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Christin Mays

Have Money, Will Travel

Scholarships and Academic Exchange between Sweden and the United States, 1912–1980

Sammanfattning:

Pengar för att resa

Stipendier och akademiskt utbyte mellan Sverige och USA, 1912–1980

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Abstract

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The large-scale transatlantic mobility of students, teachers, and researchers is a twentieth-century phenomenon that has contributed to the reshaping of international cultural, economic, and political relations into the twenty-first century. Through and as part of this development, the United States transformed into a powerful and influential country on the global stage. As a large, populous, and industrialized nation, the United States has been significant both as a funder of international mobility and as a destination for foreign students and scholars. Sweden, a small, peripheral country in Northern Europe, has had a long relationship with the United States. Amidst the mass migration of peoples from several European countries to North America in the mid-nineteenth century to the 1920s, over one million Swedes migrated to the United States. The connections made through this migration, combined with the growing economic, industrial, and cultural resources of the United States, led to a renewed desire to maintain and improve relations between the two countries from the early twentieth century.

This study investigates the development of scholarship programs in Sweden and the United States and their role in the academic exchange between these two countries from 1912–1980. Set against broader cultural, economic, and political processes that increased the scale and complexity of academic mobility in the twentieth century, this study explains how scholarships facilitated and structured flows of people and knowledge. The relationships between three parts of scholarship programs are analyzed: their purposes, organizational frameworks and praxis, and scholarship awards. The analysis employs three points of departure: rationales for internationalization, historical institutionalism, and symbolic capital. Annual reports and scholarship holder documentation are the two main types of sources. Annual reports were used to create a historical timeline of the purposes that drove the founding of organizations and the establishment of scholarship programs to understand the institution of scholarship-funded academic mobility in the twentieth century. Scholarship holder documentation was used to create two datasets of scholarship awards from 1912–1944 and 1945–1979, which were analyzed using descriptive statistics to find patterns and trends in scholarship awards.

The results show that the scholarship programs in this study structured complex and asymmetrical flows of people and knowledge between Sweden and the United States in the twentieth century. In the first period, private foundations were the main providers of scholarships and were steered by an array of cultural, academic, and economic purposes. After World War II, and especially during the Cold War, scholarship programs were submitted to the politicization and regulation of the United States government as transatlantic academic mobility became an increasingly widespread practice. The combined and overlapping purposes that steered scholarship-awarding from 1912–1980 facilitated the rise of particular individuals, types of knowledge, higher education institutions, and industries in Sweden and the United States. In addition, the asymmetrical distribution of these scholarships, in which three times as many Swedes traveled to the United States than the reverse, gradually structured a dependence on the academic, economic, and technological resources of the United States.

Keywords: history of education, sociology of education, internationalization, universities, scholarships, educational exchange, academic mobility, private foundations, United States, Sweden

Christin Mays, Department of Education, Box 2136, Uppsala University, SE-750 02 Uppsala, Sweden.

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In 2006, my college roommate studied abroad in Japan. During that time, an acquaintance mentioned that she was planning to study abroad in Sweden. After consulting a map, I decided to figure out how I could go about studying abroad. I learned that my university had an exchange agreement with the Stockholm Institute of Education, and after *lots* of paperwork, I landed in Stockholm in January 2007. It was my first time outside of North America, and that semester in Sweden completely changed the direction of my life.

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Acronyms

ACLS	American Council of Learned Societies
APP	Annual Program Proposal
AR	Annual Report
ASEA	*Allmänna Svenska Elektriska AB* (General Swedish Electric Company)
ASF	American-Scandinavian Foundation
BFS	Board of Foreign Scholarships
CCNY	Carnegie Corporation of New York
CEEB	College Entrance Examination Board
CEEUS	Commission for Educational Exchange between the United States and Sweden
CIES	Council for International Exchange of Scholars
ETS	Educational Testing Service
GEB	General Education Board
IEB	International Education Board
IIE	Institute of International Education
KF	*Kooperativa Förbundet* (Swedish Co-operative Union)
LSRM	Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial
RBF	Rockefeller Brothers Fund
RF	Rockefeller Foundation
SAS	*Sverige-Amerika Stiftelsen* (Sweden-America Foundation)
SI	*Svenska institutet* (Swedish Institute)
SSRC	Social Science Research Council
USEC/S	United States Educational Commission in Sweden (*Förenta staternas undervisningsnämnd i Sverige*)
USIA	United States Information Agency

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

The large-scale transatlantic mobility of students, teachers, and researchers is a twentieth-century phenomenon that has contributed to the reshaping of international cultural, economic, and political relations into the twenty-first century.

Through and as part of this development, the United States transformed into a powerful and influential country on the global stage. As a large, populous, industrialized nation, the United States has been significant both as a funder of international mobility as well as a destination for foreign students and scholars. Large American private foundations and universities were central funders of transatlantic mobility from the early twentieth century. After World War II, the US government became an increasingly important funder in this field. These funders played a vital role in the rise of American research universities and the United States becoming the top destination for foreign students and scholars after World War II.

Sweden, a small, peripheral country in Northern Europe, has had a long relationship with the United States. Amidst the mass migration of peoples from several European countries to North America in the mid-nineteenth century to the 1920s, over one million Swedes migrated to the United States. The connections made through this migration, combined with the growing economic, industrial, and cultural resources of the United States, contributed to a renewed desire to maintain and improve relations between the two countries from the early twentieth century. This resulted in private funding for Swedish and American academic exchange from the 1910s. By the 1970s, the United States was consistently one of the most popular destinations for Swedish students and scholars.

This study focuses on the transatlantic mobility of students, teachers, and researchers in the twentieth century by investigating organizations that fund and award merit-based scholarships. In particular, it examines the development of several important scholarship programs in Sweden and the United States and the flows of people and knowledge between the two countries from the 1910s to the 1970s. The organizations investigated in this study facilitated mobility through scholarships but also structured complex and asymmetrical flows of people and knowledge between Sweden and the United States in the twentieth century.

In tracing the development of scholarship programs as well as flows of people and knowledge, this study aims to explain the role of scholarships in Swedish-American relations. This study contributes to several existing research fields, including the

history of transatlantic academic mobility; Swedish and American philanthropy and cultural diplomacy; and Swedish-American relations in the twentieth century.

Perspectives on transatlantic mobility

Over the course of the twentieth century, the transatlantic mobility of students and scholars grew from a marginal practice to a vast, global phenomenon. A large body of research frames this transformation as part of a series of interrelated processes: globalization, Americanization, and internationalization.

Globalization as a concept has been the object of fierce debate since its popularization in the early 1990s. A common definition of globalization is "the growing interdependence of the world […] and the formation of the global institutions."[1] Another definition sees globalization as "the growing frequency, volume and interrelatedness of cultures, commodities, information, and peoples across both time and space."[2] Both of these definitions point to how increased flows of individuals, objects, and ideas have transformed relations between different parts of the world. Saskia Sassen, in her book on the sociology of globalization, argues that definitions such as these ignore the structuring power of nation states and territorial borders. She instead urges the discussion of globalization as transnational economic, political, and cultural processes.[3] Transnational, in this meaning, highlights the idea of "moving 'between' or 'above' territorial boundaries" and emphasizes "individuals and movements which are occuring in 'transnational space' and not necessarily as part of official inter-action between nations," which are more commonly termed "inter-national."[4] In this way, globalization can be viewed as the transnational processes that contribute to global interdependence as well as the borders that structure interactions in time and space.

In the twentieth century, the economic and political aspects of these processes have been intertwined with the concept of Americanization and becoming increasingly synonymous with it since the end of World War II. This is in contrast to a historical perspective on cultural globalization, according to which it is important to relate Americanization to a process of modernization tracing back to the fifteenth century. This process entailed the spread of European culture to other parts of the world.[5] From this perspective, the United States became more central after World War I, upon the US government's active involvement in European

[1] Sassen (2007) *A Sociology of Globalization*, p. 3.
[2] Turner (2010) "Theories of Globalization: Issues and Origins" in *The Routledge International Handbook of Globalization Studies*, p. 9.
[3] Sassen (2007), p. 3.
[4] Kim (2009) "Shifting patterns of transnational academic mobility: a comparative and historical approach," p. 387.
[5] Berndtson (2000) "Globalization as Americanization" in *Power in Contemporary Politics: Theories, Practices, Globalizations*, pp. 156–157.

affairs and when American popular culture began to spread to Europe, instigating a backlash of critique in several European countries.[6]

According to Erkki Berndtson, the intertwined concepts of globalization and Americanization should be understood in the context of power relations – in particular, where power is located, who uses power, and how power is used.[7] This points to the reason why the United States, because of its outsized power and resources, can be understood as "the major originator of the globalization process" in the twentieth century. Berndtson argues that this fact should not, however, be confused with total American influence but instead associated with gradual processes of selection and adaptation.[8]

John Krige argues that relations of power and their enforcement are often overlooked in the discourse on global movements of people and knowledge, or what he describes as the "complex apparatus[es] put in place in the name of sovereignty to control [the] passage [of knowledge and its bearers] beyond borders."[9] In his edited anthology on the transnational history of science and technology, he focuses on five themes that are important in explaining the structures of mobility, including the importance of travel, regulatory states, borders and networks, nationality and political allegiances, and intersections between the local and the global.[10] Krige also acknowledges the importance of understanding the bureaucratic processes that structure the movement of people and knowledge in particular, which requires money, generally from institutional patrons, and supporting documentation, including passports, visas, etc. As asserted by Krige, "It is in these piles of paperwork that states perform their sovereignty."[11]

One of the contributions to analyzing the internationalization of higher education in the twentieth century is by Hans de Wit, who provides a conceptual framework based on rationales to help understand why different organizations and individuals invest in internationalization in different periods.[12] De Wit's rationales are divided into four categories: political, economic, social-cultural, and academic. Internationalization, in this meaning, refers to the desire by certain actors to incorporate an international dimension in higher education through, for example, study abroad programs, international academic cooperation,

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[6] Berndtson (2000), p. 163. See also Costigliola (1984) *Awkward Dominion: American Political, Economic, and Cultural Relations with Europe, 1919–1933*, Rosenberg (1982) *Spreading the American Dream: American Economic and Cultural Expansion 1890–1945*, and Stephan (2006) *The Americanization of Europe: Culture, Diplomacy, and Anti-Americanism after 1945*.

[7] Berndtson (2000), pp. 155–156. When discussing the who and how of using power, he refers to "the agencies of power and systematic properties of power." (p. 155).

[8] Berndtson (2000), pp. 165–166.

[9] Krige (2019) "Introduction: Writing the Transnational History of Science and Technology" in *How Knowledge Moves. Writing the Transnational History of Science and Technology*, p. 4.

[10] Krige (2019), p. 4.

[11] Krige (2019), p. 5.

[12] De Wit (2002) *Internationalization of Higher Education in the United States of America and Europe. A Historical, Comparative, and Conceptual Analysis*, p. 84.

international curriculum development, and foreign student recruitment. In this meaning, international refers to anything foreign or non-domestic in origin instead of international governmental cooperation or organizations.

De Wit argues that during the interwar period, after World War II, and during the Cold War, the United States "determined to a large extent the development and characteristics of the international dimension of higher education under the umbrella term of international education" even if this development was fragmented and largely political.[13] He argues that during the early phase of internationalization in Europe in the 1960s and 1970s, on the other hand, there was an "open-door and laissez-faire policy" under which European universities focused on sending European students to the United States or receiving students from the Third World.[14] This began to change in the late 1970s and early 1980s when national governments in Europe became more strategically international, leading to the launch of several Europe-wide exchange programs by the European Commission (EC) in the 1980s.[15]

This study understands globalization as the multiple transnational economic, political, and cultural processes that have played a role in the increased movement of people and knowledge over time. These movements are also structured by relations of power and diverse interests. This study also recognizes the temporally-specific circumstances of the twentieth century, in which the related processes of Americanization and internationalization of higher education are integral to understanding the growing complexity and impact of these movements.

Transnational academic mobility and scholarships

Transnational scholarship programs are one of the historical drivers of student and scholarly mobility – also called academic mobility or academic exchange. Although scholarships have been awarded in some form for hundreds of years, they were increasingly organized within the frameworks of scholarship programs from the late nineteenth century.

Until recently, there has been little research that analyzed the long-term historical trends of scholarships and scholarship programs, which Ludovic Tournés and Giles Scott-Smith aimed to remedy in their anthology *Global Exchanges*. In the introduction of this anthology, they piece together a revised periodization of scholarship programs, which they roughly categorize into four trends stretching from the mid-1850s to the present. The first trend from the mid-1850s is defined by the organization of scholarship programs as instruments of national and imperial power politics. The second trend emerged in the 1910s amidst a new wave of internationalism wherein new, and existing scholarship

[13] De Wit (2002), p. 217.
[14] De Wit (2002), p. 218.
[15] De Wit (2002), pp. 218–220.

programs were used to develop international cooperation and mutual understanding. The third trend emerged during the Cold War, in which power politics were marked by ultra-politicization as part of the strategies of the United States and the Soviet Union. The fourth trend emerged in the 1970s and was marked by the gradual retreat from the Cold War framework and the emergence of new actors and new geographies. This means that, from the 1850s, scholarship programs gradually accrued more functions and became increasingly important instruments for scientific and economic gain, the promotion of peace, and the imposition of specific political and cultural models.[16] This periodization highlights the shifting value and use of scholarship programs and their geographical contingencies, which from the 1850s to the 1970s were dominated by "Western countries, especially the United States and Europe, […] [that] continue to hold considerable leverage in terms of quality and prestige."[17]

One of the most prestigious private scholarships in Europe is the Rhodes Scholarship, an international scholarship program founded in 1901 by British politician and mining magnate Cecil Rhodes and held as a trust at Oxford University.[18] These scholarships were designated for "bringing the most promising men from across the English-speaking world to Oxford [University]" to "foster good imperial citizens" and unite English-speaking peoples all over the world.[19] Tamson Pietsch asserts that this colonial scholarship scheme, in combination with scholarship programs run by smaller foundations at settler universities, helped "settler universities […] claim their intellectual citizenship" by allowing their students to study in Britain.[20] In France, international mobility scholarships from the 1880s to 1914 were awarded both as part of a collaboration between the French government and academics and initiated by French universities. From the 1910s and especially after the 1930s, international exchange programs were coordinated as part of state public policy as political rather than academic instruments.[21]

In the United States, scholarship programs from the early twentieth century were part of binational governmental agreements that turned war debt into war relief through academic exchanges. The first of these was the Boxer Indemnity Scholarship Program for educating Chinese students in the United States in 1908, and the second, the Belgian-American Educational Foundation Fellowships after

[16] Tournés and Scott-Smith (2018) *Global Exchanges. Scholarships and Transnational Circulations in the Modern World*, pp. 10–19.
[17] Tournés and Scott-Smith (2018), p. 19.
[18] Pietsch (2013) *Empires of scholars. Universities, Networks and the British Academic World, 1850–1939*, p. 49.
[19] Pietsch (2011) "Many Rhodes: Travelling scholarships and imperial citizenship in the British academic world, 1880-1940," p. 723.
[20] Pietsch (2011), pp. 738–739.
[21] Tronchet (2018) "The Defeat of University Autonomy" in *Global Exchanges. Scholarships and Transnational Circulations in the Modern World*.

World War I.[22] In addition, international scholarships were an integral part of the operations of large US private foundations in the interwar years. The most well-known of these private foundations are the so-called "Big 3", the Carnegie Corporation of New York (est. 1911), the Rockefeller Foundation (est. 1913), and the Ford Foundation (est. 1936), created by Scottish-American industrialist and founder of Carnegie Steel Co., Andrew Carnegie; founder of Standard Oil Co., John D. Rockefeller, Sr.; and founder of Ford Motor Company, Henry Ford.[23]

Established on the premise of paying forward the extreme wealth gained by their respective founders, foundations were outfitted with large endowments as well as grand and often abstract purposes. The founders had an early interest in investing in the advancement of American higher education and research and facilitating international scientific cooperation.[24] The primary way of contributing to higher education and research was through grant-making from their endowments to American and foreign universities, research facilities, and other private organizations for education and research infrastructure, research projects, and international scholarships.[25] The influence of these contributions in Western Europe has been shown in the fields of medicine and public health, the biological and physical sciences, and the social sciences.[26]

Large private foundations have been subject to both intense praise and heavy critique since their founding. Some of the sharpest critics challenged the motives behind the founders of the largest foundations, especially after the rapid

[22] Arndt (2005) *The First Resort of Kings. American Cultural Diplomacy in the Twentieth Century* and Scott-Smith (2008) "The History of US Government Exchanges" in *Networks of Empire. The US State Department's Foreign Leader Program in the Netherlands, France, and Britain*.
[23] Parmar (2012) *Foundations of the American Century. The Ford, Carnegie, & Rockefeller Foundations in the Rise of American Power*.
[24] Anheier and Toepler (1999) *Private Funds, Public Purpose. Philanthropic Foundations in International Perspective*, Friedman and McGarvie (2002) *Charity, Philanthropy, and Civility in American History*, and Zunz (2012) *Philanthropy in America. A History* among others.
[25] Bell (1971) "The Ford Foundation as a Transnational Actor," Buxton (2009) *Patronizing the Public. American Philanthropy's Transformation of Culture, Communication, and the Humanities*, Curti (1963) *American Philanthropy Abroad*, Lagemann (1989) *The Politics of Knowledge. The Carnegie Corporation, Philanthropy, and Public Policy*, and Rosenfield (2014) *A World of Giving: The Carnegie Corporation of New York: A Century of International Giving* among others.
[26] Aaserud (2003) *Redirecting Science. Niels Bohr Philanthropy, and the Rise of Nuclear Physics*, Bulmer (1982) "Support for Sociology in the 1920s: The Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial and the Beginnings of Modern, Large-Scale, Sociological Research in the University," Bulmer and Bulmer (1981) "Philanthropy and Social Science in the 1920s: Beardsley Ruml and the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial, 1922–29," Gemelli (1998) *The Ford Foundation and Europe (1950s–1970s)*, Gemelli (2001) *American Foundations and Large-Scale Research: Construction and Transfer of Knowledge*, Gemelli and MacLeod (2003) *American Foundations in Europe*, Kay (1993) *The Molecular Vision of Life: Caltech, the Rockefeller Foundation, and the Rise of the New Biology*, Kohler (1991) *Partners in Science. Foundations and Natural Scientists 1900–1945*, Krige and Rausch (2012) *American Foundations and the Coproduction of World Order in the Twentieth Century*, and Petersen et al. (2013) *American Foundations and the European Welfare States* among others.

industrialization that led to their enormous wealth.[27] As Inderjeet Parmar states, despite this criticism, the "Big 3" were able to operate in relative freedom because they successfully presented themselves as politically neutral purveyors of the public good. However, he argues that the "Big 3" foundations were fundamentally political and consistently focused on the well-being of the American nation. By investing in the production of knowledge, they were able to fulfill their goals by building national and global networks of intellectuals who were educated and researched under their auspices.[28]

The period from the end of World War II until the end of the Cold War has often been characterized as a period of rapid growth in transatlantic academic contacts and of growing US dominance as a receiver of foreign students and scholars. While this rapid growth and dominance were partially facilitated by large American private foundations, the ingress of overt foreign policy in existing scholarship programs and the newly-established governmental scholarship programs in the United States and Europe also played an important part. This is encapsulated by the establishment of the Fulbright Program, in which both the trends of hopeful internationalism and overt foreign policy are present.

Akira Iriye argues that the Fulbright Program was established in the hopeful years after World War II when many believed that internationalism in education was the key to "building an interdependent world community" that could ensure peace after the war.[29] According to Randall Woods, Senator Fulbright, the ideologue of the Fulbright Program, considered international scholarly exchange a potent way of "weaning the peoples of the world away from the sacred cow of national sovereignty."[30] Tournés and Scott-Smith describe the Fulbright Program as an example of the "awkwardly coexist[ing]" principles of unilateralism and bilateralism because the Fulbright Program both intended to promote the economic and political model of the US and internationalize American society.[31]

Research on the Fulbright Program's political and educational objectives has generally focused on its dual role in traditional public diplomacy as well as cultural diplomacy.[32] Public diplomacy can be understood as efforts by governments "to inform, influence, and engage […] publics in support of national

[27] Arnove (1980) *Philanthropy and Cultural Imperialism. The Foundations at Home and Abroad*, Berman (1983) *The Influence of the Carnegie, Ford, and Rockefeller Foundations on American Foreign Policy*, Jonas (1989) *The Circuit Riders: Rockefeller Money and the Rise of Modern Science*, and Parmar (2012) among others.
[28] Parmar (2012), p. 4 and pp. 257–258.
[29] Iriye (2002) *Global Community: The Role of International Organizations in the Making of the Contemporary World*, p. 46.
[30] Woods (1987) "Fulbright Internationalism," p. 23.
[31] Tournés and Scott-Smith (2018), p. 323.
[32] Arndt (2005), Bettie (2015) "Ambassadors unaware: the Fulbright Program and American public diplomacy," and Ninkovich (1981) *The Diplomacy of Ideas. U.S. foreign policy and cultural relations, 1938–1950.*

objectives and foreign policies"[33] and in exchange programs for the specific purposes of making a country's "cultural resources and achievements known overseas and/or facilitating cultural transmission abroad."[34] In this way, public diplomacy is related to soft power, or "the ability to affect others to obtain the outcomes one wants through attraction rather than coercion or payment," a term coined by Joseph F. Nye, which is meant to be a complement to the concept of hard power, or military and economic power, wielded by governments.[35]

Sam Lebovic even argues that the main goal of the Fulbright Program was the pursuit of one-way "American cultural globalism," in which the Program provided a conduit for American grantees to spread American culture abroad and for foreign grantees in the United States to absorb American culture.[36] In a recently published book on the Fulbright Program in Australia, Alice Garner and Diane Kirkby argue that although there was an overt foreign policy dimension during the Cold War, this has given way to the Fulbright Program becoming a semi-independent and valid academic enterprise since the 1990s.[37] Some researchers have also addressed the professional benefits of the Program, including Warren F. Ilchman and Alice Stone Ilchman, who state that the program helped create "national and international scholarly networks" after World War II.[38] A small survey of American Fulbright grantees published in 1955 also indicated that grantees self-reported career advantages from participation in the program.[39]

In summary, scholarship-funded transnational academic mobility was organized by a diverse array of actors for many different reasons in the twentieth century. Some of the most prominent funders of transatlantic scholarships in the first half of the century were large American private foundations. After World War II, the US government became increasingly prominent. The influence of these scholarships can be seen in many academic disciplines in Western Europe.

The Swedish-American case

The previous sections have discussed the twentieth century as a century of rapid transformation in international relations as well as the role of scholarships in the

[33] Snow (2009) "Rethinking Public Diplomacy" in *The Routledge Handbook of Public Diplomacy*, p. 6.
[34] Cull (2008b) "Public Diplomacy: Taxonomies and Histories," p. 33.
[35] Nye (2008) "Public Diplomacy and Soft Power," p. 95 and Nye (2004) *Soft Power: The Means of Success in World Politics*, p. 2.
[36] Lebovic (2013) "From War Junk to Educational Exchange: The World War II Origins of the Fulbright Program and the Foundations of American Cultural Globalism," p. 308 and p. 312.
[37] Garner and Kirkby (2019) *Academic Ambassadors, Pacific Allies. Australia, America and the Fulbright Program.*
[38] Ilchman and Ilchman (1987) "Academic Exchange and the Founding of New Universities," p. 61.
[39] Mendelsohn and Orenstein (1955) "A Survey of Fulbright Award Recipients: Cross-Cultural Education and Its Impacts." See also Arndt and Rubin (1993) *The Fulbright Difference: 1948–1992* and Dudden and Dynes (1987) *The Fulbright Experience: 1946–1986.*

shifting power dynamics between Europe and the United States. This section will contextualize relations between Sweden, a small peripheral country in Northern Europe, and the United States in the twentieth century.

The relations between Sweden and the United States have a long history, but the closer connection between the two countries began with the mass migration of nearly 1.3 million Swedes to the United States from the mid-1800s to around 1930.[40] Many of these migrants settled in the Midwest and the Pacific Northeast, and to a lesser extent in the West and industrial areas in the Northeastern United States. According to Dag Blanck and Adam Hjorthén, by the end of the nineteenth century, "white, Protestant, Northern Europeans had found a privileged position in the American ethnoracial hierarchies" and were able to develop a rich ethnic life "based on cultural, religious and educational institutions […] leaving a long-lasting network across the Atlantic."[41] In the decades following World War II, however, general knowledge of the Swedish language gradually disappeared, and Swedish gradually assumed a symbolic role as a heritage language.[42]

According to Sverker Sörlin, another important dimension of this migration was the regular travel of Swedish engineers and technicians to the United States from the late 1800s as the United States began to gain prominence as an "industrial giant and a technological pioneer."[43] In his book on the transnational mobility of Nordic engineers, Per-Olof Grönberg argues that Swedish engineers and technicians were atypical migrants, in that they migrated to different places in the country and that a higher proportion of migrants eventually returned to Sweden. Grönberg also shows that this return migration of Swedish engineers and technicians was a conduit for the transfer of educational and technological expertise to Sweden from the early twentieth century.[44]

As Jan Sundin argues, even if the mobility to Sweden was on a much smaller scale, educational and academic mobility was reciprocal. This was due to the liberal political ideas in the 1800s that made migration easier, and economic and technological developments that made moving between countries faster and less expensive. The impact of these conditions is visible in the increased number of

[40] Åsard (2016) *Det blågula stjärnbaneret. USA:s närvaro och inflytande i Sverige*, pp. 46–47. Blanck and Hjorthén (2021) *Swedish-American Borderlands. New Histories of Transatlantic Relations* argue that the mass migration never ended, citing that more Swedes obtained permanent residence in the United States from 1950–2000 than the total number that migrated from 1820–1867 (p. 14).
[41] Blanck and Hjorthén (2021), p. 16. See also Barton (1994) *A Folk Divided. Homeland Swedes and Swedish Americans, 1840–1940.* See also Hahner (2017) *To Become an American. Immigrants and Americanization Campaigns of the Early Twentieth Century*, p. 4 and p. 166.
[42] Blanck and Hjorthén (2021), p. 16.
[43] Sörlin (1994) *De lärdas republik. Om vetenskapens internationella tendenser*, p. 203: "en industriell jätte och ett tekniskt föregångsland." See also Grönberg (2003) *Learning and Returning. Return Migration of Swedish Engineers from the United States, 1880–1940*.
[44] Grönberg (2018) *The Peregrine Profession. Transnational Mobility of Nordic Engineers and Architects, 1880–1930*, p. 162.

international students at Uppsala University from around 1900.[45] Sörlin also attributes the increase in transatlantic academic mobility to the establishment of private foundations before World War II as well as the establishment of the Fulbright Program after World War II.[46] This connection was intensified from the 1920s, when "the rise in the art of scientifically-inspired social engineering combined with a corporatist state view became an ideal in both Sweden and the United States, and created a mutual interest in large-scale scientific efforts."[47] As stated by Blanck and Hjorthén, "Sweden became known as a social laboratory, attracting visitors interested in learning about the reforms […] [and the] country that had solved many social and economic problems, especially from the 1950s and 1960s."[48]

Because of the close connection between Sweden and the United States, and especially the close connection of Sweden to the United States, there is a significant body of research that investigates the Americanization of, and American influence in, Sweden, especially in relation to Swedish higher education and research and industry in the latter half of the twentieth century.[49] On the influence of large American private foundations in Swedish higher education and research, previous research has shown that the most important in the Swedish case was the Rockefeller Foundation. Several studies have investigated the involvement of the Rockefeller Foundation and its affiliated organizations, like the International Education Board and the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial in funding research infrastructure and traveling fellowships for Swedish students, lecturers, teachers, and researchers, mainly to the United States and other parts of Europe. In the interwar period, this support included fields such as the medical sciences, particularly molecular biology, at the Karolinska Institute (*Karolinska institutet*) in Stockholm; the social sciences

[45] Sundin (1973) *Främmande studenter vid Uppsala universitet fore andra världskriget. En studie i studentmigration*, p. 122.
[46] Sörlin (1994), p. 204. See also Sundin (1973), pp. 110–111.
[47] Sörlin (1994), p. 204: "den vetenskapligt inspirerade sociala ingenjörskonst som i kombination med en korporativ statsuppfattning blev ideal i såväl Sverige som USA och skapade ett ömsesidigt intresse för vetenskapliga satsningar i stor skala."
[48] Blanck and Hjorthén (2021), p. 20. See also Marklund (2009) "The Social Laboratory, the Middle Way, and the Swedish Model: Three Frames for the Image of Sweden."
[49] Examples in Swedish higher education and research include: Engwall (1992) *Mercury Meets Minerva. Business Studies and Higher Education*, Engwall et al. (1987) *Europa et Taurus: Foreign Inspiration of Swedish Business Administration*, Eyerman and Jamison (1992) "On the Transatlantic Migration of Knowledge: Intellectual Exchange between the United States and Sweden, 1930–1970," Jonung (1992) "Economics the Swedish way 1889–1989" in *Economics in Sweden. An Evaluation of Swedish Research in Economics*, Kastrup and Olsson (1977) *Partners in Progress: A Chapter in the American-Swedish Exchange of Knowledge*, Lundén and Åsard (1992) *Networks of Americanization. Aspects of American influence in Sweden*, and Scott (1955) *The American Experience of Swedish Students. Retrospect and Aftermath.* In vocational education: Berry (2022) "Mediating Modernity: The Social History of Rural Domestic Education in Northern Europe." In Swedish industry: Schröter (2005) *Americanization of the European Economy: A compact survey of American economic influence in Europe since the 1880s* and Glimstedt (2000) "Creative Cross-Fertilization and Uneven Americanization of Swedish Industry: Sources of Innovation in Post-War Motor Vehicles and Electrical Manufacturing" in *Americanization and its Limits: Reworking US Technology and Management in Post-War Europe and Japan*.

at Stockholm University College (*Stockholms högskola*) and the Institute of Social Work (*Socialinstitutet*); and physical chemistry at Uppsala University.[50] The Carnegie Corporation of New York also famously funded Gunnar Myrdal's study on American race relations in the late 1930s, but most of the Carnegie Corporation's funding was directed toward establishing foundations and funding libraries, projects, and individuals in the United States, the British Commonwealth, and later Africa.[51]

In addition to the investment of the Rockefeller Foundation in higher education and research, previous research has also acknowledged the important role of smaller private foundations, often national or regional in character, and more limited in their means and foci.[52] Important organizations that supported academic exchange between Sweden and the United States include the American-Scandinavian Foundation (est. 1911) and the Sweden-America Foundation (1919). Dag Blanck's research on the American-Scandinavian Foundation shows that this organization played an important role in shaping the relations between Scandinavia and the United States from the early twentieth century through the facilitation of cross-cultural contact and influence during academic exchanges.[53]

In a pilot study of the fellows of the Sweden-America Foundation, Andreas Melldahl found that the Foundation awarded over 2,000 scholarships from 1919–2006 for Swedes to study, train or conduct research in the United States. He further argues that the boards of trustees tended to award scholarships in fields connected to the economic interests of the Swedish nation in different periods.[54] In a more thorough investigation of the Sweden-America-Foundation's operations and scholarship awards from 1919–1939, Melldahl emphasizes the Foundation's self-understanding as an important organization for knowledge transfer to Sweden, which meant the board of trustees prioritized fields deemed more theoretically or methodologically advanced or host institutions with better research infrastructure, such as state-of-the-art equipment or facilities, in the United States.[55]

An important transition in scholarship-funded academic mobility after World War II occurred when both the Swedish and the US governments created educational exchange programs as part of their public diplomacy efforts. In

[50] Craver (1991) "Gösta Bagge, the Rockefeller Foundation, and empirical social science research in Sweden, 1924–1940" in *The Stockholm School of Economics Revisited*, Ljungström (2010) *Ämnessprängarna. Karolinska Institutet och Rockefeller Foundation 1930–1945*, and Widmalm (2004) "The Svedberg and the Boundary Between Science and Industry: Laboratory Practice, Policy, and Media Images."
[51] Rosenfield (2014).
[52] Nielsen (1972) *The Big Foundations. A Twentieth Century Fund Study*, pp. 26–27; Helgesson (2004) "Donationer i Sverige, filantropi i USA" in *Sista fracken inga fickor har: Filantropi och ekonomisk tillväxt*, p. 147.
[53] Blanck (2008) "Scholars across the Seas: The American-Scandinavian Foundation and the Sweden-America Foundation in the Transatlantic Exchange of Knowledge," pp. 112–114.
[54] Melldahl (2008a) "Västerled tur och retur del 1: Utbildning och ekonomi: En ekonomiskhistorisk studie av Sverige-Amerika Stiftelsens stipendieverksamhet 1919–2006."
[55] Melldahl (2008b) "Study Travels in Theory and Practice: The Sweden-America Foundation and Its Fellows to the U.S., 1919–1939," pp. 136–138.

Sweden, this took the form of a "semi-governmental, public-private financed" organization called the Swedish Institute for Cultural Exchange with Foreign Countries (*Svenska institutet*), which was established in 1945.[56] Despite the Swedish Institute's leading role in Swedish public diplomacy and the fact that a partial motivation for founding the Institute was to foster better relations with the United States, the United States was not originally included in its scholarship program. According to Andreas Åkerlund, this is likely due to the program's requirement for bilateralism, wherein Sweden offered scholarships to foreigners if foreign governments offered the same. The US government did not offer scholarships to foreigners, making it impossible to negotiate bilateral scholarships.[57] Instead of the Swedish Institute directly negotiating scholarships for students from the United States, the Swedish government collaborated with the Sweden-America Foundation.[58] It was not until the Institute began offering unilateral scholarships in the 1970s, such as through the international guest scholarships program, that Americans were offered scholarships through the Swedish Institute.[59]

In the United States, public diplomacy through exchange was channeled into the Fulbright Program in 1946, an international educational exchange program that funded traveling grants for both American and foreign scholars, and later the binational Swedish Fulbright Commission in 1952, established specifically for the administration of exchanges between Sweden and the United States. There is little research on the Swedish Fulbright Commission in particular, but previous research does acknowledge its role in Swedish-American academic exchange as well as its connections to American propaganda during the Cold War.[60] Mikael Nilsson even argues that the establishment of the Commission was a "hegemonic reward from the U.S. to Sweden" after the Swedish government agreed to take part in the Marshall Plan to reconstruct Europe after World War II. He also notes that several Swedish Fulbright grantees "went on to fill important posts in Swedish political life, industry and business, and government bureaucracy."[61] While Nilsson focused on the overt political objectives in the Swedish context, he also acknowledges the division of labor in these objectives during the Cold War, in which the US government relied on several different organizations and agencies to facilitate its Americanization policies.

As shown in this section, Swedish-American academic exchange is intertwined with cultural, economic, and political legacies that are both part of more general

[56] Åkerlund (2016) *Public Diplomacy and Academic Mobility in Sweden. The Swedish Institute and Scholarship Programs for Foreign Academics, 1938–2010*, p. 48. See also Clerc et al. (2015) *Histories of Public Diplomacy and Nation Branding in the Nordic and Baltic Countries* and Glover (2011) *National Relations. Public Diplomacy, national identity and the Swedish Institute 1945–1970.*
[57] Åkerlund (2016), pp. 42–48.
[58] Åkerlund (2016), p. 43.
[59] Åkerlund (2016), p. 104. See also Åkerlund (2014) "The Impact of Foreign Policy on Educational Exchange."
[60] See Petersen et al. (2013) and Nilsson (2016) *The Battle for Hearts and Minds in the High North. The USIA and American Cold War Propaganda in Sweden, 1952–1969.*
[61] Nilsson (2016), p. 313.

globalizing processes but also have specific national, regional, and local features. These processes and features have structured the establishment of certain organizations and institutions as well as the academic exchange between the two countries in the twentieth century.

Purpose and questions

This study investigates the development of scholarship programs in Sweden and the United States and their role in the academic exchange between these two countries from 1912–1980. Set against broader economic, political, and cultural processes that increased the scale and complexity of academic mobility in the twentieth century that these programs were both parts of and affected by, the purpose of this study is to explain how scholarships facilitated and structured flows of students, teachers, and researchers as well as knowledge between Sweden and the United States.

This study will answer three questions. The first question relates to the purposes of scholarship programs and important shifts over time. Why were scholarships awarded? Purposes are understood as the reasons that scholarships were valuable to different actors. These reasons were generally operationalized into goals that provided measurable targets for scholarship programs. Both purposes and goals are important for understanding the founding of organizations and scholarship programs as well as their development related to how founders, donors, and program staff understood the value and use of scholarships over time.

The second question addresses the organizational frameworks in which scholarship programs were developed and operated throughout the period. How did the organizational frameworks and praxis of scholarship programs develop in light of broader political, cultural, and economic conditions? This question relates to how the organizations acted and reacted amidst shifting national regulatory and legal frameworks, economic conditions, and international political-cultural contexts. This is evidenced in changes in policy and procedure as well as changes in purposes and priorities.

The third and last question investigates the flows of people, the scholarship holders themselves, and knowledge. Who were awarded scholarships? This question relates to the purposes of scholarships as well as the development of scholarship programs over time. These flows are also related to individual educational and career aspirations, the (re)production of academic networks, and distribution of knowledge to individuals, academic fields, and higher education institutions in Sweden and the United States.

This study investigates organizations with transatlantic scholarship programs that consistently funded and awarded scholarships between Sweden and the United States in the twentieth century: the American-Scandinavian Foundation (est. 1911); the Rockefeller Foundation (est. 1913); the Sweden-America Foundation (est. 1919); and the Fulbright Program (est. 1946) and its binational commission in Sweden, the Swedish Fulbright Commission (est. 1952). The

investigation begins in 1912, the year the American-Scandinavian Foundation Fellowship Program was founded, the first binational scholarship program between Sweden and the United States. The end year of this study is 1980, which marks the beginning of a power shift from binational scholarship frameworks to global or regional scholarship frameworks, such as the mobility schemes coordinated by the European Commission and later the European Union.

The period of 1912–1980 and the geographical focus on Sweden and the United States allows for the investigation of the development of scholarship programs over a long period, stretching through important changes in cultural, economic, and political relations; the fields of higher education and research; and technology and communications. These foci allow for a comprehensive investigation of several scholarship programs and their scholarship holders without restriction to a single organization, academic discipline, or higher education institution, which characterizes the bulk of previous research in this field. It should be noted that this study only investigates scholarships awarded using the economic resources of the selected organizations designated for academic exchange between Sweden and the United States. The organizations in this study also played a significant role in mediating scholarships funded by other individuals and organizations as well as funded and/or awarded scholarships between other countries, which are not included in this investigation.

The novelty of this study is that it traces the long-term development of several important scholarship programs in the twentieth century and explains how scholarships structured academic exchange between two countries in light of significant transformations in the use, value, and scope of transatlantic academic mobility as well as in the interconnectedness of peoples on a global scale. The cross-organizational analysis and historical contextualization in this study enable a deeper understanding of the development of transatlantic scholarship-funded academic mobility through the majority of the twentieth century and an explanation of the particularities of the Swedish-American case.

Points of departure

This study investigates the development of scholarship programs in Sweden and the United States as well as the patterns in scholarship awards from 1912–1980. The purpose of the study is to explain how scholarship programs facilitated and structured academic mobility through the majority of the twentieth century. The relationships between three parts of scholarship programs are analyzed: their purposes, organizational frameworks and praxis, and scholarship awards. The analysis employs three analytical points of departure: rationales for internationalization, historical institutionalism, and symbolic capital. The rationales for internationalization as conceptualized by Hans de Wit, are used to examine the purposes that motivated the founding of different organizations, donations, as well as the value and use of scholarships over time. Historical institutionalism

is used to identify the timing and sequence of significant moments in the historical development of scholarship-funded academic mobility. Symbolic capital is used to position the impact of particular historical developments on the flows of people and knowledge between certain academic fields and higher education institutions in Sweden and the United States.

Rationales for internationalization

In Hans de Wit's 2002 book on the internationalization of higher education in the United States and Europe, he provides a conceptual framework to better understand "the rationales for and the meaning of internationalization of higher education […] to contribute to the improvement of the theoretical basis of analysis and research methods" in this field.[62] These rationales are used to explain why "various stakeholders: international, national, and regional governments; the private sector; institutions; faculty; and students" invested in the international dimension of higher education in different periods.[63] Rationales are divided into four overarching categories: political, economic, social-cultural, and academic, with several sub-categories that illustrate the types of arguments associated with the different rationales. All of these rationales and their associated arguments can be found in Appendix D.

Political rationales are associated with six arguments: foreign policy, national security, technical assistance, peace and mutual understanding, national identity, and regional identity. The foreign policy argument states that internationalization constitutes "a form of diplomatic investment in future political relations."[64] In this way, awarding scholarships to those poised to become "future leaders is […] a way of endowing them with knowledge of the host country and sympathy with its political system, culture, and values."[65] A closely related political argument is that of national security, which de Wit asserts was particularly dominant in the United States in the 1960s to the 1980s. The third political argument for technical assistance, also called development cooperation, argues for the benefits of aiding higher education systems in developing countries, through 1) institution-building, 2) the sending of experts, 3) training programs, and 4) scholarships. The fourth political argument is that internationalization can create peace and mutual understanding. De Wit states that the argument for peace and mutual understanding dated back to the interwar period in the United States and became dominant politically after World War II. The fifth political argument, national identity, relates to neocolonialist arguments that encouraged the introduction of local languages in addition to colonial languages as languages of instruction in

[62] De Wit (2002), p. 83.
[63] De Wit (2002), p. 84.
[64] De Wit (2002), p. 85.
[65] De Wit (2002), p. 85.

higher education institutions. Related to this is the sixth political argument, regional identity, which argues that investments in regional cooperation can help form a regional identity, a prime example being the Europeanization projects of the EU.[66]

De Wit divides economic rationales into four sub-categories: economic growth and competitiveness, the labor market, national educational demand, and financial incentives. The first economic argument is that internationalization has "a positive effect on technological development and thus on economic growth."[67] The second economic argument is that the incorporation of internationally educated individuals into the labor market increases its competitiveness. The third economic argument relates to the lack of national educational supply, which stimulates – intentionally and unintentionally – the outward mobility of students and faculty to other higher education institutions. The fourth economic argument is that internationalization can generate income through 1) contract education, 2) foreign student recruitment, and 3) international education advisory services.[68]

Social-cultural rationales are divided into two sub-categories: social and cultural rationales. Within the cultural rationale, there are two arguments. De Wit asserts that the first argument "in particular in French and American policy constitutes a nationalist argument, one which emphasizes the export of national and cultural and moral values" and relates to the political rationale of foreign policy and national identity. This argument is visible in the cultural and scientific agreements between governments as well as "the support given by national governments and universities to the promotion of their national languages and country studies."[69] The second cultural argument is based on the notion of knowledge and its institutions as universal and sees internationalization as a natural part of higher education and research. The social argument emphasizes that internationalization is crucial for personal development because it forces individuals into a confrontation with other cultures as well as their home culture.[70]

Academic rationales are divided into six arguments: providing an international dimension to research and teaching, broadening the academic horizon, institution-building, profile and status, enhancement of quality, and international academic standards. The first academic argument is that internationalizing research and teaching helps to avoid parochialism and to stimulate critical thinking. This argument is associated with "curriculum innovation, study abroad programs, faculty-student exchanges, area studies and centers, foreign language study, joint international research initiatives, and cross-cultural training."[71] The second academic argument is that studying or conducting research at foreign institutions helps broaden the academic horizon. The third academic argument relates to the

[66] De Wit (2002), pp. 85–89.
[67] De Wit (2002), p. 89.
[68] De Wit (2002), pp. 89–92.
[69] De Wit (2002), p. 93.
[70] De Wit (2002), p. 94.
[71] De Wit (2002), p. 96.

building of institutions through the exchange of outside resources and/or expertise. The fourth academic argument is related to the competition between different higher education institutions and "the aspiration on the part of institutions to increase their international profiles for status and marketing purposes."[72] The fourth academic argument is that internationalization can increase a higher education institution's profile and status, which is related to both the fifth argument that internationalization enhances the quality of education and research, and the sixth argument, that it helps achieve an adequate international academic standard.

Hans de Wit acknowledges that the diversity of stakeholders, combined with shifts in these rationales over time and within space, complicates the study of the internationalization of higher education. He also emphasizes that stakeholders generally do not have one exclusive rationale, but they are based on a hierarchy of priorities that change over time and by country or region. The aim of using de Wit's rationales in this study is to position the purposes of different scholarship programs in relation to scholarship awards over time.

Historical institutionalism and organizations

During the twentieth century, transatlantic academic mobility as a practice has transformed from elite, informal, and regional to widespread, formal, and global. To identify significant moments in this transformation, this study utilizes historical institutionalism, a new institutionalist perspective originally developed in the context of political science and international relations. This means that much of the research using historical institutionalism investigates national or international political organizations and political outcomes.[73] This study aims to widen this scope by incorporating private organizations and broader transnational economic, cultural, and educational outcomes, especially because private foundations were key actors in the institutional formation of transatlantic academic mobility from the late nineteenth century.

What is an institution in historical institutionalism? An institution in this sense is not a formal organization, like a school, university, private foundation, or governmental apparatus, but constitutes "formal or informal procedures, routines, norms and conventions embedded in the organizational structure of the polity or political economy."[74] As Peter A. Hall argues, institutional practices "may be formal, if codified by relevant authorities, or informal, which is to say observed by mutual agreement."[75] The important point here is that the actions of different

[72] De Wit (2002), p. 98.
[73] For early contributions, see Skocpol (1979) *States and Social Revolutions. A Comparative Analysis of France, Russia and China* and Steinmo et al. (1992) *Structuring Politics: Historical Institutionalism in Comparative Perspective*.
[74] Hall and Taylor (1996) "Political Science and the Three New Institutionalisms," p. 938.
[75] Hall (2016) "Politics as Process Structured in Space and Time" in *The Oxford Handbook of Historical Institutionalism*, p. 6.

actors, like formal organizations, cannot be explained without reference to the institution, or practices, that structure them.

In essence, this means there are "rules of the game" that define the practices of transnational academic mobility in relation to the relevant historical conditions. These rules exist temporally and spatially as well as within and between formal organizations. This study focuses on critical junctures and path-dependent processes to explain the structures of scholarship-awarding over time. Critical junctures can be understood as the beginning of path dependent processes, in which institutional constraints are temporarily lifted, allowing "actors [to] upend mechanisms of reproduction, create new institutions, or modify existing ones."[76] While critical junctures are generally short, the path dependent processes resulting from them tend to be long. Examples of critical junctures in this study are the exceptional periods surrounding World War I and World War II that redefined the scale and scope of international relations.

The actors investigated in this study are formal organizations with scholarship programs. They were founded at different times, within different national and international contexts, for different purposes, and with different funding structures. At the same time, they all facilitated and structured transatlantic academic mobility by funding and awarding scholarships primarily for academic exchange between Sweden and the United States. In this way, they all participated in shaping, and were shaped by, institutions, or "the various national and international practices for how scholarships are agreed on, administered, and granted, or the rules according to which actors interact and negotiate scholarship-related issues."[77]

In the case of scholarship programs, praxis also means the rules and practices developed from the organizational framework of a program or its organizational home; funding policies and donor stipulations; national legal and regulatory frameworks; and even the admissions policies of universities and colleges. Of particular importance for this study are the organizational frameworks and funding structures of scholarship programs. Therefore, it is important to acknowledge that governmental (public or state) and non-governmental (private) organizations function differently. While public organizations are under the direct authority of governments and their representatives and are generally funded through a budgetary process of appropriation, private organizations are generally under the authority of voluntary boards of trustees and funded by donations. This means that private organizations operate differently than public organizations. Private organizations are steered by the interests of the boards of trustees as well as the wills of donors. Donations for private citizens and businesses are not necessarily strategic or timely, often coinciding with important anniversaries and their celebrations or the birthdays and deaths of significant individuals.[78]

[76] Fioretos et al. (2016) "Historical Institutionalism in Political Science" in *The Oxford Handbook of Historical Institutionalism*, p. 9.
[77] Åkerlund (2016), p. 33.
[78] Helgesson (2004), p. 147.

