin, Harald Popov, Oliver Ramberg, Robert Rusu, Lazar Siddiqui, Afzal Department of Criminology

Estrada, Felipe Flyghed, Janne Nilsson, Anders Tiby, Eva

Department of Economic History

Jonter, Thomas

de Los Reyes, Paulina

Morell, Mats Söderberg, Johan

Department of Economics

Alexius, Annika
Arai, Mahmood
Ekholm, Karolina
Erixon, Lennart
Flodén, Martin
Forslid, Rikard
Fredriksson, Peter
Häckner, Jonas
Kolm, Ann-Sofie
Lundholm, Michael

Muren, Astri

Nyberg, Sten Palme, Mårten

Pettersson Lidbom, Per Skogman Thoursie, Peter

Wijkander, Hans Zenou, Yves

Department of Education

Bron, Agnieszka

Chinapah, Vinayagum

Döös, Marianne Englund, Boel Eriksson, Inger

Gustavsson, Anders Karlsson, Gunnar

Kjellberg, Ann Moreno, Lázaro Naeslund, Lars

Roth, Klas Scheja, Max Todd, Sharon West, Tore

Department of Human Geography

Forsberg, Gunnel Malmberg, Bo Widgren, Mats

Department of Political Science

Beckman, Ludvig Boréus, Kristina Bäckstrand, Karin Lundholm, Cecilia Micheletti, Michele Möller, Tommy Mörth, Ulrika Soininen, Maritta Tallberg, Jonas

Department of Psychology

Backenroth, Gunnel

Carlbring, Per

Christianson, Sven Å.

Fischer, Håkan Hau, Stephan

Lantz Friedrich, Annika

Larsson, Maria Lindfors, Petra Lindholm, Torun Mäntylä, Timo Nilsson, Mats

Smedler, Ann-Charlotte

Sverke, Magnus Wiens, Stefan

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Dahl, Gudrun
Garsten, Christina
Olsson, Erik
Rabo, Annika

Wulff, Helena

Department of Social Work

Bergmark, Anders Bergmark, Åke Gunnarsson, Evy Lundström, Tommy Sallnäs, Marie Szebehely, Marta Vinnerljung, Bo

Department of Sociology

Andersson, Gunnar le Grand, Carl

Helmersson Bergmark, Karin

Liljeros, Fredrik Rydgren, Jens Sverrisson, Arni Szulkin, Ryszard Udehn, Lars

Department of Special Education

Ek, Ulla

Roll-Pettersson, Lise Westling Allodi, Mara

Department of Statistics Ghilagaber, Gebrenegus

Hedlin, Dan Nyquist, Hans

Stockholm Business School

Catasús, Bino Fang, Tony Hartman, Thomas Holmqvist, Mikael Jensen, Tommy Löwstedt, Jan Nordén, Lars Thanem, Torkild Tikkanen, Henrikki

Yakhlef, Ali Östberg, Jacob

#### **Research Institutes and Centres**

Centre for Health Equity Studies

Fritzell, Johan Koupil, Ilona Lundberg, Olle

Centre for Social Research on Alcohol and Drugs Hemmingsson, Tomas

Olsson, Börje Törrönen, Jukka

Institute for International

Economic Studies Calmfors, Lars Flam, Harry Hassler, John Krusell, Per Persson, Mats Persson, Torsten Strömberg, David Svensson, Jakob Stress Research Institute Lekander, Mats Westerlund, Hugo

Swedish Institute for Social Research
Björklund, Anders
Jonsson, Jan O.
Jäntti, Markus
Korpi, Tomas
Lindquist, Matthew
Lundborg, Per
Norström, Thor
Rosén, Åsa
Sjöberg, Ola
Stenberg, Sten-Åke
Sundström, Marianne
Tåhlin, Michael

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**Gunnel Forsberg,** Professor in Human Geography, Deputy Dean of Faculty of Social Sciences

Christina Garsten, Professor in Social Anthropology, former Head of Department of Social Anthropology and former Director of Stockholm Centre for Organizational Research

Anders Gustavsson, Professor in Education, former Head of Department of Education and Vice-Rector

**Gunn Johansson**, Professor Emerita in Occupational Psychology, former Deputy Dean of Faculty of Social Sciences

Ulf Jonsson, Professor Emeritus in Economic History

Anita Kollerbaur, former Senior Lecturer, former Head of Department of Computer and Systems Sciences

Rolf Lind, former Senior Lecturer, Stockholm Business School

**Assar Lindbeck,** Professor Emeritus in Economics, former Director of Institute for International Economic Studies

Tommy Lundström, Professor in Social Work, Former Head of Department of Social Work Vice Dean of Faculty of Social Sciences

Astri Muren, Professor in Economics

**Karin Norman,** Professor in Social Anthropology

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Mara Westling Allodi, Professor in Special Education

Mats Widgren, Professor in Human Geography, Head of Department of Human Geography

Hans Wijkander, Professor in Economics, former Head of Department of Economics

**Denny Vågerö**, Professor Emeritus in Medical Sociology, former Director of Centre for Health Equity Studies

**Torbjörn Åkerstedt,** Professor in Behavioral Physiology, former Director of Stress Research Institute

In addition to conferences, many of the larger student lectures are held in Aula Magna, as well as the conferment of Master's degrees and other ceremonies. (Photo: Mats Danielson)