Another important focus of this study is the development of selection processes for scholarships, in which organizations use certain application forms, tests, intermediary organizations, or experts to assess merit. For example, Swedish students applying to study at American higher education institutions were generally required to show sufficient knowledge of English, but how this knowledge was proven sufficient changed over time. Until the early 1940s, Swedish applicants were required to provide a certificate of passing grades in English language classes. From the late 1940s, applicants could conduct interviews in English with program administrators or board members. From the 1950s, this gradually developed into a requirement for Swedish students to receive a sufficiently high score on a standardized English test created by American testing agency, the College Entrance Examination Board (CEEB). This means that both the criteria and authority surrounding merit changed over time and that power shifted from educational institutions to scholarship-awarding organizations to American testing agencies.

The aim of using a historical institutionalist perspective in this study is to understand how institutional developments impacted the flows of people and knowledge between Sweden and the United States over the twentieth century.

Symbolic capital and scholarships

What are scholarships? Scholarships in this study are understood as financial gifts awarded by organizations through scholarship programs to persons for the pursuit of some form of educational or scientific activity in a foreign country. These financial gifts have been given different names over time, the most common being scholarships, fellowships, and grants. In the case of the scholarship programs in this study, scholarships are primarily merit-based, meaning that they are awarded based on relevant previous education, scientific accomplishments, and language skills.

Scholarships provide the monetary means for individual academic mobility and carry with them the recognition of knowledge acquired from the use of a scholarship. This acknowledgment of merit is generally reserved for individuals but can also signify increased knowledge in academic disciplines and higher education institutions. In this way, both the scholarship programs and people who apply for and use scholarships can be seen as possessing capital, or certain symbolic or material assets.[79] Different types and volumes of capital, whether cultural, social, or economic, are considered valuable when applied in a relevant field. A field, in this sense, is understood as a system of positional relations structured by an unequal distribution of relevant types of capital.[80] A field can also be understood as a social world with rules and requirements that make it necessary to fight for a position. In this way, the more relevant capital is possessed, the more superior the position in

[79] Bourdieu (1986) "The Forms of Capital" in *Handbook of Theory and Research in Sociology of Education* and Broady (1998) "Kapitalbegreppet som utbildningssociologiskt verktyg."
[80] Bourdieu (1986), p. 19 and Broady (1998), p. 3.

this social world. The awarding of scholarships to specific people for future use can, therefore, be understood as a way for scholarship programs to contribute to the accumulation of capital in a relevant field and its unequal distribution among people, academic fields, or higher education institutions within this field.

The organizations in this study are holders of economic capital, material assets in the form of economic resources, which are valuable to people applying for scholarships. The organizations also held social capital and reproduced it through their association with highly-merited scholarship holders.

Individuals who apply for scholarships have symbolic assets in the form of relevant previous education, scientific accomplishments, and/or skills that are valued by organizations in pursuing their purposes at a certain period in time. Upon receipt and use of a scholarship, an individual can acquire further symbolic assets in the form of relevant education, scientific experience, and/or skills, which can be understood in terms of two subtypes of symbolic capital: educational and scientific capital. Educational or scientific capital can also be understood in relation to acquisitions in a particular academic field or higher education institution within a relevant field. This scholarship may also grant individuals social capital as part of an organization's network of scholarship holders. Inderjeet Parmar describes this as an integral part of the operations of American private foundations in the twentieth century, in which foundations "built elite academic institutions overseas, networks of scholars focused on 'centres of excellence,' academic hubs radiating intellectual influence well beyond the levels of financial investment by the foundations."[81]

To benefit from the economic capital of the organizations, individuals are part of selection processes. The rules of these processes are connected to institutional and organizational development over time. In this way, just like the admission processes of elite colleges, scholarship-awarding organizations participate in gatekeeping, or "the process of developing and implementing criteria and practices that yields access to scarce resources."[82] In discussing American private foundations, Lewis Coser argues that these foundations can be seen as "gatekeepers of ideas" in that "[w]ith the power of the purse, they are in positions to foster certain ideas or lines of inquiry while neglecting or de-emphasizing others."[83] This means that the unequal distribution of capital to individuals, academic fields, and higher education institutions can accumulate, (re)producing inequalities and concentrating knowledge to certain individuals, places, and higher education institutions over time.

In short, this study recognizes 1) the diversity of rationales that drive scholarship programs, 2) the finite economic resources of organizations, and 3) the value of scholarships for individuals, academic fields, and higher education institutions. These afforded the organizations a gatekeeping role in the distribution of capital to relevant fields in Sweden and the United States during the twentieth century.

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[81] Parmar (2012), p. 7.
[82] Karen (1990) "Toward a Political-Organizational Model of Gatekeeping: The Case of Elite Colleges," p. 227.
[83] Coser (1970) *Men of Ideas. A Sociologist's View*, p. 339.

Sources and methods

The focus of this study is the development of organizations, scholarship programs, and scholarship-awarding between Sweden and the United States from 1912–1980. The two main types of sources are annual reports and scholarship holder documentation. These were retrieved from archives, libraries, and scholarship-awarding organizations in Sweden and the United States.

Annual reports have been sourced from the American-Scandinavian Foundation (ASF) offices in New York; the National Library of Sweden (*Kungliga biblioteket*, KB), the Sweden-America Foundation (SAS) collection held at the National Archives of Sweden (*Riksarkivet i Arninge*, RAA); the Uppsala University Library (UUB); the Swedish Fulbright Commission offices in Stockholm; the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs collection at the University of Arkansas; the Rockefeller Archive Center (RAC) in New York; the Rockefeller Foundation's (RF) website; and the Institute of International Education's (IIE) website. The level of specificity in the annual reports varies over time and between organizations. Except for the Rockefeller Foundation annual reports, which are approximately 100–500 pages long, each annual report from the American-Scandinavian Foundation, the Sweden-America Foundation, the Swedish Fulbright Commission (CEEUS), the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial (LSRM), and the International Education Board (IEB) are around 5–40 pages long. These reports generally contained a mission or purpose statement; described important programs and program accomplishments; listed all board members and staff as well as scholarships and scholarship holders; and featured a financial report. Many of the reports also contain discussion on contemporary financial issues as well as information about relevant national and international political, economic and educational conditions. Annual program proposals were also retrieved for the Swedish Fulbright Commission, which detailed annual program objectives and goals as well as prospective budgets.

A historical timeline of the purposes that drove the founding of organizations and the establishment of scholarship programs was created using these annual reports in order to understand the institution of scholarship-funded academic mobility over time. In addition, because all the organizations in this study cooperated in some fashion, combining these sources makes it possible to see important continuities and changes in the development of transatlantic academic mobility in a broader sense.

Documentation on scholarship awards and scholarship holders, including scholarship holder recorder cards, scholarship applications, and scholarship holder files, have been sourced from scholarship directories[84] as well as the American-Scandinavian Foundation offices in New York; the Sweden-America Foundation collection at the National Archives of Sweden; the Rockefeller Archive Center in New

[84] Fellowship directories were consulted first to exclude individuals that were awarded but later canceled their scholarships. However, the dataset may still contain scholarships that were declined or rescinded due to the incomplete recordkeeping of the organizations.

York; and the Swedish Fulbright Commission offices in Stockholm. Published reference works and matriculation records were also consulted when necessary.

These sources were used to create two datasets of scholarships awarded from 1912–1944 and 1945–1979 and used by awardees between 1912–1980 (see Appendix A for a description of the datasets and all sources). These datasets include information on the type, funding source, and year of scholarship awards as well as the individual who received it; its purpose (studying, teaching, training, or conducting research); the subject, discipline, or field of study; and the name, location, and type of home and host institutions (see Appendix A for a full description of these datasets). Fields of study and training were coded using the International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED) 1997/1999 (see Appendix B). Home and host institutions in the United States were also classified using the Carnegie Classification of Institutions of Higher Education (CCIHE) 1976 (see Appendix C).

These datasets were analyzed using descriptive statistics to find patterns and trends in scholarship awards. The purpose was to explain historical conditions, like the purposes; policies and procedures; and economic resources of organizations that impacted scholarship-awarding and structured academic exchange between Sweden and the United States from 1912–1980. Further, it is possible to see the asymmetries, exchanges, and concentrations of knowledge facilitated by organizations and scholarship programs as well as their combined role in the creation, (re)production, and movement of certain networks, people, and knowledge over time.

Structure

The structure of this study is primarily chronological but also thematic, with one introductory chapter (Chapter 1), two empirical chapters that focus on the organizational frameworks of scholarship programs, including their purposes and economic resources (Chapter 2 and Chapter 4), and two empirical chapters that focus on scholarship programs and academic exchange between Sweden and the United States (Chapter 3 and 5). The study ends with a discussion chapter (Chapter 6). Chapter 1 introduces relevant previous research as well as the purpose, questions, and limitations; points of departure; sources and methods; and the general structure of the study.

Chapter 2 investigates the organizational frameworks, purposes, and economic resources of the organizations involved in funding and awarding scholarships for Swedish-American academic exchange from 1912–1944. This period is characterized by the involvement of private foundations, including the American-Scandinavian Foundation (est. 1911), the Sweden-America Foundation (est. 1919), and the Rockefeller Foundation (est. 1913). These organizations were managed by voluntary boards of trustees, and academic exchange was funded through donations from private citizens and businesses.

Chapter 3 describes and analyzes the scholarship programs and scholarship awards of the three organizations from 1912–1944 in four sections. The first

section describes the broad patterns of academic exchange structured by scholarships. The second section investigates the geography of scholarships by host country and the locations of host institutions. The third section examines the flows of people and knowledge between Sweden and the United States, divided by academic domain and field. In the fourth section, the purposes of the American-Scandinavian Foundation, the Rockefeller Foundation, and the Sweden-America Foundation are analyzed in relation to the specific geographies and flows of people and knowledge from 1912–1944.

Chapter 4 investigates the organizational frameworks, purposes, and economic resources of the scholarship programs from 1945–1980. This period is characterized by the cooperation between existing private foundations, like the American-Scandinavian Foundation and the Sweden-America Foundation, other private organizations, like the Institute of International Education, and governmental programs, like the Fulbright Program. One of the major changes in this period is the gradual withdrawal of the Rockefeller Foundation from European-American academic mobility. Another major change is the increasing involvement of the US government in the field of transatlantic academic mobility, through the establishment of the Fulbright Program and in Swedish-American exchange, through the establishment of the Swedish Fulbright Commission.

Chapter 5 describes and analyzes the scholarship programs and scholarship awards of the four organizations from 1945–1980 in four sections. The first section describes the broad patterns of academic exchange structured by scholarships. The second section investigates the geography of scholarships by the host country and locations of host institutions. The third section examines the flows of people and knowledge between Sweden and the United States, divided by academic domain and field. In the fourth section, the purposes of the American-Scandinavian Foundation, the Rockefeller Foundation and the Sweden-America Foundation are analyzed in relation to the specific geographies and flows of people and knowledge from 1945–1980.

Chapter 6 discusses the results and summarizes the conclusions of the study.

CHAPTER 2

Private Foundations of Swedish-American Academic Interchange

The first year investigated, 1912, marks the beginning of organized transatlantic academic exchange between Sweden and the United States. The roots of this phenomenon can be traced to uneven processes of industrialization that led to a wave of progressivism from the late 1800s. The relative prosperity of the United States compared to certain parts of Europe stimulated the mass migration of over 20 million Europeans to the United States from the mid-1800s. Amid this mass migration, over 1.3 million Swedes immigrated to the United States from roughly the 1850s to the 1920s. Swedish immigrants that remained in the United States and those that re-migrated created important links within and between the two countries.[85]

For Sweden, emigration increasingly became a problem, prompting the Swedish government to form the Swedish Emigration Commission (*Emigrations-utredningen*) in 1907 in an effort to reduce emigration to North America. The findings of the Commission's investigation encouraged the government to improve domestic social conditions and to encourage return migration instead of restricting emigration.[86] In the United States, the federal government responded to mass immigration by passing increasingly restrictive immigration legislation, resulting in a quota system. The quota system reduced total immigration to the United States while also privileging immigrants from Western and Northern European countries, including Sweden.[87]

The fast pace of industrialization in the United States also created a new class of self-made rich, spurring the writing of the influential article "The Gospel of Wealth" by Scottish-American steel magnate Andrew Carnegie in 1889. Carnegie encouraged competent American entrepreneurs to use their excess wealth for the benefit of society, which inspired the founding of several large philanthropic

[85] Barton (1994), Curti (1963), Hahner (2017).
[86] Barton (1994), p. 147–165.
[87] Hahner (2017), pp. 2–8: The argument for restrictive immigration legislation was intertwined with nativist rhetoric and eugenics ideology, in which certain immigrants were considered racially inferior and "less fit for citizenship given their countries of origin, poverty, English illiteracy, unskilled labor, and natural criminality." (p. 4)

foundations, including the Rockefeller Foundation in 1913.[88] This converged with a dramatically expanded community of Scandinavian immigrants in the United States and the development of newspapers, societies, foundations, and other cultural organizations, including the American-Scandinavian Foundation in 1911.[89] In the wake of World War I, the first worldwide intergovernmental peace organization, the League of Nations, was founded in 1920. This organization was only one example of the growth of internationalism, and the increase in international governmental and non-governmental organizations from the early 1900s.[90]

In the wake of the Great Depression, momentum for reform grew in both Sweden and the United States. In Sweden, this began in the late 1920s when the Social Democratic politician Per Albin Hansson introduced the notion of making Sweden "the people's home" (*folkhemmet*). Upon the victory of the Social Democrats in 1932, the party was able to pursue universal welfare reform. Social engineering became integral to designing these reforms, influenced by academics Alva Myrdal and Gunnar Myrdal, who were partially inspired by their time as Rockefeller Foundation fellows in the United States. In part due to the widespread acclaim of the 1936 book *Sweden: The Middle Way* by American journalist Marquis Childs which outlined the economic and political successes of these reforms, Sweden was placed firmly on the American mental map from the mid-1930s.[91] This acclaim even reached American president Franklin D. Roosevelt who was in the process of expanding on his New Deal policies that focused on unemployment relief, economic recovery, and financial system reform. Childs' book drove him to send an inquiry to Europe, in part to study Sweden's consumer cooperatives.[92]

This period was also one of growth in the elite systems of higher education in Sweden and the United States. In Sweden, two universities, Uppsala University (est. 1477) and Lund University (est. 1666), and several smaller university colleges, including the private Stockholm University College (*Stockholms högskola*, est. 1878) and Gothenburg University College (*Göteborgs högskola*, est. 1891), provided the majority of higher education. Specialized institutes of medicine, technology, agriculture, forestry, and business were equally important. In the United States, previously elite higher education yielded to massifying trends from the mid-1910s, marked by the increased selectiveness and higher expenses of older, elite universities in the Northeast, the growth in a diverse array of higher education institutions across the country, and the substantial increase in student enrollment. Between World War I and World War II, enrollment at universities and colleges in the United States

[88] Harvey et al. (2011) "Andrew Carnegie and the foundations of contemporary entrepreneurial philanthropy."
[89] Barton (1994).
[90] Iriye (2002), p. 9–36.
[91] Glover (2012), p. 215–217, Marklund (2009), and Patel (2016) "How America Discovered Sweden. Reinventing Democracy during the 1930s" in *Transatlantic Democracy in the Twentieth Century. Transfer and Transformation*.
[92] Strode (1949) *Sweden: Model for the World*, pp. xv–xxiii.

increased from 250,000 to 1.3 million.[93] In both countries, higher education institutions took on new functions related to technological developments and the greater size of government, especially from the 1930s.[94]

In the context of this political, economic, and educational landscape, this chapter addresses the founding and work of three private foundations established in the 1910s that awarded scholarships for academic exchange between Sweden and the United States. These foundations, the American-Scandinavian Foundation (est. 1911), the Sweden-America Foundation (Sverige-Amerika Stiftelsen, est. 1919), and the Rockefeller Foundation (est. 1913), were involved primarily as funders of merit-based, competitive scholarships for study, training, or research in Sweden or the United States. This chapter focuses on the founding, purposes, and organizational frameworks of the above organizations and the economic bases for their general operations and scholarship programs. Chapter 3 will focus on the scholarship programs, scholarships, and patterns of academic exchange from 1912–1944.

Cultural interchanges: American-Scandinavian Foundation

On November 21, 1908, the American-Scandinavian Society was founded at the Hotel Astor in New York City. The initiative to form such a society had begun in 1907 when a group of private citizens and organizations cooperated in arranging a lecture series by then Chancellor of New York University, Dr. Henry M. MacCracken, on American culture and education in Copenhagen, Lund, and Oslo. This initiative was led by organizations interested in Scandinavian-American relations, including the Danish-American Committee and the Danish-American Association, and the Swedish government. An additional lecture series in the fall of 1908 by then President of Columbia University Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler at the University of Copenhagen, was sponsored by the Danish-American Committee. In return, Columbia University offered a guest professorship to be filled by Dr. Otto Jespersen, Professor of English at the University of Copenhagen, in 1909.[95]

Based on this work, the American-Scandinavian Society was formed "with a view of organizing and continuing in more permanent channels the cultural interchange" between the Scandinavian countries and the United States. In 1909, the Society arranged funding for travel scholarships, one for an American lecturer to Scandinavia and four for Scandinavian students to the United States – including one from Sweden. The donor of two of these scholarships, who was also a member

[93] Thelin (2011) *A History of American Higher Education*, p. 205.
[94] Geiger (2015) *The History of American Higher Education. Learning and Culture from the Founding to World War II* and Nybom (1997) *Kunskap, Politik, Samhälle. Essäer om kunskapsyn, universitet och forskningspolitik, 1900 – 2000*, and Thelin (2011) among others.
[95] Friis (1961) *The American-Scandinavian Foundation 1910–1960: A Brief History*, pp. 19–20.

of the Danish-American Committee and the American-Scandinavian Society, Niels Poulson, subsequently pledged a 100,000 dollar trust fund, "the interest of which was to be administered by the American-Scandinavian Society to further its program of cultural relations."[96]

Niels Poulson had emigrated from Denmark as a journeyman stonemason in 1864 and began training as an architectural draftsman after he arrived in New York. In 1876, Poulson and Norwegian-American Charles Michael Eger founded Poulson & Eger, later renamed Hecla Iron Works, a company specializing in architectural ironwork.[97] Though it was originally intended for the Poulson trust fund to remain with the American-Scandinavian Society, New York State law at the time did not allow voluntary associations to administer trusts. Therefore, it became necessary to establish a foundation to administer the trust fund, leading to the founding of the American-Scandinavian Foundation (ASF). The ASF was incorporated on March 16, 1911, and the American-Scandinavian Society became a subordinated part of the ASF.[98] The Society became the first chapter of the ASF in 1919; in 1982, the Society became a separate organization that still exists today.[99]

One month after the Act of Incorporation was signed, on April 15, 1911, Poulson amended his will to leave the remainder of his estate with the ASF. Less than a month later, on May 3, 1911, Niels Poulson died. Poulson's estate, worth over 500,000 dollars, was officially given to the ASF in 1913.[100]

The purposes of the ASF as originally described in the Article of Incorporation were clarified and elaborated in the ASF's Constitution, published by the ASF in 1913. The purposes were:

> (1) To cultivate closer relations between the Scandinavian countries and the United States, and to strengthen the bonds between Scandinavian-Americans.
>
> (2) To maintain an interchange between the United States and the Scandinavian countries of students, teachers, and lecturers; to assist deserving Scandinavian and American students in obtaining a higher education; and to advance Scandinavian influence and culture in the United States.
>
> (3) To advance the interests of Scandinavians in the United States in such ways and by such means as may from time to time seem wise, in the judgment of the Board of Trustees.[101]

It is clear that both maintaining Scandinavian-American cultural ties and preserving Scandinavian culture and influence were fundamental to the mission of the ASF.

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[96] Friis (1961), pp. 21–22.
[97] "Poulson, Niels" (1910) in *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, pp. 299–300.
[98] Friis (1961), p. 22.
[99] Retrieved from: http://americanscandinavian.org/about/history/ [last accessed: 2020-03-03].
[100] Friis (1961), pp. 22–24 and ASF Annual Report (herein abbreviated as AR) 1913, p. 6.
[101] ASF Charter, Constitution and By-Laws 1913, p. 5.

As an incorporated private foundation, the work of the ASF was managed by a board of trustees, which, once elected, could serve for life. In accordance with the first Constitution and By-Laws in 1913, at least eight members were required to be "of Scandinavian birth" – preferably at least two from each of the Scandinavian countries. The trustees could increase their numbers only if at least half of the trustees were born in one of the Scandinavian countries. In 1918, this requirement was relaxed due partly to the difficulties in recruiting only first-generation immigrants. The new rule required that half the board be of Scandinavian descent, which allowed the more numerous second-generation Scandinavian-Americans to be elected to the board.[102]

For the first few years, the operating budget of the ASF relied on the 100,000 dollars trust fund and the 500,000 dollars estate bequeathed by Niels Poulson. However, only the income, or interest, was used for its general operations. In 1913, the board of trustees estimated this interest at roughly 20,000 dollars annually, which only allowed them to run a small scholarship program. The board was hopeful the operating budget could be increased by selling property from Poulson's estate.[103]

The trustees divided the ASF's operations into several areas – management of the foundation, finances, foreign relations, and scholarship work – and several committees managed the everyday operations within these areas. As specified in 1913, committee members were elected by the board of trustees. The original committees included an executive committee, finance committee, committee on foreign affairs, and committee on applications. While the executive committee was responsible for carrying out the will of the board of trustees and managing the foundation, the other committees had responsibilities specific to the budget, foreign relations, and evaluating applications for scholarships, respectively.[104] By 1918, additional committees had been established, including the committee on publications, the committee on endowment, and the advisory committee. The primary responsibilities of these new committees were publishing and translation, attracting donations, and appointing advisory committees in the Scandinavian countries to nominate Scandinavian candidates for scholarships, respectively.[105]

The committee on applications was responsible for activities related to the scholarships awarded under the auspices of the American-Scandinavian Foundation Fellowship Program. The committee evaluated and selected American and Scandinavian applicants for scholarships. To this end, the ASF established a fellowship jury to evaluate American applicants and nominate American and Scandinavian applicants for scholarships. In 1912, the ASF, through Secretary Henry Goddard Leach, Scandinavian studies scholar and former English instructor at Harvard University, also coordinated the creation of advisory committees in

[102] ASF Charter, Constitution and By-Laws 1913, pp. 5–6 and ASF Charter, Constitution and By-Laws 1918, p. 6.
[103] ASF AR 1913, pp. 5–6.
[104] ASF Charter, Constitution and By-Laws 1913, p. 11.
[105] ASF Charter, Constitution and By-Laws 1918, pp. 11–12.

Denmark, Norway, and Sweden to nominate Scandinavians "well suited to pursue advanced studies or undertake special investigations in America."[106] Leach had been awarded a scholarship from Harvard University in 1908 for a two-year visit to the Scandinavian countries. Upon his return, he became an English instructor at Harvard, subsequently becoming Secretary of the ASF.[107] In 1918, the advisory committees became subordinate cooperative parts of the ASF.[108]

The names of fellowship jury members were listed for the first time in 1920. The fellowship jury consisted of five members: Arthur E. Kennelly, Chair of the Department of Electrical Engineering at Harvard University; H.P. Talbot, Chair of the Department of Chemistry at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT); William Campbell, Professor of Metallurgy at Columbia University; J.W. Toumey, Director of the School of Forestry at Yale University; and Charles F. Marvin, Chief Meteorologist at the United States Weather Bureau.[109] The fellowship jury consisted of around four to nine members, and the majority of members remained on the jury for several years.[110] Until the mid-1920s, most members were American academics in the fields of engineering and technology. From the 1930s, there were a broader range of American academics, including professors in history, political science, and economics, a surgeon, and an architect.[111]

Until 1919, the Swedish applicants to the ASF Fellowship Program applied directly to and were nominated by an advisory committee in Sweden.[112] The responsibility to form this advisory committee was given to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, which annually appointed the committee's members.[113] Swedish advisory committee members, listed for the first time in 1915, were: Chairman Oscar Montelius, Professor of Archaeology and Former Antiquary of the Realm; L. Aksel Andersson, Chief Librarian at Uppsala University; Gunnar Andersson, Professor of Economic Geography at the Stockholm School of Economics; Svante Arrhenius, Professor of Physics at Stockholm University College and Head of the Nobel Institute for Physical Chemistry in Stockholm; Per Thorsten Berg, Engineer and

[106] ASF AR 1912, p. 3 and ASF AR 1913, p. 4.
[107] "Leach, Henry Goddard" (1925) in *Nordisk Familjebok*.
[108] ASF Charter, Constitution and By-Laws 1918, pp. 11–12.
[109] ASF AR 1920, p. 17.
[110] Members of the fellowship jury were not listed from 1938–1944.
[111] ASF AR 1921, p. 16: C.H. Haskins, Professor of History and Political Science, Harvard University (1921–1929); ASF AR 1930, p. 20: Professor William C. Abbott, Harvard University, History and Economics (1930–1933); ASF AR 1934, p. 20: Professor William S. Carpenter, Princeton University, History and Economics (1934–1937); ASF AR 1924, p. 20: Dr. David Scannell, Surgeon, Boston (1924–1933); ASF AR 1934, p. 20: Dr. Frederick Randolph Bailey, New York, Medicine (1934); ASF AR 1936, p. 20: Mr. Ralph T. Walker, New York, Architecture (1936–1937).
[112] ASF AR 1915, p. 12: "Scandinavian students wishing to study in America should apply to the Chairman of the Advisory Committee in the country in which they reside before December 1. American students should apply to the Committee on Applications in New York before April 1." A similar blurb appears in ASF ARs 1916, 1917, and 1918. In 1920 ASF AR, p. 19: "Scandinavian students wishing to study in America should apply to the various co-operating bodies." The Sweden-America Foundation as one of these co-operating bodies.
[113] ASF AR 1912, p. 8.

Vice Consul of the United States in Sweden; Axel Herrlin, Professor of Psychology and Pedagogy at Lund University; Herman Juhlin-Dannfelt, Professor of Agriculture Science and Economics at the Swedish Academy of Agriculture; Thorsten Laurin, Assistant Director of *Norstedts Förlag*; Gustaf Richert, Professor of Hydraulic Engineering at the Royal Institute of Technology; and Gustaf Steffen, Professor of Economics and Sociology at Gothenburg University College.[114] Most of these members sat on the board until it was dissolved in 1919 upon the founding of the Sweden-America Foundation.[115] Many of the advisory committee members also became the founding members and sat on the original board of trustees of the Sweden-America Foundation.[116]

Publications were another important aspect of the ASF's work which began unofficially in 1912. These publications were routed through the committee on publications; its main responsibility was publishing *The American-Scandinavian Review*, a bi-monthly publication edited by ASF's secretary, which was first published in January 1913. In 1914, the committee on publications also became responsible for publishing two book series: Scandinavian Classics and Scandinavian Monographs, the first series consisting of translations of classic Scandinavian works and the second series of new works authored by Scandinavians or Scandinavian descendants.[117] *The Review* covered a broad range of topics related to the Scandinavian countries, including culture, politics, industry, and current events as well as the ASF's work, including its scholarship program. It was self-supporting, and the members of the American-Scandinavian Society, later called Associates, were *The Review*'s paying subscribers.[118] The ASF considered publications central to its mission because publications offered a channel for communication and information on Scandinavian-American issues and conditions as well as provided a way to recruit scholarship applicants.

In 1918, the ASF extended into enlightenment work when it established the Bureau of Information to provide information and correct misinformation on American points of view and on the conditions in the so-called Northern territories as well as continue Americanization work among Scandinavian-Americans.[119] Unofficially, the Bureau started work in 1915 when the ASF took on the role as a "clearinghouse of Scandinavian ideas" during World War I in cooperation with other organizations.[120] The three types of organizations mentioned were steamship lines, which helped arrange travel; consulates and chambers of commerce, which helped with trade; and legations, which were responsible for intergovernmental relations.[121] The work of this Bureau continued until after World War II.[122]

[114] ASF AR 1915, p. 11.
[115] See ASF AR 1915, 1916, 1917, 1918, and 1920.
[116] SAS AR 1919, pp. 3–5.
[117] ASF AR 1913, p. 5.
[118] ASF AR 1912, p. 4 and ASF AR 1913, p. 5.
[119] ASF AR 1918, p. 6.
[120] ASF AR 1916, p. 2.
[121] ASF AR 1916, pp. 2–3.
[122] Friis (1961), p. 59.

All the general and scholarship operations of the ASF from 1912–1944, including the ASF Fellowship Program, publications, and the Bureau of Information, were seen by the founders and trustees as integral to fulfilling the purposes of the ASF, which were to bring Scandinavians closer to the United States and Scandinavian-Americans closer together through the power of personal contacts and knowledge.

Intellectual and industrial relations: Sweden-America Foundation

The Sweden-America Foundation (*Sverige-Amerika Stiftelsen*, SAS) was established on June 2, 1919, in Stockholm, Sweden.[123] The idea for SAS had developed in cooperation with the New York-based American-Scandinavian Foundation (ASF), which in 1912 had coordinated the establishment of a governmental advisory committee in Sweden, the primary responsibility of which was the nomination of Swedish candidates for the ASF Fellowship Program.[124]

The purpose of SAS was "to work for the development of relations between Sweden and the United States through supporting the exchange of scientific, cultural and practical experience between the two countries."[125] This purpose was based on the perception by the founders that the lack of close relations, knowledge, and understanding between Sweden and the United States was increasingly becoming a problem, which had been highlighted during World War I with the slew of bad press from the US concerning Sweden's relationship to Germany. According to the 1919 annual report, this was partially due to the American public misunderstanding Sweden's position of neutrality because it had little knowledge of Sweden and Swedish circumstances in general.[126] SAS was hoping to remedy this problem by working towards friendly relations through the exchange of people and information, and intended:

> to create connections between the press, associations, individual representatives in both countries; facilitate visits by such individuals and their introduction to leading circles in one or the other country; be a supporter of science, art, and literature in America as well as create an exchange of lecturers and students between the countries.[127]

[123] SAS AR 1919, p. 18.
[124] SAS AR 1919, p. 16 and ASF AR 1920, p. 17.
[125] SAS AR 1919, pp. 1–2: "Stiftelsens ändamål är att arbeta för utvecklandet av förbindelserna mellan Sverige och Amerikas Förenta Stater genom att främja utbytet av vetenskapliga, kulturella och praktiska erfarenheter mellan de båda länderna."
[126] SAS AR 1919, p. 23.
[127] SAS AR 1919, p. 1: "Bristen på närmare förbindelser mellan Sverige och Nordamerikas Förenta Stater framstår för var dag som går alltmer betydande olägenhet." and SAS AR 1919, pp. 1–2: "Stiftelsen vill för detta ändamål sträva att befordra den ömsesidiga kännedom om allt, vad de båda folken äga av värde på de angivna områdena, och att i detta syfte söka åstadkomma

In 1919, SAS was largely focused on the newly established SAS Scholarship Program, in which merit-based scholarships were awarded to Swedish scholars desiring to study, lecture, or conduct research in the United States. Other complementary parts of their work included helping American scholarship holders from the ASF Fellowship Program orient themselves in Swedish society, offering study counseling, and writing introduction letters for Swedish scholars interested in spending time in the United States. SAS also expressed interest in enlightenment work, specifically through the creation of a Swedish press and enlightenment bureau in the United States, leading to the establishment of the Sweden-America Foundation Press Committee (*Sverige-Amerika Stiftelsens Presskommitté*).[128]

As outlined in the original Constitution, the general operations and administration of SAS were the responsibility of a 39-member board, which would hold at least one meeting annually in Stockholm. Some of SAS's original board members were also part of the former governmental advisory committee. The daily operations of SAS, including evaluating applicants and awarding scholarships, were to be handled by a seven-member working committee, of which at least four members were required to be board members.[129] The original board members on the working committee were Chairman Professor Svante Arrhenius; and vice chairmen Nathan Söderblom, Professor of Religious Studies and Archbishop of Sweden; Hjalmar Lundbohm, geologist and site manager of mining company *Luossavaara-Kiirunavaara AB* (LKAB); and Engineer Per Torsten Berg.[130] The other three members were J. Sigfrid Edström, Chief Executive Officer of ASEA; Nils P. Mathiasson, Director of *Reymerholms Gamla Industri AB*; and Axel Robert Nordvall, former Director of Sales at *Svenska AB Gasaccumulator* (later AGA).

In 1928, this division of labor was removed, and the board of trustees became responsible for awarding scholarships.[131] SAS's working committee, and later the entire board, also continued the work of the former governmental advisory committee by nominating Swedish candidates for the ASF Fellowship Program.[132] Additional tasks, such as helping Swedish and American scholars and the Sweden-America Foundation Press Committee, were undertaken by individual staff members or committees not outlined in the Constitution.

Like the ASF, SAS appointed a panel of experts to evaluate applicants. The first expert panel consisted of 10 experts divided into seven fields, many previous members of the Swedish advisory committee and members of the SAS board of trustees or working committee. The first panel of experts consisted of Carl Hallendorff, Professor of Political Science and Economic History at the Stockholm

förbindelser mellan de båda ländernas press, deras föreningar, deras enskilda representativa personer, förmedla besök av sådana personer och deras introduktion i det ena eller andra landets ledande kretsar, vara ett stöd för svensk vetenskap, konst och litteratur i Amerika, samt att åstadkomma ett utbyte av föreläsare och studenterna länderna emellan."

[128] SAS AR 1919, pp. 12–14.
[129] SAS AR 1919, p. 17.
[130] SAS AR 1919, p. 3.
[131] SAS AR 1928, pp. 13–14.
[132] Blanck (1989) *Sverige-Amerika Stiftelsen. De första sjuttio åren 1919–1989*, pp. 18–22.

School of Economics, and Director Nils Mathiasson for commerce (*merkantila studier*); Engineer Per Torsten Berg and Director J. Sigfrid Edström in engineering studies (*ingenjörsstudier*); Professor Nathan Söderblom, and Professor Oscar Montelius for humanities (*humanistiska studier*); Professor Svante Arrhenius for natural sciences (*naturvetenskapliga studier*); Patrik Haglund, Professor of Orthopedics at the Karolinska Institute, for medicine (*medicinska studier*); Professor Gunnar Andersson in forestry engineering (*skogstekniska studier*); and Christian Barthel, Professor of Bacteriology at the Swedish College of Agriculture, in agriculture (*lantbruksstudier*).[133]

Until the mid-1920s, the expert panel consisted of Swedish academics, industrialists, and government officials who evaluated applicants in broad fields. From the mid-1920s, the number of experts increased, and the fields became gradually more specialized. By 1925, the fields of dentistry (*tandläkarestudier*), insurance (*studier i försäkringsverksamhet*), political and social sciences (*statsvetenskapliga och social studier*), and literary studies (*litterära studier*) were included.[134] By 1940, new experts in banking (*bankstudier*), architecture (*arkitekt-studier*), music (*musik-studier*), astronomy (*studier i astronomi*), archaeology (*studier i arkeologi*), journalism (*journalistiska studier*), and health care (*sjukvårds-studier*) were included. The field of political and social sciences was also divided into two categories: social sciences and political science and law.[135]

The two main sources of funding for SAS were membership dues and donations. While membership dues were invested and the interest was used for general operations, donations were primarily used to fund scholarships.[136] At the beginning of operations, SAS held one permanent fund created with a donation of 100,000 Swedish crowns from Swedish artist Anders Zorn. The first scholarship from this fund was awarded in 1920.[137] However, most of SAS's scholarships were funded by individual, short-term donations. One example of the importance of these donations was a plan involving 10 private citizens and businesses that each donated 1,000 dollars yearly to establish annual scholarships for five years.

This "Five-year Forty Fellowship Exchange" was coordinated jointly with the ASF and the other cooperating organizations in Denmark and Norway.[138] The success of this plan helped entice several additional short-term donations and one permanent fund, the ASEA scholarship fund. The ASEA fund, totaling 100,000 Swedish crowns, was donated to SAS in 1933 as part of ASEA's 50th-anniversary celebrations. The fund was designated for annual scholarships to Swedish electrical

[133] SAS AR 1919, p. 8.
[134] SAS AR 1921, p. 9, SAS AR 1924, p. 11, and SAS AR 1925, pp. 10–11.
[135] SAS AR 1928, p. 14, SAS AR 1929, pp. 14–15, SAS 1934, p. 18–19, SAS AR 1935, pp. 19–20, and SAS AR 1940, pp. 16–17.
[136] SAS AR 1919, p. 18.
[137] SAS AR 1919, p. 12.
[138] SAS AR 1919, pp. 8–9.

engineers wishing to study in the United States.[139] Director of ASEA at the time, J. Sigfrid Edström had been elected President of SAS in 1932.

In 1939, SAS compiled a list of its donors and the amounts donated from 1919–1939 as part of their upcoming 20th-anniversary celebrations. The top donors, apart from the Anders Zorn and ASEA permanent funds, were ball bearing manufacturing company *Svenska Kullagerfabriken* (later SKF); *Svenska Handelsbanken*; Ira Nelson Morris, former American Minister to Sweden; *Stockholms Enskilda Bank*; *Skandinaviska Banken*; Dan Broström, Director of Swedish shipping line *Broströmkoncernen*; and Justus P. Seeburg, founder of the jukebox manufacturing company Seeburg Corporation.[140]

Another increasingly important aspect of SAS's work evolved from the creation of the Sweden-America Foundation Press Committee in 1919. The Swedish-American News Bureau (*Svensk Amerikanska Nyhetsbyrån*) was officially established in 1921 with offices in both Stockholm and New York.[141] The establishment of this bureau was prompted by what the founders referred to as a barrage of bad press in the United States about Sweden during World War I, especially concerning Sweden's perceived closeness to Germany and German culture.[142] It was active for many years in spreading "rich and reliable news" to create a better foundation for understanding and trust between Sweden and the United States.[143]

Much like the ASF in this period, SAS was active in creating channels for the flow of people and knowledge between Sweden and the United States and in producing knowledge about circumstances in Sweden as a basis for creating closer and solid ties between the two countries.

Advancing human knowledge: Rockefeller Foundation

Created by American industry tycoon John D. Rockefeller, Sr., the Rockefeller Foundation (RF) was formally incorporated on May 14, 1913, in the state of New York.[144] Though the RF would become one of the largest of the Rockefeller family's philanthropic endeavors, by 1913, Rockefeller, Sr. and other family members had already contributed to the establishment of several philanthropic organizations, including the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research (est. 1901, endowment 60

[139] SAS AR 1934, p. 31.
[140] RAA, SAS, A1.6 Årsmötesprotokoll med bilagor 1938–1941, Bilaga 10, protokoll av den 31 oktober 1939: List of donors of at least 30,000 Swedish crowns: *Zorn-fonden* (97,500 Swedish crowns), *Svenska Kullagerfabriken* (47,217 Swedish crowns), *Svenska Handelsbanken* (46,156 Swedish crowns), Mr. Ira Nelson Morris (41,920), S*tockholms Enskilda Bank* (41,771 Swedish crowns), *Skandinaviska Banken* (40,502 Swedish crowns), Dan Broström (34,850 Swedish crowns), and Mr. J.P. Seeburg (30,000 Swedish crowns).
[141] Blanck (1989), p. 49.
[142] SAS AR 1919, p. 31.
[143] SAS AR 1922, p. 3.
[144] RF AR 1913–14, p. 3 and p. 9.

million) and the General Education Board (est. 1903, 129 million). The Rockefeller family also established foundations after the RF, including the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial (est. 1918, 73.9 million) and International Education Board (est. 1923, 20 million). Many of these foundations were temporary, like the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial, which was consolidated into the RF in 1928, most of its activities being taken over by the RF in 1929, and the International Education Board, which was established specifically to work with overseas activities and liquidated in 1937.[145] Rockefeller, Sr. was also central in the re-establishment of the University of Chicago in the image of elite universities on the East coast.[146]

Obtaining permission to incorporate the RF was difficult, however. Rockefeller, Sr. petitioned Congress several times to charter his foundation, but by the early 1900s, private foundations were under increased scrutiny, especially after public outcry surrounding the federal incorporation of Andrew Carnegie's research institute, the Carnegie Institute of Washington in 1902. The RF eventually settled for a charter from New York State in 1913, just as the Carnegie Corporation of New York had in 1911.[147]

The general purpose of the RF, as stated in its first annual report, was "to promote the well-being of mankind throughout the world."[148] The RF would accomplish this purpose through "research, publication, the establishment of charitable, benevolent, religious, missionary and public educational activities, agencies and institutions" and financially supporting the above.[149] The RF's leadership was relatively free to decide how the funds were invested, used, and applied, the only stipulation being that those responsible followed the general purposes of the foundation.[150]

The first board meeting took place in the old Standard Oil Building at 26 Broadway in New York City on May 22, 1913. At this meeting, the RF came into the possession of its founding endowment, approximately three million dollars donated by John D. Rockefeller, Sr. By the end of 1913, the RF held nearly one hundred million dollars.[151] The board of trustees also called the Foundation's membership, contained three classes based on when their tenure on the board would expire. The first class had the shortest tenure, which would expire at the first annual meeting, while the third class had the longest, which could expire at the third annual meeting; thereafter, each of the classes could serve for three years until reappointment.[152] In the beginning, trustees were part of John D. Rockefeller's

[145] RF AR 1937, p. 7.
[146] Jonas (1989), pp. 21–22.
[147] Jonas (1989), pp. 27–28.
[148] RF AR 1913–14, p. 7.
[149] RF AR 1913–14, p. 7.
[150] RF AR 1913–14, p. 8.
[151] RF AR 1913–14, p. 9.
[152] RF AR 1913–14, pp. 165–166.

trusted inner circle and consisted of American industrialists, academics, and even his close personal friend, business advisor, and clergyman Frederick T. Gates.[153]

Chosen from this board were members of the various committees responsible for the operation of the RF. While the board met at least three times yearly, the committees met as often as necessary to fulfill their duties.[154] The board included "a standing committee of three members of the Corporation who with the President and Secretary shall be the Executive Committee."[155] In addition, the Constitution stipulated a finance committee and a nominating committee. The executive committee was responsible for all operations not delegated to the finance committee, the finance committee was responsible for making investments and selling the property of the RF, and the nominating committee was responsible for making recommendations regarding members, officers, and elective committees.[156] In a 1916 amendment to the Constitution, the RF added a comptroller to record all "appropriations, budgets and authorizations of expenditure."[157] Funds could only be distributed for different purposes if a two-thirds majority of the board authorized the distribution through a resolution at one of their meetings.[158]

The RF established several boards under its auspices in its first few years of operation. The first was established in 1913 as the International Health Commission. The purpose of the Commission was the "promotion of public sanitation and the spread of knowledge of scientific medicine with the world as its field."[159] The roots of the Commission can be found in the Rockefeller Sanitary Commission, established in 1909 "for the eradication of hookworm disease in the United States."[160] The Commission's first purpose was to extend the work of the Rockefeller Sanitary Commission outside the United States, which later extended to include the collection and production of knowledge about various diseases.[161]

Two additional boards were established in 1914, the China Medical Board and the War Relief Commission. The China Medical Board was created to support the development of medical education and research in China by funding institutional infrastructure and fellowships.[162] The primary purposes of the War Relief Commission were to help move children out of active war zones, provide funds to refugee scholars from Belgium, and donate food and supplies to various peoples in Europe.[163]

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[153] Fosdick (1952) *The Story of the Rockefeller Foundation*, p. 21.
[154] RF AR 1913–14, p. 169.
[155] RF AR 1913–14, p. 171.
[156] RF AR 1913–14, pp. 171–172.
[157] RF AR 1916, p. 400.
[158] RF AR 1913–14, pp. 174–175.
[159] RF AR 1913–14, p. 7.
[160] RF AR 1913–14, p. 7.
[161] Fosdick (1952), pp. 53–54.
[162] RF AR 1916, p. 288.
[163] RF AR 1916, pp. 309–338.

In the late 1920s, the RF gradually moved away from strictly medical and war-related issues into "the advance of human knowledge" more generally.[164] This work originated in the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial, a foundation that had channeled its interest in advancing social welfare into supporting social science research in 1923.[165] The RF officially took on this work in 1929 as part of a major reorganization in 1928, in which the RF's work was divided into broad fields of knowledge: medical sciences, natural sciences, social sciences, and humanities. The Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial and the International Education Board were also consolidated into the RF, and the International Health Commission was renamed the International Health Division.[166]

The general programs of each of the divisions were supervised by directors elected by the board of trustees. The International Health Division was represented by both a supervising director, medical doctor and US army physician, Frederick Russell (1928–1935) and later medical doctor and US army officer Wilbur A. Sawyer (1936–1944), and a committee of scientific directors, consisting primarily of medical doctors. Directors supervised the remaining four divisions: in Medical Sciences, Professor of pathology and US army officer Richard M. Pearce (1929) and medical doctor Alan Gregg (1931–1951); in Natural Sciences, mathematician Max Mason (1928–1929), biologist Herman Spoehr (1930–1931), and mathematician Warren Weaver (1932–1955); in the Social Sciences, economist Edmund E. Day (1928–1937) and economist Joseph H. Willits (1939–1954); and in the Humanities, philologist and American diplomat Edward Capps (1929) and historian and language scholar David H. Stevens (1932–1949).[167] At the lower levels, each of the divisions had a supporting staff, which helped manage the daily operations of the divisions.

While the staff of the International Health Division was the largest in this period, with approximately 80–90 members, the other four divisions had a more modest staff of between 1–10 members. This difference was also reflected in the large operating budget of the International Health Division compared to the other divisions, in which this division granted several million dollars each year, and the other divisions granted several hundred thousand dollars annually.[168]

Each of the divisions also had different procedures for the evaluation of applicants and awarding of scholarships during the period, generally divided according to whether scholars were foreign or American. All the scholarships administered directly by the Division of Medical Sciences were nominated by the applicants' home institutions or "otherwise co-operating" institutions.[169] Scholarships awarded to

[164] Fosdick (1952), pp. 154–155.
[165] LSRM ARs 1923–1928.
[166] ASF AR 1929. Fosdick (1952), p. 39: The International Health Commission (1913–1916), the International Health Board (1917–1926), then the International Health Division (1927–1951).
[167] RF AR 1929, unknown page number.
[168] RF ARs 1929–1940.
[169] RF AR 1929, p. 185.

Europeans by the Divisions of Natural Sciences and Social Sciences were administered through the RF office in Paris after an advisor or committee nominated prospective fellows in their home country. The RF then made the final selection.[170] The RF formally funded scholarships awarded by the Division of Humanities, but these scholarships were generally administered through cooperating organizations, primarily the American Council of Learned Societies (ACLS).[171] American scholarships funded by the Division of Social Sciences were generally administered by the Social Sciences Research Council (SSRC). Scholarships funded by the Division of Natural Sciences were generally administered by the National Research Council (NRC). However, some exceptions were routed through the RF's New York Office or the Division of Natural Sciences itself.[172]

This section shows that the RF was an organizationally complex and well-funded foundation. Upon its reorganization in 1928, it moved decisively away from the funding of war relief and disease eradication and toward funding the advancement of knowledge structured by the RF into academic domains.

Conclusion

This chapter examined the founding, purposes, and organizational frameworks of three private foundations established in the 1910s, the American-Scandinavian Foundation, the Sweden-America Foundation, and the Rockefeller Foundation, to understand the reasons these organizations awarded scholarships and what they hoped to accomplish.

In the case of the American-Scandinavian Foundation, its general purposes were primarily based on a cultural rationale. The American-Scandinavian Foundation was founded by a first-generation Danish immigrant involved in the wider Scandinavian-American immigrant community in the United States and had the purpose of facilitating and maintaining educational and cultural relationships between the Scandinavian countries and the United States as well as Scandinavian-Americans within the United States. These purposes were operationalized through the funding of two-way educational and cultural exchanges between the Scandinavian countries and the United States. These purposes were also evidenced by their investment in producing and distributing information about the Scandinavian countries to Scandinavian-Americans and the wider American public in the United States.

The Sweden-America Foundation had roots in a Swedish governmental advisory committee created in 1912, which was under the responsibility of the Swedish Minister of Foreign Affairs in cooperation with the American-Scandinavian

[170] RF AR 1929, pp. 214–215 and RF AR 1929, p. 267.
[171] RF AR 1929, p. 292.
[172] RF AR 1929. See also RF AR 1934, p. 105 (cancelled in 1938) and RF AR 1934, pp. 148–150. For Natural Sciences, see RF AR 1932, p. 253.

Foundation. The Sweden-America Foundation was founded with cultural and semi-explicit political rationales, which included facilitating and maintaining contact between Sweden and the United States to protect the interests of the Swedish people and the Swedish nation. Similar to, and in cooperation with, the American-Scandinavian Foundation, this led to the support of work that aimed to produce knowledge about Sweden in the United States and for Swedes to obtain knowledge and experience in the United States. Because the Sweden-America Foundation was interested in protecting the interests and prosperity of the Swedish nation, scholarships were awarded for cultural, educational, and practical exchanges.

Practical exchanges were often funded by private citizens and businesses in Sweden and were intertwined with the economic rationale of growth and competitiveness. This economic rationale is evidenced by the amount of scholarship funding from Swedish industry and the election of J. Sigfrid Edström, Chief Executive Officer of ASEA, as President of the Sweden-America Foundation in 1932. Edström had been actively involved in the Foundation since its establishment. Edström was a board member, trustee, expert in engineering studies, and donor of individual scholarships and the ASEA permanent fund in 1933. The Sweden-America Foundation's collaboration with the American-Scandinavian Foundation also created a division of labor whereby the Sweden-America Foundation funded and awarded scholarships for the one-way mobility of Swedish students, trainees, and researchers to the United States, and the American-Scandinavian Foundation primarily funded and awarded scholarships for the one-way mobility of American students and researchers to Sweden as well as the other Scandinavian countries.

While the Sweden-America Foundation and the American-Scandinavian Foundation had general purposes that were precise and directly operationalized through their scholarship programs, the Rockefeller Foundation's general purposes were broad and abstract, and its goals were multifaceted. This openness left room for significant changes in the direction and scope of their operations during the period, depending on their priorities at the time, resulting in a priority shift from the chiefly political rationale of technical assistance, or development cooperation, related to building medical institutions and knowledge, disease eradication, and war relief; to primarily academic rationales, especially related to the entwined arguments for the enhancement of quality, broadening the academic horizon, and providing an international dimension to research and teaching. These priorities were solidified after the reorganization of the RF in 1928, in which scholarship programs that were previously run by affiliated boards were absorbed into the Rockefeller Foundation and divided along particular academic domains. The new divisions were supervised mainly by prominent academics and medical professionals. Although the Rockefeller Foundation's general purposes were geographically global, shifts in their priorities meant that their operations focused on different areas, regions, or continents over time.

As private foundations, these organizations relied on donations to fund their operations. In the case of the American-Scandinavian Foundation and the Sweden-

America Foundation, donations designated for creating permanent scholarship funds allowed the establishment of scholarship programs. The growth of these programs was largely dependent on attracting additional donations, which could be used annually or turned into permanent scholarship funds. These donations were generally from private citizens and businesses in Sweden and the United States. For the RF, a series of donations from John D. Rockefeller, Sr., designated for permanent investment, allowed for financial stability, long-term planning, and the funding of several concurrent scholarship programs.

Concerning the evaluation and selection of scholarship holders, the practices were fairly similar. The American-Scandinavian Foundation and Sweden-America Foundation relied on groups of experts, primarily Swedish and American academics, industry leaders, medical professionals, and government officials, to evaluate and recommend scholarship candidates. This expertise was also divided by country, wherein Swedish experts evaluated and recommended Swedish candidates, and American experts evaluated and recommended American candidates. The Rockefeller Foundation relied primarily on American academic experts and recommendations from their contacts in foreign countries. The Foundation also relayed some parts of evaluation and recommendation processes to its Paris and New York offices. In short, these organizations relied on board members, staff, or experts within academia or their own networks to evaluate, nominate, and select scholarship holders during this period.

CHAPTER 3

Scholarships and Academic Exchange, 1912–1944

As shown in Chapter 2, several private foundations were established in the 1910s that served to significantly increase the academic exchange between Sweden and the United States. Although the American-Scandinavian Foundation (ASF), Sweden-America Foundation (SAS), and Rockefeller Foundation (RF) were all founded in the same decade, they had different purposes and organizational frameworks that structured their general operations and scholarship programs.

The period from 1912–1944 was also one of transformation in the political, economic, and educational landscape in which these organizations were founded and operated. World War I prompted the establishment of various private and public organizations that worked toward international cooperation and world peace. Sweden transformed from a poor, rural nation into a world model for welfare reform; American president Franklin D. Roosevelt even sent an exhibition to Sweden in the process of instituting his New Deal policies after the Great Depression. Higher education institutions grew both in size and number in Sweden and the United States, taking on new functions in the face of the fast pace of technology and growing government apparatuses.

This chapter will focus on the scholarships awarded by the ASF, SAS, and RF, both on the patterns and trends in scholarship awards and the organizational rationales behind academic mobility in this period. The first section examines the number of scholarships awarded by all three organizations and the broad patterns of academic mobility structured by their combined investments. The second section analyzes particular flows of people and academic and technical knowledge. The concluding section will discuss the organizational rationales that structured general and specific flows of people and knowledge between Sweden and the United States from 1912–1944.

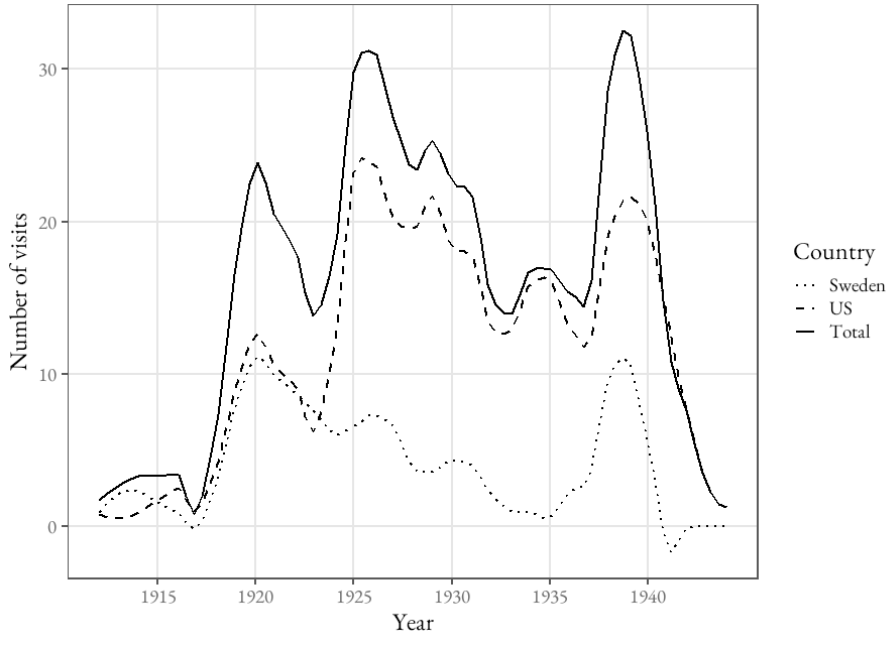
Broad patterns for 1912–1944

This section will discuss the broad patterns of scholarship awards from 1912–1944. The analysis is based on a dataset that includes all scholarship awards to Swedes and Americans for study, training, and research in Sweden and the United States

by the American-Scandinavian Foundation (ASF), Rockefeller Foundation (RF), and Sweden-America Foundation (SAS) during the period.

The dataset for 1912–1944 comprises 518 scholarships with 454 unique individuals. There were 51 individuals that received and used more than one scholarship during this period, and eight of these individuals received and used scholarships from two separate organizations. Published fellowship directories and annual reports were consulted for the ASF, RF, and SAS to ensure that only scholarships funded and awarded by the organizations and used by individuals were included in the dataset. SAS, however, does not have a published fellowship directory for 1939–1944, so annual reports were the main source for these years.[173]

Figure 1. Total scholarships awarded by year and host country, 1912–1944.



Source: See Appendix A.

Figure 1 shows the development in the number of scholarships awarded over time. This development is marked by a low volume of scholarship awards from 1912–1917 and significant fluctuations over the period.

Of the 518 scholarships awarded between 1912–1944, the vast majority (384 or 74 percent) of scholarships were awarded to Swedes for travel to and/or studies in the United States. A smaller number of scholarships (134 or 26 percent) were awarded to Americans for travel to and/or studies in Sweden. The ASF and RF

[173] The book *Sverige-Amerika Stiftelsen 100 år 1919–2019* published by the Sweden-America Foundation in 2018 contains an extensive list of scholarship awards but also includes awards funded by cooperating organizations and governments.

awarded scholarships for academic exchange between Sweden and the United States, and SAS awarded scholarships for visits to the United States only. In this period, triple the number of Swedes traveled to the United States than the reverse.

There were significant fluctuations in the number of scholarship awards per year. From 1912–1917, there were only 18 scholarships awarded, an average of three per year. In 1918, no scholarships were successfully awarded because of problems associated with World War I. From 1919–1944, there were an average of 22 scholarship awards per year, totaling 500 scholarship awards in this period. The number of scholarship awards to Swedes remained at a consistently higher level after World War I until a large increase in 1939 and a subsequent decline until 1944. The initial increase in scholarships awarded to Americans after World War I gradually decreased until the mid-1930s, when there was a spike in awards in 1939. There were few scholarships successfully awarded during World War II.

The fluctuations in the number of scholarships in this period can be related to many factors, including: the economic resources held by each organization and scholarship amounts; the state of the economy; world wars; scholarship acceptance and declination rates; and organizational priorities. For example, the decrease in scholarship awards to Americans from the early 1920s can be attributed, first, to the end of the "Five-Year Forty-Fellowship Exchange" program and, second, to the consequences of the Great Depression. The steep decline in awards at the end of the period can be attributed to the difficulties associated with World War II, including the lack of readily available transatlantic steamships.[174] The higher number of scholarship awards after World War I also relates to the increased interest on both sides of the Atlantic in studying abroad, especially in light of the industrial and technological advances of the United States and the prominence of certain research fields in Sweden, most notably physical chemistry.[175]

Of the total scholarships, 452 (87 percent) were awarded to men, and 66 (13 percent) were awarded to women. Of the awards to men, 335 (74 percent) were for visits to the United States, and 117 (26 percent) were for visits to Sweden. Of the awards to women, 49 (74 percent) were for visits to the United States, and 17 (26 percent) were for visits to Sweden. Because there were significant fluctuations in the number of awards per year, no clear positive or negative trend was apparent in the proportion of awards to men vs. women.

In addition, while 16 percent of the scholarships awarded by the ASF were awarded to women, SAS awarded only 11 percent and the Rockefeller Foundation only six percent of their scholarships to women. Of the 73 scholarships awarded jointly by the ASF and SAS through the Industrial Fellowships Program, 19 percent were awarded to women, and 81 percent were awarded to men. A partial explanation

[174] Mattsson (1983[1987]) *De Flytande Palatsen_The White Viking Fleet*: One example is the Swedish American Line's (*Svenska Amerika Linien*) steamship *Kungsholm* which was seized by US authorities in 1941. After it was rechristened as *John Ericsson*, this ship "served as a troop transport ship in the Pacific Ocean and Mediterranean Sea." The ship was bought back by the Swedish American Line in 1947 (p. 19).
[175] Widmalm (2004).

of these differences relates to the different fields in which the organizations awarded scholarships. For example, SAS and the Rockefeller Foundation awarded more scholarships in typically male-dominated fields, such as natural, engineering, and medical sciences. The ASF awarded more scholarships in less male-dominated fields, like the humanities and arts.

Table 1. Total scholarship awards by purpose, 1912–1944.

	Study/research		Practical studies		Total	
5-year period	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
1912–1914	8	100%	0	0%	8	100%
1915–1919	34	100%	0	0%	34	100%
1920–1924	89	100%	0	0%	89	100%
1925–1929	88	65%	48	35%	136	100%
1930–1934	72	77%	21	23%	93	100%
1935–1939	112	96%	5	4%	117	100%
1940–1944	41	100%	0	0%	41	100%
Total	**444**	**86%**	74	14%	**518**	**100%**

Source: See Appendix A.

As shown in Table 1, 444 (86 percent) of the scholarships were awarded primarily for the pursuit of studies or research, and 74 (14 percent) primarily for practical studies, also called work training. Scholarships primarily for practical studies were awarded from 1925–1939. These scholarships were referred to as Industrial Fellowships. They were representative of the cooperation between the ASF and SAS in conjunction with donations from private citizens and businesses in Sweden and the United States.

Geographies of knowledge

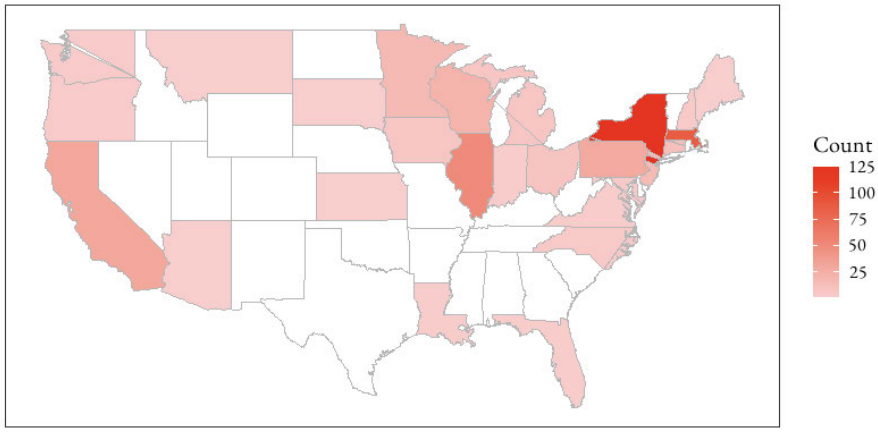
This section will map the geography of scholarship holders over the period by examining the destinations of scholarship holders in Sweden and the United States. Because some of the scholarship holders in this study were awarded multiple scholarships for the same visit, this section uses the total number of individual visits (465) instead of the total number of scholarship awards (518) to map the destinations of scholarship holders. It was common practice for individuals to apply for, and occasionally be awarded, multiple scholarships for the same visit. These extra scholarships were generally used to cover related expenses, extend a trip, or make it possible to visit other host institutions. Using the total number of visits prevents the overrepresentation of certain destinations.

It should also be noted that many of the scholarship holders in this study traveled to more than one destination, some of which are not listed by the organizations. The destinations included in the scholarships dataset are those listed by the organizations as the awardees' main host institution(s) and place(s). In this period, the primary form of transportation between Sweden and the United States was via steamship on one of the major shipping lines, like the Swedish-American

Line (*Svenska Amerika Linien*). Due to the high cost and lengthy travel time associated with this journey, the scholarship holders in this study generally attempted to travel widely during their visits.[176]

This section will first map scholarship holder visits by place, by state in the United States and county (*län*) in Sweden, and then by type and name of host institution(s). There were 460 known destinations for Swedish scholarship holders in the United States and 73 unknown destinations. For American scholarship holders, there were 135 known destinations and 12 unknown destinations.

Figure 2. Number of visits to United States by state of host institution(s), 1912–1944.



Source: Appendix F.

As stated above, there were 460 known destinations for Swedish scholarship holders who traveled to the United States. Of these destinations, 19 traveled to four destinations, 24 traveled to three destinations, 110 traveled to two destinations, and 312 traveled to one or an unknown destination.

As shown in Figure 2, the majority of visits (321) were to New York (125), Massachusetts (88), Illinois (50), and California (31). These states were populous and contained multiple reputable universities. New York, Massachusetts, and Illinois were located in the Northeast and Midwest, to which it was faster and less expensive to travel. Almost half (243 or 45 percent) of visits were to universities or colleges in the United States, while 77 (12 percent) were to businesses. For 77 (12 percent) visits, the type of host institution was unknown. 43 (eight percent) visits were to research facilities, 33 (six percent) to medical facilities or hospitals, 23 (four percent) to governmental organizations, and 23 (four percent) to museums or libraries.

[176] According to Mattsson (1983[1987]), the steamship journey between Gothenburg and New York generally took around 10–14 days.

Table 2. Host institutions in the United States representing at least 2 percent of visits, 1912–1944.

Host institution	State	CCIHE type	Count	%
Field work	-	-	99	19%
Unknown	-	-	42	8%
Harvard University	Massachusetts	Research Uni I	36	7%
Columbia University	New York	Research Uni I	33	6%
Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT)	Massachusetts	Research Uni I	22	4%
University of Chicago	Illinois	Research Uni I	15	3%
University of Wisconsin	Wisconsin	Research Uni I	13	2%
Yale University	Connecticut	Research Uni I	10	2%
Cornell University	New York	Research Uni I	9	2%
University of Minnesota	Minnesota	Research Uni I	8	2%
Rockefeller Institute	New York	Research Uni I	8	2%
Other	-	-	238	44%
Total			**533**	**100%**

Source: See Appendix A.

As shown in Table 2, eight of the top nine host institutions in the United States were universities. One was a research institute founded by John D. Rockefeller, Sr., which later became a university. There were also 99 instances of field work, where scholarship holders were listed as studying or conducting research at various places instead of being associated with one or several host institutions, and 42 host institutions were unknown.

All the top nine host institutions would later be classified under the category of Research University I, or the 50 leading universities in terms of federal funding and research in the United States, by the Carnegie Classification of Institutions of Higher Education (CCIHE) in 1976. In total, 80 percent (201) of the 250 visits to universities and colleges were at universities classified under Research University I, and six percent (14) were at universities classified as Research University II, or universities with less federal funding and slightly smaller PhD programs Three percent (7) of visits were classified under the category of Doctoral-Granting University I and II.[177]

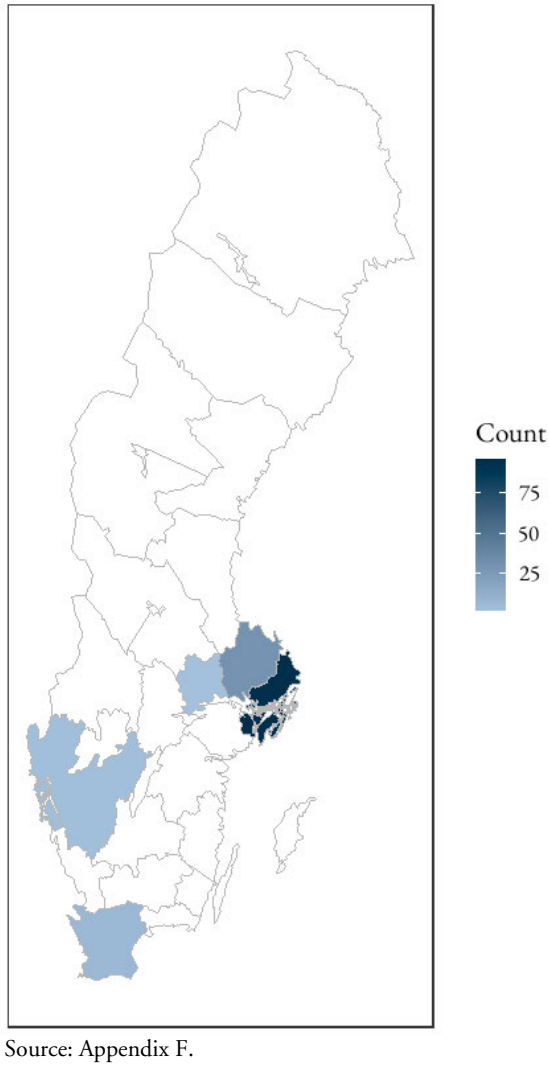
Four of the top institutions – Harvard University, Columbia University, Yale University, and Cornell University – also became members of the Ivy League athletic association. As asserted by Mitchell L. Stevens, the Ivy League "began as a football consortium in 1945 […] Today the term *Ivy League* is virtually synonymous with high institutional prestige."[178] Two of the top host institutions are Big Three universities – Harvard University and Yale University – the most meritocratic and selective universities in the United States.[179]

Elite universities in New York and Massachusetts were particularly popular with Swedish scholarship holders. The most popular host institutions in New York were the private universities, Columbia University (33) and Cornell University (9). There were two common host institutions in Massachusetts: Harvard University with 36

[177] See Appendix C for descriptions of the categories.
[178] Stevens (2009) *Creating a Class: College Admissions and the Education of the Elites*, p. 108.
[179] Karen (1990), p. 231.

visits, and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) with 22 visits. In Illinois, two universities dominated: the private University of Chicago (15) and the private Northwestern University (6).

Figure 3. Number of visits to Sweden by county of host institution(s), 1912–1944.



Source: Appendix F.

There were 135 known destinations for American scholarship holders who visited Sweden and 12 unknown destinations. Of these destinations, three scholarship holders visited three destinations, 36 visited two destinations, and 102 visited one or an unknown destination.

As shown in Figure 3, 65 percent (96) of visits were in Stockholm County, 20 percent (30) in Uppsala County, and four percent (6) in Skåne County.

Stockholm County contains the only city in Sweden, is home to several prominent higher education institutions, and is the seat of the Swedish government. Uppsala County and Skåne County were home to the only two universities in Sweden in this period, Uppsala University and Lund University. A majority of American scholarship holders visited universities and colleges (95 or 55 percent), 30 (33 percent) of host institution types were unknown, and 16 (nine percent) visited research facilities.

Table 3. Host institutions in Sweden representing at least 2 percent of visits, 1912–1944.

Host institution	County (*Län*)	Count	%
Uppsala University (*Uppsala universitet*)	Uppsala	29	20%
Unknown	-	28	19%
Stockholm University College (*Stockholms högskola*)	Stockholm	22	15%
Royal Institute of Technology (*Kungliga tekniska högskolan*)	Stockholm	17	12%
College of Forestry in Stockholm (*Skogshögskolan*)	Stockholm	14	10%
Nobel Institutes (*Nobel institutet*)	Stockholm	7	5%
The Field of Experiments (*Experimentalfältet*)	Stockholm	6	4%
Lund University (*Lunds universitet*)	Skåne	6	4%
Karolinska Institute (*Karolinska institutet*)	Stockholm	5	3%
Field work	-	5	3%
Royal Swedish Academy of Arts (*Konstakademien*)	Stockholm	3	2%
Other	-	5	3%
Total		**147**	**100%**

Source: See Appendix A.

As shown in Table 3, American scholarship holders were more highly concentrated at certain host institutions than were Swedish scholarship holders. This over-concentration is mainly due to Sweden being a much smaller country than the United States, both in population and in the number of possible host institutions. The most popular single host institution in Sweden during this period was Uppsala University (29), Sweden's first university, which accounted for all but one of the visits to Uppsala County during the period. The most popular county, however, was Stockholm County with 96 visits during the period. The most popular host institution was Stockholm University College (22) followed by the Royal Institute of Technology (17). Other popular host institutions were the College of Forestry in Stockholm (14) and the Field of Experiments (6), a research facility run by the Central Institute for Experimental Agriculture (*Centralanstalten för försöks-väsendet på jordbruksområdet*) until the 1930s.

In analyzing visits to the United States and Sweden altogether, most scholarship holders visited reputable universities in the most populous states and counties. These were also located near ports with transatlantic passenger shipping lines or long-distance railroads. This concentration points to the importance for scholarship holders and scholarship funders to invest in reputable universities over the period. The analysis also shows the geographical particularities of the academic, cultural, and geographical knowledge that flowed between Sweden and the United States from 1912–1944.

Flows and concentrations of (inter)disciplinary knowledge

This section will discuss the flows of knowledge from 1912–1944 related to the academic fields in which scholarships were awarded. This section will use the conceptual model introduced by Martin Trow in 1972 to contextualize higher education during this period. In this model, Trow asserts that the expansion and transformation of higher education in the twentieth century went through three historical phases: elite, mass, and universal. Using this model, most higher education systems in Europe and the United States in this period were considered elite, in that only a small proportion of the eligible population attended higher education.

Trow argues, however, that massifying trends were already present at the beginning of the twentieth century in the United States because of its "large and differentiated system without common standards or coordinate policies," which made higher education adaptable to growth.[180] After the large expansion of secondary education in the United States, both in enrollments and graduations, from the 1910s to the 1930s, the system of higher education could more easily adapt to the growing population eligible for higher education.[181] He compares this to the European structure, in which there were "a small number of universities with high uniform standards, centrally controlled or coordinated."[182] This made higher education in European countries more rigid and hierarchical, in which the pillar of academia, the full professorship, was "reserved for a small minority of specially distinguished or powerful scholars."[183] In Sweden, this meant that there was generally one professorship per discipline until the mid-1900s.[184]

In the following sections, the flows and concentrations of knowledge structured by scholarship awards will be discussed in the context of elite higher education in Sweden and the massifying system in the United States. First, more general scholarship patterns will be presented, followed by the particularities of the flows within, first, the humanities and social sciences and, secondly, the natural, engineering, and medical sciences. The last section will examine some of the transatlantic flows and concentrations within the humanities and social sciences – including American and Scandinavian studies, business studies, and the social and behavioral sciences – and the natural, engineering, and medical sciences – including the physical and life sciences, health, and engineering. It will discuss the role of the United States as a haven for the economic and technological advancement of Sweden.

[180] Trow (1972), p. 64.
[181] Trow (1972), p. 64.
[182] Trow (1972), p. 64.
[183] Trow (1972), p. 65.
[184] For an in-depth study of the winding path from PhD to professor in Sweden in the first half of the twentieth century, see Dalberg (2018) *Mot lärdomens topp. Svenska humanisters och samhällsvetares ursprung, utbildning och yrkesbana under 1900-talets första hälft*.

Broad patterns of knowledge flows

This section will examine the broader patterns of scholarship awards in relation to the flows of knowledge between Sweden and the United States. As previously stated, there were 518 scholarship awards from 1912–1944. Of these scholarships, 310 (60 percent) were awarded in the fields of natural, engineering, and medical sciences, and 208 (40 percent) were awarded in humanities and social sciences fields.[185]

Table 4. Total scholarship awards by host country and fields of education/training, 1912–1944.

Fields of education and training	Swe	%	US	%	Total	%
Natural, Engr and Medical Sciences	**85**	**63%**	**225**	**59%**	**310**	**60%**
Engineering, mfg and construction	**26**	**19%**	**90**	**23%**	**116**	**22%**
Engineering and engineering trades	16	12%	63	16%	79	15%
Architecture and building	9	7%	15	4%	24	5%
Manufacturing and processing	1	1%	12	3%	13	3%
Science	**38**	**28%**	**64**	**17%**	**102**	**20%**
Physical sciences	20	15%	28	7%	48	9%
Life sciences	17	13%	28	7%	45	9%
Mathematics and statistics	1	1%	8	2%	9	2%
Agriculture	**18**	**13%**	**34**	**9%**	**52**	**10%**
Agriculture, forestry and fishery	18	13%	33	9%	51	10%
Veterinary	0	0%	1	0%	1	0%
Health and welfare	**3**	**2%**	**37**	**10%**	**40**	**8%**
Health	3	2%	37	10%	40	8%
Humanities and Social Sciences	**49**	**37%**	**159**	**41%**	**208**	**40%**
Social sciences, business and law	**13**	**10%**	**105**	**27%**	**118**	**23%**
Business and administration	0	0%	55	14%	55	11%
Social and behavioral sciences	13	10%	34	9%	47	9%
Journalism and information	0	0%	13	3%	13	3%
Law	0	0%	3	1%	3	1%
Humanities and arts	**35**	**26%**	**27**	**7%**	**62**	**12%**
Humanities	32	24%	18	5%	50	10%
Arts	3	2%	9	2%	12	2%
Education	**1**	**1%**	**13**	**3%**	**14**	**3%**
Teacher training and educational science	1	1%	13	3%	14	3%
Health and welfare	**0**	**0%**	**8**	**2%**	**8**	**2%**
Social services	0	0%	8	2%	8	2%
Services	**0**	**0%**	**6**	**2%**	**6**	**1%**
Personal services	0	0%	6	2%	6	1%
Total	**134**	**100%**	**384**	**100%**	**518**	**100%**

Source: See Appendix A.

As shown in Table 4, a more specific picture emerges when scholarship awards are divided by host country, field, and sub-field. First, most scholarship awards to Americans visiting Sweden (85 or 63 percent) and Swedes visiting the United States (225 or 59 percent) were within natural, engineering, and medical sciences fields. Because there were nearly triple the number of Swedes that traveled to the United States than the reverse, this meant there were significantly more Swedes who visited the United States to study and conduct research in natural, engineering, and medical science fields as well as humanities

[185] Fields of education and training are coded using the International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED) 1997/1999. See Appendix B for a complete list of these fields.

and social sciences fields (159 or 41 percent) during the period. This pattern is repeated at every level – domain, field, and sub-field – in all cases except one. Within the field of humanities, there were both a higher percentage and number of Americans who visited Sweden (32 or 24 percent) than the reverse (18 or five percent).

One noteworthy example of asymmetrical flows is the sub-field of business and administration. While no scholarships were awarded in this sub-field to Americans, 55 scholarships were awarded to Swedes. Another example is the health sub-field, in which 37 (93 percent) of the 40 scholarships in this field were awarded to Swedes visiting the United States. There were, however, fields and sub-fields where these patterns were less asymmetrical. Two examples are the sub-fields of physical and life sciences. Forty percent (37) of the scholarships in these sub-fields were awarded to Americans during the period. There was also a large percentage of total scholarships awarded to Americans in agriculture, forestry, and fishery (13 percent or 18), in engineering and engineering trades (19 percent or 26), and in the social and behavioral sciences (ten percent or 13). This meant that there were exchanges of knowledge in these sub-fields, in which the total scholarships awarded to Swedes were 33 (nine percent) in agriculture, forestry, and fishery, 63 (16 percent) in engineering and engineering trades, and 34 (nine percent) in social and behavioral sciences.

In summary, there were clear differences in the number of scholarships awarded for study, training, and research over the period, which led to a decisive asymmetry in the flows of knowledge facilitated by scholarships between Sweden and the United States over the period. This asymmetry is seen in every domain, field, and sub-field except one. In the sub-field of humanities, there were both a higher number and percentage of scholarships awarded to Americans. There were also some exchanges of knowledge happening between the two countries, highlighted by the fact that there were significant numbers of scholarships awarded to both Americans and Swedes within the humanities; the social and behavioral sciences; engineering and engineering trades; and the physical and life sciences. The decisive asymmetry in some fields and sub-fields is also interesting, especially concerning the disproportionate and large number of scholarships awarded to Swedes within the business and administration and health sub-fields.

Against this more general picture, there was also a shift in scholarships awarded over time, especially for visits to the United States. Most scholarships awarded to Americans from 1912–1939 remained in the same three fields: the sciences; humanities and arts; and engineering, manufacturing, and construction. The most significant shift occurred in the number of scholarships awarded in agriculture in the 1920s. For Swedes, there were also three main fields: social sciences, business, and law; engineering, manufacturing, and construction; and the sciences. The fields of agriculture as well as health and welfare became more prevalent from the mid-1920s to the late 1930s.

Organizational rationales of flows

The three organizations in this study represent different purposes that structured patterns of Swedish-American academic exchange from 1912–1944. The American-Scandinavian Foundation (ASF), Sweden-America Foundation (SAS), and Rockefeller Foundation (RF) were all donor-steered private foundations. The RF was more strategic about its goals and had more control over the organization of its programs because of its large endowment. Although the general purposes of the ASF and SAS were consistent, their scholarship programs were often dependent on short-term donations with purposes that sometimes differed.

The purposes of these organizations and how they manifested in the awarding of scholarships are categorized using the four rationales conceptualized by Hans de Wit.[186] For the ASF, rationales were primarily cultural, embedded in the desire to strengthen ties between the Scandinavian countries and the United States, and in particular to foster a community of Scandinavian-Americans in the United States. Through academic exchange and the production and spread of knowledge about Scandinavia in the United States, the ASF also hoped to achieve mutual understanding as well as the preservation of Scandinavian and Scandinavian-American culture and identity. As discussed by de Wit, these cultural rationales also overlap with the political rationale of providing peace and mutual understanding, which were typical in the interwar period in the United States.

The rationales of SAS were cultural and partly political, the purpose being to develop relations between Sweden and the United States through the exchange of scientific, cultural, and practical experiences. As part of this general purpose, SAS also desired to produce and disseminate information about Sweden's policy of neutrality to the American public. This means that in addition to the cultural rationale of culture promotion that they shared with ASF, the SAS had two political rationales, of providing peace and mutual understanding as well as protecting Swedish foreign policy. As will be discussed later in this section, the vast majority of donations to SAS's scholarship program originated from the private sector, specifically within industry and commerce. The economic rationales of these donations can be understood as a way for the private sector to invest in the economic growth and competitiveness of Sweden through supporting scholarships that were stipulated for practical studies in banking, technology, and industry in the United States.

Lastly, the priorities of the RF shifted significantly over the period. In the 1910s and 1920s, the RF was focused on political rationales, specifically through technical assistance to foreign countries, or parts of the United States, it deemed underdeveloped. The main foci of the RF's affiliated boards were disease eradication and war relief. From 1929, scholarship programs, as well as the divisions under which they operated, were more closely aligned with academic rationales, especially through their investments in education and research infrastructure domestically and abroad.

[186] See Appendix D for a list of all rationales and their associated arguments.

Table 5. Total scholarship awards by awarding organization and host country, 1912–1944.

	ASF		ASF-SAS	RF		SAS	Total
5-year period	Swe	US	US	Swe	US	US	
1912–1914	6	2	0	0	0	0	8
1915–1919	14	10	0	0	0	10	34
1920–1924	42	1	0	1	0	45	89
1925–1929	19	1	48	8	18	42	136
1930–1934	13	0	20	0	11	49	93
1935–1939	26	4	5	5	16	61	117
1940–1944	0	1	0	0	3	37	41
Total	**120**	**19**	**73**	**14**	**48**	**244**	**518**

Source: See Appendix A.

As shown in Table 5, 139 scholarships were awarded by the ASF, 73 jointly by the ASF and SAS, 62 by the RF, and 244 by SAS. Of these, 90 percent (120) of the scholarships to Americans were awarded by the ASF and 10 percent (14) by the RF. Of the 384 scholarships to Swedes, 64 percent (244) were awarded by SAS, 19 percent (73) jointly by the ASF and SAS, 13 percent (48) by the RF, and five percent (19) by the ASF.

The increase in the number of scholarships from the early 1920s can be attributed to, first, the efforts made by the ASF and SAS to attract donations from private citizens and businesses in Sweden and the United States, which resulted in the "Five-year Forty-Fellowship Exchange" program that ran from 1919–1924, and, second, the establishment of the Industrial Fellowships Program in 1925. Another explanation is the reorientation of the RF, in which they increasingly funded and awarded scholarships for Swedish-American academic exchange.

Table 6. Total scholarship awards by academic domain and awarding organization, 1912–1944.

Domains and organizations	1912–14	1915–19	1920–24	1925–29	1930–34	1935–39	1940–44	Total
Natural, Engr and Medical Sciences	**2**	**22**	**52**	**81**	**52**	**71**	**30**	**310**
ASF	2	16	29	13	8	15	1	84
RF	0	0	1	21	8	18	1	49
SAS	0	6	22	24	26	35	28	141
ASF-SAS	0	0	0	23	10	3	0	36
Humanities and Social Sciences	**6**	**12**	**37**	**55**	**41**	**46**	**11**	**208**
ASF	6	8	14	7	5	15	0	55
RF	0	0	0	5	3	3	2	13
SAS	0	4	23	18	23	26	9	103
ASF-SAS	0	0	0	25	10	2	0	37
Total	**8**	**34**	**89**	**136**	**93**	**117**	**41**	**518**

Source: See Appendix A.

As shown in Table 6, most scholarships were awarded in natural, engineering, and medical sciences fields in this period, with 310 (60 percent) awarded in this domain, and 208 (40 percent) awarded in humanities and social sciences fields.

Once divided by organization, however, the organizational rationales are more apparent. The scholarships awarded by the American-Scandinavian Foundation,

the Sweden-America Foundation, and the Rockefeller Foundation followed the overall pattern, with 84 (60 percent) of the total 139 scholarships awarded by the ASF and 141 (58 percent) of the 244 awarded by SAS in the natural, engineering, and medical sciences. The scholarships awarded by the Rockefeller Foundation and the jointly awarded industrial fellowships deviated from this pattern, with 68 (78 percent) of the awards by the RF and 36 (50 percent) of the industrial fellowships in natural, engineering, and medical sciences fields.

American-Scandinavian Foundation

The American-Scandinavian Foundation (ASF) Fellowship Program began in 1912. As discussed in Chapter 2, this program ran alongside several other activities, including the publishing of *The American-Scandinavian Review* and the running of the Bureau of Information. The trustees considered the scholarship program integral to fulfilling its purposes, which included the desire to bring the United States and Scandinavian countries and Scandinavian-Americans together. Though it is never explicitly stated that the American applicants or awardees should be of Scandinavian origin or descent, many of the applicants before World War II, and especially in its first 10–15 years of operation, were of Scandinavian origin or Scandinavian descent.[187]

Table 7. Total scholarships awarded by the American-Scandinavian Foundation by fields of education/training, 1912–1944.

Fields of education and training	1912 –14	1915 –19	1920 –24	1925 –29	1930 –34	1935 –39	1940 –44	Total
Natural, Engr and Medical Sciences	**2**	**16**	**29**	**13**	**8**	**15**	**1**	**84**
Engineering, mfg and construction	1	9	8	3	4	9	0	34
Science	0	4	10	5	2	6	0	27
Agriculture	0	2	10	3	2	0	0	17
Health and welfare	1	1	1	2	0	0	1	6
Humanities and Social Sciences	**6**	**8**	**14**	**7**	**5**	**15**	**0**	**55**
Humanities and arts	6	3	9	4	4	11	0	37
Social sciences, business, and law	0	5	5	3	1	2	0	16
Education	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2
Total	**8**	**24**	**43**	**20**	**13**	**30**	**1**	**139**

Source: See Appendix A.

As shown in Table 7, 84 (60 percent) scholarships awarded by the ASF in the period were within natural, engineering, and medical sciences, and 55 (40 percent) were awarded in humanities and social sciences. However, the single largest field was humanities and arts, which constituted 27 percent (37) of all scholarship

[187] These scholarship holders include Edwin Björkman (1914 fellow in literature), born in Stockholm, who visited Sweden, Denmark and Norway, and Velma Swanston Howard (1917 fellow in literature) from Linköping, who visited Sweden.

awards in the period, followed by engineering, manufacturing, and construction (24 percent or 34), and science (19 percent or 27).

Table 8. Total scholarships awarded by the American-Scandinavian Foundation by host country and fields of education/training, 1912–1944.

	Sweden		US		Total	
Fields of education and training	**Count**	**%**	**Count**	**%**	**Count**	**%**
Natural, Engr and Medical Sciences	**71**	**59%**	**13**	**68%**	**84**	**60%**
Engineering, mfg and construction	26	22%	8	42%	34	24%
Science	25	21%	2	11%	27	19%
Agriculture	17	14%	0	0%	17	12%
Health and welfare	3	3%	3	16%	6	4%
Humanities and Social Sciences	**49**	**41%**	**6**	**32%**	**55**	**40%**
Humanities and arts	35	29%	2	11%	37	27%
Social sciences, business and law	13	11%	3	16%	16	12%
Education	1	1%	1	5%	2	1%
Total	**120**	**100%**	**19**	**100%**	**139**	**100%**

Source: See Appendix A.

As shown in Table 8, relatively few scholarships were awarded to Swedes by the ASF from 1912–1944, with only 19 scholarships in total. The majority of scholarships to Swedes were awarded between 1912–1920 and 1938–1941. From the beginning of operations, the ASF only had full control over the evaluation and awarding of scholarships to American applicants. The evaluation and nomination of Swedish applicants came from the governmental advisory committee in Sweden. This responsibility was turned over to the Sweden-America Foundation upon its creation in 1919.

Although the ASF was interested in bringing Scandinavians to the United States, in this period, they were often brought in the capacity of lecturers, outside the framework of the scholarship program, in which academics were sent on lecture tours to various universities. An example are the lectureships arranged in 1938 in celebration of the Swedish-American Tercentenary, the 300th anniversary of Swedish settlement in the United States.[188] As part of this celebration, "a distinguished array" of Swedish scholars were brought to the United States to lecture at various American universities. These scholars included The Svedberg, Professor of Physical Chemistry at Uppsala University; Eli Heckscher, Professor of Economic History at Uppsala University; Gunnar Asplund, Professor of Architecture at the Royal Institute of Technology, Einar Hammarsten, Professor of Pharmacy and Chemistry at the Karolinska Institute; Nils Herlitz, Professor of Constitutional, Administrative and International Law at Stockholm University College; Hanna Rydh, PhD in archaeology and president of the Fredrika Bremer Association; Knut Lundmark, Professor of Astronomy and head of the observatory at Lund University; Arvid Lindau, Professor of Pathology, Bacteriology, and Healthcare at Lund University;

[188] For an in-depth history of the celebrations surrounding the Swedish-American Tercentenary, see Hjorthén (2018) *Cross-Border Commemorations. Celebrating Swedish Settlement in America.*

Gunnar Myrdal, Professor of Economics at Stockholm University College; Manne Siegbahn, Director of the Physics Department of the Nobel Institute; Gregor Paulsson, Professor of Art History at Uppsala University, and Dag Strömbäck, Associate professor of Nordic Languages at Uppsala University.[189]

There were a significantly higher number of scholarships awarded to Americans during 1912–1944, with a total of 120 scholarships in this period. The most significant field during the period was the humanities and arts, which can partially be attributed to the strong cultural identity and partly to the donations given to the ASF during the period. The humanities and arts field was followed closely by the fields of engineering, manufacturing and construction, and science.

The main funding for the ASF Fellowship Program at the beginning of its operations came from the Niels Poulson endowment. The average operating budget of the ASF remained at approximately 20,000 dollars annually until the late 1920s.[190] This meant that the Trustees and officers of the ASF juggled the funding of scholarships against funding other activities unless donations were stipulated specifically for scholarships. Although the ASF continued operating the Fellowship Program for the most part during World War I, they were unable to successfully award scholarships to Americans in 1918. It was hoped by the trustees, however, that the importance of their mission would help to attract donations and grow the program after the end of World War I.[191]

In 1919, temporary growth in the ASF Fellowship Program was achieved when the Foundation successfully reached out to members of the business community in Scandinavia and the United States. A group donation from more than 40 private citizens and businesses, including bankers, merchants, and educators, from both sides of the Atlantic, made a short-term exchange program possible. Secretary Henry Goddard Leach, the driving force behind the program, was thanked in the 1922 annual report for his "initiative and labor" for making the program possible.[192] This "Five-year Forty-Fellowship exchange" ran from 1919–1924 between Sweden, Denmark, Norway, and the United States. Scholarships for Swedes were officially funded through the Sweden-America Foundation, and scholarships for Americans through the ASF. Every year for five years, 20 Americans and 10 Swedes were awarded scholarships of 1000 dollars each for study or research abroad.[193]

On the American side, donors included John Aspegren, founder of the Scandinavian-American Trading Co. and former President of the American Scandinavian Society; Harry C. Blackiston, Director of the shipping company Furness, Withy & Co.; Charles Sherman Haight, Lawyer at Haight, Griffin, Deming & Gardner in New York and founding trustee of the ASF; Henry Goddard

[189] ASF AR 1937, pp. 6–7: Christian Jacobaeus, Professor of Medicine at the Karolinska Institute, was also invited, but he passed away before he could give any lectures.
[190] ASF ARs 1912–1925.
[191] ASF AR 1917, p. 7 and ASF AR 1918, pp. 4–5.
[192] ASF AR 1922, p. 4.
[193] ASF AR 1920, pp. 20–21, ASF AR 1923, p. 3, and Friis (1961), p. 34.

Leach, Secretary of the ASF and editor of *The American-Scandinavian Review*; and Björn G. Prytz, Managing Director of the Swedish ball bearing manufacturer *Svenska Kullagerfabriken* (later SKF). The ASF also pledged one scholarship using the Niels Poulson fund.[194]

The "Five-year Forty-Fellowship exchange" program was an exception before World War I, as most scholarships were in the form of donations from private citizens or businesses. These donations generally came from individuals associated with the ASF like the officers, trustees, and even members of its chapters across the United States. It was common for individuals to sponsor specific scholarships within a certain academic field or geographic area; in the mid-1920s, for example, there were scholarships donated by individuals living in Gothenburg and Stockholm for Swedish students studying in the United States.[195]

As the 1920s progressed, the officers of the ASF felt increasingly constrained by the small operating budget of the ASF, which could not exceed the interest income of the Poulson endowment and individual donations. Their desire was not only to stabilize the general work of the ASF but also to grow the scholarship program through the creation of permanent scholarship funds. Additional pressure was placed on the ASF's operating budget in 1926 when Niels Poulson's company, Hecla Iron Works, fell into financial difficulty and could no longer make payments to the principal of the bonds given to the ASF as a part of Niels Poulson's estate in 1913. Although these bonds were set to mature in 1924, ASF agreed to continue holding the bonds for an additional five years. In June 1926, when Hecla Iron Works could no longer make payments, a two-year process of selling the assets of the company began, so the ASF could finally be in full control of their endowment. Because of the length of this process and the additional costs associated with the sale and taxation of this property, ASF was deprived of the interest, which normally made up the operating budget for two years.[196]

During this time, the ASF reached out, more desperately, to individuals, the business community, and even other foundations to supplement its income, first related to the default of Hecla Iron Works and second related to the reduction of income due to the Great Depression. Because of this, the scholarship program in 1926 and 1927 was supported mainly through individual donations and grants from private foundations. A significant number of these individual donations came from newly elected President Henry Goddard Leach, either designated from the Leach Loan Fund or in the form of single scholarships.[197]

Grants from the Carnegie Corporation of New York and the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial marked the first organized cooperation with large private foundations. By 1928, most of Hecla Iron Works' property had been sold, and the

[194] ASF AR 1919, pp. 3–4.
[195] ASF AR 1926, p. 26.
[196] ASF AR 1926, p. 5, ASF AR 1927, p. 3, and ASF AR 1928, p. 3.
[197] ASF AR 1919, p. 4, ASF AR 1927, p. 8, and ASF AR 1930, p. 7

ASF could rely on pre-determined holdings, interest income, and mortgages to fund its operations.[198] However, this economic victory was short-lived. As the Great Depression swept through the United States, the newly freed holdings of the ASF depreciated, leaving less income to fund operations, especially for scholarships in the 1930s. In 1929, the ASF held over 540,000 dollars in assets; by the end of 1937, they held approximately 370,000 dollars in assets.[199] In the 1930s, a call for supporters to endow scholarship funds was repeated in every annual report.[200]

After resolving budgetary issues in the late 1920s and the issues around the Great Depression in the 1930s, which strongly reduced the income from their endowment, the trustees became increasingly concerned with creating a permanent endowment for the Fellowship Program to stabilize the program for the future. Several annual reports also show that the trustees began to think more broadly and strategically, using the fact that several of their fellows had received Nobel Prizes as well as the fact that many also appeared in the pages of *Who's Who* to entice donations.[201] Henry Goddard Leach, president of the ASF, and J. Sigfrid Edström, president of the Sweden-America Foundation, met several times in the late 1930s in an attempt to breathe life into the former "Five-year Forty-Fellowship exchange" program from the early 1920s.[202]

These pleas for more stable funding were finally met in 1939 when Mrs. Grace Cummings Bergquist, widow of John G. Bergquist, former vice president and trustee of the ASF, wrote a 25,000 dollar check to the organization on behalf of her late husband. At the time, this was the largest donation since the original contribution of Niels Poulson. According to Grace Cummings-Bergquist, the bequest would be designated "to establish a perpetual Scholarship Endowment whereby an American student appointed by the ASF may carry on his or her advanced studies in Chemistry in Sweden."[203] This was the last large donation to the ASF before World War II, when circumstances forced the trustees to call back the majority of their scholarships from Sweden as well as use additional funds to pay for those Scandinavian scholarship holders stranded in the United States due to World War II.[204] The ASF Fellowship Program was able to reopen in 1945.

Sweden-America Foundation

The Sweden-America Foundation (SAS, *Sverige Amerika Stiftelsen*) and its scholarship program was established in Stockholm, Sweden in 1919.[205] There were

[198] ASF AR 1927, pp. 13–15 and ASF AR 1928, pp. 3–5.
[199] ASF AR 1929, pp. 14–15 and ASF AR 1937, pp. 14–15.
[200] ASF AR 1929, p. 10.
[201] ASF AR 1934, pp. 8–9, ASF AR 1936, pp. 5–7, and ASF AR 1938, pp. 6–7.
[202] ASF AR 1938, p. 5–7.
[203] ASF AR 1938, p. 7.
[204] ASF AR 1940, p. 4 and ASF AR 1941, p. 4.
[205] SAS AR 1919, p. 1.

244 scholarships awarded and used between 1919 and 1944, though its operations were complicated from 1942–1944 due to the circumstances of World War II.

Table 9. Total scholarships awarded by the Sweden-America Foundation by fields of education/training, 1919–1944.

Fields of education/training	1919	1920–24	1925–29	1930–34	1935–39	1940–44	Total
Natural, Engr and Medical Sciences	**6**	**22**	**24**	**26**	**35**	**28**	**141**
Engineering, mfg and construction	2	8	10	10	19	10	59
Science	0	8	6	7	8	10	39
Health and welfare	3	3	4	5	6	2	23
Agriculture	1	3	4	4	2	6	20
Humanities and Social Sciences	**4**	**23**	**18**	**23**	**26**	**9**	**103**
Social sciences, business and law	3	19	8	10	17	1	58
Humanities and arts	1	2	4	5	7	4	23
Education	0	2	3	3	0	4	12
Services	0	0	2	3	1	0	6
Health and welfare	0	0	1	2	1	0	4
Total	**10**	**45**	**42**	**49**	**61**	**37**	**244**

Source: See Appendix A.

As shown in Table 9, SAS awarded a total of 244 scholarships during the period. 141 (58 percent) were awarded in natural, engineering and medical sciences, and 103 (42 percent) were awarded in the humanities and social sciences. The fields accounting for the majority of scholarships were engineering, manufacturing, and construction (59 or 24 percent); social sciences, business and law (58 or 24 percent); and science (39 or 16 percent). Of these scholarships, 223 were fellowships funded and awarded through SAS Scholarship Program annual competitions. From 1940–1944, there were also 21 extra scholarships awarded to help cover expenses for SAS fellows stranded in the United States during World War II.

Unlike the American-Scandinavian Foundation, which gave scholarships to both Americans and Swedes, SAS's program was focused on funding and awarding scholarships to Swedes desiring to study or conduct research in the United States. As discussed in Chapter 2, the purposes of SAS were three-fold: to foster and maintain good relations between Sweden and the United States, to help create a positive image of Sweden in the United States, and to bring back practical knowledge to Sweden. This was accomplished through fostering academic, educational, and business contacts between the two countries alongside their other activities, including hosting American ASF scholarship holders in Sweden and running the Swedish-American News Exchange in Stockholm and New York.

The SAS Scholarship Program was established in 1919, and its first source of funding was a 100,000 Swedish crown donation from Swedish artist Anders Zorn. By the time of his donation, Zorn was an internationally famous and wealthy painter, who was famous in part for painting royalty and government officials, including three American presidents. Zorn's donation was turned into a fund, the interest of which to be used "as travel support for Swedish citizens, who intend to conduct studies in any area, though preferably scientific, in places that would best

suit them, regardless if they are located in America or another part of the world."[206] Although the terms of this donation were relatively open, the general purposes of the SAS at this time guaranteed that scholarships were awarded to Swedish scholars for visits to the United States.

The other source of funding were individual and short-term donations from private citizens and businesses in Sweden. At first, these donations were channeled into the "Five-year Forty-Fellowship Exchange" program in collaboration with the American-Scandinavian Foundation. In 1919, 10 private citizens and businesses agreed to donate yearly scholarships of 1,000 dollars for five years.[207] Nine of these original donations were stipulated broadly for scholarships, and the donors were: Håkan Björnström-Steffanson, Swedish-American businessman and engineer; Dan Broström; Axel Ax:son Johnson, director of several companies and SAS board member; Harald Laurin, Director of trading company Laurin & Perkal and SAS board member; Ira Nelson Morris, United States Minister to Sweden; Director Axel Robert Nordvall; Standard Oil Co.; Consul Generals Olof Söderberg and Josef Sachs; and Minister Knut Wallenberg and Director Marcus Wallenberg. Only one donation, from the National City Bank in New York, stipulated that the scholarship be awarded in the field of "economics and banking technology" and that they wanted to make the final decision on the scholarship recipient.[208]

In 1920, SAS began to categorize scholarships based on their purpose and funding source. There were three categories: the Anders Zorn scholarship, University scholarships, and College scholarships. While the first two categories of scholarships reflected the donations received and funds held by SAS, College scholarships were funded by universities and colleges in the United States. SAS's role was as an intermediary, in which they were responsible for evaluating and nominating candidates for College Scholarships.[209]

In 1924, new scholarship categories were added, including technical scholarships, commercial scholarships, scholarships in insurance, and scientific scholarships. Vice President of SAS, Director Axel Robert Nordvall, was responsible for attracting donors in collaboration with the American-Scandinavian Foundation.[210] In 1925, these scholarships were collected under the category of Industrial Fellowships and awarded jointly with the American-Scandinavian Foundation from 1925–1939. Scholarships were generally awarded to individuals for primarily practical but also theoretical education at the company affiliated with the donor.

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[206] SAS AR 1919, p. 12 and p. 20: "till reseunderstöd för svensk medborgare, som ämnar bedriva studier inom vilket område som helst, dock företrädesvis vetenskapliga, på de orter som därtill skulle bäst lämpa sig, oavsett om dess vore belägna i Amerika eller annan världsdel."
[207] SAS AR 1919, pp. 8–9.
[208] ASF 1919, p. 4 and SAS AR 1919, pp. 6–7: "nationalekonomi och bankteknik."
[209] SAS AR 1920, pp. 9–11: "endast förmedlande."
[210] SAS AR 1924, pp. 8–11: "tekniska stipendier," "handelsstipendier," "stipendium för försäkringsverksamhet," "vetenskapliga stipendier."

In 1929, SAS acknowledged the issues related to the passing of the Immigrant Act of 1921, which introduced a quota system for immigrants to the United States. The Immigration Act of 1924 changed these quotas to favor immigrants from Northern and Western Europe. The Act of 1924 also created pathways for temporary non-immigrant visitors as well as non-quota immigrants.[211] SAS was able to avoid too much difficulty with the quota system by negotiating successfully with American authorities to have their scholarship holders awarded visas outside the quota system.[212] While SAS managed to negotiate good terms for the majority of their scholarship holders, they faced a problem with scholarships awarded through the Industrial Fellowships Program, which were partially reliant on donations from American businesses. Due to the economic impacts of the Great Depression, an increasing number of American companies were unable to fund and provide training for new industrial fellows. This was because of a requirement to provide work opportunities to Americans first. However, the industrial fellows already in the United States were allowed to stay.[213] These issues continued until the late 1930s, with SAS acknowledging in 1937 that the United States was still unable to receive industrial fellows except in a few individual cases and only for a short period.[214]

In 1933, SAS acknowledged that while the scholarships funded by Swedish sources remained reliable, the funds from the United States continued to be unreliable. As evidence of the continued success in attracting donations in Sweden, SAS also received its second donation designated for permanent scholarship funding from ASEA (*Allmänna Svenska Elektriska Aktiebolaget*) or the General Swedish Electrical Company, which was celebrating its 50th anniversary. The main stipulation of this donation was that the scholarships be awarded "to qualified engineers for studies and education in the electro-technical industry in the United States."[215] In 1939, SAS received another donation in the form of 100,000 Swedish crowns from *Kooperativa Förbundet* (KF, Swedish Co-operative Union), which was designated for a permanent scholarship fund.[216] Similar to the Anders Zorn donation, there were few stipulations, stating only that the "interest should be used as travel support for Swedish citizens, who intend to conduct studies in the United States."[217]

Due to problems associated with World War II, additional travel restrictions were placed on incoming foreigners, which SAS stated made it difficult and expensive to send Swedish scholarship holders to the United States. While SAS awarded

[211] Immigration Act of 1924 (Johnson-Reed Act), Pub. L. 68–139, 43 Stat. 153 (1924), Sec. 3 and 4.
[212] SAS AR 1929, p. 5.
[213] SAS AR 1932, p. 3 and SAS AR 1933, p. 5.
[214] SAS AR 1937, p. 3: "Visserligen har U.S.A. ej heller 1937 kunnat taga emot s.k. Industrial fellows annat än i enstaka fall och för kortare tid."
[215] SAS AR 1933, pp. 3–4: "till kvalificerade ingenjörer för studier och utbildning inom den elektrotekniska branschen i U.S.A."
[216] SAS AR 1939, pp. 3–4.
[217] SAS AR 1939, p. 35: "avkastning skulle användas till reseunderstöd för svensk medborgare, som ämnar bedriva studier i Förenta Staterna."

scholarships until 1944, they were only compensatory scholarships to Swedish scholarship holders stranded in the United States from 1941 to 1944.[218]

Rockefeller Foundation and affiliated boards

The Rockefeller Foundation (RF) was established in 1913 by John D. Rockefeller, Sr., and began awarding international scholarships in the early 1920s. As discussed in Chapter 2, the RF is a large, well-funded and organizationally complex foundation. The RF's operations in this period were administrated through boards established prior to the RF, boards established by the RF and administrated through the RF.

At the beginning of the RF's international operations, the Foundation aimed to tackle medical problems through the eradication and prevention of disease. This also correlated with another early interest of the RF in improving the education and training of medical professionals in the United States and foreign countries.[219] After World War I, the RF began to systematically support research about various medical, social, and natural problems as well as support traveling fellowships for promising young scholars in various European countries. This means that much of the funding from the RF and its affiliated boards supported medical education and research in its first decade of operations. Beginning in the 1920s, the RF and its affiliated boards began to broaden the scope of operations through supporting research and education in Europe. In the case of Sweden, the first international scholarships were awarded through two independent boards created by the RF, the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial, established in 1918, and the International Education Board, established in 1923. The Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial supported work in the social sciences and the International Education Board in natural sciences and agriculture.

In 1928, the RF and its affiliated boards went through a substantial re-organization. Several affiliated boards were merged into the RF, and their operations were reorganized into several divisions. The new organizational structure included the establishment of a new International Health Division as well as the Divisions of Medical Sciences, Natural Sciences, Social Sciences and Humanities; the consolidation of the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial into the Division of Social Sciences; and the absorption of the majority of the International Education Board's operations into the Division of Natural Sciences.

[218] SAS ARs 1941–1944.
[219] Fosdick (1952), p. 107 and p. 131.

Table 10. Total scholarships awarded by the Rockefeller Foundation and affiliated boards, 1920–1944.

Awarding board/division	1920–24	1925–29	1930–34	1935–39	1940–44	Total
International Education Board (IEB)	1	19	1	0	0	21
Division of Natural Sciences (NS)	0	0	4	9	0	13
Division of Social Sciences (SS)	0	2	3	4	3	12
Division of Medical Sciences (MS)	0	0	3	3	0	6
International Health Division (IHD)	0	0	0	5	0	5
Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial (LSRM)	0	3	0	0	0	3
Division of Medical Education (DME)	0	2	0	0	0	2
Total	**1**	**26**	**11**	**21**	**3**	**62**

Source: See Appendix A.

As shown in Table 10, there were a total of 62 scholarships awarded from 1924–1944. The International Education Board awarded 21 (34 percent) scholarships from 1924–1930, and the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial awarded three (five percent) scholarships from 1925–1929. The remaining scholarships were awarded through the RF, 13 (21 percent) by the Division of Natural Sciences from 1930–1939; 12 (19 percent) by the Division of Social Sciences from 1929–1941; eight (13 percent) by the Division of Medical Education (1928) and Division of Medical Sciences from 1931–1939; and five (eight percent) by the International Health Division from 1938–1939.

Table 11. Total scholarships awarded by the Rockefeller Foundation and affiliated boards by fields of education/training, 1924–1944.

Fields of education and training	1924	1925–29	1930–34	1935–39	1940–44	Total
Natural, Engineering and Medical Sciences	**1**	**21**	**8**	**18**	**1**	**49**
Science	**1**	**17**	**7**	**11**	**0**	**36**
Life sciences	1	10	4	10	0	25
Physical sciences	0	7	3	1	0	11
Agriculture	**0**	**4**	**0**	**2**	**1**	**7**
Agriculture, forestry and fishery	0	4	0	2	1	7
Health and welfare	**0**	**0**	**1**	**5**	**0**	**6**
Health	0	0	1	5	0	6
Humanities and Social Sciences	**0**	**5**	**3**	**3**	**2**	**13**
Social sciences, business and law	**0**	**5**	**2**	**3**	**2**	**12**
Social and behavioral sciences	0	5	2	3	2	12
Health and welfare	**0**	**0**	**1**	**0**	**0**	**1**
Social services	0	0	1	0	0	1
Total	**1**	**26**	**11**	**21**	**3**	**62**

Source: See Appendix A.

As shown in Table 11, 49 (79 percent) of scholarships were awarded in natural, engineering, and medical sciences, and 13 (21 percent) were awarded in humanities and social sciences. Forty-six (77 percent) of all scholarships were awarded in three sub-fields, 25 (40 percent) in life sciences, 11 (18 percent) in physical sciences, and 12 (19 percent) in social and behavioral sciences. The International Education Board, International Health Division, Divisions of Medical Education and Sciences, and Division of Natural Sciences awarded scholarships in life and physical

sciences. The Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial and the Division of Social Sciences awarded scholarships in the social and behavioral sciences.

The rest of this section will discuss the scholarship programs and scholarships of the affiliated boards and the RF divisions in the context of their general operations. The board that awarded the largest number of scholarships to Swedish scholars was the International Education Board. Established in 1923 with a gift of over 20 million dollars, the purpose of this board was to operate broadly in the field of education in an overseas context.[220] Through its director, Wickliffe Rose, who was also the former director of the International Health Board, the work of the International Education Board in the 1920s was focused on "the development of the physical and biological sciences, to agriculture, and to humanistic research."[221] In practice, scholarship funding was heavily concentrated on the natural sciences, agriculture, and forestry.[222] While much of its work was absorbed into the RF in 1929, the International Education Board did not officially shut down until 1938.

Its director, Wickliffe Rose, was particularly invested in physics, chemistry, and biology. He expressed the intention to find "centres of inspiration and training" and fund and award scholarships for select students to be trained at these centers "with reference to definite service in their own countries after completion of their studies."[223] In 1923, Wickliffe Rose traveled around Europe for five months, where he met with leading European scientists. Later that same year, an office in Paris was established to help coordinate the movement of students to and from Europe.[224] Of the 21 scholarships awarded for Swedish-American exchange by the International Education Board between 1924 and 1930, 12 were awarded to Swedish scholars and nine to American scholars. Four scholarships were awarded in agriculture, specifically animal sciences and soil sciences, while 17 scholarships were awarded in physical and life sciences, mainly in biology, plant science, and chemistry.

This section will discuss the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial and the Division of Social Sciences. According to Raymond Fosdick, the RF's first foray into the social sciences was in 1922 when the director of the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial, Beardsley Ruml, submitted a memorandum "containing a bold plan to move the Memorial bodily into the field of the social sciences – economics, sociology, political science, and the related subjects, psychology, anthropology, and history."[225] This plan was developed out of the Memorial's original interest in advancing social welfare in the United States and foreign countries. One of the most important parts of this plan was the development of major centers of social science research at universities in the United States and

[220] Fosdick (1952), p. 9.
[221] Fosdick (1952), pp. 154–155.
[222] Fosdick (1952), pp. 156–157.
[223] Quote by Wickliffe Rose in Fosdick (1952), pp. 166–171.
[224] Fosdick (1952), pp. 166–171.
[225] Quote by Wickliffe Rose in Fosdick (1952), pp. 166–171.

abroad.[226] Another important part was the devotion to increasing "the number of able men working in the field of social sciences" through funding fellowships that would help "place the social sciences in a more equal relation to the physical sciences."[227] In 1929, once the work of the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial was consolidated into the RF, this new orientation in the social sciences and humanities was incorporated into its work.[228]

In 1925, Sweden became one of the foreign countries affiliated with the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial, and Stockholm University College became one of the Memorial's major centers for research in the social sciences. Gösta Bagge, Professor of Economics at Stockholm University College, acted as the Memorial's representative in Sweden and was responsible for nominating Swedish fellows to the Memorial.[229] According to Earlene Craver, Bagge had approached the Memorial one year prior while in the United States on a Sweden-America Foundation scholarship seeking long-term funding for social science research in Stockholm. This resulted in the Memorial and the Division of Social Sciences granting over 250,000 dollars to social science research in Stockholm from approximately 1925–1940, the bulk to projects and academics associated with the Department of Social Science (*Socialvetenskapliga institutet*) at Stockholm University College or the Institute for Social Work (*Socialinstitutet*).[230] Benny Carlson also notes that five out of the seven individuals involved in Bagge's project in Stockholm became part of what was later referred to as the Stockholm School.[231]

The scholarship program of the Division of Social Sciences remained relatively open in regards to academic field until 1935, when a decision was made to limit the scope from "all the specialized branches of social science" to American foreign "specialists in the fields of international relations, social security, and public administration."[232] The program was limited further during World War II when the budget was reduced and circumstances surrounding the war made it difficult for European scholars to travel.[233] As stated in 1940, "Conditions of war have affected the fellowship program not only in belligerent countries but through interference with travel and other causes in neutral countries as well."[234]

In total, there were three scholarships awarded to Swedish scholars by the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial from 1925–1929, two in sociology and one in economics. There were also 12 scholarships awarded to Swedish scholars by the Division of Social Sciences from 1929–1941 in sociology, psychology, economics, social work, and anthropology. Of the total 15 scholarship awards from the Laura

[226] Fosdick (1952), pp. 194–197.
[227] Fosdick (1952), p. 198.
[228] RF AR 1929, p. 239, p. 265 and p. 267.
[229] LSRM AR 1925, pp. 9–10.
[230] Craver (1991).
[231] "Comment by Benny Carlson" in Craver (1991), p. 98.
[232] RF AR 1935, pp. 200–204.
[233] RF AR 1941, pp. 250–252, RF AR 1942, p. 193, and RF AR 1943, pp. 194–195.
[234] RF AR 1940, pp. 274–275.

Spelman Rockefeller Memorial and the Division of Social Sciences from 1925–1941, 11 of these were made to Swedish scholars affiliated with Stockholm University College, primarily in economics and sociology.

Upon the establishment of the International Health Division in 1928, it became responsible for the work of the International Health Board, previously named the International Health Commission.[235] The scholarships awarded by the International Health Division were part of its public health education program, which funded and awarded scholarships for the purpose of "preparing personnel for posts in governmental health services in many countries."[236] Sweden was not a specific target country for the Division because it was considered a part of a northwestern group of countries that had advanced public health. According to the RF, this meant that there was "less need for administrative reform or for health personnel training" in Sweden.[237] The geographical focus of the International Health Division was instead on a group of countries in Southern and Eastern Europe, which were considered less developed.[238] Although the international scholarship program had been active since 1917, no scholarships were awarded to Swedish scholars until 1938, and all five were awarded in 1938 and 1939. Three of these scholarships were awarded in nursing and public health. The remaining two scholarships were travel grants awarded in the fields of agriculture and chemistry.

The Division of Medical Education, active from 1920–1928, was renamed the Division of Medical Sciences in 1929.[239] The Division of Medical Education was originally established by the RF for the purpose of "aiding medical schools in various parts of the world."[240] The international work of this division was primarily focused on North and South America, but also on certain parts of Europe and Asia.[241] The general purpose was channeled into: "(1) furnishing medical literature to important medical centres; (2) providing laboratory equipment to make possible the continuance of research; (3) arranging resident fellowships."[242]

Upon the creation of the Division of Medical Sciences, this purpose shifted into supporting "teaching and investigation in medicine."[243] According to this new purpose, the principal interest of the Division would be "research and the advancement of knowledge in the medical sciences" instead of "aid[ing], in several

[235] Fosdick (1952), pp. 39–41: The International Health Commission (1913–1916), the International Health Board (1917–1926), and the International Health Division (1927–1951).
[236] RF AR 1939, p. 146.
[237] RF AR 1934, pp. 57–61: The northwestern group of countries were: Belgium, Denmark, England & Wales, Scotland, France, Germany, Irish Free State, North Ireland, Norway, Netherlands, Saar, Sweden, and Switzerland.
[238] RF AR 1934, pp. 57–61: These countries were: Austria, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Estonia, Finland, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Portugal, Rumania, Spain and Yugoslavia.
[239] RF AR 1929, p. 175.
[240] RF (1974) Final Report: Trustee Program Review, December 3, 1973, p. 10.
[241] Fosdick (1952), pp. 123–125.
[242] Fosdick (1952), pp. 137–138.
[243] RF AR 1929, p. 175.

countries, the teaching functions of institutions of medical education."[244] International traveling fellowships were awarded to provide "supplementary training of young graduate physicians in preparation for specified positions as teachers or investigators to which they would return on completion of their studies" and specifically focused "on training for investigation."[245] These fellowships would be "given only to men and women who show[ed] unusual originality and ability in research, and who have had several years' experience beyond their formal professional training."[246] The Division saw these fellowships both as a means for education and training and as a way for fellows to learn from other cultures and develop "pathways for scientific cooperation."[247]

As of 1930, the Division's scholarship program awarded fellowships in two fields: the medical sciences and nursing.[248] From the mid-1930s, the Division began to move into the field of psychiatry with a focus on "two fields of concentration, mental and nervous diseases and the teaching of preventative medicine and public health."[249] By 1937, nearly all of the fellowships awarded by the Division were in neurology or psychiatry.[250] In 1939, the budget of the Division was reduced, largely due to the circumstances of World War II, which made it "unfeasible to award fellowships to Europeans."[251] There were two scholarships awarded to Swedish scholars by the Division of Medical Education in 1928, both in biology, and six scholarships awarded by the Division of Medical Sciences from 1931–1939, three in biology and three in medicine. Of the eight scholarships awarded by both Divisions, five were individuals affiliated with the Karolinska Institute and three with Lund University. The scholarships awarded were primarily in pure medicine or biomedical research.

One example given of the importance of these fellowships for researchers at the Karolinska Institute is shown by Olof Ljungström in the case of Erik Jorpes, a fellow of the Division of Medical Education in 1928. During Jorpes' fellowship, he spent time at the Rockefeller Institute in New York, where he was able to conduct research on the blood-thinning qualities of heparin. On his return to Stockholm, he became the first researcher to purify heparin, making it suitable for medical use. Heparin became the first drug patented by the Swedish pharmaceutical industry.[252]

The Division of Natural Sciences was created in 1929 and was responsible for the academic domain of the natural sciences. As a part of its purpose, it also took over the international activities in the natural sciences from the International

[244] RF AR 1929, p. 175.
[245] RF AR 1929, p. 184.
[246] RF AR 1937, pp. 172–174.
[247] RF AR 1937, pp. 172–174.
[248] RF AR 1930, p. 171.
[249] RF AR 1936, pp. 162–164.
[250] RF AR 1937, pp. 172–174.
[251] RF AR 1940, pp. 176–177.
[252] Ljungström (2010), p. 38. This is only one example in Ljungström's extensive history of the Rockefeller Foundation's involvement at the Karolinska Institute in 1930–1945.

Education Board.[253] When the Division of Natural Sciences took over this work, this Division also inherited the "rather extensive fellowship program in the natural sciences," the European part administered through the RF's office in Paris.[254] Beginning in the early 1920s, the academic priorities of this fellowship program were the physical and biological sciences, a priority extending past World War II.[255]

In 1939, the budget of the Division was reduced, and the circumstances surrounding World War II made it difficult to grant scholarships to Europeans. The Division anticipated "the interchange between European countries and between European countries and America will be reduced to a very few instances, if not completely interrupted" if the war continued.[256] In 1940, the fellowship program was reduced further.[257] There were 13 scholarships awarded by the Division of Natural Sciences from 1930–1939; nine were awarded to Swedish scholars in biology, biochemistry, and physical chemistry, and four were awarded to Americans in the field of biology and the related field of biochemistry. Six of the Swedish scholars were affiliated with Stockholm University College, two with Lund University, and one at Uppsala University. Most of these scholars conducted research at research facilities in the United States.

As an example of the connection between the funding of research infrastructure and fellowships, the only fellowship to a Swedish scholar affiliated with Uppsala University was awarded to Arne Tiselius in 1934, student of Nobel prize-winning chemist, The Svedberg. The technical equipment at Svedberg's laboratory at Uppsala University had been funded by the Rockefeller Foundation as well as Swedish industry, the most important of which was his world-famous ultracentrifuge. Sven Widmalm emphasizes that "by the mid-1930s protein research was dominated by Svedberg and his collaborators […] Those who wanted to make exact measurements on proteins were, for a period, forced to come to Uppsala and work there."[258] Tiselius was later awarded a fellowship by the International Health Division in 1939.

Conclusion

This chapter has focused on the scholarship programs of the American-Scandinavian Foundation (ASF), the Sweden-America Foundation (SAS), and the Rockefeller Foundation (RF) as well as the scholarships awarded by each of these organizations from 1912–1944.

As concluded in Chapter 2, the scholarship programs of the ASF and SAS were primarily demarcated by geography rather than academic domains or fields. The

[253] RF AR 1929, pp. 213–214.
[254] RF AR 1929, pp. 214–215.
[255] RF AR 1931, pp. 223–225.
[256] RF AR 1939, pp. 241–242.
[257] RF AR 1940, pp. 236–238 and RF AR 1941, pp. 218–219.
[258] Widmalm (2004), p. 6.

ASF funded two-way cultural and educational exchanges between Sweden and the United States, and SAS funded cultural, educational, and practical exchanges in the form of one-way scholarships to Swedish scholars visiting the United States. Chapter 3 has shown that the scope and direction of these programs were also largely determined by the number, type, and stipulation of short-term donations and permanent funds held by the two organizations. Many of the donations attracted and scholarships awarded by the ASF and SAS were part of a cooperative partnership in which both organizations pooled their resources to maintain a steady exchange of Swedish and American students and researchers over the period. These organizational conditions can be compared to the wide-reaching operations of the RF, whose scholarship programs were affected more by the priorities of its board of trustees in collaboration with the directors of its affiliated boards and Divisions.

From 1912–1944, three times the number of Swedish students and researchers were awarded scholarships to the United States than the reverse. Not only this, but the vast majority of scholarships were awarded in natural, engineering, and medical sciences fields, with a clear overrepresentation in engineering and engineering trades, physical sciences, and life sciences. This means that from 1912–1944, the organizations in this study were significant in the movement and transfer of technical and scientific knowledge between both countries. In humanities and social sciences fields, there were more scholarships awarded to Swedish students and researchers in every field except one. In the field of humanities, there were more scholarships awarded to American students and researchers than the reverse, which shows the significance of Sweden as a place for cultural and historical knowledge for Americans in this period. Geographically, many scholarship holders traveled between major cities and reputable universities and colleges in Sweden and the United States. In particular, from Stockholm and Uppsala in Sweden to New York, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Illinois, and California.

Based on the results presented in this chapter, it is clear that the scholarship programs of the ASF, SAS, and RF played a role in structuring both connections between particular individuals, academic fields, and higher education institutions in Sweden and the United States in a period when transatlantic academic mobility was fairly rare, and few organizations funded and awarded scholarships for this purpose. These results also point to the role of scholarships in creating elites and elite networks as well as the acquisition and distribution of symbolic capital to and from particular host institutions and places in Sweden and the United States.

CHAPTER 4

Private-Public Cooperation and the Expansion of Transatlantic Academic Mobility

From 1912–1944, international scholarship programs organized by private foundations became important facilitators of academic exchange between Sweden and the United States. However, World War II and the events that followed led to significant changes in the conditions for and practices of academic exchange between the two countries. The thirty-five-year period between 1945 and 1980 discussed in this chapter is one of transformation in the political, educational, and economic landscape which international scholarship programs operated. These changes led to an increase in both the scale and complexity of transatlantic academic mobility in this period.

In the post-World War II landscape of Europe and the United States, the desire of national governments to maintain peace and create goodwill through international cooperation resulted in the formation of international governmental organizations like the United Nations (UN) and its agencies, including the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in 1945.[259] These circumstances also intensified the work begun in the late 1930s in Sweden and the United States to establish national apparatuses for information and culture dissemination, now termed public diplomacy. This work resulted in the establishment of the Swedish Institute for Culture Exchange with Foreign Countries (*Svenska institutet*, SI) in Sweden and the many iterations of the Division of Cultural Relations (CU) and the United States Information Agency (USIA) in the United States. These organizations were mobilized once post-war international idealism was overshadowed by the political tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union.[260] As a neutral country, Sweden lay outside these direct tensions. The Swedish government maintained balance through its careful navigation of the expanding organizational field of international cooperation, including the Council of Europe, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), and the Organization for European Economic Co-operation (OEEC, later the OECD).[261]

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[259] Iriye (2002).

[260] Clerc et al. (2015), Cull (2008a) *The Cold War and the United States Information Agency. American Propaganda and Public Diplomacy, 1945–1989*, Lebovic (2013), Ninkovich (1981), Scott-Smith (2008), Scott-Smith (2009), Åkerlund (2014), and Åkerlund (2016) among others.

[261] Iriye (2002) and Silva (1999) *Keep them strong, keep them friendly: Swedish-American relations and the Pax Americana, 1948-1952*.

On the backs of booming economies, the higher education systems in Sweden and the United States expanded in the number of students, higher education institutions, and faculty and staff. In Sweden, there were 14,000 students in 1945 and 148,000 by 1977.[262] In the United States, there were 2.5 million students in 1949 and over 11.5 million by the fall of 1979.[263] A series of governmental investigations into Sweden's educational system resulted in granting university status to Gothenburg University in 1954 and Stockholm University in 1960 and establishing Sweden's fifth university in Umeå in 1965. Branch campuses of Uppsala, Lund, Gothenburg, and Stockholm University were established in Örebro, Växjö, Karlstad, and Linköping in the late 1960s.[264]

In the late 1970s, higher education in Sweden was centralized and unified through the Swedish Higher Education Reform of 1977.[265] In the United States, the number of 2-year and 4-year colleges grew from around 1,800 in 1945 to 2,200 in 1965. By 1979, there were approximately 3,150 higher education institutions in the United States.[266] The US federal government also facilitated the solidification of large public universities through generous financial support from the late 1940s until the 1960s. Older private universities amassed larger endowments and became increasingly selective. In both countries, rising numbers of students and higher education institutions were concurrent with faculty and staff. In Sweden, this growth led to the creation of a new teaching position in 1958, the senior lecturer (*universitetslektor*), meant to shoulder the increased teaching load at the undergraduate level. In the United States, over one million professional staff were employed at universities and colleges in the 1976/77 academic year. Almost 800,000 of these were teaching staff.[267]

In the context of this political, educational, and economic landscape, this chapter addresses the organizational frameworks and praxis of the scholarship programs of the American-Scandinavian Foundation (ASF), the Sweden-America Foundation (SAS), and the Rockefeller Foundation (RF) as well as the establishment of the Fulbright Program and its binational commission in Sweden, the Swedish Fulbright Commission (CEEUS). The period between 1945 and 1980 is marked by a gradually more complex structure of academic mobility. Not only were new organizations established, changing the roles of existing organizations, but the funding, selection, and placement processes were both streamlined and made more elaborate.

The Rockefeller Foundation's involvement in Western European-American academic exchange gradually faded through several partial reorganizations in the late

[262] Börjesson and Dalberg (2021), p. 353. This number accounts for the total student population in higher education after the Swedish Higher Education Reform of 1977.
[263] Snyder (1993) *120 Years of American Education: A Statistical Portrait*, p. 78.
[264] Högskoleverket (2006) *Högre utbilding och forskning – en översikt*, p. 7.
[265] See Börjesson and Dalberg (2021).
[266] Snyder (1993), p. 80. Branch campuses were included from academic year 1974/75.
[267] Snyder (1993), p. 80.

1940s and 1950s. The US government became a central figure in educational exchange upon establishing the Fulbright Program in 1946.[268] An agreement between the Swedish and the US governments in 1952 institutionalized the Fulbright Program in Sweden.[269] The Institute of International Education (IIE), a private organization established in 1919, played a central role in coordinating the selection and placement of foreign students in the United States and the recruitment of American students wishing to study in foreign countries.[270]

The chapter will begin with a discussion of the increasing involvement of the Swedish and US governments in academic mobility through the creation of the Swedish Institute and the Fulbright Program. It will then discuss the decreased involvement of the Rockefeller Foundation and the changing roles of the American-Scandinavian Foundation and the Sweden-America Foundation. It will also examine the importance of bequests and fundraising for scholarships, the organization of work placements through traineeships, and the changing legal frameworks that affected academic exchange between Sweden and the United States in this period. The last section of this chapter addresses the development of the Fulbright Program and its impact on the power shift between private and public organizations by the 1970s.

Governments step in

From 1945, the scale and scope of international scholarship programs expanded as governments became increasingly interested in funding scholarships as a part of their public diplomacy efforts.

In the case of Sweden, the funding of educational exchanges took the form of a "semi-governmental, public-private financed" organization named the Swedish Institute for Cultural Exchange with Foreign Countries (*Svenska institutet,* SI), established in 1945.[271] The origins of the Swedish Institute can be found in the Enlightenment Board (*Upplysningsnämnden*), established in 1935. This Board constituted one of the Swedish government's first forays into organized public diplomacy, which began awarding governmental scholarships for foreigners in 1938.[272] The establishment of the Swedish Institute as a semi-governmental body stemmed from the desire to shield it from critique about its role in propaganda. In 1970, the Institute was reorganized into "a state-financed, but organizationally independent foundation."[273]

[268] Arndt (2005) and Ninkovich (1981).
[269] CEEUS AR 1953/54, p. 1 and U.S. Department of State (1955) "Sweden Educational Commission," p. 4812–4822.
[270] Brooks (2015) "'The ignorance of the uneducated': Ford Foundation philanthropy, the IIE, and the geographies of educational exchange," pp. 41–42.
[271] Åkerlund (2016), p. 48.
[272] Åkerlund (2016), pp. 39–42.
[273] Åkerlund (2016), p. 79.

Since 1945 the Swedish Institute has been Sweden's foremost public diplomacy organization and has continued to fund governmental scholarships for foreigners. Despite this, and the fact that a partial motivation for founding the Institute was to foster better relations with the United States, the country was not originally included in its scholarship program. According to Andreas Åkerlund, this is likely due to the program's requirement for bilaterality, wherein the Swedish government offered scholarships to foreigners if foreign governments offered scholarships to Swedes. The US government did not offer scholarships to foreigners, making it impossible to negotiate a bilateral agreement.[274] Instead of the Swedish Institute directly negotiating scholarships for students from the United States, the Swedish government collaborated with the Sweden-America Foundation, Åkerlund noting that regular correspondence between the Swedish Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Sweden-America Foundation began as early as 1938.[275] When the Institute began offering unilateral scholarships in the 1970s, such as through the international guest research scholarship program, citizens of the United States became eligible for these scholarships.[276]

In the United States, formal public diplomacy efforts in the cultural arena began in 1938, when the Division of Cultural Relations was created within the State Department, the executive department of the United States responsible for foreign policy and foreign relations. According to Frank Ninkovich, this new Division was meant "to adopt a coordinating function," in which it would financially and logistically cooperate with existing private organizations and universities.[277] At the time of the Division's creation, the funding of cultural relations was regarded as a private responsibility, and the state was dependent on the financial generosity of the private sector.[278] As Richard Arndt emphasizes, the US government saw itself as merely a facilitator of internationalization, assuming that the private sector would be responsible for the bulk of the funding and labor.[279]

From its establishment in 1938, the Division was renamed, reorganized, and absorbed until eventually emerging under the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs within the State Department in 1961.[280] Alongside this Bureau

[274] Åkerlund (2016), pp. 42–43.
[275] Åkerlund (2016), p. 43.
[276] Åkerlund (2016), p. 104. See also Åkerlund (2014).
[277] Ninkovich (1981), p. 28.
[278] Ninkovich (1981), p. 28.
[279] Arndt (2005), p. 61.
[280] In 1939, the name was changed to the Division of Scientific and Cultural Cooperation (Arndt (2005), p. 70). There was another reorganization and name change in 1943 as well as a focus on Cultural Cooperation (Arndt (2005), p. 98). There was another reorganization and name change in 1945 to the Office of International Information and Cultural Affairs (IICA) under which there were two divisions, exchanges and libraries, that were part of the old division and three divisions, publications, radio, and motion pictures, which were moved from the Office of Public Information (OPI). The name changed again in 1946 to the Office of Public and Cultural Affairs (Arndt (2005), p. 164). From 1946–1950, the name changed several times: to CIAA, OIAA, IIIS, OICCA, CIG, IIE

and outside the direct responsibility of the State Department, the United States Information Agency (USIA) was created in 1953.[281] The purpose of this agency, which was active until 1999, was to consolidate the informational activities of the United States, springing from what Nicholas Cull refers to as "the idea that America needed a permanent apparatus to explain itself to the world."[282] From the inception of the Division of Cultural Relations, educational exchanges remained an important component of the cultural and informational work of the US government. However, educational exchanges were not fully incorporated into the United States Information Agency until 1978.[283] Arndt and Cull argue that this was due to a schizophrenic view of the role and functions of the US government in informational and cultural activities domestically and abroad.[284] How this affected academic mobility, in particular the Fulbright Program, will be discussed later in this chapter.

In summary, the circumstances and consequences of World War II resulted in increased attention to the role of academic mobility in public diplomacy in Sweden and the United States. After World War II, the institutionalization of public diplomacy in both countries relied on private organizations, both financially and operationally. It was not until the 1970s that academic mobility was incorporated into official public diplomacy efforts in Sweden and the United States.

Fulbright Program

Through the passing of the Fulbright Act in 1946 and the subsequent Smith-Mundt Act in 1948, international educational exchange under the Fulbright Program became an institutionalized form of cultural exchange in the United States. The Fulbright Act, or Public Law 584, was an amendment to the Surplus Property Act of 1944 that allowed foreign governments to enter into academic exchange agreements with the United States if they had bought surplus war property left in foreign countries by the United States during World War II. In the words of Sam Lebovic, this essentially meant that "Rotting food and rusting trucks […] bequeathed […] the world's pre-eminent international exchange program for scholars and students."[285] Upon the passing of the Smith-Mundt Act, or the United States Information and Educational Act of 1948, the Fulbright Program became part of the public diplomacy work of the US government as well as what Lebovic refers to as "the emergence of the propaganda war with the Soviet Union."[286]

(Arndt (2005), p. 166). It was then changed to the International Information Administration (IIA) in 1952 (Arndt (2005), p. 256).

[281] Cull (2008a).

[282] Cull (2008a), p. xiii.

[283] Cull (2008a), p. 91 and p. 195.

[284] Arndt (2005) and Cull (2008a).

[285] Lebovic (2013), p. 281.

[286] Lebovic (2013), p. 282.

The Fulbright Program, in the words of its founder and ideologue, American Senator J. William Fulbright, was designed to act "as a means of promoting in the United States a wider interest and deeper comprehension of other societies and of creating a climate of public opinion in which the actions, motives, and policies of the United States would be fairly interpreted abroad." [287] According to Frank Ninkovich, the events of World War II shifted the balance between private and public, where the state began to take the lead in cultural exchange between the United States and other countries, even if it was mediated through private organizations. He asserts that the Fulbright Program, in particular, was conceived and established in a period of naïve optimism in the mid-1940s, referred to as cultural internationalism by Ninkovich, which reached a quick end upon the emergence of the Cold War in the late 1940s. [288]

An organizing principle behind the Fulbright Program was binationalism, which generally led to the establishment of binational foundations, or commissions, through executive agreements with foreign governments responsible for administering the program in foreign countries. [289] Because the funding of the Fulbright Program came from the 1944 Surplus Property Act, until the signing of the Fulbright-Hays Act in 1961, these agreements were restricted to foreign countries whose governments had bought surplus war material belonging to the United States. [290] This funding structure changed after the passing of the Fulbright-Hays Act, which encouraged cooperating governments to enter into cost-sharing agreements through foreign direct contributions. In practice, foreign direct contributions came primarily from foreign governments, though it became more common from the 1980s that these were in the form of donations from private organizations and businesses. [291] As discussed by Richard Arndt, the overt Cold War rhetoric of the Smith-Mundt Act of 1948 was removed in the Fulbright-Hays Act of 1961 in an attempt to harmonize the scattered cultural and information programs of the US government. [292]

Acting as the "overall policy authority" of the Fulbright Program, the Board of Foreign Scholarships (BFS) was formed in 1946, with its first meeting in October 1947. [293] According to Ninkovich, this Board worked "in cooperation with the State Department, with programs to be guided by the suggestions of 'foundations' to be set up in various countries." [294] The Board of Foreign Scholarships worked with several private educational agencies in the United States to help select and place candidates for the Program. Two such agencies were the Institute of International

[287] Fulbright (1961) "The First Fifteen Years of the Fulbright Program," p. 21.
[288] See Ninkovich (1981).
[289] Ninkovich (1981), p. 140.
[290] Johnson and Colligan (1961) *The Fulbright Program: A History*, pp. 12–13.
[291] Arndt (2005), p. 430 and Vogel (1987) "Making of the Fulbright Program," p. 19.
[292] Arndt (2005), pp. 329–330.
[293] Arndt (2005), pp. 226–228.
[294] Ninkovich (1981), p. 140.

Education (IIE) and the Council for International Exchange of Scholars (CIES). Cooperation with the Institute began almost by chance when then chief of the IIE, Laurence Duggan, was elected to the Board of Foreign Scholarships. Duggan offered to administrate the program in its first year so that American students and scholars could travel as soon as the fall of 1949.[295] But, because "[s]electing and placing American students and scholars was labor-intensive, beyond the reach of the division," the Board of Foreign Scholarships continued to contract the IIE's services for many years. The Council for International Exchange of Scholars, founded in 1947, was established specifically to handle the senior Fulbright Program, or the part of the program for academics, by a group of associations led by the American Council for Learned Societies (ACLS), the Conference Board of Associated Councils formed in 1944, which included the Social Science Research Council (SSRC) and the National Research Council (NRC).[296]

Richard Arndt describes the IIE and Council for International Exchange of Scholars as "well-staffed external bodies […] with their own university-based boards and peer-review panels" who had the means to evaluate applicants thoroughly. Arndt also describes the IIE's process:

> For US predoctoral graduates, IIE collected candidate dossiers, already processed by campus committees, and then ran them through discipline oriented US selection committees; finally the overseas commissions made the selections. Only after the commissions approved candidates did [the Board of Foreign Scholarships] make selections final and inform the grantees.[297]

While the IIE was responsible for coordinating the selection and placement of students, the Council for International Exchange of Scholars handled the domestic and foreign placement of post-doctoral candidates and university faculty. A helpful description of the process for both foreign and domestic applicants can also be found in Richard Arndt's book, in which he interviewed a cultural affairs officer that worked for the Fulbright Program for many years:

> Selection of foreign grantees is the most consuming job, and it goes on all year. Recruitment is done on host-country campuses by advertisement, circulars, and word of mouth. There may be hundreds of candidates or none at all […] Academic committees in the disciplines screen the first cut. Then a commission subcommittee reviews the entire panel, determines priorities among different fields, and allocates available funding to a balanced panel, so that not all candidates in a given year are, say, chemists.

[295] Arndt (2005), p. 66.
[296] Arndt (2005), pp. 229–230. The startup funding for the Council for International Exchange of Scholars was 40,000 dollars from the Rockefeller Foundation.
[297] Arndt (2005), pp. 229–230.

> In the U.S. selection and recruitment of Americans similarly goes on outside of government: IIE recruits and selects American predoctoral students and [the Council for International Exchange of Scholars] recruits and selects postdoctoral candidates, both using academic committees. Most campuses have a committee to rank its students in priority order. IIE and CIES send ranked US panels to each country for placement by commission staff and board members. Foreigner pre and postdoctoral candidates go to IIE and CIES for placement in US institutions. As in all education, the trick is to match each human element with an appropriate academic situation.[298]

Against this organizational framework, the Fulbright Program in Sweden was established in 1952.

Swedish Fulbright Commission

The Swedish Fulbright Commission, first founded as the United States Educational Commission in Sweden (USEC/S), was established in Stockholm on November 20, 1952, through the signing of an executive agreement by Swedish diplomat Dag Hammarskjöld and American Ambassador to Sweden Walton Butterworth.[299] The purpose of the Commission, as stipulated by the agreement, was "to promote mutual understanding between the peoples of the United States of America and Sweden by a wider exchange of knowledge and professional talents through educational contacts."[300]

The agreement established a financing scheme and an organizational structure for pursuing this purpose in Sweden. The financing came from the sale of surplus property from World War II owned by the United States. These sales were regulated under the United States Surplus Property Act of 1944, which allowed the Secretary of State to enter into agreements with foreign governments to dispose of and use the proceeds from this property in the country of sale for educational purposes. Because Sweden had purchased some of this surplus property, as indicated by a credit agreement signed in Stockholm on June 29, 1949, this agreement could be made for the purposes of the Fulbright Program. In the case of Sweden, this property included machine gun ammunition, a large transport wagon, and over 100 jeeps for use by the Swedish military.[301]

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[298] Arndt (2005), pp. 305–309.

[299] The name of the Commission has changed several times. It was first known as the United States Educational Commission in Sweden (USEC/S or *Förenta Staternas undervisningsnämnd i Sverige*) and changed in 1970 to the Commission for Educational Exchange between the United States and Sweden (CEEUS, or *Nämnden för svensk-amerikanskt forskarutbyte* (*Fulbright-kommissionen*). It is known colloquially as Fulbright Sweden or the Swedish Fulbright Commission, the latter will be the name used in this study. For consistency, the Commission will be abbreviated as CEEUS.

[300] U.S. Department of State (1955), p. 4813.

[301] "USA-Ammunition såld till Sverige" in *Svenska Dagbladet* (1947-08-08), p. 3 and "85 jeepar till Malmö" in *Svenska Dagbladet* (1948-02-11), p. 3.

Approximately five million of the total 10 million Swedish crowns of credits were used to build the American Embassy in Stockholm, the remaining sum was used to finance educational exchanges through the Commission.[302]

The organizational structure of the Commission included an eight-member board, of which four were United States citizens, and four were Swedish citizens. The American Ambassador to Sweden assumed the role of honorary chairman with the responsibility of breaking tie votes and appointing the commission's chairman, later called the executive officer or director. Additionally, the American Ambassador to Sweden had "the power to appoint and remove the citizens of the United States of America on the Commission," and the government of Sweden had the same power regarding Swedish citizens.[303] Commission members were to be appointed yearly and always eligible for reappointment. The executive officer was "responsible for the direction and supervision of the programs and activities […] in accordance with the resolutions and directives of the Commission."[304]

The equal representation of Swedes and Americans was not certain. The first executive agreements called for a majority of American board members. An extreme example is the Fulbright Program in China, where the entire board was composed of American citizens. However, by the early 1950s, it was common that agreements stipulated equal foreign and American representation on foundation boards.[305] In Sweden, the American board members in this period were generally employed by the US embassy or representatives of major companies. Swedish members came primarily from prominent organizations in educational exchange, especially the Swedish Institute and Sweden-American Foundation, or distinguished Swedish academics.

The responsibilities of the Commission, as organized above, included funding scholastic activities for Americans in Sweden and funding transportation for Swedes to the United States. The American side of the Program was responsible for the funding of Swedes in the United States and the transport of Americans to Sweden. The Board of Foreign Scholarships supervised and administrated the Fulbright Program, making the final decision on policies and projects as well as the individuals and higher education institutions who were allowed to participate in the Fulbright Program.[306] The Commission was responsible for the supervision and administration of the Swedish program and the recommendation of scholars

[302] "USA-ambassaden köper Gärdestomt" in *Svenska Dagbladet* (1951-05-27), p. 13, "Planerna klara för USA:s nya ambassadhus" in *Svenska Dagbladet* (1951-11-06), p. 24, "Ny USA-ambassad i 15 månader" in *Svenska Dagbladet* (1952-07-01), p. 3 and 16, *Svenska Dagbladet*, "Nya stipendier Sverige-USA" in *Svenska Dagbladet* (1952-10-21), p. 10.
[303] U.S. Department of State (1955), p. 4818.
[304] U.S. Department of State (1955), p. 4819.
[305] Arndt (2005), pp. 229–232. See also Garner and Kirkby (2013) "'Never a Machine for Propaganda?' The Australian-American Fulbright Program and Australia's Cold War," in which they argue that it was difficult for the Australian government to negotiate for equal representation because Australia was considered an underdeveloped nation.
[306] Fulbright (1961), p. 23.

and selection criteria to the Board of Foreign Scholarships.[307] The Commission organized this through the creation of a stipends committee, which was responsible for evaluating Swedish applicants.[308] American candidates were generally selected and placed through the IIE and the Council for International Exchange of Scholars, and Swedish candidates were first nominated by the Commission to the Board of Foreign Scholarships before being placed by the IIE and Council for International Exchange of Scholars.

With its initial financing, the Swedish Fulbright Commission operated a small scholarship program from the academic year 1953/54 to 1956/57 until it was temporarily shut down due to a lack of funds. These funding issues were partially remedied by an amendment to the executive agreement on November 20, 1959, through an exchange of diplomatic notes between James C.H. Bonbright, the American Ambassador to Sweden, and Östen Undén, the Swedish Minister of Foreign Affairs in Stockholm. The first letter, written by James C.H. Bonbright, acknowledged that the funds which allowed for the establishment of the Commission had been exhausted as of 1956 and offered to amend the agreement to use surplus funds from agricultural commodities in Italy to continue the Commission's work. The second letter, from Östen Undén, acknowledged and accepted this amendment on behalf of the government of Sweden.[309] This amendment routed an extra 90,000 dollars annually in program funding for four consecutive years.[310]

The executive agreement was amended again on June 28, 1963, through another exchange of diplomatic notes as per the Fulbright-Hays Act. In this amendment, the financial basis of the agreement was changed from surplus funds to joint financing by the governments of the United States and Sweden.[311] This amendment marked the last substantial change to the program's funding structure, which allowed the Commission to run an annual scholarship program. The budget for program years 1964/65–1966/67 was 100,000 dollars, with 90,000 dollars from the United States and 10,000 dollars from Sweden.[312]

The Swedish government was initially slow in increasing its financial contribution to the Fulbright Program. This is partly because from 1950–1978 the Swedish government appropriated funds to the Sweden-America Foundation to cover the costs of four annual scholarships for three Americans and one Canadian scholar to study in Sweden.[313] It is also worth noting that from the passing of the Smith-Mundt Act in 1948 until the Fulbright Program changed to joint financing in 1963, the

[307] U.S. Department of State (1955), pp. 4815–4818.
[308] CEEUS AR 1952/53 and 1953/54, p. 2.
[309] U.S. Department of State (1960) "Sweden. United States Educational Commission," pp. 1921–1923.
[310] CEEUS AR 1959, p. 1. CEEUS AR 1955/56: These are P.L. 480 funds from the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act. These were only granted to "friendly countries." (p.1).
[311] U.S. Department of State (1964) "Sweden. Education: Financing Exchange Programs," pp. 985–990.
[312] CEEUS AR 1962, p. 3.
[313] SAS ARs 1950–1978.

Sweden-America Foundation was responsible for administering Fulbright scholarships for Swedish students and scholars.[314]

Because of the existence of similar organizations, such as the Sweden-America Foundation and the Swedish Institute, many Swedish board members were involved in these two organizations. These board members brought personal experience and expertise in transatlantic academic exchange and Swedish-American relations, and they were particularly interested in the Commission's development and operations. Two of the standing Swedish members were the directors of the Sweden-America Foundation[315] and the Swedish Institute.[316] The two remaining positions were generally held by the Vice Chancellor of Stockholm University[317] and the Secretary of the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences (*Kungliga vetenskapsakademien*).[318] Most American members sat on the board in their capacity as public and cultural affairs officers and, later, science attachés at the American embassy in Stockholm.[319] Other members included American academics in Sweden and representatives of American businesses and organizations with international interests, like General Motors, the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS), and the North American Newspaper Alliance.[320] There was a much higher turnover rate for American members because they were generally in Sweden temporarily.

In the Commission's first 12 years, the scholarship program transformed from a tiny program with shaky funding to a small program with stable binational funding and potential for growth. In its first years, the Commission worked towards creating consistency by focusing on manageable projects and establishing formal routines and procedures that balanced the requirements of the State Department and the Board of Foreign Scholarships, as well as the local conditions

[314] There were four agreements in total (1952, 1959, 1963, and 1970).
[315] CEEUS ARs 1952/53–1980. These include Adele Heilborn (1952–1968), Kid Kihlbom (1969–1971), and Suzanne Bonnier (1972–1980).
[316] CEEUS ARs 1952/53–1978. These include Gunnar Cranberg (1952), Gunnar Heckscher (board member 1952–1956), Tore Tallroth (1953–1962), Per-Axel Hildeman (1963–1971), and Nils-Gustav Hildeman (1972–1978). Tore Tallroth sat on the board in his capacity as assistant director of the Swedish Institute from 1953–1956.
[317] CEEUS ARs 1952/53–1978. These include Professor of Mathematics Harald Cramér (1952–1956, 1959–1962), Professor of Latin Dag Norberg (1965–1973), and Professor of Geography Gunnar Hoppe (1974–1978).
[318] CEEUS ARs 1959–1976. These include Professor of Physics Erik Rudberg (1959–1971) and Professor of Astronomy Per Olof Lindblad (1973–1976).
[319] CEEUS ARs 1952–1979. These include public affairs officers Nils William Olsson (1952–1956) and Earl A. Dennis (1959–1963); Cultural Affairs Officer Philip A. Benson (1962–1965); and science attachés Clyde L. McClelland (1967–1969), Herman I. Chinn (1970–1972), and Ernest Sohns (1973–1977).
[320] CEEUS ARs 1952–1979. These include Managing Director of General Motors Nordiska AB, Lawrence S. Barroll (1952–1961); Representative of CBS, Newsweek (until 1963 and the Washington Post from 1964–1969), and the North American Newspaper Alliance, Wilfred Fleisher (1959–1969); Senior lecturer of Psychology at Uppsala University, William Dockens III (1973–1978) and directors of the University of California Scandinavian Study Center at Lund University, Erik Wahlgren (1973), James Bosson (1974–1975), and Charles J. Halberg (1976–1977).

in Sweden. In the first decade of operations, the Commission relied heavily on the Sweden-America Foundation and the Swedish Institute.[321]

Because of its initial shaky financing, one of the Commission's most prominent activities in the first few years was the Inter-Foundation Exchange Program, which allowed American Fulbright grantees to visit countries outside the one specified by their grants. For the Swedish Fulbright Commission, the program also proved valuable because, firstly, it was inexpensive and, secondly, it helped teach "the Commission a great deal about the educational needs of Sweden and about the fields of particular interest to American scholars."[322] The Inter-Foundation Exchange Program also helped establish contacts within "most of the faculties of the four Swedish universities."[323] The Commission also credits the Program for its role in "keep[ing] the Fulbright concept in Sweden alive during the years between 1956 and 1959," which enabled the speedy reactivation of the Fulbright program in Sweden.[324]

In 1953, it was decided that the program would run largely on a project system, which began "full-scale operations" in program year 1954/55.[325] In this system, one of its prioritized projects was American Studies. This project was part of the Fulbright Program's general interest in the humanities and social sciences, including American civilization, political sciences, economics, and comparative law.[326] The Commission also began a direct teacher exchange in cooperation with the Swedish National Board of Education (*Skolöverstyrelsen*) in 1962.[327] The project system helped the Commission to focus its funding on fulfilling the overall objectives of the Fulbright Program in cooperation with the interests and needs of Swedish students, teachers, and researchers, in cooperation with Swedish higher education and research institutions.

On the back of more stable funding, the Commission also began offering a new student counseling service in 1964. This service channeled the increasing Swedish interest in studying in the United States amidst the unprecedented expansion in Swedish higher education occurring at the time.[328]

Legislation and regulation in the United States

Compliance with national immigration laws and visa procedures was an important prerequisite for the movement of people over national borders, especially after World War II. While passports have been a requirement for foreigners entering the United States and Sweden since after World War I, the post-World War II period

[321] CEEUS AR 1962, p. 4.
[322] CEEUS AR 1952/53 and 1953/54, p. 3 and p. 15.
[323] CEEUS AR 1952/53 and 1953/54, p. 3.
[324] CEEUS AR 1959, p. 3.
[325] CEEUS AR 1952/53 and 1953/54, p. 11.
[326] CEEUS ARs 1952/53–1963.
[327] CEEUS AR 1962, p. 4.
[328] CEEUS AR 1964, p. 3 and p. 15.

saw the increased regulation of foreigners entering the United States through the introduction of stricter and more complex visa regulations. This section will discuss how changes in immigration law and visa regulations in the United States affected how Swedish scholarship holders – whether students, lecturers, teachers, or researchers – entered the United States.[329]

From the early 1920s, there were two pathways for foreigners to enter the United States, as immigrants or non-immigrants, which had been formed through US immigration legislation in the late 1910s and early 1920s. The Immigration Act of 1917 defined the terms by which foreigners could enter the United States, for both temporary visits or permanent stays.[330] In the Immigration Act of 1924, immigrant quotas first introduced in the Immigration Act of 1921 were changed to favor immigrants from Northern and Western Europe. In addition, a new section was created for temporary non-immigrant visitors and non-quota immigrants.[331] For those holding traineeships or scholarships under the programs in this study, it generally meant obtaining permission under Section 3(2) or Section 4(e).[332] Section 3(2) were considered non-immigrants entering the United States as tourists or for business. Section 3(2) was generally the pathway used by trainees, academics, and other foreigners planning on studying at a later date. Those entering through Section 4(e) were considered non-quota immigrant students on time-limited visits and was generally the pathway used by those on study scholarships. Those qualifying under section 4(e) were required to be registered at accredited learning institutions and leave the United States at the end of their programs. Because Sweden was a quota country, trainees and scholarship holders could also enter as quota immigrants, but this became fairly uncommon after World War II.

The year 1945 marked the first of many changes to the process of entering the United States. From this point, it became a requirement for foreign students and trainees to be sponsored by an approved organization before coming into the country.[333] This need for sponsorship, combined with the decentralization of

[329] U.S. Department of State (1948)"Waiver of Visas and Visa Fees for Nonimmigrants" in *United States Statutes at Large*," pp. 4050–4051: American citizens entering Sweden were exempted from entry visa requirements but were required to apply for residence permits if they planned on staying longer than three months or on working in Sweden.

[330] Immigration Act of 1917 (Literary Act) Pub. L. No. 64–301, 39 Stat. 874 (1917). See also Mitchell (1930) *Foreign Students and the Immigration Laws of the United States*.

[331] Immigration Act of 1921 (Emergency Quota Act), Pub. L. 67–5, 42 Stat. 5 (1921) and Immigration Act of 1924.

[332] Immigration Act of 1924: Section 3 defines the various categories of immigrant. In Section 3(2): "an alien visiting the United States temporarily as a tourist or temporarily for business or pleasure." Section 4 defines the different categories of non-quota immigrants. Section 4(e): "An immigrant who is a bona fide student at least 15 years of age […] for the purpose of study at an accredited school, college, academy, seminary, or university, particularly designated by him and approved by the Secretary of Labor, which shall have agreed to report to the Secretary of Labor the termination of attendance of each immigrant student, and if any such institution of learning fails to make such reports promptly the approval shall be withdrawn."

[333] ASF AR 1945, pp. 3–4. These organizations were required to report to the US State Department and the Bureau of Immigration.

foreign student supervision that took effect on August 10, 1947, was meant to streamline the process of foreign students entering the United States and make government supervision of these students easier.[334] According to the American-Scandinavian Foundation, and by proxy, the Sweden-America Foundation, they were one of the first organizations approved by the State Department to sponsor incoming Scandinavian trainees and specialists (also called industrial fellows). The American-Scandinavian Foundation also signed a co-sponsorship agreement with the Institute of International Education (IIE) in 1947 to help streamline the process of placing incoming Scandinavian students.[335]

The second important change was the passing of the United States Information and Exchange Act of 1948, also called the Smith-Mundt Act. Under the Smith-Mundt Act, holders of traineeships and scholarships entering under Section 3(2) and 4(e) were replaced under the new Section 201. This section applied to all foreign "students, trainees, teachers, guest instructors, professors, and leaders in fields of specialized knowledge or skill."[336] Mario Daniels argues that this Act was the first of a "variety of controls [placed] on the circulation of knowledge" imposed by the US government, restricting the mobility of foreign "knowledgeable bodies."[337]

The impact of the Smith-Mundt Act of 1948 is obvious in the ASF annual report from 1949, in which they state:

> […] visas for trainees and students were almost wholly suspended for four months while the State and Justice Departments were promulgating and putting into effect the new regulations governing exchanges of persons for educational purposes. Simultaneously, the transfer of the trainees who entered the country under the old regulations to the new status provided for them caused almost endless difficulties. The problem was only solved in individual instances after long negotiations with the Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization.[338]

[334] SAS AR 1947, pp. 28–30. Instead of applying to the Immigration and Naturalization Service, foreign students entering on 4(e) visas applied to their local district office. 4(e) students were eligible for one-year resident permits that could be extended to a total of four years. Those entering under 3(2) visas who later decided to study were still under the control of port authorities. Students on 3(2) visas were generally not allowed to work in the United States. However, if the student was considered a trainee, they could enter on a 4(e) visa if they had the permission of their local Bureau of Immigration. As discussed in SAS annual report from 1947, in these cases, the student was required to obtain a recommendation from their home institution as well as a guarantee from their trainor that they were temporary workers (generally six months, but up to 18 months) and that they were not taking a job from an American citizen or an immigrant with a valid US residence permit.

[335] ASF AR 1946, p. 5 and ASF 1947 AR, pp. 5–6.

[336] U.S. Information and Educational Exchange Act of 1948 (Smith-Mundt Act), Pub. L. 80–402, 62 Stat. 6 (1948), Sec. 201.

[337] Daniels (2019) "Restricting the Transnational Movement of "Knowledgeable Bodies" in *How Knowledge Moves*, p. 35. He refers to passports and visas as "the centerpiece of modern border policing" and part of a "documentary regime." (p. 36)

[338] ASF AR 1949, p. 4.

Once these difficulties had been sorted out, however, the positive impact on the Trainee Program was discussed by the Sweden-America Foundation in their 1950 annual report. Because trainees were not on scholarships but were given living wages by the companies at which they trained in the United States, before World War II, they generally entered the United States on immigrant visas.[339] Once the ASF was approved as a sponsoring organization, more trainees were able to enter the United States sponsored by the ASF, albeit temporarily.

The enactment of the Smith-Mundt Act also marked the beginning of a more significant change in the visa process for non-immigrant visitors to the United States, in which foreign visitors were required to return home after a certain amount of time. This reciprocity was embedded in the creation of the new exchange visitor visa (EX).[340] However, before this change was cemented in the Immigration Act of 1952 and subsequently amended through the Immigration Act of 1956, there was a loophole that allowed visitors to merely travel to Canada and Mexico and return to the United States. In the 1956 Act, it was made a requirement for these visitors to leave the United States for two years before they could apply for another visa.[341]

This requirement became known as the 2-year foreign residency requirement and was carried over with the Mutual Educational and Cultural Exchange Act of 1961, also called the Fulbright-Hays Act. In the Fulbright-Hays Act, which replaced the Smith-Mundt Act of 1948, a new subsection (J) was created for exchange visitors.[342] Under this new J visa, on which most of the Swedish trainees and scholarship holders in this study traveled until the late 1970s, foreign visitors were allowed temporarily in the United States for study or work.[343] They were then required, based on reciprocity, to leave for two years to share the knowledge they had learned in their home countries before they could apply for another visa in the United States. The 2-year foreign residency requirement was subsequently restricted in 1970 to only certain categories of exchange visitors, such as those sponsored and/or funded by the United States or foreign governments. This change was made to rectify the hardship caused by applying regulations unilaterally, which was both difficult to administer and created "unnecessary ill-will" for the United States.[344]

In short, the substantial changes in immigration law and visa regulations after World War II can be seen as a form of gatekeeping, in which, especially from the

[339] SAS AR 1950, pp. 7–8. See also KB, Sverige-Amerika Stiftelsen–samling av trycksaker, "Committee for the Exchange of Trainees with the U.S.A.: Information Regarding Training in the United States (1950).
[340] Cruz (2004) "Have Foreign Physicians been Misdiagnosed? A Closer Look at the J-1 Visa," pp. 295–296.
[341] Cruz (2004), pp. 296–297.
[342] Cruz (2004), p. 297.
[343] On the ASF scholarship and traineeship recorder cards, which also contain the majority of the SAS scholarships and traineeships, there is a section for visa type which shows that the majority of Swedes traveled on 4(e) or 3(2) visas until the mid-1950s at which EX visas became most common. From the early 1960s, J-1 and/or P-3-2 visas were most common.
[344] Schorr and Yale-Loehr (2004) "The Odyssey of the J-2: Forty-three Years of Trying Not to Go Home Again," pp. 238–240.

advent of the Cold War, the United States more strictly enforced control over its national borders. For the Swedish holders of scholarships and traineeships in this study and the organizations awarding them, it meant significant turbulence and the need for quick adaptation during this period, in which the process to studying, teaching, and conducting research in the United States became more complex, formalized, and regulated.

Shifting priorities of the Rockefeller Foundation

During the interwar period, the Rockefeller Foundation (RF) was one of the largest private foundations in the United States. They supported the advancement of higher education and research in the United States, Europe, and Latin America, through investments in various educational and research institutions, research projects, and fellowships. The increased support of higher education and research stemmed from a major reorganization in 1928, wherein the RF absorbed several affiliated boards. The RF's collective priority shifted from using advances in research to solve the problems of war and disease to the more general "advance of human knowledge."[345]

For Swedish scholars, support for academic mobility from the RF and affiliated boards consisted of fellowships and scholarships in the fields of social, medical, and natural sciences, especially in economics, biological sciences, and chemistry, from 1925–1940. For American scholars studying or conducting research in Sweden, fellowships were primarily awarded in natural sciences, especially in the biological sciences and chemistry, from 1925–1939. During World War II, the fellowship program with most of Europe, including Sweden, was temporarily interrupted.

The events of and surrounding World War II changed the RF's perspective and priorities. While in the immediate post-war period, RF did continue to invest in the advancement of knowledge, it had also taken on the task of aiding refugee scholars from Europe from 1933–1945, and from 1947 supporting the scientific and cultural reconstruction of Europe. RF was also dealing with a crisis of conscience; wherein, according to President Raymond B. Fosdick, the RF had played "an unwitting part" in supporting the creation of the atomic bomb because it awarded 23 fellowships to leaders in the Manhattan Project.[346] This reexamination of priorities was operationalized once business executive and public administrator Chester I. Barnard was elected president in 1948.

In Barnard's first president's review, he harkened back to the principles generally followed by the RF, which stated that support should be "directed to purposes for which it is otherwise difficult to secure funds[,] […] should be of an initial or catalytic character […] [,] current and palliative types of philanthropy should accordingly be left to others […] [, and] therefore selected as its primary interest the

[345] Fosdick (1952), pp. 154–155.
[346] RF AR 1945, pp. 31–32, RF AR 1946, pp. 6–10, and RF AR 1947, p. 20.

promotion of knowledge and its effective application to human interests."[347] His assessment was that "the advancement of knowledge and the promotion of its application, already restricted objectives, still represent too vast a goal" and called for "an even sharper concentration of interest."[348] His solution was the concentration of foundation interests under three broad headings: population (later changed to human ecology), communication, and cooperation. This marked the beginning of a shift back to using knowledge to solve problems, this time in any field of knowledge addressing "the secular needs of mankind" in modern society.[349]

Barnard also reconfirmed the importance of fellowships in reaching the RF's goals. However, he also acknowledged that the commitment to these "investments in men and in the future […] in intellectual capacity, imagination and character" also took place under new conditions.[350] While in the interwar period, RF "was a principal source of funds for foreign student fellowships at the advanced level," they now only represented two percent of available fellowships compared to the 62.5 percent offered by government agencies according to the UNESCO handbook of available fellowships.[351]

This period of reevaluation, combined with the advent of the Cold War and the election of another new president, high-ranking US government official Dean Rusk, in 1952, led to an even clearer shift in the direction from the early 1950s. The evolution of priorities is succinctly described in the final report of the trustee program overview from 1973:

> […] from its initial emphasis on medicine and public health in both the developed and developing countries […] under the guidance of Wickliffe Rose and ultimately Alan Gregg; to the ascendancy of the natural sciences program under the tutelage of Warren Weaver, with its emphasis on the wedding of the physical and biological sciences, and its support of largely American and European institutions in the 1930's and 40's; to the gradual withdrawal of support of science and scholarship in Europe's great centers of learning under the presidency of Dean Rusk, and the Foundation's new emphasis under Rusk on attention to the problems of food production and population control and to the reduction of conflict amongst the newly emerging nations in Latin America, Africa, and Southeast Asia. The beginning of the Foundation's profound and focused interest in agriculture came in Mexico in the early 1940's; that program reached great effectiveness during the 1960's under the presidency of George Harrar.[352]

Phrased differently, the RF began to shift their long-term focus on supporting science and scholarship for their own sake to supporting the application of this

[347] RF AR 1948, pp. 8–9.
[348] RF AR 1948, p. 9.
[349] RF AR 1948, p. 12 and RF AR 1949, p. 20.
[350] RF AR 1949, p. 16.
[351] RF AR 1949, p. 6.
[352] RF (1974), pp. 35–36.

knowledge, or as stated by the Trustees, moving the RF "'from library and laboratory into the fields and the streets.'"[353]

This shift is immediately evident in the changed structure of their annual reports in 1961, which had since 1928 been divided primarily along the lines of academic domains, including categories such as medical sciences, natural sciences, social sciences, humanities, and agricultural sciences. In the new structure, regions in which the RF worked were prioritized: the United States, Europe, Latin America, Africa, the Middle East, India, and the Far East. In general, fellowships and scholarships were listed separately in the annual reports but were considered part of these overarching programs, whether divided academically or regionally.[354]

From the mid-1950s, the RF awarded fewer and fewer scholarships to European scholars, the last scholarship awarded for Swedish and American academic exchange in 1960. The relative lack of scholarships for Europeans in general and Swedes, in particular, relates to their change of focus and belief that higher education and research in Western and Northern Europe was advanced enough and the countries wealthy enough to support themselves from this period.

This point is emphasized in the 1961 annual report under the new Europe section, in which it states:

> The growth of economic and political power in other parts of the world tempts men to overlook the fact that many of the basic ideas and techniques upon which modern industrial society is based originated in Western Europe […] It is true that for several years after World War II many Western European countries lagged somewhat in providing adequate support for science and for scholarship in general […] and for several years the Foundation saw many opportunities to encourage investigations of the highest quality through modest grants toward the modern equipment and other research expenses […] As the financing of European research becomes more soundly based, the Foundation is naturally turning its attention increasingly to other parts of the world […] The Foundation has been proud to play a modest part in the intellectual recovery of postwar Europe, and hopes to continue its interest, though necessarily on a smaller scale and on an even more highly selective basis in the years to come.[355]

In effect, these changes meant that any scholarship awards to Swedes or for Swedish research were in the "practical fields" of natural sciences and agriculture. The travel grants that were awarded after this point were to enlist the help of Swedish scholars in the Toward the Conquest of Hunger program until 1960, which consisted primarily of travel grants to developing countries and the United States.

In short, after World War II, the Rockefeller Foundation increasingly turned away from funding fellowships, scholarships, and research projects between Western and Northern Europe and the United States, focusing on solving problems in so-called underdeveloped countries. This meant first a slow decline in support for Swedish

[353] RF (1974), p. 36. As quoted from the RF 1971 Ten-Year Review.
[354] RF ARs 1928–1961.
[355] RF AR 1961, p. 81.

research and individuals and Americans who wished to study or conduct research in Sweden, as the initiatives established before World War II came to an end, to selective use of Swedish research and individuals to help solve the problems of mankind seen through the eyes and supported by the pockets of the Rockefeller Foundation.

American-Scandinavian and Sweden-America Foundations

The following sections will investigate the development of the American-Scandinavian Foundation (ASF) and the Sweden-America Foundation (SAS) from 1945–1980. The extensive collaboration of these two "sister societies" continued throughout this period. The first two sub-sections will discuss how the increased interest and funding for foreigners to study, teach and conduct research in the United States led to the use of intermediary agencies by the ASF and SAS. This reliance also resulted in the need to standardize the criteria by which foreigners, especially students, were selected for scholarships and placed at higher education institutions in the United States. The last two sub-sections will discuss the funding of the scholarship programs of the ASF and SAS, especially the importance of donations, fundraising, and the collaborative Trainee Program, which provided an alternative route for Swedes to obtain work training in the United States.

Institute of International Education

The mid-1940s to the early 1950s was a period of reestablishment and reorientation for the ASF and SAS. This period was also marked by the out-sourcing and increased complexity of the application, selection, and placement processes for Swedish and American students, teachers and researchers. The five years after World War II were difficult for these foundations, in which they coped with legal and financial problems stemming from the war as well as in response to the increased politicization in the emergence of the Cold War. These years also laid the ground for future possibilities, in which the ASF and SAS utilized the resources of intermediary organizations like the Institute of International Education (IIE) to provide opportunities for the increasing numbers of Swedes to study, teach, or conduct research in the United States.

In 1945, SAS and the ASF reopened their scholarship programs. The scholarship program of SAS had not been open for applications since 1941, while the ASF had suspended awards to the Scandinavian countries in 1940.[356] Even if their regular scholarship programs were closed for applications during World War II, there were many Scandinavian fellows, including 30 Swedes, stranded in the United States. As a short-term solution to this problem, the ASF set up an Emergency Loan Fund,

[356] SAS AR 1945, p. 1 and SAS AR 1945, p. 1.

which assisted those whose scholarship funds had been depleted until they were able to secure other funding, including additional scholarships from American universities or even employment in the United States.[357]

Upon reopening the scholarship program, SAS noticed a three-fold increase in applicants for the University Scholarships program (*universitetsstipendier*) compared to the years between 1939 and 1941.[358] There was also a renewed interest and focus on the scholarship program because it had been forced to shut down during the war. Even the ASF experienced a dramatic increase in interest from Scandinavian students who wished to study in the United States. While the increased interest by Swedish students was more obvious due to a large increase in applications, there was also increased interest by American students in studying in Sweden, as evidenced by the number of inquiries about study opportunities in Scandinavia. This swell of interest solidified the renewed faith both foundations had in their work. This was most clearly expressed by the ASF in their 1948 annual report:

> Every Scandinavian student and trainee returning from the United States and every American student who learns to know Scandinavia can help to buttress the moral courage of the democratic North in the difficult times which lie ahead. The work of the Foundation can be looked upon as a kind of two-way spiritual Marshall Plan for Scandinavia.[359]

This increased interest also led to the practical problem of processing larger numbers of applications, especially in light of changing immigration laws and visa regulations in the United States after World War II. This led to the cooperation of ASF, and by proxy SAS, with the International Institute of Education. The general aim of the IIE, a private organization founded in the United States in 1919, was originally "to develop international good will by means of educational agencies" and more specifically, "to act as a clearinghouse of information and advice for Americans concerning things educational in foreign countries and for foreigners concerning things educational in the United States."[360] While one of IIE's main responsibilities from its founding was the administration of educational exchanges, according to Chay Brooks, the IIE was only able to process around 200 exchanges annually before World War II due to its small staff and budget.[361]

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[357] ASF AR 1940, p. 4 and SAS AR 1945, p. 1. The ASF also reached out to the Carnegie Corporation of New York (CCNY) in an effort to solve this problem. In a recorded interview between Charles Dollard, assistant to the president of the Carnegie Corporation, and John Watkins, Assistant Secretary of the ASF from 1941–1944, Dollard states "Watkins says that he has 48 Scandinavian fellows here, all of them in various stages of poverty. They are using the funds normally allotted to American scholars for study abroad to tide these people over. Says that Leach is in a sanitarium, virtually crippled by mounting paranoia." (RBML, CCNY, Series III.A.1 A-B, Box 39, Record of Interview between CD and John Watkins (IRT Subway), 1940-08-29).
[358] SAS AR 1945, p. 1.
[359] ASF AR 1948, p. 3.
[360] IIE AR 1920, p. 2.
[361] Brooks (2015), p. 40.

SAS had utilized the resources and expertise of the IIE since 1941 to help them find additional funding for Swedish students and was considered a representative or *ombud* of the Institute.[362] This cooperation was made official on October 7, 1947 when ASF signed an agreement with the IIE "to streamline the screening and placement of all Scandinavian graduate students who appl[ied] for assistance to any of our Affiliates."[363] This meant that the applications of Swedish graduate students who applied and were recommended for scholarships by SAS were passed on, with further recommendations by the ASF, to the Institute. The IIE was then responsible for finding additional scholarships for these students as well as placing them at American universities and colleges.[364]

In 1950, as a thank you to the IIE for its work helping connect Swedish students to American higher education institutions, the Swedish government began appropriating money for American students to attend Swedish higher education institutions. The Swedish government continued to appropriate this money to SAS until 1979, when the funding and responsibility for these students was transferred to the Swedish Fulbright Commission.[365] From 1950–1957, SAS was also responsible for nominating suitable Swedish candidates for Smith-Mundt grants.[366] The IIE and ASF also recommended suitable American candidates, to be chosen by SAS, and helped place the Swedish candidates selected by SAS.[367]

The IIE was an integral part of the placement process of Swedish, and the selection process of American, undergraduate and graduate students in this period. In addition to helping select and place those with scholarships from SAS and the Swedish and US governments, Swedish students could apply to the IIE through SAS for scholarships at American universities and colleges as well as other organizations in the United States.[368]

At the time the IIE began officially administrating educational exchanges for the ASF, and by proxy SAS, in 1947, and the Fulbright Program in the United States

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[362] SAS AR 1943, p. 21.

[363] ASF AR 1947, p. 5. In 1947 and 1948, the ASF through its president Lithgow Osbourne also reached out to the Carnegie Corporation of New York several times to secure funding for its scholarship programs, but was denied. One of the responses by President of CCNY, Charles Dollard, stated a partial reason: "[…] The second difficulty is that we are so heavily committed to the Institute of International Education at the moment as it make it unlikely that we could get approval for the programs involving international exchange of persons […] I shall make an opportunity to discuss this problem with them in the near future. If they take a different view of the matter, I shall write you again." (RBML, CCNY, Series III.A.1 A-B, Box 39, Record of Letter from Charles Dollard to Lithgow Osborne, Esq., 1948-07-13).

[364] ASF AR 1946, p. 6 and IIE AR 1948, p. 15.

[365] See SAS ARs 1950–1978 and SAS AR 1979, p. 8.

[366] See SAS ARs 1950–1957.

[367] SAS AR 1950, p. 9.

[368] See SAS ARs 1947–1979. Apart from the scholarships funded and awarded by SAS, there were thousands of undergraduate students who were selected by SAS and matched with scholarships from universities and colleges, businesses, and organizations in the United States through the IIE. From 1951–1958 alone, there were nearly 400 scholarships obtained by Swedish undergraduate students through the cooperation of SAS and the IIE.

in 1948, the organization was in a period of significant expansion. According to Brooks, due to the increased interest by the US government in educational exchanges as well as in nurturing public and private partnerships after World War II, the IIE was positioned to become a "prominent partner in the new governmental drive in international education."[369] The IIE itself saw its agreement with the ASF, and with the other organizations they termed "bi-national cultural organizations," as helping to eliminate the competition problem that had arisen because many were "engaged in separate but similar activities with respect to a particular area, as, for example, requests for scholarships from our colleges and universities."[370]

This cooperation also took place in the context of expansion in the private-public organizational network that administered, funded, and awarded scholarships between Sweden and the United States. The ASF began cooperating with many organizations and agencies, including the American Labor Education Service, The Division of Political Affairs, and the Special Services Division of the International Exchange Service at the State Department as well as the Immigration and Naturalization Service, the Scandinavian Embassies, and Consulates, and the Information offices of the Scandinavian countries. This network also included organizations not directly related to application, selection, and placement processes, for example, the National Association of Foreign Student Advisers (NAFSA), formed in 1948, which were responsible for meeting students upon their arrival in the United States.[371] Meeting students was previously the responsibility of the ASF, but it became increasingly difficult to coordinate upon the increase of Scandinavian scholarship holders after World War II.

Objectification of merit

The growing workload associated with an increase in applications from Swedish students led to more cooperation with organizations like the Institute of International Education (IIE) and the need to standardize application procedures to streamline selection and placement process.

After World War II, many American universities and colleges began to require proof of sufficient English before accepting foreign students. In response to this, SAS began to utilize English testing provided by the College Entrance Examination Board (CEEB) in 1947. This board was founded at Columbia University in 1899, and its primary objective was to develop and administer admissions tests for American universities and colleges.[372] Swedish students were the first to utilize this testing, according to the Sweden-America Foundation, which they asserted would increasingly be required both for students applying for scholarships as well as any foreign students wishing to enter American educational institutions.[373] By the 1960s,

[369] Brooks (2015), p. 41.
[370] IIE AR 1947, pp. 7–8.
[371] ASF AR 1948, p. 8.
[372] Thelin (2011), p. 302.
[373] SAS AR 1947, p. 3.

the Sweden-America Foundation was utilizing the resources of the Educational Testing Service (ETS), a private testing and assessment organization founded in 1947, which offered a variety of standardized tests, including the Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL), the College Entrance Examination (later called CLEP), the Graduate Record Examination (GRE) for those applying to graduate schools as well as specialized entrance examinations for business and law schools.[374] Such testing for Americans was not required, as it was encouraged, but not generally expected that American students and scholars know Swedish before their arrival.

The standardization of application procedures also highlighted the need for the ASF and SAS to ensure that the education of Swedish students and scholars was fairly evaluated. This led to the creation of a document created by SAS and authorized by the Royal Swedish Board of Education (*Kungl. Skolöverstyrelsen*) in 1948. It offered a detailed explanation of the Swedish University Entrance Exam (*Studentexamen*), including the number of hours/credits for every course taken by Swedish upper secondary students, including a translation of the grading system.[375] The primary purpose of this document was to ensure that the upper secondary education of Swedish students applying to universities and colleges in the United States was correctly evaluated.

SAS believed that *Studentexamen* had been systematically undervalued by United States educational institutions and authorities, especially the US Office of Education, which had been judged roughly equivalent to an American high school degree. SAS argued that *Studentexamen* was superior to an American high school degree, equaling this degree plus two years of university studies, which meant that Swedish students should be able to complete a university degree in the United States in two to three years instead of the standard four.[376] In 1949, SAS acknowledged that the US Office of Education had corrected this undervaluation, which had caused issues for Swedish students wishing to register for advanced courses at universities.[377] This document was the first of several created by SAS, including one explaining the Swedish school system as well as civil engineering, arts, and sciences degrees at Swedish universities.

The two foundations were also active in creating handbooks about Swedish and American society, higher education, and practicalities surrounding visiting both countries. These were available for purchase by students, scholars, and educational institutions. The first edition of the handbook for Swedish students and scholars was published in 1946, and for American students and scholars in 1951. These handbooks can be seen as one way to more widely disseminate reputable information

[374] SAS AR 1962, p. 11 and SAS AR 1965, p. 10.
[375] For a discussion on the role of *Studentexamen* in Sweden, see Larsson (2020) "Stolthet och skam: godkänd eller kuggad i studentexamen" in *Skolans högtider - Ceremoni, fest och firande i svenska skolhistoria*.
[376] SAS AR 1948, p. 3.
[377] SAS AR 1949, p. 9. In the 1951 SAS AR, it states that in order to qualify for this corrected evaluation, Swedish students needed to fill out the form "The Swedish 'Studentexamen'" provided by SAS which helped account for all hours/credits included in their upper secondary education.

about conditions in Sweden and the United States to the increasing number of students and scholars interested in visiting these two countries.

Industrial fellows to trainees

Concurrent with the rising interest in scholarships, several post-war issues constricted the growth of the ASF and SAS. Because of the difficulty for Swedes in obtaining American currency after World War II, many Swedes initially turned to the Trainee Program. For many years, scholarship programs were the focus of the ASF and Sweden-America Foundation. These prioritized the studies and research of Swedish and American scholars in universities and colleges. The Trainee Program, originally referred to as the Industrial Fellowships Program, was designated for Swedes educated in certain vocations who wished to do on-the-job training in the United States.

There were 102 industrial fellowships coordinated for Swedes in the United States between 1925 and 1936. The ASF was responsible for recruiting trainors, usually private companies. SAS was responsible for selecting the best candidates for these spots.[378] These fellowships were typically funded by donations from private citizens and businesses in Sweden and the United States. The Trainee Program was revitalized after World War II, largely due to increased interest by Swedes, which led to an unprecedented expansion of the program in the early 1950s. The increased interest in the Program was noted by both the ASF and SAS. As stated in the ASF's annual report in 1947:

> The Trainee Program is becoming more and more a focal point of interest for Scandinavians. Particularly due to postwar conditions, many young people wish to come here to learn by being part of an American firm or industry and to absorb our technical "know-how" so that they may put their newly acquired techniques into practice in the economic up-building of their own countries.[379]

SAS also cited how they felt there was a need to restart the Trainee Program, especially because of the role of World War II in cutting Sweden off from American industry and business life.[380]

In the immediate post-war years, however, the growth of the Trainee Program was stifled by currency exchange restrictions and disruptive changes in immigration laws and visa regulations surrounding traineeships.[381] In 1948, the ASF noted these changes in the Trainee Program. It states that in the past: "many Swedish trainees came with funds of their own, but during this past year the majority have had to

[378] SAS AR 1946, p. 4.
[379] ASF AR 1947, p. 6. See also SAS AR 1948, p. 7.
[380] SAS AR 1946, p. 4. "När andra världskriget slutade, ansåg styrelsen att krigsårens avspärrning från den allt viktigare amerikanska industrin och affärslivet gjorde ett förnyande av praktikant-verksamheten önskvärt."
[381] SAS 1947, pp. 28–30.

depend upon stipends from American sources" due to continuing issues with currency exchange restrictions, in which they were not allowed to exchange Swedish crowns for American dollars and vice versa.[382] In addition, because of changes in immigration law and visa regulations due to the passing of the Smith-Mundt Act in 1948.[383]

Before World War II, it was standard practice that trainees applied for immigration visas once they had been employed in the United States. However, after the 1948 Smith-Mundt Act went into effect, trainees were treated more like temporary visitors and applied for non-immigrant visas while still abroad.[384] In addition, trainees already in the United States seemed to encounter many difficulties as they were required to reapply for new visas under the new regulations.[385] Despite this, the ASF remained positive toward the Smith-Mundt Act, which they believed "produced a firmer and more definite foundation for [student and trainee] interchanges under the auspices both of the government and of private educational agencies."[386]

An additional issue was the "lack of sufficient manpower."[387] Potential solutions to this problem included reorganizing and expanding the selection and placement process. Under ideal conditions, the ASF hoped for: a special committee that would work as a mediator between the ASF and the business sector, an extra administrator, and a revised financial structure for the program. To achieve these goals, the ASF participated in a meeting at the State Department, "attended by representatives of the Scandinavian diplomatic missions, including agricultural, industrial, and cultural attachés, at which all aspects of the trainee problem were discussed. The Departments of State and Agriculture were also represented."[388] At this meeting, it was agreed to arrange a special program with the Department of Agriculture, which would be responsible for the placement of trainees in the United States. The ASF would "act primarily in an advisory capacity."[389] The representatives of the ASF welcomed this news because, even it if did not eliminate the problems of "limited resources and personnel," it did serve to reduce them.[390]

By 1949, many of the issues that plagued the fellowship and trainee programs had partly been resolved, which paved the way for the expansion of the Trainee Program in the early 1950s. This expansion was preceded by changes in the

[382] ASF AR 1948, p. 4.
[383] ASF AR 1949, p. 4. See also SAS AR 1949, pp. 10–11: "På grund av vissa ändringar i de amerikanska bestämmelserna har praktikverksamheten varit avbruten under månaderna maj – oktober. Nya bestämmelser ha nu fastställts och, sedan praktikverksamheten återupptogs i oktober, har ett betydligt ökat intresse konstaterats."
[384] SAS AR 1950, pp. 7–8.
[385] ASF AR 1949, p. 4.
[386] ASF AR 1949, p. 3.
[387] ASF AR 1948, p. 6.
[388] ASF AR 1948, p. 6.
[389] ASF AR 1948, pp. 7–8.
[390] ASF AR 1951, p. 6 and ASF AR 1952, p. 3.

internal structure of the program, which opened up for Americans to train in Scandinavian countries and streamlined the processing of applications as well as the placement of trainees at various companies.

The first major change occurred in 1946 when the ASF was authorized by the State Department to sponsor Scandinavian trainees and specialists visiting the United States for practical training.[391] In practice, Swedish trainees advised and placed by the ASF in the United States were virtually guaranteed visas. According to SAS, the State Department believed "that this exchange of persons benefitted them as a part of their work towards a better understanding of international affairs in the United States and greater knowledge abroad about *the American way of life.*"[392]

The second major change involved opening the program to Americans who wished to train in the Scandinavian countries. These arrangements, made with SAS and other cooperating organizations in Scandinavia, were completed in the fall of 1949. The main requirement of these trainees was that they have a "knowledge of the appropriate language […] except those engaged in highly technical and scientific training."[393] Although opening up the program to Americans was an important step, it was often difficult to place Americans because the majority only spoke English, and most trainors in Sweden needed trainees with a basic knowledge of Swedish.

A third major change involved the financing of the program and the payment of trainees, which previously had come from a variety of sources, but would now come from the trainors themselves.[394] This change was spurred by the Smith-Mundt Act of 1948, which required that "training firms pay […] a 'subsistence allowance' of approximately $200 a month."[395] In 1952, the ASF, encouraged by the development of the Trainee Program but discouraged by its limited resources, decided to form a Trainee Sponsoring Committee, which would eventually decide on an amended financing scheme for the program.[396] In 1955, this new financial compensation scheme was put in place, and trainors were asked to contribute, in

[391] ASF AR 1946, p. 5 and SAS AR 1946, p. 4.
[392] SAS AR 1951, pp. 9–11: "Amerikas utrikesdepartementet ansåg, att detta utbyte av personer låg i dess intresse såsom ett led i arbetet för större förståelse i Förenta Staterna för internationella frågor och för bättre kännedom utomlands om *the American way of life*." See also "Information Regarding Training in the United States" from 1950: "Opportunities for salaried training in the United States have as a rule only been available in connection with immigration visas […] Employees within Swedish industry or business can now however, by means of obtaining a so-called trainee visa, gain an opportunity to train in salaried positions in the United States…The trainee should, through his employer or other personal connections, procure a written offer of employment in the United States…preferably be between 23 and 35 years of age and have passed their Studentexamen (the equivalent of two years of college) or some comparable examination." (KB, Sverige-Amerika Stiftelsen – samling av trycksaker)
[393] ASF AR 1949, pp. 9–10.
[394] ASF AR 1949, pp. 9–10.
[395] ASF AR 1953, p. 4.
[396] ASF AR 1952, p. 4 and ASF AR 1954, p. 6.

addition to providing living allowances, an amount equal to five percent of a single trainee's living allowance to the ASF to cover administrative overhead.[397]

The fourth change involved a more systematic use of existing cooperation with chapters and national associations in the selection and placement of trainees. In the United States, this meant national associations like the American Nurses Association.[398] The ASF also praised the Chicago Chapter of the ASF because it "organized an advisory committee on trainees […] to assist trainees now in this country and to find more training opportunities."[399]

For trainees from Sweden, selection was first handled through SAS, chosen by its committee: the Swedish Committee for the Exchange of Trainees with the United States (*Svenska kommittén för praktikantutbyte med U.S.A.*). This committee worked with several organizations in Sweden, including the Royal Swedish Academy of Engineering Sciences (*Ingeniörsvetenskapsakademien*), the Swedish Banking Association (*Svenska Bankföreningen*), the Swedish Insurance Society (*Svenska Försäkringsföreningen*) and the Swedish National Federation of Industry (*Sveriges Industriförbund*).[400] In 1954, this responsibility was transferred to the Royal Swedish Labor Board (*Kungl. Arbetsmarknadsstyrelsen*). According to the ASF, this Board had existing "trainee exchange agreements between Sweden and other countries and [was] therefore used to dealing with all questions relating to trainees."[401] This change meant that much of the time-consuming work, including the placement and arrangement of trainees' insurance, was delegated to the Swedish government in 1954.[402]

The success of these changes, combined with increased interest in the program was visible from the early 1950s. In 1947, there were 36 trainees from Sweden, by 1951 there were 75, which peaked in 1953 with 118 Swedes training in the United States. In the case of Americans, in 1950, three Americans were able to train in Sweden, and in 1951 this had increased to 10. The American side of the program did not peak until 1959 when the ASF began a "trainee-in-reverse program" to encourage Americans to train in the Scandinavia countries.[403]

Encouraged by the success of the Trainee Program in 1952, the ASF stated:

> The extraordinary development of the trainee program has enabled the Foundation to play a heretofore unimagined role in international education and in the promotion of international good will. I cannot help but feel that the impact of the trainee program, already considerable, will grow to be a significant factor in the political, cultural and economic life of the Scandinavian nations. The program, established in 1921, is now being copied by other private institutions and by the federal government.[404]

[397] ASF AR 1955, pp. 5–8.
[398] ASF AR 1949, p. 10.
[399] ASF AR 1950, p. 7.
[400] SAS AR 1946, p. 4.
[401] ASF AR 1953, pp. 6–7.
[402] ASF AR 1951, pp. 9–11.
[403] ASF AR 1951, p. 3 and p. 6, ASF AR 1953, p. 7, and ASF AR 1959, pp. 5–7.
[404] ASF AR 1952, p. 1.

Looking back in 1960, the ASF asserted that:

> The peak of the Trainee Program was reached in 1953. Since then visa regulations have been modified by the Immigration Service and it is now easier for would-be trainees from Scandinavia to find positions with U.S. firms without ASF sponsorship and many prefer to take advantage of the changed regulations, more particularly as they permit greater latitude for those who wish eventually to immigrate. This combined with the stricter screening procedures and regulations established by ASF will probably mean a further decrease in the number of our trainees. There is no need for regret in this development. It simply means that others are following a path along which ASF pioneered; many years to come, of sponsoring and aiding as many trainees as it can comfortably and efficiently handle.[405]

The change in visa regulations may be referring to the 1956 amendment to the Smith-Mundt Act of 1948, which was more heavily enforced in the Fulbright-Hays Act of 1961, namely a 2-year foreign residency requirement for students and trainees who were in the United States on time-limited, non-immigrant visas such as those sponsored by the ASF.[406] This meant that trainees, who had already been required to return to their home countries after the expiration of their visa, now needed to stay in their home country for at least two years before returning to the United States on another visa.[407]

In a review of the program in 1961, the ASF acknowledged additional reasons why the program may have declined:

> […] full employment in the Scandinavian countries, restrictive visa regulations, and attractive training opportunities in Western Europe. Fields of interest are also extremely specialized, and opportunities must be developed in industries in the United States which do not readily adapt to trainor activity.[408]

In response to this, the ASF made two major changes to increase the program's attractiveness. The first change increased the amount of time agricultural trainees were allowed to spend in the United States from one year to 18 months citing "the value of longer training and […] the sharp decrease in farm trainees was caused in part by the one year time-limit."[409] The second change increased "the recommended net allowance for trainees in all fields […] to a minimum of $225, and a maximum of $325 per month" to combat rising living costs.[410]

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[405] ASF AR 1960, pp. 10–11.
[406] It was also required that Swedish trainees agreed to return home in their applications: "After having finished my training in the United States I promise to return to Sweden to make use of the experience I have gained." (KB, Sverige-Amerika Stiftelsen – samling av trycksaker, Traineeship application form, early 1950s).
[407] SAS AR 1962, pp. 30–31.
[408] ASF AR 1961, pp. 13–14.
[409] ASF AR 1961, pp. 13–14.
[410] ASF AR 1961, pp. 13–14.

In addition, the ASF wanted to focus on harnessing an increased American interest in participating in the Trainee Program. They took steps to standardize administrative procedures, including receiving promises for cooperation from SAS and the Swedish Embassy in Washington, especially concerning the difficulties of developing the program "within the limitations imposed by placement potential for English-speaking persons abroad."[411] In 1961, 18 American trainees were placed in Scandinavia, "a considerably higher number than in any previous year."[412] Despite this, the Trainee Program never gained the momentum it had in the early 1950s, although it did become a standard program for both the ASF and SAS in this period.

The development of the Trainee Program in the late 1940s to early 1960s highlights the importance of the United States as a place for young Swedes to train in their respective fields in the early years after World War II as well as Sweden as an option for Americans to train in their specializations over the period. It also highlights the difficulties of translating interest into mobility, both due to the internal conditions of organizations and external conditions.

Death and fundraising

For the American-Scandinavian and Sweden-America Foundations, donations were vital for the stability and growth of their scholarship programs. This period saw the establishment of several permanent scholarship funds through bequests, individual donations, and active fundraising.[413]

For the ASF, the increase in permanent scholarship funding began in force in the early 1950s through general fundraising. This did not include an attempt to fundraise money for exchanges between Sweden and the United States until 1960, when the ASF celebrated its 50th anniversary. This was part of a larger drive to solicit donations for the ASF by traveling and networking within Scandinavia and the United States. Their annual report acknowledges "the generous assistance of the Scandinavian Embassies, Consulates, Scandinavian travel offices and ASF Chapter officers" who helped compile prospective donors.[414]

The result of these efforts was the Bernadotte Fund, constituted on November 14, 1960, and initiated by ASF Trustee Nils R. Johaneson with permission of King Gustav VI Adolf of Sweden and the help of Swedish Ambassador to the United States Gunnar Jarring. The Bernadotte Fund Committee was chaired by Johaneson and was responsible for coordinating the drive for the Fund. Having been modeled on the Crown Princess Märtha Friendship Fund and the Henrik Kauffmann Fund held by the ASF, which were permanent scholarship funds for exchanges between Norway and Denmark, respectively, the stipulation of the Bernadotte Fund was uncommonly broad, being designated for "projects relating to Sweden."[415]

[411] ASF AR 1961, p. 14.
[412] ASF AR 1961, p. 14.
[413] Some of this section is based on the article Mays and Åkerlund (2015).
[414] ASF AR 1960, p. 6.
[415] ASF AR 1960, p. 7.

There were also examples of donations for annual fellowships, like the Gunnar Nicholson fellowship in 1964. Gunnar W.E. Nicholson, president of the Tennessee River Pulp and Paper Co., offered to donate an annual 2,500 dollars to "bring to this country a Lutheran Minister to be selected by a committee representing the Archbishop of Sweden. The fellowship was prompted by Mr. Nicholson's life-long interest in the Lutheran Church."[416] The ASF worked with the National Lutheran Council to arrange this fellowship.[417] Among the fellowships awarded by the ASF, this was rather unusual considering that most of the funding was directed toward academic or commercial studies or pursuits.

By far, the most significant permanent scholarship fund obtained by the ASF was the Thord-Gray Memorial Fund. Although the fund was not received until 1964, the ASF was informed in 1960 that the Foundation had been named beneficiary of the residual estate of Mrs. Winnifred Thord-Gray, who died on November 25, 1960. The ASF was estimated to receive over two million dollars.[418] In 1964, the ASF finally received this trust, citing:

> […] 1964 will be remembered by the Foundation's historians as the year of the Thord-Gray Fund. Although the year produced growth, fulfillment and challenge in terms of ASF's broad goals, the receipt of a fund amounting to 2.5 million dollars for student exchange with Sweden completely overshadows any other event in significance. The Foundation will forever be indebted to the late Mrs. Winnifred Ingersoll Thord-Gray of Canton, Ill., and General Ivar Thord-Gray.[419]

The receipt of this 2.5 million dollar bequest, the largest in the 54-year history of the ASF, completely changed the scope of educational exchange between Sweden and the United States through the ASF. The fund would be used "to further the exchange of Swedish and American students so long as exchange scholarships are deemed by [the ASF] to be practicable."[420] The ASF emphasized that the receipt of this fund "represents an opportunity of unprecedented proportions and points to a future pregnant with potential in helping to improve the quality of educational exchange and the level of understanding between Sweden and the United States."[421] To "define policies and procedures" in the administration of this massive fund, the ASF created

[416] ASF AR 1960, p. 8. According to H. Arnold Barton, this was a common conviction among Swedish-Americans of Nicholson's generation (Barton (1994)).
[417] ASF AR 1960, p. 8.
[418] ASF AR 1960, p. 7: "On December 22 the Foundation was informed by telephone that it was named beneficiary of the residual estate of Mrs. Winnifred Thord-Gray who died on November 25 at her home in Coral Gables, Florida. The estate is to be held in trust during the lifetime of her husband Brig. Gen. Ivar Thord-Gray, a Swedish-born American citizen, whose interest in military affairs, archeology and anthropology has filled his life with adventure in the far-flung corners of the earth. General Thord-Gray is to receive the income from the trust during his lifetime; thereafter the principal will be distributed to various beneficiaries. The ASF, it is presently estimated, will receive in excess of two million dollars. The grant is to be called the Thord-Gray Memorial Fund.
[419] ASF AR 1964, p. 3.
[420] ASF AR 1964, pp. 4–5.
[421] ASF AR 1964, pp. 4–5.

a special committee, which held its first meeting on December 3rd, 1965. At this meeting, "it was decided to continue awards at the graduate research level, and further consider the support of the mature student undertaking graduate study."[422]

While ASF entered an intense phase of fundraising as well as dealt with the administration of new permanent scholarship funds, SAS continued to rely on its cooperation with Swedish businesses as well as the ASF and the IIE to help coordinate additional fellowships, like through the Thord-Gray Fund. This is not to say that SAS did not also continue to accept donations for permanent scholarship funds, but this was not a major feature of its work in this period.

Between 1945 and 1980, SAS received donations from three different people for the creation of permanent scholarship funds that would be held by the SAS. The first two were in 1946, the first when President of SAS, J. Sigfrid Edström, and former board member and honorary director J.P. Seeburg donated 100,000 Swedish crowns each for the creation of two separate scholarship funds in their name. These funds were stipulated "for studies in any field, but preferably scientific."[423] The last permanent scholarship fund was created in 1959 through a 50,000 dollar bequest from Director Fritz O. Fernström for studies in the United States.[424]

These were not the only sources of funding for scholarships, however. Two additional trust funds were donated by Håkan Björnström-Steffanson and equaled 20,000 dollars each. These funds were held in the United States by the ASF, the income of which would be used to award scholarships "for studies and research in the United States."[425] In the deed, it is further specified that scholarships should be awarded to Swedish graduate students visiting the United States and that "under one of the funds will be selected by the Rector of Uppsala University and under the other fund by Sverige-Amerika Stiftelsen, subject to the [ASF's] approval."[426] Björnström-Steffanson had been a trusted donor to SAS since 1919 when he made his first donation to the "Five-year Forty-fellowship" exchange. Upon his death in 1962, the SAS thanked him for all of his financial and other support over the years.[427]

SAS also received yearly stipulations from the Swedish and US governments. Examples of these included the Swedish state scholarships, delegated by the Swedish government (*Kungl. Maj:t*) from 1950 and the Royal Fund (*Kungafonden*) from 1959. As previously stated, SAS was also responsible for administrating Smith-Mundt scholarships from 1950–1957 when the Swedish Fulbright Commission took over this responsibility.

As shown in this section, from 1945–1980, there was an increase in the economic resources of the ASF and SAS, which helped stabilize and grow their

[422] ASF AR 1965, p. 5.
[423] SAS AR 1946, p. 2: "för studier i vilka områden som helst, dock företrädevis vetenskapliga." In 1950, on his 80th birthday, Edström "kanaliserat en del av gåvorna till stiftelsens J. Sigfrid Edströms stipendiefond." (SAS AR 1950, p. 9).
[424] SAS AR 1959, pp. 5–6.
[425] SAS AR 1959, p. 6 and ASF AR 1960, p. 8: "för studier och forskning i Förenta Staterna."
[426] ASF AR 1960, p. 8.
[427] SAS AR 1962, p. 13.

scholarship programs. These resources, in their stipulations, also helped structure a financial asymmetry between Swedish and American scholars, in which there was more scholarship available for Swedish students and researchers, especially graduate students, than the reverse.

Centrality of the Swedish Fulbright Commission

The period between 1964 and 1980 was marked by the increased centrality of the Fulbright Program in the academic exchange between Sweden and the United States. The most important organizational change in this period happened in 1978 when the responsibility for the Fulbright Program was transferred to the United States Information Agency (USIA), the US government agency responsible for public diplomacy. This section will first discuss the financing of the Fulbright Program in Sweden, the contours of its scholarship program, the importance of student counseling, and organizational changes that resulted after its move to the USIA.

Once the Swedish Fulbright Commission achieved binational funding, financing became the joint responsibility of the Swedish and US governments. The first contribution from the Swedish government, equivalent to 10,000 dollars was deposited in the Commission's bank account in August 1963.[428] According to the cost-sharing agreement, the total budget of the program would be approximately 100,000 dollars, of which 90,000 dollars would come from the US government and no less than 10,000 dollars from the Swedish government for the years 1964–1966.[429] After this point, the agreement would be renegotiated. Despite this guarantee of funding, the Commission called consistently for a larger budget. The primary reason they cited was "the growing demands on the program resulting from the rapidly expanding Swedish higher educational system."[430] In 1966, they added to this "the excellent opportunities for American graduate students and research scholars to work not only in area studies but also in numerous fields of the pure and applied sciences in which Sweden occupies a leading position."[431]

In 1965, the Ministry of Educational and Ecclesiastical Affairs requested that the Swedish government increase its contribution by 50 percent. Although only a six percent increase was approved, it was acknowledged by the Commission as "a gesture of good-will and a recognition of an important fact of life, namely, the steady rise in administrative and program costs."[432] This was coupled with the news of a "drastic reduction in the 1969 program" in which it was necessary to reduce the ambition of the program, calling this "a somewhat macabre exercise"[433] From this

[428] CEEUS AR 1963, p. 3.
[429] CEEUS AR 1962, p. 3.
[430] CEEUS AR 1964, p. 15 and CEEUS AR 1968, p. 11.
[431] CEEUS AR 1966, p. 10.
[432] CEEUS AR 1965, pp. 8–9.
[433] CEEUS AR 1967, p. 3.

point, they adopted a "more realistic approach" to urge a restoration of the budget to the 1967 level.[434] The reduced operating budget led to fewer scholarships for Swedes, but its most significant effect was the reduced flows of American scholars to Western Europe due to the fact that scholarships for these scholars were funded by US government appropriations.[435]

In the 1969 annual report, the Commission again pleaded for more funding based on what they believed was the unique contribution of the program:

> It is most earnestly recommended that both Governments materially increase their allocations to support this program which is unique in the sense that it is tailored to fit the educational needs of the two countries and which provides a channel of communication between leaders and potential leaders in the United States and Sweden that is independent of day-to-day political fluctuations and that can provide understanding of current issues and of the basic mutuality of interests of our two peoples. The need for such a channel of communication can scarcely be over-emphasized in the era of domination by the mass media, when sensationalism and semantic misunderstandings compound prejudices and preconceived notions.[436]

On December 7, 1970, the Commission changed its name to the Commission for Educational Exchange between the United States and Sweden (CEEUS) "in recognition of the binational nature of the program."[437] This change was also greeted with an increase in Swedish governmental support, in a 10 percent increase in direct contributions from 10,600 to 11,600 dollars as well as through one cash grant, a visiting professorship, and the establishment of "a special fund of approximately 15,000 dollars annually for grants to American scholars in the social sciences and humanities" by the Swedish Institute.[438]

Despite annual increases in contributions from the governments of Sweden and the United States, financial issues continued to plague the Commission well into the 1970s. The Commission continued to acknowledge their "precarious financial problem […] exacerbated by inflation in Sweden and the devaluation of the dollar."[439] Almost all increases in funding were offset by changing currency exchange rates, inflation, or increases in operating costs. The budget did not exceed 100,000 dollars again until 1975.[440]

From the mid-1970s, the Commission began focusing on the size of the total budget and the proportion of the American vs Swedish appropriations and actively sought to increase the Swedish government's contributions. The first of these large increases, from 70,000 to 120,000 Swedish crowns came in 1976 in response to the

[434] CEEUS AR 1967, p. 10 and CEEUS AR 1968, p. 11.
[435] CEEUS AR 1968, p. 3.
[436] CEEUS AR 1969, pp. 7–8.
[437] CEEUS AR 1970, pp. 1–2. This amendment was signed by Swedish Minister for Foreign Affairs Torsten Nilsson and American Ambassador to Sweden Jerome H. Holland.
[438] CEEUS AR 1970, pp. 1–2.
[439] CEEUS AR 1971, p. 1. See also CEEUS AR 1972 and CEEUS AR 1979, p. 1.
[440] CEEUS AR 1975, p. 1.

United States Bicentennial celebrations.[441] In 1978, the Commission pushed for further increases in the Swedish contributions, citing two reasons: 1) the increased demand for student counseling by Swedes, and 2) the introduction of the new Swedish Graduate Student Program in the 1980/81 program year that would "offer its recipients improved grant benefits under Fulbright auspices."[442] In a series of phone calls between Swedish Minister of Education and Cultural Affairs, Jan-Erik Wikström, and American Ambassador to Sweden, and Honorary Chairman of the Swedish Fulbright Commission, Rodney Kennedy-Minott, "strongly emphasize[d] that more generous Swedish funding is a main prerequisite for a positive development of the Fulbright Program with Sweden."[443] In 1979, the Swedish government further increased its contribution 222,000 Swedish crowns, or 31 percent of the total budget; the reason given was to "streamline the administration of its Swedish Government supported program for American Graduate Students by a transfer to CEEUS."[444] In 1979, it was made clear that the Commission's goal was to reach equal cost-sharing between the Swedish and US governments by the program year 1989/90.[445]

In order to concentrate the limited funding of the Fulbright Program in Sweden, the Commission organized its work into specific projects. One of the most important projects of the Swedish Fulbright Commission was in American studies. This came from the requirement to operationalize the main objectives of the program as well as the need, as stated by the Commission, "to be aware of other public and private activities in the exchange field in order to avoid duplications of effort."[446] The Commission believed the best contribution they could make was the support of humanities and social sciences, especially in light of the growth of funding opportunities in natural sciences and medicine through the National Science Foundation (NSF), the National Institutes of Health (NIH) and other government research funding agencies in the United States.

The Commission cooperated with the Swedish government to expand the reach of the program, which led to the establishment of a permanent chair in American literature at the Department of English at Uppsala University in 1968. Although a temporary chair had existed since 1963, financed through a five-year grant from the American Council of Learned Societies (ACLS), funding from the Swedish government helped make it permanent. The Commission also acknowledged the support from the American-Scandinavian Foundation's Thord-Gray Memorial Fund and the Bank of Sweden Foundation for a temporary position in American history at the Department of History at Uppsala University.[447] By the late 1960s, the Commission was pleased by the developments in American studies in Sweden,

[441] CEEUS AR 1975, p. 1. See also CEEUS AR 1976, p. 1.
[442] CEEUS AR 1978, p. 1.
[443] CEEUS AR 1978, p. 2.
[444] CEEUS AR 1979, p. 1.
[445] CEEUS AR 1979, p. 1.
[446] CEEUS AR 1965, pp. 7–8.
[447] CEEUS AR 1967, pp. 3–4.

marked first through a landmark decision by the Swedish National Board of Education (*Skolöverstyrelsen*) to drop the requirement for British English in Swedish schools, which meant that universities could now employ American lecturers as well as taking over the responsibility of funding the American language assistant.[448] By the early 1970s, the Swedish government had taken over much of the American studies project; the Commission was pleased because this had led to the employment of American lecturers at all Swedish universities.[449]

As the American studies project began to fade, there were additional resources devoted to the Swedish studies project, to which Americans could apply for projects related to Sweden. This was related to the Commission's "Special program objective 2, which stresses the advancement of area studies in the U.S."[450] Another increasingly important project was for unspecified grants to which students, teachers, and researchers could apply. As with the other organizations in this study, Swedish interest was generally higher than American interest, and because the Commission's program was divided into specific projects, it was sometimes difficult to recruit Americans.[451] To solve the ongoing issue of recruiting visiting lecturers from the United States, the Commission enlisted the help of the IIE in 1967, who also continued to help recruit qualified American students.[452]

Alongside the scholarship program, one of the other major activities of the Commission was student counseling. Introduced in 1964, it would become an integral part of the Commission's work. With its offices moved to the same building as the American Library and "a stone's throw" from the Sweden-America Foundation, the Commission considered it a prime location.[453] From the late 1960s to the late 1970s, student counseling was in a period of constant expansion. In 1968, there were approximately 3,000 requests for information. By 1979, this had expanded to approximately 10,000.[454]

The Swedish and US governments paid for operational costs and staff, fielded donations of additional materials like American university catalogs, and attended counseling workshops with other major organizations in the field.[455] The counseling

[448] CEEUS AR 1968, pp. 3–4. This resulted in the employment of three American lecturers at the Department of English at Stockholm University in addition to one that was recruited for the University of Lund through the Commission (CEEUS AR 1969, pp. 1–2).
[449] CEEUS AR 1971, p. 3. The Commission's American studies project was later reduced further due to stricter enforcement of the 3-year limit on foreign residency for foreign lecturers as well as a surplus of "qualified Swedish university teachers." (CEEUS AR 1974, pp. 3–4).
[450] CEEUS AR 1974, p. 4.
[451] CEEUS AR 1967, p. 3. See also CEEUS AR 1970, p. 7 and CEEUS AR 1973, p. 9. In 1971: The Commission states that problem in the Swedish case is "quantity, not quality."
[452] CEEUS AR 1967, p. 3: One of the reasons they had not utilized the IIE for this purpose previously was because of an "initial concern about the youth and relative lack of experience of the candidates."
[453] CEEUS AR 1963, p. 4.
[454] CEEUS AR 1968, p. 10 and CEEUS AR 1979, p. 2.
[455] CEEUS AR 1970, p. 9 and CEEUS AR 1972, p. 8: Counselling workshop with the National Liaison Committee on Foreign Student Admissions (NLC): composed of the American Association of Collegiate Registrars and Admissions Officers (AACRAO), College Entrance Examination Board

service, which according to the Commission, "fill[s] an important function in providing information to Swedes […] interested in studying the U.S."[456] was so popular that in 1975 they decided to stop publicizing it. Although most funding continued to pay for scholarships, most of the staff's time was spent on student counseling.[457] In 1978, the Commission admitted that the counseling service was beginning to interfere with the scholarship program, so they put more pressure on the Swedish government to increase their contribution because the service mainly benefitted Swedes. Not only was the service taking up a lot of time, but the Commission's office was too small to accommodate all the students, some being forced to sit on the floor while waiting.[458] In 1980, the Commission began to discuss the transformation of student counseling from "a marginal 'non-grant activity' into one of CEEUS' two major responsibilities."[459]

The real turning point for the Commission was in 1979 after the Fulbright Program was absorbed under the responsibility of the United States Information Agency (USIA). From this point, the Commission took over the entire graduate program previously shared with the Sweden-America Foundation as well as initiated strategic linkage projects. These changes were designed to stimulate positive development, the rationale being to use "scarce Fulbright resources […] as efficiently as possible as 'seed money' to attract additional 'outside' funding."[460]

The 'New' Swedish graduate program began in the fall of 1979, and the first new graduate students traveled as part of the 1980 program. According to the Commission, this not only opened up new opportunities for Swedish graduate students, including the ability to access twice as much funding from American universities through their cooperation with the IIE, but it also helped increase "the visibility of the Fulbright Commission in Sweden."[461] The first linkage program included grants at Pennsylvania State University for "Swedish Graduate Students in the humanities and social sciences, areas in which U.S. university funding is particularly scarce." It was hoped that this program would complement the new graduate program, "which primarily benefit[ted] candidates in engineering and the national sciences."[462] There was also a linkage program initiated with the University of Massachusetts where Swedish students, advanced undergraduates, were offered tuition waivers at the university's Amherst campus.[463]

(CEEB), Council of Graduate Schools in the U.S. (CGS), Institute of International Education (IIE), National Association of Foreign Student Affairs (NAFSA) under contract with the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs (CU) of the US State Department.

[456] CEEUS AR 1975, p. 2.
[457] CEEUS AR 1977, p. 21.
[458] CEEUS AR 1978, pp. 1–2 and pp. 21–22.
[459] CEEUS AR 1980, p. 10.
[460] CEEUS AR 1979, pp. 1–2.
[461] CEEUS AR 1979, p. 2.
[462] CEEUS AR 1979, p. 2.
[463] CEEUS AR 1979, p. 2

In 1980, the Commission's board announced that, in consultation with the vice-chancellors of Swedish universities and Swedish academics, it had changed the strategic direction of the program:

> -Academic excellence is CEEUS' primary criterion of selection. In accordance with this criterion CEEUS will also henceforth accept Swedish applications in any field of study.
>
> -With regard to U.S. grantees, CEEUS will, especially in the Senior Scholar category, continue to give priority to applicants in the humanities and social sciences.
>
> -Educational Counseling is an integral part of CEEUS activities and as such fulfills a function of growing significance.
>
> -Further thought should be given to use of Fulbright funding as "seed money" and to intensified fund raising in Sweden. [464]

This decision marked a significant shift in the Fulbright Program and the Swedish Fulbright Commission's role in Sweden. It had developed from a small program under the wings of the Swedish Institute and Sweden-America Foundation to an essential organization, taking over some functions of the organizations that had helped cement the Fulbright Program in Sweden after World War II.

Conclusion

This chapter has argued that World War II and its consequences were a turning point for academic exchange between Sweden and the United States, which increased the interest in scholarships and the scope of scholarship programs from 1945–1980. In the advent of the Cold War, stakes were raised and the meaning behind these scholarship programs was intensified. This chapter has also shown that the establishment of governmental programs and new bureaucratic processes firmly shifted the power to select scholarship holders from the private sector to the public sector, especially the US government, during the period.

This was marked by several important continuities and changes that transformed the practices of academic exchange between Sweden and the United States. The first change was the establishment and increasing importance of intermediary agencies and the Swedish and US governments in the financing and administration of scholarships. The increasing reliance on intermediary agencies gradually restructured the power dynamics between private organizations and governments in both countries. The involvement of the US government in educational exchanges also brought increased regulation and standardization to the practices of academic mobility, especially for Swedish students, teachers, lecturers, and researchers traveling to the United States.

[464] CEEUS AR 1980, p. 1.

The organizational changes were set in the context of changing political and educational conditions spurred partially on by the events surrounding World War II. This new political context, which prioritized mutual understanding and goodwill on a global scale, began as an idealistic attempt to maintain peace in a post-war world but quickly adapted under the conditions of the Cold War. The establishment of the Swedish Institute and the entrance of the US government into educational exchanges through the Fulbright Program institutionalized academic mobility as a tool of public diplomacy. In this way, the cultural, economic, and academic rationales dominant from 1912–1944 were submitted to overt political rationales in the Cold War.

The expansion of higher education and research in both countries, and the growth in funding opportunities through scholarships, made academic mobility available to significantly more students, teachers, lecturers, and researchers. This increased interest was most clearly marked in Swedes wishing to study, teach and conduct research in the United States. The increased workload led to the use of the Institute of International Education for the placement of Swedish undergraduate and graduate students. While this cooperation yielded access to additional scholarships and spots at universities and colleges in the United States, they were also forced into competition with other foreign students. By the 1970s, transatlantic academic mobility was a growing phenomenon and an increasingly institutionalized practice employed by European, and American, students and scholars, on a gradually more standardized pathway for mobility as well as in the context of the increased selectiveness of certain universities and colleges in the United States.

CHAPTER 5

Scholarships and Academic Exchange, 1945–1980

As shown in Chapter 4, there were significant changes to the structures of academic mobility between 1945 and 1980. The most important of these was the growth of an increasingly complex organizational landscape of private foundations, intermediary agencies, and governmental programs responsible for different parts of the evaluation, selection, and placement processes for scholarship awardees. At the beginning of the period, the American-Scandinavian Foundation and the Sweden-America Foundation were organizations established in the field of Swedish-American academic exchange with decades of experience in the "rules of the game" and knowledge about higher education and research in both countries. From the late 1940s, Swedish and US governments championed the experience and knowledge of private foundations as they entered into this organizational landscape, first by appropriating funds to foundations, especially the Sweden-America Foundation, and later by establishing their own exchange programs. In this study, the most important of these is the Fulbright Program and its binational commission in Sweden, the Swedish Fulbright Commission.

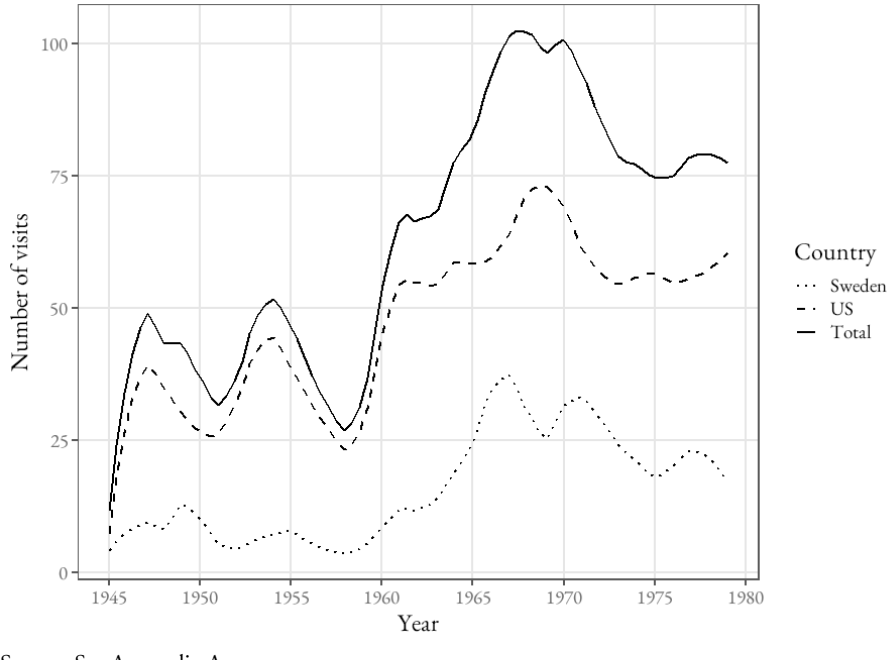
The growth of this organizational landscape took place in the context of the rapidly expanding systems of higher education in Sweden and the United States from the 1950s to the 1970s, in which the number of students, faculty and staff, and higher education institutions increased, and academic knowledge became increasingly specialized. Against this backdrop, this chapter focuses on the scholarships awarded by the American-Scandinavian Foundation, Sweden-America Foundation, Rockefeller Foundation, and the Fulbright Program in the period, both on the broad patterns and trends in scholarship awards as well as the organizational rationales behind these flows of people and knowledge. The first section examines the number of scholarships awarded by all four organizations and the broad patterns of academic mobility structured by their combined investments. The second section investigates particular flows of people and knowledge throughout the period, including the transatlantic networks of exchange within American and Scandinavian studies and the reliance of Swedish engineers on American technology and industry. The concluding section discusses organizational rationales behind academic mobility in this period and the conditions that impacted the general and specific flows of people and knowledge between Sweden and the United States from 1945–1980.

Broad patterns for 1945–1980

This section will discuss the broad patterns of scholarship-awarding from 1945–1979 for scholarships that were used from 1945–1980. The analysis is based on a dataset that includes all scholarships awarded to Swedes and Americans for study, research, or teaching in Sweden and the United States by the American-Scandinavian Foundation (ASF), Rockefeller Foundation (RF), Sweden-America Foundation (SAS), and Fulbright Program during the period.

The dataset for 1945–1979 comprises 2,209 scholarships with 1,964 unique individuals. There were 232 individuals awarded more than one scholarship in this period; 220 of these individuals received two scholarships, 11 received three, and one received four. Published fellowship directories and annual reports were consulted for the ASF, RF, and the Fulbright Program to ensure that only scholarships funded and awarded by the organizations and used by individuals were included in the dataset. SAS, however, does not have a published fellowship directory. In addition, SAS has a broader definition of its own scholarships, tending to include awards funded through its own donations and selected by its committees, but also awards funded directly or indirectly by the Swedish and US governments, universities, and other organizations. Therefore, annual reports were used as a first source and cross-checked against sources from the other three organizations to ensure that scholarships funded elsewhere were not included more than once.

Figure 4. Total scholarships awarded by year and host country, 1945–1979.



Source: See Appendix A.

Figure 4 shows the development in the number of scholarships awarded over time. This development is marked by a gradual increase in the number of scholarships awarded over time, with a significant decline in the late 1950s and minor declines in the early 1950s and 1970s.

Of the 2,209 scholarships awarded between 1945 and 1979, the vast majority (1,645 or 74 percent) of scholarships were awarded to Swedes for travel to and/or studies in the United States. A smaller number of scholarships (564 or 26 percent) were awarded to Americans for travel to and/or studies in Sweden. The ASF, RF, and the Fulbright Program awarded scholarships for academic exchange between Sweden and the United States, and SAS only awarded scholarships for visits to the United States. The higher proportion of Swedes awarded scholarships to the United States is a continuity that extends from the previous period. In both the period from 1912–1944 and from 1945–1979, there were triple the number of Swedes awarded scholarships to the United States than the reverse. This asymmetry indicates a continued reliance on the educational, industrial, and scientific resources of the United States for Swedish scholars over the twentieth century. It also points to the institutionalization of this asymmetry within private and public-funded transatlantic academic mobility.

Additionally, there was a significant rise in the number of annual scholarship awards over the period, especially after 1960. From 1945–1959, there were a total of 569 scholarship awards. From 1960–1979, there were 1,640 scholarship awards. 460 (82 percent) of the scholarships for visits to Sweden were awarded from 1960–1979, and 1,640 (72 percent) of all scholarship awards were from Sweden to the United States. An average of 38 scholarships were awarded annually from 1945–1959 and 82 annually from 1960–1979. These numbers are significantly higher than the average of 16 scholarship awards annually from 1912–1944.

The fluctuations in the number of scholarship awards in this period can be related to many factors: including the economic resources held by each organization and scholarship amounts; the state of the economy (particularly inflation and currency exchange rates); visa regulations; scholarship acceptance and declination rates; and organizational priorities (especially concerning the pursuance of certain programs or projects). For example, the increase in scholarships in the 1960s can be partially explained by the achievement of stable binational funding for the Fulbright Program in Sweden as well as the increased economic resources of the American-Scandinavian Foundation. However, while the increase in the ASF's economic resources initially led to more scholarship awards, the buying power of these resources declined in the face of the economic downturns in the early 1970s.

The significant increase in scholarship awards also relates to a surge of interest on both sides of the Atlantic in studying abroad post-World War II, especially in light of several factors, the expansion of higher education in the United States and Sweden, the increased importance of American research universities, and the growing visibility of Sweden in the United States. Even though more scholarships were available from

the 1960s, the surge in interest resulted in fierce competition, especially for study scholarships in the United States, from the 1960s into the 1970s.[465]

Of the total scholarships, 1,804 (82 percent) were awarded to men, and 405 (18 percent) were awarded to women. Of the awards to men, 1,347 (75 percent) were for visits to the United States, and 457 (25 percent) were for visits to Sweden. Of the awards to women, 298 (74 percent) were for visits to the United States, and 107 (26 percent) were for visits to Sweden. Until the mid-1970s, awards to women averaged 20 percent of all awards; this increased from 1975–1979 to an average of 25 percent of all awards. The increase in scholarships awarded to women relates to a more general increase in women entering higher education after World War II and pursuing advanced degrees, especially from the early 1970s.[466]

In addition, while 20 percent of the total scholarships awarded by the ASF and the Fulbright Program were for women, only 15 percent and 18 percent were awarded by SAS and the RF, respectively. A partial explanation of these differences relates to the different fields in which the organizations awarded scholarships. SAS and the RF awarded more scholarships in more typically male-dominated fields, such as engineering and natural sciences. The ASF and the Fulbright Program awarded more scholarships in less male-dominated fields, such as humanities and arts.

Flows of students, teachers, and researchers

This section will examine how the categorization or purposes of scholarships relates to the flows of students, teachers, and researchers between Sweden and the United States. While the vast majority of scholarships awarded from each of the organizations were broadly classified as for "studies," which could encompass taking elective courses, studying towards a degree, or conducting studies (research), there was a small minority who also received scholarships for teaching in Sweden and the United States. It was also common that doctoral students and academics received scholarships mainly for one purpose, such as conducting research but would combine this with teaching duties at their host institution, especially if they were placed at a university.

[465] ASF AR 1967, p. 12–13: "As graduate departments become more and more crowded, with keen competition for admission, schools are reluctant to admit students on one-year programs; they prefer the doctoral-directed candidate who will do all his research at one institution" and ASF AR 1975, p. 13–14: "As funding sources dry up outside the Foundation, the competition for ASF aid becomes more fierce and the caliber of ASF Fellows rises accordingly."

[466] Snyder (1993), p. 70: "During the 1970s, more women began graduating from doctor's degree programs [in the United States], and the proportion reached 30 percent by 1979-80. In 1989-90, about 36 percent of all doctor's degrees were earned by women."

Table 12. Total scholarship awards by primary purpose, 1945–1979.

	Study/research		Teaching		Total	
5-year period	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
1945–1949	186	98%	3	2%	189	100%
1950–1954	195	95%	10	5%	205	100%
1955–1959	167	95%	8	5%	175	100%
1960–1964	272	81%	64	19%	336	100%
1965–1969	417	87%	63	13%	480	100%
1970–1974	405	93%	31	7%	436	100%
1975–1979	373	96%	15	4%	388	100%
Total	**2,015**	**91%**	**194**	**9%**	**2,209**	**100%**

Source: See Appendix A.

As shown in Table 12, 2,015 (91 percent) of the awards were for studies or research, while 194 (nine percent) were for teaching. There was a sharp increase in scholarships awarded for study and research from the 1960s, with roughly 200 scholarships awarded per five-year period from 1945–1964 and roughly 400 scholarships awarded per five-year period from 1965–1979.

Due to a lack of consistency across fellowship directories and annual reports, it was not possible to separate those studying from those conducting research. However, because most scholarships were awarded within the framework of a master's or doctoral program, it was common that awardees would both study and conduct research. It was also possible to discern an upward trend over time, in which scholarships were awarded to those studying or conducting research at more advanced academic levels over time. By the end of the period, there were a higher proportion of scholarships awarded to doctoral students and post-doctoral researchers than at the beginning of the period.

While only nine percent of scholarships were awarded for teaching over the entire period, 81 percent (158) of scholarships were awarded from 1960–1974, constituting an overall higher percentage (13 percent) of total scholarships in that period. This development can be attributed to the prioritization of lecturing fellowships in light of the increased economic resources of the ASF in the mid-1960s and the Fulbright Program's prioritization of scholarships for visiting lectureships and teacher interchanges over the entire period.

Teaching and reverse flows of knowledge

All teaching scholarships were awarded by the Fulbright Program (158 or 81 percent) and the American-Scandinavian Foundation (36 or 19 percent). For the Fulbright Program, the awarding of visiting lectureships was integral to their overall mission. From 1953–1979, the Fulbright Program awarded 98 visiting lectureships, of which 39 were for lecturing in the United States and 59 were for lecturing in Sweden. Most of these awards were in humanities and social sciences fields, especially those directly related to the political rationales of the Program, such as American studies. In this vein, there were also 59 grants awarded to teachers as part of the Teacher Interchange Program from 1953–1972. Most of these

teacher interchanges were part of the American civilization project, later renamed the American studies project. A total of 46 teachers involved in this interchange were Swedish teachers from secondary schools or teachers' colleges who traveled to the United States to teach at American high schools. A total of 13 were American high school or university teachers who taught at Swedish secondary schools, university colleges, or universities in Sweden. The Swedish National Board of Education (*Skolöverstyrelsen*) or the US Office of Education were chiefly responsible for placing these teachers in their respective countries.[467]

For the ASF, most teaching awards were funded by the Thord-Gray Memorial Fund. This permanent scholarship fund provided a sound financial basis for its long tradition of sponsoring Foundation lecturers, especially in fields close to the ASF's cultural rationale, such as Scandinavian languages and literature and Scandinavian and American history and culture. Twenty-nine of the 36 lectureships awarded by the ASF were funded by the Thord-Gray Memorial Fund from 1966–1979, and 33 of the 39 lectureships were awarded in fields related to American or Scandinavian studies. Although outside of the framework of this study, these lectureships could also take the form of American academics conducting lecture tours in the United States. However, the most common form was based on a lecturing exchange between the Scandinavian countries and the United States.[468]

Geographies of knowledge

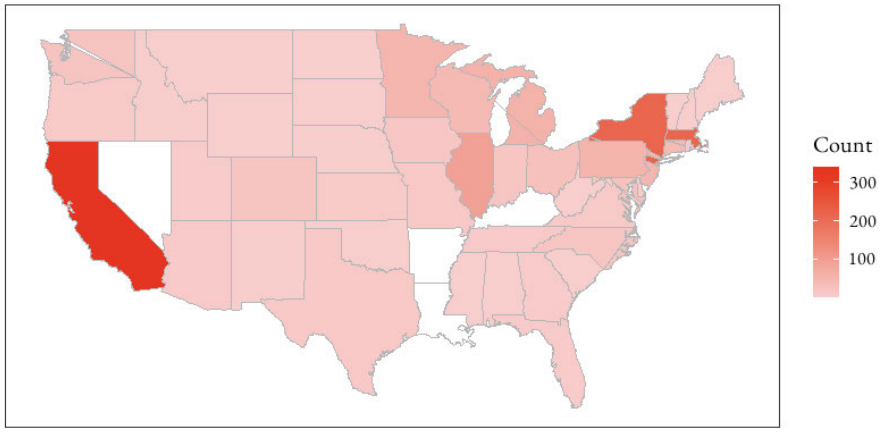
This section will investigate and map the geography of scholarship holders over the period through the destinations of scholarship holders in Sweden and the United States. Because some of the scholarship holders in this study were awarded multiple scholarships for the same visit, this section uses the total number of individual visits (2,004) instead of the total number of scholarship awards (2,209) to map the destinations of scholarship holders. It was common practice for individuals to apply for, and occasionally be awarded, multiple scholarships for the same visit. These extra scholarships were generally used to cover related expenses, extend a trip, or make it possible to visit other host institutions. Using the total number of visits prevents the overrepresentation of certain destinations.

It should also be noted that many of the scholarship holders in this study traveled to more than one destination, some of which are not listed by the organizations. The destinations included in the scholarships dataset are those listed by the organizations as the awardees' main host institution(s) and place(s). The organizations became more systematic and standardized in their listing of destinations as the legal frameworks changed and the process became more formalized in this period.

[467] CEEUS ARs 1953–1972.
[468] ASF ARs 1966–1979.

This section will first map scholarship holder visits by place, by state in the United States and county (*län*) in Sweden, and then by type and name of the host institution(s). There were 1,478 known destinations for Swedish scholarship holders and 216 unknown destinations. For American scholarship holders, there were 479 known destinations and 83 unknown destinations.

Figure 5. Number of visits to United States by state of host institution(s), 1945–1979.



Source: See Appendix F.

As stated above, there were 1,478 known destinations for Swedish scholarship holders who visited the United States. Of these visits, 10 scholarship holders visited three known destinations, 198 visited two known destinations, and 1,268 visited one or an unknown destination.

As shown in Figure 5, the majority of visits (872) were to California (342), New York (218), Massachusetts (217), and Illinois (95). These states are populous and contain multiple reputable private and public universities. The states of California and New York also contained large public university systems under expansion during this period. Most scholarship holders visited universities and colleges (1,202 or 71 percent). The type of host institution was unknown for 174 (ten percent) visits. Seventy-three (four percent) visited businesses, 63 (four percent) visited medical facilities or hospitals, 56 (three percent) visited research facilities, and 42 (two percent) visited schools.

Table 13. Host institutions in the United States representing at least 2 percent of visits, 1945–1979.

Host institution	State	CCIHE type	Count	%
Field work	-	-	120	7%
University of California-Berkeley (UC Berkeley)	California	Research Uni I	107	6%
Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT)	Massachusetts	Research Uni I	93	5%
Unknown	-	-	91	5%
Harvard University	Massachusetts	Research Uni I	81	5%
Stanford University	California	Research Uni I	74	4%
Columbia University	New York	Research Uni I	54	3%
University of Minnesota	Minnesota	Research Uni I	40	2%
University of California-Los Angeles (UCLA)	California	Research Uni I	40	2%
University of Michigan	Michigan	Research Uni I	33	2%
Yale University	Connecticut	Research Uni I	32	2%
University of Chicago	Illinois	Research Uni I	31	2%
University of Wisconsin	Wisconsin	Research Uni I	29	2%
Cornell University	New York	Research Uni I	26	2%
Other	-	-	843	50%
Total			**1,694**	**100%**

Source: See Appendix A.

As shown in Table 13, the top 12 host institutions in the United States were universities. There were also a significant number of visits primarily for field work (120), where scholarship holders were listed as studying or conducting research at various places instead of being formally enrolled or employed at a host institution. For 91 visits that included field work, the host institution was unknown.

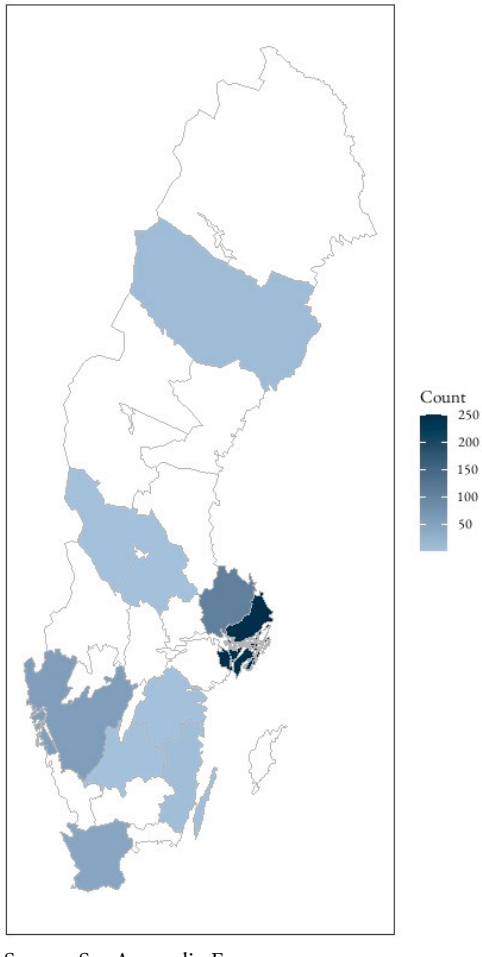
All the top 12 host institutions were universities classified as Research University I in the Carnegie Classification of Institutions of Higher Education (CCIHE) 1976. According to this classification, the Research University I category contained the 50 leading universities in the United States in terms of federal research funding and their high number of awarded PhDs, at approximately 50 PhDs annually.[469] In total, 77 percent (929) of the 1,202 visits to higher education institutions were at universities classified under Research University I, and Swedes visited 48 of the 50 universities within this category.[470] Eight percent (98) of the visited universities were classified as Research University II, or leading universities with slightly less federal funding and slightly smaller PhD programs, and six percent (68) were classified as Doctoral-Granting University I and II.

The University of California system was particularly popular, with 191 scholarship holders visiting one of these campuses. The University of California–Berkeley (UC Berkeley) campus accounted for 107 visits, the most popular destination overall, and the University of California–Los Angeles (UCLA) campus had 40 visits, the sixth most popular destination. Another popular university in California was Stanford University (74), a private university in Palo Alto. There were two popular host institutions in Massachusetts: the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) with 93 visits, and the private Ivy League university, Harvard

[469] See Appendix C.
[470] The only two universities under this classification with no visits were the University of Miami, a private university in Florida, and Yeshiva University, a private university in New York.

University (81). The most popular host institutions in New York were the private Ivy League universities of Columbia University (54) and Cornell University (26). There were only 12 visits to campuses in the SUNY system, New York State's public university system. In New York, a slightly higher proportion of scholarship holders traveled to businesses and art institutes. Lastly, in Illinois, three universities dominated: the private University of Chicago (31), the public University of Illinois (24), and the private Northwestern University (18).

Figure 6. Number of visits to Sweden by county of host institution(s), 1945–1979.



Source: See Appendix F.

There were 479 known destinations for American scholarship holders who visited Sweden and 83 unknown destinations. Of these destinations, two scholarship holders visited three known destinations, 30 visited two known destinations, and 496 visited one or an unknown destination.

As shown in Figure 6, 64 percent (358) of visits were in Stockholm County (250) and Uppsala County (108), and 18 percent (102) were to Västra Götaland County (57) and Skåne County (45). These counties contained the most populous municipalities and the oldest and most prominent higher education institutions in Sweden. Stockholm was the only city, home to several prominent higher education institutions and research facilities, and the seat of the Swedish government. Most (402 or 72 percent) American scholarship holders visited universities and colleges, 57 (ten percent) of host institution types were unknown, 24 (four percent) visited museums and libraries, and four percent (21) visited research facilities.

Table 14. Host institutions in Sweden representing at least 2 percent of visits, 1945–1979.

Host institution	County (Län)	Count	%
Stockholm University (*Stockholms universitet*)	Stockholm	129	23%
Uppsala University (*Uppsala universitet*)	Uppsala	101	18%
Field work	-	60	11%
Gothenburg University (*Göteborgs universitet*)	Västra Götaland	48	9%
Lund University (*Lunds universitet*)	Skåne	42	7%
Unknown	-	33	6%
Royal Institute of Technology (KTH)	Stockholm	23	4%
Karolinska Institute (KI)	Stockholm	19	3%
Umeå University (*Umeå universitet*)	Västerbotten	9	2%
Other	-	98	18%
Total		**562**	**100%**

Source: See Appendix A.

As shown in Table 14, American scholarship holders were more highly concentrated at certain host institutions than Swedish scholarship holders in the period. This overconcentration is largely due to Sweden being a much smaller country than the United States, in size, population, and the number of possible host institutions. Stockholm University, which was granted university status in 1960, was by far the most popular host institution in Sweden with 129 visits. The second most popular host institution in Stockholm was the Royal Institute of Technology (23), followed by the Karolinska Institute (19). In Uppsala County, the most popular host institution was Uppsala University (101), which was also the second most popular host institution in the period. Gothenburg University, which was granted university status in 1954, accounted for 48 of the 57 visits to Västra Götaland County and Lund University for 42 of the 45 visits to Skåne County over the period.

In analyzing visits to the United States and Sweden altogether, most scholarship holders visited prominent universities in the most populous states and counties. This concentration points to the importance for the scholarship holders, scholarship funders, and other participating agencies to invest in reputable universities with broad educational and research profiles over the period. It also shows the geographical particularities of the academic, cultural, and geographical knowledge that flowed between Sweden and the United States from 1945–1980.

Flows and concentrations of (inter)disciplinary knowledge

This section will discuss the flows of knowledge from 1945–1980 related to the academic fields in which scholarships were awarded. This section will use the conceptual model introduced by Martin Trow in 1972 to contextualize higher education during this period. In this model, Trow asserts that the expansion and transformation of higher education in the twentieth century happened in three historical phases: elite, mass, and universal. As discussed in Chapter 3, most higher education systems in Europe and the United States in 1912–1944 were considered elite, in that only a small proportion of the eligible population attended higher education institutions. This period, 1945–1980, is considered one of massification in many Western European countries and the United States, when access to higher education was democratized and higher education systems expanded significantly.[471]

In the United States, the 25 years between 1945–1970 is also referred to as a "golden age" of higher education by Nils R. Thelin, marked by what he refers to as the three P's "prosperity, prestige and popularity."[472] During this period, there was a hard push towards massification – visible in ballooning enrollments at higher education institutions – and specialization – seen in the emergence and popularity of American research universities as well as community colleges, vocational institutes, and trade schools. Thelin characterizes this period as one in which the positions of "well-known established private and public colleges" were solidified.[473] Amidst this unprecedented growth, the US government became more involved in higher education through policy and funding, resulting in "sustained state government support combined with federal commitment to advanced research and to access to higher education."[474] Thelin makes a strong contrast between this "golden age" and the 1970s, which he refers to as a period of reckoning. Thelin characterizes the higher education system in the 1970s as one under pressure from its massive growth, suffering from increased costs from the "stagflation" of the early 1970s combined with decreased federal funding for research and development. This forced universities and colleges to find creative ways to reduce costs and attract funding; it also led to increased coordination and regulation by the US government.[475]

In Sweden, Mikael Börjesson and Tobias Dalberg argue that the massification of higher education took place from the mid-1950s to the early 1970s amidst a long economic boom, transitioning into an era of unification in 1977. Börjesson and Dalberg characterize the massification of higher education in Sweden by the consistent involvement of the Swedish government, coordinated through a series of reforms in a widely public system amidst favorable economic conditions.[476]

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[471] Trow (1972).
[472] Thelin (2011), p. 260.
[473] Thelin (2011), pp. 260–261.
[474] Thelin (2011), p. 262.
[475] According to Thelin, this coordination and regulation included the introduction of federal, needs-based financial aid and merit-based scholarships at certain private institutions. The introduction of financial aid also incentivized higher education institutions to seek accreditation.
[476] Börjesson and Dalberg (2021).

Similar to the United States, much of the growth was driven by changing demographics, in terms of the increase in those eligible for higher education and additional funding for faculty and infrastructure. One of the major differences, however, is that almost all universities and colleges in Sweden were public, so the involvement and coordination of the government was more uniform. Due to the heterogeneous structure of higher education, there were much larger differences between public and private institutions in the United States.

In the following sections, the flows and concentrations of knowledge structured by scholarship awards will be discussed in the context of the expansion of higher education in the United States and Sweden. This section examines the broad patterns of scholarship awards, followed by the particularities of the flows within, first, humanities and social sciences fields, and, secondly, natural, engineering, and medical sciences fields. The last section will examine some important arenas of transatlantic flows and concentrations within the humanities and social sciences – including American and Scandinavian studies, business studies, and the social and behavioral sciences – and the natural, engineering, and medical sciences – including the physical and life sciences, health, and engineering – as well as discusses the United States as a source of knowledge for the industrial and technical advancement of Sweden.

Broad patterns of knowledge flows

This section will examine the broad patterns of scholarship awards in relation to the flows of people and knowledge between Sweden and the United States. As previously stated, there were 2,209 scholarship awards from 1945–1979. Of these scholarships, 1,179 (53 percent) were awarded in humanities and social sciences fields, and 1,030 (47 percent) were awarded in natural, engineering, and medical sciences fields.

Table 15. Total scholarship awards by host country and fields of education/training, 1945–1979.

Fields of education and training	Swe	%	US	%	Total	%
Humanities and Social Sciences	**378**	**67%**	**801**	**49%**	**1,179**	**53%**
Social sciences, business and law	**150**	**27%**	**433**	**26%**	**583**	**26%**
Social and behavioral sciences	116	21%	207	13%	323	15%
Business and administration	11	2%	133	8%	144	7%
Law	21	4%	54	3%	75	3%
Journalism and information	2	0%	39	2%	41	2%
Humanities and arts	**212**	**38%**	**295**	**18%**	**507**	**23%**
Humanities	156	28%	214	13%	370	17%
Arts	56	10%	81	5%	137	6%
Education	**14**	**2%**	**42**	**3%**	**56**	**3%**
Teacher training and educational science	14	2%	42	3%	56	3%
Services	**1**	**0%**	**18**	**1%**	**19**	**1%**
Personal services	1	0%	17	1%	18	1%
Security services	0	0%	1	0%	1	0%
Health and welfare	**1**	**0%**	**13**	**1%**	**14**	**1%**
Social services	1	0%	13	1%	14	1%
Natural, Engr and Medical Sciences	**186**	**33%**	**844**	**51%**	**1,030**	**47%**
Science	**107**	**19%**	**355**	**22%**	**462**	**21%**
Physical sciences	60	11%	159	10%	219	10%
Life sciences	41	7%	132	8%	173	8%
Mathematics and statistics	5	1%	49	3%	54	2%
Computing	1	0%	15	1%	16	1%
Engineering, mfg and construction	**39**	**7%**	**273**	**17%**	**312**	**14%**
Engineering and engineering trades	15	3%	173	11%	188	9%
Architecture and building	22	4%	65	4%	87	4%
Manufacturing and processing	2	0%	35	2%	37	2%
Health and welfare	**36**	**6%**	**162**	**10%**	**198**	**9%**
Health	36	6%	162	10%	198	9%
Agriculture	**4**	**1%**	**47**	**3%**	**51**	**2%**
Agriculture, forestry and fishery	4	1%	37	2%	41	2%
Veterinary	0	0%	10	1%	10	0%
Services	**0**	**0%**	7	**0%**	7	**0%**
Environmental protection	0	0%	7	0%	7	0%
Total	**564**	**100%**	**1,645**	**100%**	**2,209**	**100%**

Source: See Appendix A.

As shown in Table 15, a clearer picture emerges when scholarship awards are divided by host country, field, and sub-field. First, while most scholarship awards to Americans were in humanities and social sciences fields (378 or 67 percent), most awards to Swedes were in natural, engineering, and medical sciences fields (844 or 51 percent). However, because almost triple the number of Swedes visited the United States than the reverse, there were significantly more Swedes visiting the United States in both natural, engineering, and medical sciences as well as humanities and social sciences (799). This pattern is repeated at every level – domain, field, and sub-field. Even if there were a larger percentage of scholarships awarded to Americans visiting Sweden in certain fields or sub-fields, the number of scholarships awarded to Swedes visiting the United States was higher, often significantly.

One noteworthy example of asymmetrical flows is the sub-field of business and administration. While 11 scholarships were awarded in this sub-field to Americans, 133 scholarships were awarded to Swedes. This means that 92 percent of all scholarships awarded in this sub-field were to Swedes visiting the United States. Another example is engineering, manufacturing, and construction, in which 88 percent (273) of the 312 scholarships in this field were awarded to Swedes visiting

the United States. There were, however, fields and sub-fields where these patterns were less asymmetrical. One example are humanities and arts fields, in which 38 percent (214) of scholarships in these fields were awarded to Americans visiting Sweden during the period. There were also a high number (114) and percentage of scholarships awarded to Americans in the social and behavioral sciences sub-fields. In addition, although only around 23 percent (107) of the scholarships awarded in science fields were to Americans visiting Sweden, these awards constituted 19 percent (107) of the total scholarships awarded to Americans in the period.

In summary, there were clear differences in the number of scholarships awarded for study, teaching, and research in this period, which led to a decisive asymmetry in the flows of knowledge facilitated by scholarships between Sweden and the United States. This asymmetry is seen in both academic domains and in all fields and sub-fields. However, there were some exchanges of knowledge happening between the two countries, highlighted by the fact that there were significant numbers of scholarships awarded for both Americans and Swedes within the humanities and arts, social and behavioral sciences, and the physical sciences. This incredible asymmetry in some fields and sub-fields is also interesting, especially concerning the disproportionate and large number of scholarships awarded to Swedes within business and administration, life sciences, engineering, and health.

Against this more general picture, there was also a shift in scholarships awarded over time, especially for travel from Sweden to the United States. Overall, the scholarships awarded to Americans for visits to Sweden remained in the same three fields, the sciences; humanities and arts; and social sciences, business, and law. The most significant shift occurred in the number of scholarships awarded in social sciences, business and law, and especially in the sub-field of social and behavioral sciences from the early 1970s. When analyzing development over time, there were three waves of Swedish mobility to the United States. The first wave, from the mid-1940s to the mid-1950s, is marked by scholarship awards in engineering and engineering trades, science, and health and welfare. The second wave, from the mid-1950s to the mid-1970s, is marked by the growth in the number of scholarships in social sciences, business and law, and the humanities and arts. In the third wave, beginning in the early 1970s, there was growth in the number of scholarships in science fields.[477]

Humanities and social sciences

In the post-war expansion of higher education, the creation, growth, and solidification of the social sciences are often pointed out as one of the important transformations of the twentieth century. Not only this, but research has pointed to post-World War II American influences in several social science fields in Sweden, such as business administration, economics, and sociology, which had roots in the

[477] See Appendix E.

early investments by the Rockefeller Foundation in empirical social science research in Stockholm.[478] The humanities is less successfully positioned in the post-World War II history of higher education, but was a significant sub-field for scholarship holders in this study. As discussed above, many scholarships were awarded for studies, teaching, and research in the humanities and social sciences, totaling 378 (67 percent) scholarships awarded to Americans visiting Sweden and 797 (48 percent) awards to Swedes visiting the United States.

Humanities

Under the big umbrella of humanities fields, the absolute largest group of scholarships are classified as foreign languages and cultures, under which area studies fields are also classified. For the scholarships here, most represent studies, teaching, and research in American or Scandinavian studies, with some in the broader European studies and even fewer in area or regional studies like Soviet history or Japanology. These types of scholarships were generally awarded to provide an increased understanding of American or Scandinavian languages, history, and culture through study, teaching, and research.

For Americans and Swedes, there were two types of scholarships awarded in this sub-field. The first type of scholarship was a study/research scholarship, in which Americans visited Sweden to study or conduct research related to Scandinavian literature, language, and/or history and vice versa. The other type of scholarship was for teaching about American or Scandinavian culture, history, or politics at schools, colleges, or universities in the opposite country. In total, 232 scholarships were classified under foreign languages and cultures; 96 of these scholarships were awarded to Americans and 136 to Swedes. While many scholarships awarded to Americans (52) were for teaching in Sweden, most scholarships awarded to Swedes (77) were for studying or conducting research in the United States.

Scholarships awarded to Americans visiting Sweden tended to be at universities and colleges, constituting 75 percent (72 of 96) of all scholarships for visiting Stockholm University (26), Uppsala University (21), Gothenburg University (12), Lund University (11), and Umeå University (2). Americans were likelier to study or conduct research at Stockholm University and Uppsala University and teach at Gothenburg University, Lund University, and Umeå University. Four scholarships were awarded for teaching at Swedish upper secondary schools.[479]

Scholarships awarded to Swedes studying or conducting research in the United States took place at universities (70 of 77), the most popular being Harvard University (11), the University of Minnesota (8), Indiana University (4), and Stanford University (4). For teaching scholarships, 54 percent (32) were at high schools, and 22 of these were coordinated by the US Office of Education. Forty-

[478] Craver (1991), Engwall (1987), Engwall (1992), pp. 143–162, Eyerman and Jamison (1992), Jonung (1992), pp. 39–41.

[479] The first three scholarships were made before 1966 for teaching at Swedish grammar schools (*Högre allmänna läroverk*) and the fourth scholarship was made for teaching at a Swedish upper secondary school (*gymnasium*).

four percent (26) of these scholarships were awarded for teaching at universities, including the University of Minnesota (4), the University of Chicago (4), and the University of Washington (3). Most teaching at universities took place in the Midwest, a region with a history of Scandinavian migration and a large presence of Scandinavian higher education institutions. Some of these universities had also established programs in Scandinavian studies.[480]

Olov Fryckstedt and American Studies

Because this study includes scholarship awards from multiple organizations, it is possible to discuss those awarded multiple scholarships. This is important because of a central principle embedded in the scholarship-awarding process, that as many merited individuals as possible should be awarded scholarships. This principle makes the question of who received multiple scholarships from the same organization or group of organizations interesting because it is one way of understanding the relative value of certain individuals or certain fields of knowledge over time. This section will discuss one important individual in one important field in this study, Professor Olov Fryckstedt, the first permanent chair of American studies in Sweden.

He was the only individual was awarded four separate scholarships from 1945–1980, two from the Rockefeller Foundation in 1948 and 1953 and two from the Swedish Fulbright Commission in 1960 and 1977, respectively. Fryckstedt was also an honorary fellow, or an individual sponsored but not funded, of the Sweden-America Foundation and, by proxy, the American-Scandinavian Foundation in 1947 while on a scholarship from Columbia University. Olov Fryckstedt was born in 1920 in Stockholm, Sweden; he graduated from Bromma Grammar School (*Bromma Läroverk*) in 1939. Fryckstedt then studied at Uppsala University, graduating with a master's degree (*magisterexamen*) in 1944. He then worked as a university lecturer and school teacher for several years.

In 1947, he traveled to the United States as an honorary fellow of the Sweden-America Foundation on a scholarship from Columbia University under the supervision of American literary scholar Ralph L. Rusk. His first Rockefeller Foundation award in 1948 was to continue his graduate studies at Columbia University and Harvard University in fulfillment of his licentiate degree (*licentiat-examen*) at Uppsala University. At Harvard University, Kenneth B. Murdock, American literary scholar and Professor of English, was Fryckstedt's acting supervisor.

Murdock, a trustee of the American-Scandinavian Foundation and chairman of its committee on publications (1946–1955) and foreign relations (1951–1955), had been awarded a lecturing fellowship by the American-Scandinavian Foundation and

[480] RBML, CCNY, Series III.A.5, Box 224, University of Minnesota Scandinavian Studies, "The Program in Scandinavian Area Studies at the University of Minnesota" and RBML, CCNY, Series III.A.9, Box 371, University of Wisconsin – Program of Scandinavian Studies 1947–1953, "The Scandinavian Area Program": The Scandinavian studies programs at the University of Minnesota and University of Wisconsin started with five-year grants from the CCNY in 1946 and 1947.

held a guest lectureship at Uppsala University in 1946.[481] Fryckstedt stated that during Professor Murdock's time as a guest lecturer he attended several lectures and seminars, and "that it was during this time that my serious interest in American literature and culture began."[482] Also housed at Harvard University was an archival collection on American novelist William Dean Howells, the subject of Fryckstedt's dissertation, which he hoped to access to trace Howells' literary influences. His secondary ambition was to "bring back to Sweden a good American background for [his] future work."[483]

According to the personal statement in his application to the Rockefeller Foundation in 1953, Fryckstedt spent almost two years in the United States. He returned to Sweden in 1949 and received his licentiate degree in 1950. In 1951, Fryckstedt began working towards a PhD at Uppsala University. He was unable to secure a scholarship, so he accepted a position as a full-time English teacher at Schartau's Commercial College in Stockholm. If awarded a second Rockefeller scholarship, he wished to "go back to Harvard, complete [his] research and take part in a seminar on American literature" and assured that upon his return he had been promised a Swedish state scholarship for at least two years.[484]

In 1954, Fryckstedt was awarded a second scholarship from Rockefeller Foundation. This scholarship enabled him to return to Harvard University, again under the supervision of Kenneth B. Murdock, to conduct research in fulfillment of his PhD at Uppsala University. Murdock believed this research would "add to the quality of Mr. Fryckstedt's later writing and interpretation of American literature in Sweden."[485] In his application, Fryckstedt stated that his first trip to the United States had transformed him and that obtaining a PhD would enable him "to help in the work of establishing American literature and idiom as a more definite part of the school curriculum in Sweden."[486] His research took longer than expected, and it was necessary to obtain an additional scholarship from the Swedish government for the spring semester of 1955. Upon a recommendation letter from Murdock, he was later awarded an extension of his fellowship from the Rockefeller Foundation for the fall of 1955. Murdock notes in this letter that "graduate work in American Literature is not now being encouraged at Uppsala, but it seems […] there is some

[481] ASF AR 1946. ASF AR 1949: In 1949, Murdock was awarded a second lecturing fellowship by the American-Scandinavian Foundation. He was a guest lecturer at Uppsala University and Stockholm University.
[482] RAC, RG 10.1 Fellowship Files, Sweden 800E: Fryckstedt, Olov Wilhelm, Rockefeller Foundation Personal History and Application for a Fellowship in Humanities, May 18, 1953.
[483] RAC, RG 10.1 Fellowship Files, Sweden 800E: Fryckstedt, Olov Wilhelm, Rockefeller Foundation Personal History and Application for a Fellowship in Humanities, January 14, 1948.
[484] RAC, RG 10.1 Fellowship Files, Sweden 800E: Fryckstedt, Olov Wilhelm, Rockefeller Foundation Personal History and Application for a Fellowship in Humanities, May 18, 1953.
[485] RAC, RG 10.1 Fellowship Files, Sweden 800E: Fryckstedt, Olov Wilhelm, Extension of Research Fellowship for: Olov Wilhelm Fryckstedt, May 23, 1955.
[486] RAC, RG 10.1 Fellowship Files, Sweden 800E: Fryckstedt, Olov Wilhelm, Rockefeller Foundation Personal History and Application for a Fellowship in Humanities, May 18, 1953.

interest in the subject in government circles."[487] Olov Fryckstedt defended his PhD dissertation in English language and literature at Uppsala University on May 3, 1958. The Harvard University Press acted as its distributor in the United States. Fryckstedt's grade (a small a) was good enough to permit him to teach at the university level.[488]

In 1960, Fryckstedt was awarded his first grant from the Fulbright Program and traveled as a Fulbright research scholar back to Harvard University. This grant was part of the Swedish Fulbright Commission's project in American studies, which had begun upon the establishment of the Commission's scholarship program in 1953. When the Swedish government made the decision to fund a chair in American literature at Uppsala University in 1966, Fryckstedt became the first incumbent. This position was previously funded by a five-year grant from the American Council of Learned Societies (ACLS).[489] The American studies project was an important part of the Fulbright Program's work in Sweden, but at this point, it was more focused on the exchange of school teachers between Sweden and the United States, so grants of this type were relatively rare.[490] His second grant from the Fulbright Program was awarded in 1977 by the Swedish Fulbright Commission as part of its 25th-anniversary celebrations. At a special ceremony in Stockholm attended by 350 people, including Senator Fulbright himself, he was awarded a special 25th-anniversary grant. By this point, he had been the permanent chair of American literature at Uppsala University for almost 10 years and was the head of the American Institute at Uppsala University.[491]

All of the scholarships awarded to Olov Fryckstedt were for study or research in the United States, and those awarded to his mentor Kenneth B. Murdock were for teaching. In this way, the investment in Olov Fryckstedt and his development into a leading expert on American literature at the oldest university in Sweden can be seen as evidence of the impact of scholarship programs in the flow of American influence to Sweden. These scholarships also helped nurture a relationship between the Departments of English at Harvard University and Uppsala University through Kenneth B. Murdock and Olov Fryckstedt as well as finance a significant portion of Fryckstedt's specialized training in the field of American literature. All the organizations discussed here played different but intertwined roles in the funding of Swedish-American academic exchange and the establishment of American studies in Sweden. These developments also highlight the cooperation, intentional or not, between private and governmental organizations in the institutionalization of American influence in the Swedish case in particular.

[487] RAC, RG 10.1 Fellowship Files, Sweden 800E: Fryckstedt, Olov Wilhelm, Letter to Chadbourne Gilpatric from Kenneth B. Murdock, May 4, 1955.
[488] RAC, RG 10.2 Fellowship recorder cards, Sweden 800, Fryckstedt, Olov Wilhelm.
[489] CEEUS AR 1967, pp. 3–4.
[490] CEEUS AR 1966, p. 8.
[491] CEEUS AR 1977, p. 3.

Social Sciences

In social sciences, business and law, the social and behavioral sciences were another large sub-field of exchange between Sweden and the United States with 316 (14 percent) of all scholarship awards classified under this sub-field. Of this sub-field, the most popular disciplines were political science (105 scholarships), economics (82), psychology (50), and sociology (36); 114 of these scholarships were for visiting Sweden, and 202 were for visiting the United States. Ninety-seven of the scholarships to Americans were awarded for study or research, and 17 were for teaching at Swedish universities. The most popular host institutions were Stockholm University (45), Uppsala University (19), Gothenburg University (11), and Lund University (10). For scholarships to Swedes, 191 were for study and research, and 11 for teaching, primarily at universities. Ninety percent (182) of these scholarships were at universities, the most popular being the University of California–Berkeley (25), Harvard University (24), Stanford University (17), University of Michigan (15), and the University of Chicago (14).

An important sub-field for Swedes in social sciences, business and law was business and administration. There were 144 scholarships awarded in this sub-field, 133 of which were awarded to Swedes. The number of scholarships in business and administration began to rise in the mid-1950s peaking in the late 1960s. An interesting development in this sub-field is that all 133 scholarships awarded to Swedes visiting the United States were for studies or conducting research, while three of 11 scholarships awarded to Americans visiting Sweden were for teaching. Seven of these 11 scholarships were awarded to Americans for studies or research at Stockholm University. For Swedes, 104 scholarships were awarded for studies or research at universities and 13 at private companies. These scholarships were also concentrated at certain universities, especially those classified as Research University I, including the University of California–Berkeley (26 scholarships), Carnegie-Mellon University (19), Stanford University (15), and Harvard University (10).

In summary, there were significant flows of humanities and social scientific knowledge between Sweden and the United States during this period. There were important exchanges of people and knowledge in American and Scandinavian studies as well as social and behavioral sciences. These flows also show a dependency by Swedish students and researchers on knowledge in business administration in the United States. Flows were also concentrated at certain host institutions throughout the period. In Sweden, common host institutions were Stockholm University (117 scholarships), Uppsala University (70), and Gothenburg University (38). In the United States, they were the University of California–Berkeley (69), Harvard University (64), Stanford University (47), Columbia University (38), and the University of Chicago (30). There were also smaller concentrations at universities in the Midwest with histories of Scandinavian migration, higher educational institutions, and Scandinavian studies departments or centers.

Natural, engineering and medical sciences

The advancement of science and technology is often cited as a major transformation in the relations of the twentieth century, wherein, especially after World War II, this advance was conditioned by "the increasing centrality of science and technology to the economic, political and military strength of the modern state."[492] These advances often signified innovations in research in natural, engineering, and medical sciences as well as their application in industry, commerce, warfare, politics, and health care. The scholarship awards in natural, engineering and medical sciences in this study were often used for study or research at universities but also at research facilities, hospitals, and private companies to a higher extent than scholarships in the humanities and social sciences. The flows of people and knowledge in these fields were also more closely tied to, firstly, the interwar investments of the Rockefeller Foundation in infrastructure, research, and academic mobility, especially in biochemistry and physical sciences in Sweden, and, secondly, to the history of migration and remigration of Swedish engineers during the late nineteenth to the early twentieth century.[493]

As discussed at the beginning of the section, 76 percent of scholarships awarded in the natural, engineering, and medical sciences were in physical sciences (220), health (201), engineering and engineering trades (188), and life sciences (173). Flows in this domain as a whole were more asymmetrical than in the humanities and social sciences. There were twice the number of scholarships awarded to Swedes visiting the United States in humanities and social sciences, but over four times were awarded to Swedes in natural, engineering, and medical sciences. An interesting occurrence in this context is the number of scholarship awards for teaching. While only 26 of 1034 scholarship awards were awarded for teaching, 21 of these were awarded to Swedes teaching in the United States.

In the science field, many scholarships were awarded in the physical sciences (220) and life sciences (173), constituting 85 percent of all scholarships classified under the science field. Visits were less concentrated at universities, both in physical sciences and life sciences. In the physical sciences, 78 percent (171) of scholarships were awarded in chemistry (91) and physics (80); in life sciences, 75 percent (129) were in biochemistry (47), biology (39), botany (26) and microbiology (17).

The top host institutions in the United States for physical sciences (of 160 scholarships) were the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (14), the University of California–Berkeley (13), Stanford University (12), and the California Institute of Technology (11). There were also several scholarships awarded for

[492] Krige (2019), p. 3.
[493] See Ljungström (2010) for a history of Rockefeller Foundation support at the Karolinska Institute from 1930–1945, Grönberg (2003) for a history of the return migration of Swedish engineers from the United States from 1880–1940, and Grönberg (2019) for a broader history of the transnational mobility of Nordic engineers and architects in the same period.

conducting research at research facilities (14) and observatories (7).[494] In Sweden, the top host institutions (of 60 scholarships) were Uppsala University (24) and Stockholm University (8). There were also several scholarships awarded for research at the Swedish Museum of Natural History (two in paleontology and one in geology), the Stockholm Observatory (one in astrophysics), and the Swedish Forest Products Research Laboratory (one in chemistry).

The top institutions for life sciences in the United States (of 132 scholarships) were Stanford University (13), the University of Minnesota (10), and the University of California–Berkeley (10). Several scholarships were also awarded for research at research facilities (15) and medical facilities or hospitals (6).[495] The top host institutions in Sweden (of 41 scholarships) were Uppsala University (7), the Karolinska Institute (7), and Stockholm University (5). Several scholarships were awarded for conducting research at research facilities (6), including one in biochemistry at the State Institute of Human Genetics (formerly *Statens institut för rasbiologi*) and one in virology at the The Svedberg Laboratory.

In the field of health and welfare, the sub-field of health was also significant, with 201 scholarships awarded during the period. The most common sub-field was in medicine (116), including specialized medical training, followed by medical services (49), like occupational therapy, speech pathology, and nutrition. The top institutions for health and welfare in the United States (of 165) were Harvard University (14), the University of California–Los Angeles (6), the University of California–San Francisco Medical Center (11), and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (5). Forty-five visits were at medical facilities or hospitals, and many were affiliated with university medical schools. In Sweden, the top host institutions (of 36 scholarships) were the Karolinska Institute (9) and Gothenburg University (8). Eight of the scholarships were at medical facilities or hospitals, including Karolinska Hospital (3) and Serafimer Hospital (1) in Stockholm, and the Sahlgrenska University Hospital (1) in Gothenburg.

In the field of engineering, manufacturing and construction, there were a total of 312 scholarship awards. There were 188 scholarships classified under the sub-field of engineering and engineering trades. Unlike in other sub-fields, scholarships were spread fairly evenly across multiple specializations: mechanics and metal work (44), electricity and energy (42), electronics and automation (40), chemical and process (28), and motor vehicles, ships and aircraft (24). Many scholarships in architecture and building were related to engineering, including architecture and town planning (55) and building and civil engineering (32) as well as in manufacturing and processing, including paper chemistry and technology (23), mining and extraction (10), and food and drink processing (4).

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[494] These included two scholarships in nuclear physics at the Los Alamos National Laboratory in New Mexico, a US government laboratory affiliated with the University of California, and two scholarships in astrophysics and one in astronomy at the Yerkes Observatory in Wisconsin operated by the University of Chicago.

[495] These included two scholarships in pharmacology and one in biochemistry at the National Institutes of Health (NIH).

The top institutions in engineering, manufacturing and construction in the United States (of 273 scholarships) were the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (57), the University of California–Berkeley (16), Stanford University (12), and the Institute of Paper Chemistry (9). There were also 40 scholarships awarded for visits to private companies and eight to research facilities. The top institution in Sweden (of 39 scholarships) was the Royal Institute of Technology (18). There were also scholarships awarded to research facilities (4), like the Swedish National Aeronautical Research Institute (*Flygtekniska försöksanstalten*) (2), and governmental authorities, like the Swedish National Board of Building and Planning (*Bostadsstyrelsen*) (1).

In summary, the flows of knowledge in natural, engineering, and medical sciences are largely marked by asymmetries but also important concentrations of knowledge. There was also significant overlap between these different sciences, especially when taking them from their pure to applied forms. The most common host institution in the United States was the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (85), followed by the University of California–Berkeley (55), Stanford University (44), Harvard University (27), and the University of Minnesota (26), the University of California–Los Angeles (23) and the California Institute of Technology (21). However, scholarship awards were much less concentrated at universities in general, and dominated by certain universities, than in humanities and social sciences fields. Scholarship awards within this domain were also more likely to list two host institutions. Generally, one host institution was a university, while the others were medical facilities or hospitals, research facilities, private companies, or governmental organizations.

Organizational rationales of flows

The four organizations in this study represent different purposes that structured Swedish-American academic exchange from 1945–1980. While the Rockefeller Foundation (RF), the American-Scandinavian Foundation (ASF), and the Sweden-America Foundation (SAS) were donor-steered, the Fulbright Program was steered by policies and appropriations of the Swedish and US governments. The RF and Fulbright Program had overtly strategic goals, and the RF had more control over the (re)organization of its programs. The ASF and SAS, although their general purposes were consistent, their scholarship programs were dependent on the stipulations of permanent funds and, to a lesser degree, short-term donations with sometimes differing stipulations and goals. The purposes of these organizations and how they manifested in the awarding of scholarships will be categorized using four rationales conceptualized by Hans de Wit.[496]

For the ASF, rationales continued to be largely cultural, embedded in the desire to strengthen ties between the Scandinavian countries and the United States, to foster

[496] See Appendix D.

a community of Scandinavian-Americans in the United States. Because of fundraising and large bequests, the ASF was able to increasingly control the production and dissemination of knowledge about Scandinavia in the United States and vice versa by awarding more scholarships in fields related to American and Scandinavian studies. As discussed by de Wit, this cultural rationale also overlaps with the political rationale of providing peace and mutual understanding. The rationales of SAS, while still cultural and political on the surface, were driven by an economic rationale embedded in permanent funds donated by Swedish industry leaders from the 1930s. These funds were generally invested in the movement and transfer of technical knowledge, which continued into and throughout this period.

The priorities of the RF shifted significantly in the period. From 1929, the operating divisions of the RF were more closely aligned with academic rationales, visible by their investments in educational and research infrastructure both in the United States and foreign countries. These rationales carried through into the post-war period but were deprioritized in the early 1950s, the point at which the RF became more strategic about applying knowledge to world problems. This meant that the new priorities of the RF more closely aligned with the political rationale of technical assistance, or development cooperation, from the 1950s. This can also be viewed as a circular transformation, in which the RF returned to the priorities it had in the 1910s and 1920s. This turn also signified the end of the RF's scholarships in most of Western Europe, and Sweden.

The rationales of the Fulbright Program were primarily political, but also cultural, in that the establishment of the program was motivated by peace and mutual understanding but also tied to American foreign policy. The Swedish Fulbright Commission also prioritized academic and cultural rationales, which aligned in support of area studies, and particularly American and Scandinavian studies.

Table 16. Total scholarship awards by awarding organization and host country, 1945–1979.

	ASF		FUL		ROCK		SAS	Total
5-year period	Swe	US	Swe	US	Swe	US	US	Total
1945–1949	42	1	0	0	3	31	112	189
1950–1954	26	0	4	31	3	33	108	205
1955–1959	17	2	9	22	0	14	111	175
1960–1964	13	14	54	141	0	3	111	336
1965–1969	81	85	70	131	0	0	113	480
1970–1974	83	99	57	78	0	0	119	436
1975–1979	48	60	54	98	0	0	128	388
Total	**310**	**261**	**248**	**501**	**6**	**81**	**802**	**2,209**

Source: See Appendix A.

As shown in Table 16, a total of 571 scholarships were awarded by the ASF, 749 by the Fulbright Program, 87 by the RF, and 802 by SAS from 1945–1979. Of these scholarships, the ASF and the Fulbright Program were responsible for 99 percent of the 564 scholarships awarded to Americans for visits to Sweden. The ASF awarded 310 (55 percent) of these scholarships, and 248 (44 percent) were

awarded by the Fulbright Program. Of the 1,645 scholarships awarded to Swedes for visits to the United States, SAS awarded 802 (49 percent), the Fulbright Program 501 (30 percent), the ASF 261 (16 percent), and the RF 81 (five percent).

As previously mentioned, the increase in scholarship awards from around 1960 relates first to the establishment of binational financing for the Fulbright Program in Sweden, which helped stabilize the Swedish Fulbright Commission and its ability to award grants, and second to the growth in permanent funds held by the ASF for Swedish-American academic exchange. Of these permanent funds, the Thord-Gray Memorial Fund was by far the largest. A total of 354 (62 percent of the 571) scholarships were awarded using this fund from 1965–1979. For the ASF, the receipt of the Thord-Gray bequest not only substantially increased the number of scholarships they were able to award, but because it was stipulated for bilateral exchange between Sweden and the United States, the number of scholarships awarded to Swedes for visits to the United States substantially increased. Only 17 (seven percent) scholarships were awarded to Swedes between 1945 and 1964; there were 244 (93 percent) were awarded from 1965–1979.

Another interesting detail shown in this table is the relatively stable number of scholarships awarded by SAS in the period compared to the other organizations in this study. One explanation is that SAS held several permanent scholarship funds, and they sourced substantial donations from Swedish businesses. While the permanent scholarship funds were more directly dependent on fluctuations in the Swedish economy, SAS's close ties with Swedish industry meant that they regularly received donations from private citizens and businesses. This is evidenced by their annual financial statements, which list the individuals, organizations, and companies that donated money. A few of the more recurrent examples in this period were Swedish appliance manufacturer Electrolux, Swedish telecommunications company L.M. Ericsson, *Skandinaviska Enskilda Banken* (SEB), Swedish shipping company Broström AB and the Knut and Alice Wallenberg Foundation.[497]

The RF awarded fewer scholarships overall, but they tended to invest more heavily in individuals, covering maintenance, travel, and other expenses. This even included family allowances for spouses and children that covered the entire period of stay. The Fulbright Program awarded many scholarships, but most were inexpensive travel grants, in which they only covered transportation costs.

[497] SAS ARs 1945–1979.

Table 17. Total scholarship awards by academic domain and awarding organization, 1945–1979.

Domains and organizations	1945–49	1950–54	1955–59	1960–64	1965–69	1970–74	1975–79	Total
Humanities and Social Sciences	**72**	**91**	**86**	**187**	**287**	**264**	**192**	**1,179**
ASF	23	17	11	13	116	120	62	362
Fulbright	0	26	23	130	121	90	83	473
Rockefeller	5	9	4	1	0	0	0	19
SAS	44	39	48	43	50	54	47	325
Natural, Engr and Medical Sciences	**117**	**114**	**89**	**149**	**193**	**172**	**196**	**1,030**
ASF	20	9	8	14	50	62	46	209
Fulbright	0	9	8	65	80	45	69	276
Rockefeller	29	27	10	2	0	0	0	68
SAS	68	69	63	68	63	65	81	477
Total	**189**	**205**	**175**	**336**	**480**	**436**	**388**	**2,209**

Source: See Appendix A.

As shown in Table 17, most scholarships over time were awarded in humanities and social sciences fields, with 1,179 (53 percent) awarded in this domain and 1,030 (47 percent) awarded in natural, engineering, and medical sciences fields. Once divided by organization, however, the organizational rationales are more visible. The scholarships awarded by the American-Scandinavian Foundation and the Fulbright Program were in line with broad patterns, with 362 (63 percent) of the total 571 scholarships awarded by the ASF and 473 (83 percent) of the total 749 awarded by the Fulbright Program in the humanities and social sciences. However, the scholarships awarded by the Rockefeller Foundation and SAS were contradictory to the broader patterns, with 68 (78 percent) of the 87 awards by the RF and 477 (59 percent) of the 802 awards by SAS in natural, engineering, and medical sciences.

American-Scandinavian Foundation

The American-Scandinavian Foundation Fellowship Program began in 1912, built on a desire to foster a community of Scandinavian-Americans in the United States and to maintain an interchange of knowledge and experience between Scandinavia and the United States. From 1912–1944, there were 144 scholarships awarded between Sweden and the United States. 126 (87.5 percent) were awarded to Americans, and 18 (12.5 percent) were awarded to Swedes.[498]

Between 1945 and 1980, the fellowship program expanded both through active fundraising and large donations for permanent scholarship funds. This enabled 571 scholarships to be awarded in this period. 310 (54 percent) of these scholarships were awarded to Americans, and 261 (46 percent) were awarded to Swedes. Of these 571 scholarships, 98 individuals were awarded scholarships from one (or more) of the other organizations in this study, and there were 21 individuals who received two or more scholarships from the ASF. The majority of these were extensions for individuals already abroad in Sweden or the United

[498] Many scholarship awards for visits to Sweden were made to Americans of Swedish descent or first-generation Swedish immigrants who were naturalized citizens of the United States.

States. This means that there was a total of 545 individuals, with seven individuals who were awarded scholarships for two separate visits.

Table 18. Scholarships awarded by designated scholarship funds held by the American-Scandinavian Foundation, 1945–1979.

Scholarship fund	Years active	Stipulation	Swe	US	Total
Thord-Gray Memorial	1964-	Swedish and American students	177	177	354
John G. Bergquist	1939-	American (advanced) students in chemistry	43	0	43
Gunnar W.E. Nicholson	1960-	Swedish Lutheran ministers (1960) and students in pulp and paper industry (1962)	1	35	36
King Gustav V	1948–1955	American students with knowledge of Swedish in art, literature, language, government or economics	25	0	25
Håkan Björnström-Steffanson	1960-	Swedish graduate students (selected by SAS and Vice-chancellor of Uppsala University)	0	22	22
NY Chapter	1947-	American students	18	0	18
Thanks to Scandinavia	1969-	Swedish students	0	10	10
Bernadotte	1960-	Swedish and American students	4	4	8
Other	-	Various	42	13	55
Total			**310**	**261**	**571**

Sources: See Appendix A.
Note: The Håkan-Björnström Steffanson Fund was technically donated to SAS, but since it was held in the United States, the scholarship funds were dispersed by the ASF.

As shown in Table 18, there were eight funds responsible for the majority of scholarships awarded by the ASF. All but one of these scholarship funds were created after World War II, and five funds after 1960. Six of the funds were designated for one-way exchanges, with three for Swedes (or Scandinavians) and three for Americans, and two of the funds were designated for two-way exchange.

Two of the funds were donations from outside organizations. The first was the King Gustav V Fund donated by the Swedish government in 1948; the awardees were primarily Americans of Swedish descent or those connected to Scandinavian studies centers in the United States. These were some of the few scholarships for Americans that required a working knowledge of Swedish.[499] The second was the Thanks to Scandinavia Fund, donated by the organization of the same name, which was founded in honor of Scandinavian humanitarian efforts on behalf of Jews during World War II.[500] Two of the remaining funds were part of fundraising efforts of the ASF, the ASF New York Chapter Fund, and the Bernadotte Fund. Four of the funds were acquired through donations from private citizens of Swedish

[499] The King Gustav V Fund was created from a Swedish government surplus donated to the Swedish Embassy in Washington, DC after World War II. It was created from what was referred to as "the coffee fund," a fund organized by the Swedish consulate in New York to pay for the transportation of private cargo packages, most commonly coffee, from Americans to relatives and friends in Sweden during the war. (Mays and Åkerlund (2015), p. 107).
[500] ASF 1965, p. 7. After 1969, the Thanks to Scandinavia committee made a decision to administer the program itself in cooperation with the ASF's sister organizations in Scandinavia, including the Sweden-America Foundation. (ASF AR 1969, p. 7).

descent and affiliated with and/or actively involved in the ASF or other American-Swedish organizations at the time of their donations.[501]

One example of this is the Gunnar W.E. Nicholson Fund, which was established through annual donations from then president of the Tennessee River Pulp and Paper Co., Swedish-born Gunnar W.E. Nicholson, in 1960.[502] Nicholson's first annual donations were for Swedish Lutheran ministers to study in the United States to be selected by a committee representing the Archbishop of Sweden.[503] In 1962, he began making additional annual donations for the "study of the pulp and paper industry in the United States."[504] A total of 36 scholarships were awarded from this fund, 14 annually from 1961–1974 for Swedish Lutheran ministers to study American church life and theology and 22 scholarships for 16 different individuals in cellulose technology from 1961–1979. Two individuals received a one-year extension, and two received two-year extensions from the Gunnar W.E Nicholson Fund for studies in cellulose technology from 1961–1962, 1978–1979, and 1974–1976 respectively. They were all Swedish doctoral students who eventually completed their degrees at the State University of New York (SUNY) College of Environment Science and Forestry, the Institute of Paper Chemistry, and North Carolina State University. These individuals represent important flows of knowledge in Sweden and the United States outside of the major universities, which was also a result of the migration of Swedish engineers to the United States in the late 1800s and early 1900s.[505]

Another example is the Thord-Gray Memorial Fund, which was by far the largest donation received by the ASF for Swedish-American academic exchange. 354 (62 percent) of the scholarships awarded by the ASF in this period were from this fund. Because the stipulation of the Thord-Gray Memorial Fund was relatively open, specifying only that it should be used to "further the exchange of Swedish and American students,"[506] the trustees awarded scholarships broadly. Though, as shown in Table 18, trustees and committee members seemed to prioritize equal two-way exchange between Sweden and the United States. There were three broad categories of scholarships awarded through this fund: Thord-Gray fellowships, lectureships, and grants. Fellowships were awarded primarily to graduate students, but also to

[501] These are John G. Bergquist, a Swedish chemical engineer who immigrated to the US in the late 1800s (*The New York Times*, 1931-09-01, p. 23); Gunnar W.E. Nicholson; Ivor Thord-Gray (nee Thord Ivar Hallström) who immigrated to the US in the 1920s after a long military career (*The New York Times*, 1964-08-20, p. 29); and Håkan Björnström-Steffanson (aka Hokan B. Steffanson) a Swedish chemical engineer who immigrated to the US in 1909 (*The New York Times*, 1962-05-23, p. 45).

[502] According to his obituary, Nicholson was a Swedish chemical engineer who graduated from Chalmers University College (*Chalmers högskola*). He first arrived in the United States in 1921 to supervise paper mills in the United States and Canada. He was an executive in the United States paper industry for many years. (*The New York Times*, 1988-05-14, p. 11).

[503] ASF AR 1960, p. 8.

[504] ASF AR 1962, p. 9.

[505] For an in-depth investigation of this history, see Grönberg (2019).

[506] ASF AR 1964, p. 4 as quoted in the annual report.

undergraduate students through the Thord-Gray Scholar Incentive Program created in 1966.[507] Lectureships were awarded to Swedish and American academics for lectureships at universities in the United States or Sweden. Grants were generally awarded for transportation or to complete ongoing studies or research.

Table 19. Scholarships awarded through the Thord-Gray Memorial Fund by position and fields of education/training, 1965–1979.

Fields of education and training	Fellow	Incentive Fellow	Grantee	Lecturer	Total
Humanities and Social Sciences	**142**	**52**	**31**	**20**	**245**
Humanities and arts	63	27	23	15	128
Social sciences, business and law	68	23	7	5	103
Education	10	2	1	0	13
Health and welfare	1	0	0	0	1
Natural, Engr and Medical Sciences	**78**	**15**	**15**	**1**	**109**
Science	48	10	6	0	64
Health and welfare	14	3	5	0	21
Engineering, mfg and construction	10	2	4	1	18
Agriculture	5	0	0	0	5
Services	1	0	0	0	1
Total	**220**	**67**	**46**	**21**	**354**

Source: See Appendix A.

As shown in Table 19, the majority of awards were fellowships (287), followed by grants (46) and lectureships (21). 245 (69 percent) of these awards were awarded in humanities and social sciences fields and 109 (31 percent) in natural, engineering, and medical sciences fields. In every category, there were at least twice the number of scholarships awarded in humanities and social sciences fields than in natural, engineering, and medical sciences fields.

Of the 220 Thord-Gray fellowships awarded to graduate students, 142 (65 percent) were in the humanities and social sciences, and 78 (35 percent) were in the natural, engineering, and medical sciences. Of the 109 awards to Swedes, there was an almost even split between the two academic domains, while for 111 awards to Americans, 86 (77 percent) were in humanities and social sciences. As shown previously, this is a more general pattern in Swedish-American academic exchange. An interesting deviation, though slight, is found in the patterns within the Thord-Gray Scholar Incentive Program. Of the 67 awards, 38 were to Swedes, and 29 were to Americans. While 32 (84 percent) of awards to Swedes were awarded in the humanities and social sciences, only 19 (65 percent) of the awards to Americans were in this field. This may be because these students were generally advanced undergraduate students, unlike the graduate students or academics who characterize the majority of awardees in this study.

[507] ASF AR 1966, pp. 10–11: The Scholar Incentive Program was made "to accommodate a level of student which normally is not favored by foundation or government grants […] Swedish applicants […] should be studying towards the Phil. Cand. or Phil. Lic. degree and their American counterparts should be in their senior year or about to begin graduate studies."

Lectureships were awarded almost exclusively in humanities and social sciences fields, with one exception.[508] These 20 lectureships, of which nine were Swedes and 11 Americans, consisted primarily of lecturing exchanges between universities in Sweden and the United States in American and Scandinavian studies disciplines, like literature and languages, linguistics, history, and political science. This meant that Swedish lecturers generally taught at American universities with courses in Scandinavian studies, like the University of Minnesota, the University of Washington, and the University of Wisconsin. Americans taught at Swedish universities with courses in American studies, such as Gothenburg University, Lund University, and Uppsala University.

Although the patterns and trends within the Trainee Program were not systematically analyzed, there were over 300 traineeships coordinated from 1945–1980 in cooperation with the Sweden-America Foundation. The existence of the Trainee Program is one explanation as to why the ASF did not more systematically focus on the natural, engineering and medical sciences in the ASF Fellowship Program. Most of the traineeships were in engineering fields, and around 70 percent of these traineeships were at companies – and less commonly, universities – in New York, California, Illinois, New Jersey, and Connecticut.[509]

As shown in this section, much of the funding of scholarships through the ASF was driven by the personal ties of donators to Sweden, primarily those who were born and educated in Sweden and later immigrated to the United States, who wished to use the organizational resources of the ASF to maintain this connection to their home country. This can also be seen as a legacy of the historical immigration patterns of Swedish engineers, which was institutionalized in the donation stipulations from John G. Bergquist and Gunnar W.E. Nicholson. Another important driver for scholarships came from the goodwill fostered between Swedes and Americans during World War II, as evidenced by the King Gustav V Fund and the Thanks to Scandinavia scholarships, which effectively repaid the aid given during World War II through scholarships.

Sweden-America Foundation

Between 1919–1941, the Sweden-America Foundation became a prominent organization in the field of Swedish-American academic exchange and cemented its strong connection to Swedish industry and Swedish academia.

SAS was able to officially restart its fellowship program in 1946. Until 1953, SAS awarded two types of scholarships, those from directed scholarship funds and those called University (*Universitet*) scholarships. University scholarships were awarded primarily to Swedes conducting advanced studies and research in the United States.[510]

[508] The one exception was Docent Nils Häggström from Umeå University who taught "regional planning with an emphasis on Scandinavia, particularly Sweden" at the University of Minnesota in the spring semester of 1976 (ASF AR 1975, p. 25).
[509] ASF, ASF fellowship and traineeship recorder cards, 1912–2006.
[510] From 1950, Swedish students could apply to study in Canada.

In 1954, all scholarships awarded from directed funds, except for the Zorn scholarships, were listed under an umbrella category named Other (*Övriga*) scholarships. Since 1954, it has been more difficult to identify from which fund scholarships were awarded. However, it is possible to see which permanent funds were held by SAS through the individual by-laws written when these funds were donated.

Table 20. Scholarships awarded through funds held by the Sweden-America Foundation, 1945–1979.

Scholarship fund/type	Years active	Stipulation	Total
Anders Zorn	1919-	studies in any field, priority scientific studies	35
ASEA	1933–1946	studies in electrical engineering	7
Kooperativa Förbundet (KF)	1939–1946	studies in any subject	6
J.P. Seeburg	1946	studies in any field, priority scientific studies	2
J. Sigfrid Edström	1946	studies in any field, priority scientific studies	2
Universitet (University)	1947–1953	advanced studies in any field unless specified	144
Övriga (Other)	1954–1979	advanced studies in any field unless specified	579
Other	-	Various	27
Total			**802**

Sources: See Appendix A.

As shown in Table 20, there were several permanent funds obtained and held by SAS in the period. Three funds were donated to SAS between 1919 and 1939. Two additional funds were donated in 1946: the J. Sigfrid Edström Fund and the J.P. Seeburg Fund.[511] All the donations given to SAS for permanent scholarship funds from 1946 represent the close relationship between SAS and Swedish industry as well as the importance of the relationship for Swedes with American industry. One example is the J. Sigfrid Edström Scholarship Fund, which was donated by the president of SAS from 1932–1951, former director and president of ASEA, J. Sigrid Edström, who had also been a board member of SAS since its founding.

Before becoming the director of ASEA in 1903, Edström had visited both Germany and the United States, where he learned about "rationalisation methods and mass production" later implemented by him at ASEA.[512] Annual donations given to SAS attracted from large Swedish companies and banks over the years were also important, including *Alfa-Laval AB* (formerly AB Separator), AGA (formerly *Svenska AB Gasaccumulator*), *Broström* AB (formerly *Broström-koncernen*), *Götabank* (formerly *AB Göteborgs Bank*), *L.M. Ericsson, Stora AB* (formerly *Stora Kopparbergs Bergslags AB*), among many others. Many of these companies had branches in the United States.

[511] SAS AR 1959, pp. 5–6. Fritz O. Fernström was a Swedish banker who immigrated to the United States in the early 1900s. He was one of the founders and director of a successful paper mill in California, Fernstrom Paper Mill Co. He was a member of and donated to several Swedish-American organizations. He also donated funds for the creation of a Scandinavian professorship at the University of California (*Vestkusten* 35, 1956-08-30, p. 1).

[512] Grönberg (2003), p. 18. He was involved in several industrial associations and organizations in Sweden, even helping found the Swedish Industry Association (*Sveriges industriförbund)* (Nordlund (2005) *Att leda storföretag. En studie av social kompetens och entrepenörskap i näringslivet med fokus på Axel Ax:son Johnson och J. Sigfrid Edström, 1900–1950*, p. 55).

Of the donations for permanent scholarship funds given to SAS, only the ASEA Fund was restricted to a certain field of study. Although, there were several funds that specified priority be given to scientific studies, or studies at higher education institutions or research facilities. Despite the relatively open-ended stipulations of scholarship funds, 478 (60 percent) of scholarships awarded were in natural, engineering, and medical sciences. In addition, 187 of the 324 scholarships within humanities and social sciences were in social sciences, business and law, while only 95 were in humanities and arts fields. This means that, even if the initial purposes of SAS were fairly broad, the close connection to and representation by Swedish businesses through permanent funds and annual donations is evident in the scholarships awarded over the entire period.

Rockefeller Foundation

The Rockefeller Foundation (RF) was the most strategic of the organizations in this study, with the highest level of control over its finances and programs. This meant that its programs often targeted specific academic domains or social problems in different periods. During the interwar period, scholarships in Swedish-American academic exchange were concentrated in the social sciences, natural sciences and medicine, a trend which continued after World War II until its divisions and programs were reorganized in the early 1950s.

Table 21. Scholarships awarded by the Rockefeller Foundation by program/division, 1945–1970.

Program/division	Years active	Sweden	US	Total
Natural, Engr and Medical Sciences		**6**	**62**	**68**
Division of Natural Sciences (NS)	1929–1951	6	10	16
International Health Division (IHD)	1927–1951	0	13	13
Division of Medical Sciences (MS)	1929–1951	0	12	12
Medicine and Public Health (DMPH)	1951–1955	0	11	11
Biological and Medical Research (BMR)	1955–1959	0	6	6
Natural Sciences and Agriculture (NSA)	1951–1955	0	5	5
Agricultural Sciences (A)	1955–1959	0	2	2
Medical and Natural Sciences (MNS)	1959–1970	0	2	2
Medical Education and Public Health (MEPH)	1955–1959	0	2	2
Humanities and Social Sciences		**0**	**19**	**19**
Division of Social Sciences (SS)	1929–1962	0	13	13
Division of Humanities (H)	1929–1962	0	5	5
Medical Education and Public Health (MEPH)	1955–1959	0	1	1
Total		**6**	**81**	**87**

Source: See Appendix A.

As shown in Table 21, the Rockefeller Foundation reorganized its programs and divisions several times during the period, especially its programs in public health, medicine, and natural sciences. In addition, 81 (93 percent) of these scholarships were awarded to Swedes, and six (seven percent) were awarded to Americans. All six of the scholarship awards to Americans were awarded through the Division of Natural Sciences between 1945 and 1951.

Table 22. Scholarships awarded by the Rockefeller Foundation by fields of education/training, 1945–1964.

Fields of education and training	1945–49	1950–54	1955–59	1960–64	Total
Natural, Engr and Medical Sciences	**29**	**27**	**10**	**2**	**68**
Science	**16**	**15**	**8**	**2**	**41**
Life sciences	14	14	8	2	38
Physical sciences	2	1	0	0	3
Health and welfare	**13**	**12**	**2**	**0**	**27**
Health	13	12	2	0	27
Humanities and Social Sciences	**5**	**9**	**4**	**1**	**19**
Social sciences, business and law	**3**	**7**	**3**	**1**	**14**
Social and behavioral sciences	3	7	3	1	14
Humanities and arts	**2**	**2**	**1**	**0**	**5**
Humanities	2	2	1	0	5
Total	**34**	**36**	**14**	**3**	**87**

Source: See Appendix A.

As shown in Table 22, the Rockefeller Foundation awarded 87 scholarships for study and research between Sweden and the United States during the period. 68 (78 percent) of these awards were in the natural, engineering and medical sciences, and 19 (22 percent) were in humanities and social sciences fields. Not only were these scholarships in select fields, but they were also in specific sub-fields. The RF saw its work as both broad and narrow, and the international scholarships awarded by them were generally part of time-limited programs that were important to their overarching agenda at any given time. This is why, when the academic rationales that drove its operating divisions from 1929 to the early 1950s were surpassed by political rationales, scholarships awarded for Swedish-American academic exchange faded until disappearing altogether in the early 1960s.

Fulbright Program

The Fulbright Program was an integral part of American cultural diplomacy after World War II. Sweden, a neutral country, lay outside of the direct tensions of the Cold War but was one of the many European allies the US government wished to keep on friendly terms. Although the US government had funded scholarships for Swedish-American exchange from 1948, administered through the Sweden-America Foundation (SAS), this cooperation was not formalized until the establishment of the Swedish Fulbright Commission in 1952 and did not have a stable financial basis until 1963. Despite its stable binational funding, the budget for the Fulbright Program in Sweden was small.

As a cost-saving measure, the vast majority of scholarships to Swedes were travel grants, while the awards to Americans could be both full grants, which covered living and traveling expenses, or travel grants. This was partially due to frameworks agreed upon in the original executive agreement, but it was also because the Swedish Fulbright Commission worked closely with SAS. Over time, the Commission awarded a growing number of SAS scholarship holders, those with maintenance scholarships, with travel grants.

Table 23. Scholarships awarded by the Fulbright Program by position and fields of education/training, 1945–1979.

Fields of education and training	Graduate Student	Research Scholar	Teacher	Visiting Lecturer	Total
Humanities and Social Sciences	**257**	**81**	**56**	**79**	**473**
Education	4	3	3	1	11
Humanities and arts	84	31	52	51	218
Services	4	1	0	0	5
Social sciences, business and law	165	46	1	27	239
Natural, Engr and Medical Sciences	**115**	**138**	**4**	**19**	**276**
Agriculture	7	2	0	1	10
Engineering, mfg and construction	37	8	0	4	49
Health and welfare	21	47	0	3	71
Science	50	81	4	11	146
Total	372	219	60	98	749

Source: See Appendix A.

As shown in Table 23, the Fulbright Program awarded four main categories of scholarships in the period: graduate student, researcher, lecturer, and teacher. This categorization was made to help realize both the general and specific objectives of the program as outlined in the Commission's annual program proposals, which divided the program into projects that targeted specific knowledge.

The largest category by far were graduate students (372), followed by research scholars (219), teachers (60), and visiting lecturers (98). There were also clear differences in the number of scholarships awarded by field. 63 percent (473) of scholarships were in humanities and social sciences fields, and 37 percent (276) were in natural, engineering and medical sciences. While the majority of scholarships awarded to graduate students, visiting lecturers, and teachers were in humanities and social sciences fields, the opposite was true for scholarships to research scholars, of which 63 percent (138) of the 219 scholarships were awarded in natural, engineering and medical sciences fields.

Concerning American graduate students, the Commission considered that Sweden "offer[ed] excellent opportunities for advanced American graduate students capable of independent research in the fields listed below: economics, Scandinavian languages and literature, comparative law, political science, labor-management relations, industrial arts, biological sciences, physical sciences, engineering sciences, and medicine."[513] However, as indicated in the Swedish Fulbright Commission's 1966 annual program proposal, the main focus of the program was humanities and social sciences, even stating that "of two equally well-qualified applicants, the Commission will continue to give preference to humanist or social scientist rather than the pure or applied scientist."[514]

Despite this conviction, by 1968 the unspecified grants project was expanded because the Commission had "learned by experience that the most qualified applicants for grants frequently belong in this category."[515] Although most projects

[513] CEEUS APP 1966, p. 20.
[514] CEEUS APP 1966, p. 20.
[515] CEEUS APP 1968, p. 12.

continued to be focused on the humanities and social sciences, the number of scholarships within the unspecified grants project significantly increased. Because the scholarships awarded within this project were generally travel grants, this was an inexpensive way for the Commission to quantitatively expand the program through awarding more scholarships. The 60 scholarships awarded to teachers between 1953 and 1972 were either part of the teacher interchange project or the American civilization/studies project, which lasted until 1972. Seven percent of scholarships were awarded in natural, engineering, and medical sciences to four Swedish teachers in 1968 for teaching at universities in the United States.

Conclusion

This chapter has focused on the scholarships awarded by the American-Scandinavian Foundation (ASF), the Sweden-America Foundation (SAS), the Rockefeller Foundation (RF), and the Fulbright Program from 1945–1979 and the flows of people and knowledge structured by scholarship awards. The purpose of this chapter was to examine the scholarship programs of these organizations and discuss the organizational rationales that structured general and specific flows of people and knowledge during the period.

As concluded in Chapter 4, the period of 1945–1980 was one of transformation in the organizational frameworks and practices of academic exchange between Sweden and the United States. One of the most important changes was the establishment and increasing importance of intermediary agencies and the Swedish and US governments in the financing and administration of scholarships which changed the power dynamics between existing private organizations and the Swedish and US governments as well as brought more regulation and standardization to the practices of academic mobility. This growth of this organizational landscape took place in the context of changing political and educational conditions spurred by World War II and the advent of the Cold War, which brought public diplomacy to a global stage through educational exchange programs like the Fulbright Program. The expansion of higher education and research and the growth in scholarship opportunities led to more students, teachers, lecturers, and researchers taking part in transatlantic academic mobility. By the end of the period, transatlantic academic mobility was an institutionalized practice employed by European and American students and scholars.

Between 1945–1980, three times the number of Swedish students, lecturers, and researchers traveled to the United States on scholarships than the reverse. Not only this, but most scholarships were awarded in humanities and social sciences fields with a clear overrepresentation in certain fields, like the humanities and social and behavioral sciences. These knowledge flows show that the organizations in this study were important in the movement and transfer of cultural and social knowledge between both countries in this period. In natural, engineering, and medical sciences fields, there were also a significant number of scholarships in the physical and life

sciences as well as health sub-fields. Geographically, most scholarship holders traveled between major cities and reputable universities and colleges in Sweden and the United States. In particular, from Stockholm and Uppsala to California, New York, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and Illinois.

The results of this chapter point to the role of scholarships in the creation of elites and elite networks as well as in the accumulation of symbolic capital at particular host institutions and geographical places in Sweden and the United States. It is clear that the scholarship programs of the American-Scandinavian Foundation, the Sweden-America Foundation, the Rockefeller Foundation, and the Fulbright Program played a role in (re)producing asymmetries and exchanges of knowledge between Sweden and the United States during a transformative period in which transatlantic academic mobility became an institutionalized practice and a mass phenomenon.

CHAPTER 6

Conclusions

This study aimed to explain how scholarships facilitated and structured flows of people and knowledge between Sweden and the United States from 1912–1980. The purposes and organizational frameworks of scholarships were analyzed in relation to how they structured flows of people and knowledge over time. This analysis was arranged chronologically, with World War II as a watershed. Chapters 2 and 4 examined the purposes and overarching organizational frameworks of scholarship programs, and Chapters 3 and 5 examined scholarships and flows of people and knowledge. This chapter will summarize the main results and discuss the contribution of this study.

This study focused on the long-term development of organizations and their scholarship programs and the impact of this development on scholarship awarding praxis over time. Specifically, this study focused on the case of Sweden and the United States from when transatlantic academic exchange was still an elite practice to the point at which it became a mass phenomenon. In this way, the study contributes deeper knowledge about the institutional development of scholarship-funded transatlantic academic mobility and its impact on the flows of people and knowledge over the twentieth century. The results of this study bridge previous research focused on single organizations, higher education institutions, academic disciplines or fields, countries, and periods, the most common frameworks for these investigations.

The Swedish-American case has specific national, regional, and local features but also relates to broader institutional developments. These will be discussed in three sections: the purposes of scholarship programs, organizational and institutional change, and flows of people and knowledge. These sections relate to the three questions asked in the introduction of this study, namely 1) why were scholarships awarded?, 2) how did the organizational frameworks and praxis of scholarship programs develop in light of broader political, cultural, and economic conditions?, and 3) who were awarded scholarships? The study used three analytical points of departure Hans de Wit's rationales for internationalization, historical institutionalism, and symbolic capital to answer these three questions.

Purposes of scholarship programs

The first question asked in this study was: why were scholarships awarded? The purposes of scholarship programs and scholarship awards were investigated using the rationales for the internationalization of higher education conceptualized by Hans de Wit. De Wit separated these rationales into four categories – political, economic, social-cultural, and academic – based on the types of arguments used by different stakeholders to motivate investment in the internationalization of higher education over time, especially in the twentieth century. As shown in this study, the rationales used by the different organizations and scholarship programs varied across time and space as well as within and between organizational frameworks. The development in rationales was analyzed in two periods, 1912–1944 and 1945–1980. The first period was marked by the establishment of private foundations and the prevalence of cultural, economic, academic, and semi-explicit political rationales. The second period was marked by the entrance of new stakeholders and overt political rationales that increased the scale and complexity of transatlantic academic exchange between Sweden and the United States.

From 1912–1944, scholarship programs for Swedish-American academic exchange were organized by private foundations for cultural, political, academic, and economic purposes. The purposes of the American-Scandinavian Foundation (ASF) and the Sweden-America Foundation (SAS) were formed from the increasing closeness between Sweden and the United States resulting from the mass migration of over a million Swedes to the United States from the mid-1800s to the 1920s. The general purposes of the ASF and SAS were both cultural and political in de Wit's conception. While the ASF had a more explicit cultural rationale, its purpose can be linked to the implicit political rationales of national identity, foreign policy, and peace and mutual understanding. On the other hand, SAS had a more explicit political rationale extending from its origin as a governmental advisory committee. Many of its founding members had also sat on the former advisory committee, which helped carry the political rationale of foreign policy, especially concerning Sweden's policy of neutrality, into the founding and operations of SAS.

The cultural rationale of the ASF at the time of its founding in 1911 was embedded in a network of Scandinavian-American cultural and educational organizations as well as the successes of Scandinavian-Americans in the United States, epitomized in Niels Poulson's involvement in the Danish-American Committee and Danish-American association as well as the founding of his successful ornamental ironwork company Hecla Iron Works, Inc. in New York. In this way, the ASF as an organization as well as its founders and donors sought to promote the successes in Scandinavian-America and create mutual understanding between Scandinavian-Americans and homeland Scandinavians. The ASF Fellowship Program provided the means for the ASF to bring Scandinavians and cultural knowledge to the United States as well as to send Americans – including Scandinavian-Americans – to the Scandinavian countries. This close

connection to Scandinavian culture is illustrated by the involvement of Scandinavian studies scholar Henry Goddard Leach. Leach donated several scholarships to the ASF, was the secretary twice, first from 1912–1921 and second from 1939–1944, editor of its periodical *The American-Scandinavian Review* for many years, and president twice, first from 1926–1937 and second from 1939–1946.

While the general purposes of the ASF and SAS were cultural and semi-political, their scholarship programs were largely dependent on donations, and the donations received from 1912–1944 were mainly individual, short-term donations from private citizens and businesses in Sweden and the United States. Many of the donations from Swedish and American industry had the explicit economic rationale of economic growth and competitiveness. Swedish industry leaders and businesses, in particular, used the SAS scholarship program as a conduit for the theoretical and practical education of their current and future employees. Donations to the ASF Fellowship Program also came from first-generation and second-generation Scandinavian immigrants in the United States, especially from Scandinavian-American industry leaders. An example of the importance of donations from Swedish and American industries is captured by the establishment of the "Five-Year Forty-Fellowship Exchange" program from 1919–1924 and the subsequent Industrial Fellowships program from 1925–1939.

SAS's origin as a governmental advisory committee for the nomination of Swedish candidates for ASF fellowships. In 1919, SAS became a separate organization. The founding donation came from internationally renowned Swedish artist Anders Zorn. Later donations originated primarily from Swedish industry. The SAS Scholarship Program only awarded scholarships to Swedes, partly because it was first organized to complement the ASF Fellowship Program, which primarily awarded scholarships to Americans from 1912–1944. SAS's purposes became increasingly intertwined with the economic goals of Swedish industry leaders. An important example of the close relationship between SAS and Swedish industry is epitomized by the role of J. Sigfrid Edström. Edström was Chief Executive Officer of ASEA from 1901–1933 and Chairman of the ASEA board from 1934–1949. Edström was a SAS board member, expert evaluator, and donor of two permanent funds as well as president of SAS from 1932–1951 and honorary director (*hedersledamöt*) from 1952 until his passing in 1964.

The general purpose of the Rockefeller Foundation (RF) to promote the well-being of mankind around the world was connected to the rapid industrialization of the United States and the concentration of wealth that led to the creation of large private foundations by wealthy industrialists. The RF was one of several organizations founded by the Rockefeller family that supported Swedish research and Swedish-American academic exchange, including the International Education Board and the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial. Until 1929, the general purpose of the RF was channeled into the political rationale of technical assistance, also called development cooperation. Upon reorganization in 1928, operations were directed into primarily academic rationales. However, the hierarchy of

priorities differed depending on the academic domain and division, resulting in a diverse range of scholarship programs designed for academic, economic, and political rationales.

The purposes of the International Education Board at the time it awarded scholarships for Swedish-American academic exchange were closely aligned with the academic rationale of broadening the academic horizon, in which the International Education Board awarded scholarships for study at foreign higher education institutions for students to obtain skills or knowledge unavailable at their home institutions, the goal being for students to return to their home countries with knowledge and skills, in this case, Sweden and the United States. The Division of Natural Sciences, a partial offshoot of the International Education Board, devoted much of its scholarship funding for research in physics and biology, and is the most closely aligned to three intertwined academic rationales: of providing an international dimension to research and teaching which would both broaden the academic horizon of individuals as well as enhance the quality of the medical research.

The Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial, originally interested in the advancement of social welfare, moved into supporting social science research in 1925. From 1925 and after its absorption into the Rockefeller Foundation and the establishment of the Division of Social Sciences, scholarships were awarded using an academic rationale, especially in relation to enhancing the quality of research in social sciences.

The purpose of the International Health Division's scholarship program was closely aligned with the political rationale of technical assistance, its funding directly primarily to the improvement of public health in less developed countries through education in foreign countries. Because Sweden was not a target country, the Division's work also bordered academic rationales of quality enhancement and broadening the academic horizon. The scholarships awarded by the Division of Medical Education and Division of Medical Sciences were related primarily to medical research, and its purposes transitioned from the political rationale of technical assistance into the Division of Medical Education's prioritization of three intertwined academic rationales: of providing an international dimension to research and teaching which would both broaden the academic horizon of individuals as well as enhance the quality of the medical research.

The general, and specific, purposes that drove the founding and scholarship programs of the organizations from 1912–1944 were renegotiated in a new context after World War II. From 1945–1980, the general purposes of scholarship-awarding organizations were situated in a new environment and a growing organizational landscape. This growing landscape included the establishment of the Fulbright Program in 1946 and the Swedish Fulbright Commission in 1952. While the general purposes of the Fulbright Program were political, the specific purposes of the Swedish Fulbright Commission were primarily cultural and academic.

The Fulbright Program, and the Swedish Fulbright Commission, show two sides of the same governmental apparatus. The Fulbright Program, because of its binational organization, mimicked the organizational frameworks of private

foundations. This means that the political and partially cultural rationales of the Fulbright Program were renegotiated in the context of Sweden, and the Swedish Fulbright Commission prioritized cultural and academic rationales. By the time the Commission was established in 1952, the Cold War was a firm reality, and the Swedish Fulbright Commission became part of these increasingly politicized tensions. In Andreas Åkerlund's book on the Swedish Institute's scholarships for foreigners, he uses de Wit to identify the aims of scholarship programs established from 1938 to the 1990s. His investigation concludes that the scholarship programs were primarily motivated by political, cultural, or economic rationales; academic rationales were almost always secondary.[516] This conclusion also holds for the scholarship-awarding organizations in this study.

Organizational and institutional change

The second question asked in this study was: how did the organizational frameworks and praxis of scholarship programs develop in light of broader political, cultural, and economic conditions? Organizational frameworks and their development were analyzed using the tools of historical institutionalism. The first important division is the point at which this study begins, 1912, which signifies the first critical juncture in Swedish-American academic exchange, the establishment of the ASF Fellowship Program. The second important division is the chronological separation of this study, in which a critical juncture occurred at the end of World War II. The third important division is the end year of this study, 1980, in which the organizational landscape began to change again related to the involvement of global actors, including regional actors like the EU.

The period from 1912–1944 was preceded by uneven industrializing processes and the liberalization of territorial borders that facilitated the mass migration of European peoples, including Swedes, to the United States. This was followed by a wave of internationalism that allowed for more organized channels of temporary mobility, effectively leading to the establishment of one of the first binational foundations for academic exchange, the American-Scandinavian Foundation in New York. This critical juncture was the beginning of a path-dependent process leading to the establishment of a governmental advisory committee in Sweden in 1913 and the subsequent founding of the Sweden-America Foundation in 1919. These organizations were part of the growing landscape of private foundations, primarily in the United States but also in Europe, which used scholarships to move or transfer knowledge between people, academic fields, and higher education institutions in different countries. One of these private foundations was the Rockefeller Foundation and other large private foundations in the United States which used their large endowments to invest heavily in infrastructure, research, and academic mobility from

[516] Åkerlund (2016), pp. 167–171.

the early 1900s. The Rockefeller Foundation and related boards began investing in Swedish academia in the 1920s.

The period between 1912 and 1944 was marked by the relative autonomy of the organizations in this study, in the organizational collaborations they pursued and in the selection processes for scholarship holders. Their main cooperative partners were other private organizations, higher education institutions, and businesses. In the case of the collaboration between the ASF and SAS, they were largely responsible for making contacts within academia, government, and industry as well as evaluating scholarship applicants in their own countries. This division of labor meant that the ASF primarily awarded scholarships to Americans or Scandinavian-Americans, and SAS exclusively awarded scholarships to Swedes.

Large private foundations in the United States were central in the funding of educational and research and infrastructure and scholarships in this period. This was evidenced firstly by the scholarships awarded by the RF and their collaborations with the American Council of Learned Societies (ACLS) and the Social Science Research Council (SSRC). Secondly, it is shown by the funding granted to the ASF from the Carnegie Corporation of New York (CCNY) and the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial (LSRM) in 1926 and 1927. In all of these foundations, scholarship holders were evaluated and recommended by experts appointed by the board of trustees, its working committees, or other relevant internal authority. The scholarships awarded by the Rockefeller Foundation were selected according to experts divided by academic domain or strategic problem. In this way, these private foundations functioned as central nodes in a growing network of scholarship funders, applicants, evaluators, and alumni.

From 1945 to 1980, the organizational frameworks of academic mobility were marked by increased collaboration with and outsourcing to governmental organizations and its proxies, most notably the Institute of International Education. World War II proved to be a critical juncture in the institution of transatlantic academic mobility that modified the "rules of the game." The use of academic exchanges as public diplomacy was based on landmark legislation, first the Fulbright Act of 1946 and later the Smith-Mundt Act of 1948, which both created cultural and informational programs and legally solidified the regulation of temporary mobility, whether educational, academic, technical, or creative. This regulation signified the beginning of increasingly formalized mobility pathways to the United States and standardized procedures to assess merit. By the late 1970s, the US government and its proxies were the chief cooperative partners for higher education institutions in Sweden and the United States. This development shifted the balance of power from the private sphere to the public sphere in which existing private organizations were required to comply with increasing regulation and standardization driven by the US government and its proxies.

This study has also shown how this power imbalance was rooted in the organization and funding of academic exchange in the Swedish-American case. This disparity was present at the establishment of the first scholarship program by the American-Scandinavian Foundation. Its cultural purpose stemmed from the

mass migration of Scandinavians to the United States from the late 1800s to the early 1900s. This relationship was then reinforced by the creation of a government advisory committee in Sweden in 1913, which later became the Sweden-America Foundation. The presence of these two foundations, of which both the Swedish and the US governments were aware, meant that until World War II, much scholarship-funded mobility between Sweden and the United States was coordinated through them.

Funding, through donations and appropriations, determined the economic resources available for scholarships, but it was the organizations themselves that determined the types and amounts of scholarships they awarded. For example, the Rockefeller Foundation's scholarships, more often termed fellowships, were generally all-inclusive – including maintenance, travel, and even family allowances – while the vast majority of scholarships awarded by the Fulbright Program, more often termed grants, only covered travel expenses. The awarding of smaller grants was both an indication of the limited resources of the Fulbright Program and a strategy in reaction to the growing number and resources of other scholarship-awarding organizations. In this way, by awarding small and symbolic scholarships, the Fulbright Program took advantage of the fact that applicants often sought multiple funding sources for their studies, teaching, or research abroad. In this way, these scholarship holders could be added to the list of their accomplishments at a discounted price.

The Rockefeller Foundation and the Fulbright Program are undeniably important global and transnational actors, especially for the strategic initiation of certain educational and research agendas. This conclusion certainly holds in the binational case of Sweden and the United States. However, focusing only on these two actors or types of actors obscures the integral role played by smaller organizations like the American-Scandinavian Foundation and the Sweden-America Foundation. These two organizations were essential to the formation and the continuity of academic exchange between Sweden and the United States over the entire period. Furthermore, the financial investments with the most staying power were nearly synonymous with the overlapping rationales of two or more of the organizations in this study.

Flows of people and knowledge

The third question of this study asked: who were awarded scholarships? This study has analyzed scholarships awarded from 1912–1979 and the flows of people and knowledge between Sweden and the United States from 1912–1980. These flows were analyzed in three ways: by academic field, destination, and purpose.

In order to explain these flows, the landscape of higher education and research in both countries was contextualized using Martin Trow's conceptual model. Trow asserts that the expansion and transformation of higher education in the twentieth century happened in three phases: elite, mass, and universal. Using this model, the

majority of higher education systems in Europe and the United States in the first period were considered elite, in that only a small proportion of the eligible population attended higher education institutions. In Sweden, there were two universities and a few specialized higher education institutions at the beginning of the twentieth century, and higher education was primarily government-funded. Trow argues that massifying trends were already present in the United States at the beginning of the twentieth century because of its size and differentiation. In the United States, there were a heterogenous array of private universities, funded through endowments; public universities and colleges, founded by states through federal land grants; and specialized institutes of medicine and technology by the early twentieth century.

After World War II, there was a massive expansion of higher education in Sweden spurred by student demand but coordinated and funded by the Swedish government. In the United States, the large volume of federal funding and the unequal distribution to certain private and public universities facilitated a reorganized system of leading American research universities. By the 1970s, both countries contained massified systems of higher education, the United States bordering on universal access. Although both countries followed similar trajectories marked by increased government involvement and funding after World War II and especially in the 1950s and 1960s, their national contexts were vastly different. The relative adaptability of the higher education system in the United States, aided by the early investments of private foundations, contributed to the rise of certain individuals, academic disciplines, and higher education institutions that were solidified upon the injection of federal funding in the 1940s to the 1960s.

Because of the elite character of higher education in the first period, the selection processes for scholarships were fairly individualized and local. From 1912–1944, selection processes contained four key parts. The first part was the application process, in which individuals applied for a scholarship from organizations. In the second part, the merits of the applicants were evaluated by experts, who then nominated candidates. In the third part, nominated candidates were selected by designated boards or committees. Fourth, the scholarships were awarded. In short, selection processes were relatively straightforward in this period. Applicants applied directly to the organizations, and their merits were evaluated and nominated by experts enlisted by the organizations themselves. Boards of trustees or relevant committees then selected the final candidates.

In the period from 1945–1980, however, the process became streamlined and more complicated. From roughly the late 1940s, two additional parts were added to the selection processes for Swedish students, in which they were sponsored and later placed at American higher education institutions. These two parts were controlled by the US government, which decided the organizations eligible to sponsor foreign students, teachers, trainees, and researchers, as well as the organizations eligible to place sponsored individuals at higher education institutions. Power was rooted in controlling different parts of these selection processes, which can also be understood as gatekeeping, wherein those who hold the keys, hold the power.

From 1912–1980, Swedish students, teachers, and researchers traveled in larger numbers to the United States to acquire basic and specialized knowledge funded by scholarships. The patterns of scholarship-funded academic mobility show that Swedish students and researchers broadly used American higher education, research, and industry. They were even a small percentage that taught about Sweden and Scandinavia at American high schools, colleges, and universities. However, fifty-two percent of visits by Swedish scholarship holders to the United States were in only four states: California, New York, Massachusetts, and Illinois. In addition, fifty-one percent of all visits were at what were later classified as leading American research universities. American students, teachers, and researchers traveled in smaller numbers to Sweden to acquire specialized knowledge or to teach about the United States. Americans were even more highly concentrated in certain places and host institutions in Sweden. Forty-nine percent of all American scholarship holders visited Stockholm County, and 19 percent visited Uppsala County, representing 68 percent of all scholarship holders from the United States. Eighty percent were concentrated at only three host institutions in Sweden: Stockholm University (38 percent), Uppsala University (37 percent), and the Royal Institute of Technology (16 percent).

The patterns in scholarship awards over the entire period show that the organizations in this study successfully transformed their economic capital and reproduced their social capital by associating with the past, current, and future successes of scholarship holders in their respective fields. These patterns also show that the symbolic capital, especially educational and scientific capital, accumulated by the scholarship holders is directly related to the rationales that drove scholarship programs and the structures of selection processes for scholarships.

All the organizations in this study played different but intertwined roles in Swedish-American academic exchange. The Rockefeller Foundation made key investments in social sciences, the physical sciences, and the biological sciences in Sweden during the interwar period that reproduced mobility in these fields at least into the 1970s. The RF also used its resources to steer scholarship holders to higher education institutions and research facilities funded or aided by the Rockefeller family, like the University of Chicago and the Rockefeller Institute.

The American-Scandinavian Foundation's cultural purposes and focus meant that many of its scholarships were awarded in humanities and social sciences, especially in Scandinavian area studies and American studies. The binational apparatus of the Fulbright Program was partially aligned with the rationales of the American-Scandinavian Foundation in that their political, academic, and cultural purposes combined in prioritizing area studies programs, particularly American studies. The American-Scandinavian Foundation and the Fulbright Program were crucial in developing Scandinavian and American studies infrastructure, from the 1910s for the ASF and the 1950s for the Fulbright Program. The Sweden-America Foundation, with its purposes and funding focused on the well-being of the Swedish nation and the progress of the Swedish economy, played an outsized role in the mobility of commercial, industrial, and technical knowledge throughout the period, especially in the intersection of natural sciences, engineering, and medicine.

Final conclusions

As discussed in the sections above, in the roughly 70-year period covered in this study, there were significant changes, but also important continuities, central to understanding and explaining the institution of Swedish-American academic exchange over this long period. This relates to the purposes that drove the founding of organizations and funding of scholarship programs, and to the overarching regional, national, and transnational contexts in which scholarships were awarded and students, teachers, and researchers were mobile.

One of the main results of this study is that there was a gradual shift in power from the private sphere to the public sphere, with World War II as a watershed. Private foundations active in the interwar period were the forerunners to government exchange programs established after World War II. The selection processes originally developed by these foundations were formalized, standardized, and outsourced by the US government after World War II. However, not only private organizations were submitted to these new selection processes, but also the government exchange programs that had facilitated their elaboration.

For Sweden, the relationship with the United States stemming from mass migration in the mid-1800s to the 1920s meant widespread interest and increasing means to visit the United States, whether more temporarily or permanently. The regulatory and legal frameworks of the United States, although sometimes time-consuming to navigate, privileged white, Protestant, Northern Europeans. This bias afforded Swedes an advantage when the interest and means of nationals outside Western and Northern Europe began to compete more fiercely for scholarships and for places at leading universities in the United States after World War II.

In the United States, there was generally limited interest and means and only a partial focus on Sweden. The wealthiest organizations, like the Rockefeller Foundation, were focused globally. Even the American-Scandinavian Foundation, founded by Danish-American Niels Poulson, was focused on all the Scandinavian countries. This focus meant that Americans could choose any Scandinavian country, while Scandinavians could only choose the United States.

The end year of this study, 1980, signifies the point at which academic mobility as a practice and scholarships as a means for academic mobility were embedded in higher education and research institutions as well as a way for them to denote quality and prestige. Leading American research universities also tended to have a long history of hosting foreign students and researchers. In Sweden, the concentrated flows of investment, embodied in American students, teachers, and researchers at the country's first university, Uppsala University, and its fourth, Stockholm University, helped maintain and (re)produce their prestige and status. The early 1980s also marked the beginning of a new era, in which new actors, like the European Commission, began to invest in academic mobility through pilot scholarship programs, and European universities began to invest more strategically in internationalization. Although outside the frame of this study, the strategic programs of the EC, and later the EU, also utilized the infrastructure of the

scholarship programs before them, mimicking and transforming this institution in a new context once again.

The results of this study can be related to the conclusions of Tournés and Scott-Smith, in which they discuss the multifaceted features and long-term trends of scholarship programs. The scholarship programs in this study also traversed many domains outside academia, were used to pursue power politics, and had both unilateral and bilateral characteristics.[517] The private foundations of Swedish-American academic exchange were a legacy of the multiple connections formed by the mass migration of Swedes to the United States from the mid-1800s. After World War II, and especially during the Cold War, these foundations were submitted to the politicization and regulation of the US government. The diverse and overlapping investments of all of these scholarship programs aided the rise of particular individuals, types of knowledge, higher education institutions, and industries in Sweden and the United States. In addition, the asymmetrical distribution of these scholarships, in which three times as many Swedes traveled to the United States than the reverse, structured a gradual dependence on the academic, economic, and technological resources of the United States.

[517] Tournés and Scott-Smith (2018).

SAMMANFATTNING

Pengar för att resa

Storskalig transatlantisk student-, lärar- och forskarmobilitet är ett 1900-talsfenomen som har bidragit till att omforma internationella kulturella, ekonomiska och politiska relationer under det gångna seklet. Den här studien närmade sig detta fenomen genom att analysera organisationer som finansierade och delade ut meritbaserade stipendier. Mer specifikt undersöktes utvecklingen av flera betydelsefulla stipendieprogram i Sverige och USA samt flödena av människor och kunskap mellan de två länderna från 1910- till 1970-talet. De studerade organisationerna understödde mobilitet genom att dela ut stipendier, och bidrog på detta vis till att strukturera komplexa och asymmetriska flöden av människor och kunskap mellan Sverige och USA under 1900-talet. Genom att studera stipendieprogrammens utveckling samt de flöden av människor och kunskap som de gav upphov till, syftade denna studie till att ge en förståelse för stipendiernas betydelse för de svensk-amerikanska relationerna. Denna studie bidrar till flera olika forskningsfält, bland annat den transatlantiska akademiska mobilitetens historia, den svenska och amerikanska filantropins och kulturdiplomatins historia samt de svensk-amerikanska relationernas 1900-talshistoria.

Undersökningens första år, 1912, är startskottet för det organiserade transatlantiska akademiska utbytet mellan Sverige och USA. Rötterna till detta fenomen kan spåras tillbaka till en ojämn industrialiseringsprocess som gav upphov till en progressiv våg vid 1800-talets slut. USA:s relativa välstånd jämfört med vissa delar av Europa, påverkade massutvandringen från flera europeiska länder med början vid 1800-talets mitt. Från cirka 1850- till 1920-talet emigrerade över 1,3 miljoner svenskar till USA, och såväl de svenskar som stannade kvar i USA som de som återvände upprättade betydelsefulla band inom och mellan de två länderna.

I kapitel 1 presenterades relevant tidigare forskning liksom syfte, forskningsfrågor och avgränsningar, utgångspunkter, material och metoder samt studiens disposition. Studiens fokus låg på den långvariga utvecklingen av ett organisatoriskt rum samt på kontinuitet och förändring i detta rum över tid. Mer specifikt är det fall som studeras Sverige och USA, från den tid då transatlantiskt akademiskt utbyte var en elitpraktik till den punkt då akademiskt utbyte blivit ett massfenomen. Tre frågor ställdes i kapitlet, nämligen 1) varför beviljades stipendier?, 2) hur utvecklades stipendieprogrammens organisatoriska ramar och praktiker mot bakgrund av bredare politiska, kulturella och ekonomiska förhållanden? och 3) vem beviljades stipendier? I studien anlades tre analytiska utgångspunkter för att besvara

dessa tre frågor: Hans de Wits motiv för internationalisering (*rationales for internationalization*), historisk institutionalisering och symboliskt kapital.

Kapitel 2 behandlade inrättandet av och arbetet i tre privata stiftelser som alla grundades på 1910-talet, och som delade ut stipendier för akademiskt utbyte mellan Sverige och USA. Dessa stiftelser – American-Scandinavian Foundation (grundad 1911), Sverige-Amerika Stiftelsen (Sweden-America Foundation, grundad 1919) och Rockefeller Foundation (grundad 1913) – verkade främst som finansiärer av meritbaserade stipendier för studier, undervisning och forskning i Sverige eller USA. Detta kapitel fokuserade på inrättandet av, syftena med och de organisatoriska ramarna för ovanstående organisationer samt de ekonomiska grunderna för deras verksamhet i allmänhet och stipendieprogrammen i synnerhet.

Beträffande American-Scandinavian Foundation, baserades dess allmänna syften främst på kulturella motiv. American-Scandinavian Foundation grundades av en första generationens invandrare från Danmark som var engagerad i det skandinavisk-amerikanska invandrarkollektivet i USA. Stiftelsen hade som syfte att främja och vidmakthålla utbildnings- och kulturförbindelser mellan de skandinaviska länderna och USA samt mellan amerikaner med skandinaviskt ursprung i USA. Sverige-Amerika Stiftelsen hade sitt ursprung i en svensk statlig rådgivande kommitté som inrättades 1912, och som den svenske utrikesministern ansvarade för i samarbete med American-Scandinavian Foundation.

Sverige-Amerika Stiftelsen grundades utifrån kulturella och till viss del uttryckligt politiska motiv, som bland annat innefattade att främja och vidmakthålla kontakterna mellan Sverige och USA för att på detta vis tillvarata det svenska folkets och den svenska nationens intressen. Rockefeller Foundations allmänna syften var breda och abstrakta, och dess mål var mångfacetterade. Denna öppenhet gav utrymme för betydelsefulla förändringar i verksamhetens inriktning och omfattning, beroende på stiftelsens prioriteringar för tillfället, vilket över tid resulterade i en förskjutning av prioriteringarna från huvudsakligen politiska motiv – i form av tekniskt stöd, eller utvecklingssamarbete, till uppbyggnaden av medicinska institutioner och spridandet av medicinsk kunskap, utrotning av sjukdomar och krigshjälp – till huvudsakligen akademiska motiv, särskilt de sammanvävda argumenten för att höja den akademiska kvaliteten, vidga de akademiska vyerna och internationalisera forskning och undervisning.

Som privata organisationer var American-Scandinavian Foundation, Sverige-Amerika Stiftelsen och Rockefeller Foundation beroende av donationer för att finansiera sin verksamhet. I American-Scandinavian Foundations och Sverige-Amerika Stiftelsens fall möjliggjorde donationer, avsedda för att skapa permanenta stipendiefonder, inrättandet av stipendieprogram. Vad gäller bedömning och urval av stipendiater var tillvägagångssätten tämligen likartade. American-Scandinavian Foundation och Sverige-Amerika Stiftelsen anlitade expertgrupper, främst svenska och amerikanska akademiker, industriledare, sjukvårdspersonal och statstjänstemän, för att bedöma och nominera kandidater. Expertgrupperna var uppdelad per land, på så vis att svenska experter bedömde och rekommenderade svenska kandidater och amerikanska experter bedömde och rekommenderade

amerikanska kandidater. Rockefeller Foundation använde sig främst av amerikanska akademiska experter samt av experter som rekommenderats av deras kontakter i utlandet. Rockefeller Foundation delegerade också vissa delar av bedömnings- och rekommendationsprocesserna till sina kontor i Paris och New York. Sammanfattningsvis var dessa organisationer beroende av styrelseledamöter, personal och experter från den akademiska världen eller från sina egna nätverk för att bedöma, nominera och välja ut stipendiater.

Kapitel 3 fokuserade på de stipendier som delades ut av American-Scandinavian Foundation, Sverige-Amerika Stiftelsen och Rockefeller Foundation, och analyserade både de breda mönstren och trenderna i stipendieutdelningen och de organisatoriska motiven bakom stödet till akademisk mobilitet från 1912–1944. I det första avsnittet undersöktes antalet stipendier som delades ut av de tre organisationerna och de mobilitetsmönster som strukturerades av deras sammanlagda investeringar. I det andra avsnittet analyserades de specifika flödena av människor och vetenskaplig och teknisk kunskap under perioden. I det avslutande avsnittet diskuterades de organisatoriska motiven som strukturerade de allmänna och specifika flödena av människor och kunskap mellan Sverige och USA från 1912–1944.

Under perioden 1912–1944 fick tre gånger så många svenska studenter och forskare stipendier för att resa till USA som det omvända. Vidare beviljades den stora majoriteten av stipendierna inom fältet naturvetenskap, teknik och medicin, med en klar överrepresentation inom ingenjörsvetenskap och ingenjörsutbildningar, fysikaliska vetenskaper och biovetenskap. Det innebär att de studerade organisationerna under perioden 1912–1944 hade stor betydelse för mobiliteten av människor och överföringen av teknisk och vetenskaplig kunskap mellan de båda länderna. Inom fältet humaniora och samhällsvetenskap tilldelades svenska studenter och forskare fler stipendier inom alla områden utom ett. Inom humaniora tilldelades amerikanska studenter och forskare fler stipendier, vilket är ett tecken på Sveriges betydelse som en plats för kulturell och historisk kunskap under perioden. Geografiskt sett reste många stipendiater mellan storstäder och välrenommerade universitet och högskolor i Sverige och USA. I synnerhet från Stockholm och Uppsala i Sverige till New York, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Illinois och Kalifornien i USA.

Kapitel 4 behandlade de organisatoriska ramarna för och praktikerna inom de tre stiftelsernas stipendieprogram samt inrättandet av Fulbrightprogrammet och dess binationella kommission i Sverige, Svenska Fulbrightkommissionen (CEEUS). Perioden 1945–1980 karaktäriserades av en gradvis mer komplex struktur för akademisk mobilitet. Det var inte bara nya organisationer som inrättades, vilket förändrade de befintliga organisationernas roller, utan finansierings-, urvals- och placeringsprocesserna både effektiviserades och blev mer komplicerade. Kapitlet inleddes med en diskussion av de svenska och amerikanska statens ökande engagemang i frågan om akademisk mobilitet genom inrättandet av Svenska institutet (SI) och Fulbrightprogrammet. Därefter diskuterades Rockefeller Foundations minskade engagemang och de förändrade rollerna för American-Scandinavian Foundation och Sverige-Amerika Stiftelsen. Kapitlet undersökte också

betydelsen av testamentariska gåvor och insamlandet av pengar till stipendier, organiseringen av praktikplatser genom traineeships och de förändrade rättsliga ramarna som påverkade det akademiska utbytet mellan Sverige och USA under perioden. Det sista avsnittet i detta kapitel behandlade Fulbrightprogrammets utveckling och dess inverkan på maktförskjutningen mellan privata och offentliga organisationer på 1970-talet.

Både kontinuitet och förändring präglar den förvandling som praktikerna för akademiskt utbyte mellan Sverige och USA genomgår från 1945–1980. Den första förändringen var inrättandet av förmedlande organ och den ökande betydelsen av sådana organ liksom av de båda ländernas regeringar för finansiering och administrering av stipendier. Det ökande beroendet av förmedlande organ omstrukturerade gradvis maktdynamiken mellan privata och offentliga organisationer i de båda länderna. Den amerikanska statens inblandning i utbildningsutbytet medförde också ökad reglering och standardisering av praktikerna för akademisk mobilitet, särskilt för svenska studenter, lärare, föreläsare och forskare som reste till USA.

De organisatoriska förändringarna skedde mot bakgrund av förändrade politiska och utbildningsmässiga förhållanden som delvis hade sin upprinnelse i händelserna kring andra världskriget. Detta nya politiska sammanhang, där ömsesidig förståelse och goodwill på global nivå prioriterades, började som ett idealistiskt försök att upprätthålla freden efter andra världskriget, men anpassades snabbt till det kalla krigets villkor. Inrättandet av Svenska institutet och den amerikanska statens insteg på mobilitetsområdet genom Fulbrightprogrammet institutionaliserade akademisk mobilitet som ett verktyg för offentlig diplomati. De kulturella, ekonomiska och akademiska motiv som dominerat perioden 1912–1944 underordnades på detta vis öppet politiska motiv under kalla kriget.

Den högre utbildningens och forskningens expansion i de båda länderna tillsammans med de förbättrade möjligheterna till stipendiefinansiering, gjorde akademisk mobilitet tillgänglig för betydligt fler studenter, lärare, föreläsare och forskare. Det ökade intresset märktes tydligast hos svenskar som ville studera, undervisa och forska i USA. Den ökade arbetsbelastning som detta resulterade i ledde till att Institute of International Education anlitades för att placera svenska studenter på grundnivå och avancerad nivå, som konkurrerade med andra utländska studenter om ytterligare stipendier och platser vid universitet och högskolor i USA. På 1970-talet var akademisk mobilitet ett växande fenomen och en alltmer institutionaliserad praktik som användes av europeiska – och amerikanska – studenter och forskare, på en gradvis mer standardiserad mobilitetsbana och i ett sammanhang där selektiviteten hos vissa universitet och högskolor i USA ökat.

Kapitel 5 fokuserade på de stipendier som delades ut av American-Scandinavian Foundation, Sverige-Amerika Stiftelsen, Rockefeller Foundation och Fulbrightprogrammet under perioden 1945–1979, och analyserade både de breda mönstren och trenderna i stipendieutdelningen och de organisatoriska motiven bakom dessa flöden av människor och kunskap. I det första avsnittet undersöktes antalet stipendier som de fyra organisationerna delade ut och de breda mobilitets-mönster som strukturerades av deras sammanlagda investeringar. I det andra avsnittet

undersöktes specifika flöden av människor och kunskap under perioden, inklusive de transatlantiska nätverken för utbyten inom amerikanska och skandinaviska studier liksom svenska ingenjörers beroende av amerikansk teknik och industri. I det avslutande avsnittet diskuterades de organisatoriska motiven bakom stödet till akademisk mobilitet under perioden och de villkor som påverkade de allmänna och specifika flödena av människor och kunskap mellan Sverige och USA 1945–1980.

Under perioden 1945–1980 reste tre gånger så många svenska stipendiefinansierade studenter, föreläsare och forskare till USA som i omvänd riktning. Majoriteten av stipendierna beviljades inom fältet humaniora och samhällsvetenskap, med en tydlig överrepresentation inom vissa områden, såsom humaniora och samhälls- och beteendevetenskap. Dessa kunskapsflöden visar att de studerade organisationerna var viktiga för mobilitet av människor och överföringen av kulturell och samhällelig kunskap mellan de båda länderna under perioden. Inom fältet naturvetenskap, teknik och medicin utdelades också ett betydande antal stipendier inom fysikaliska vetenskaper och biovetenskap samt inom delområden av hälsovetenskap. Geografiskt sett reste majoriteten av stipendiaterna mellan större städer och välrenommerade universitet och högskolor i Sverige och USA. I synnerhet från Stockholm och Uppsala i Sverige till Kalifornien, New York, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania och Illinois i USA.

Kapitel 6 sammanfattade studiens viktigaste resultat och diskuterade dess bidrag. Ett av huvudresultaten är att det skedde en gradvis maktförskjutning från den privata till den offentliga sfären under perioden, med andra världskriget som brytpunkt. På detta vis var privata stiftelser föregångare till de statliga utbytesprogrammen. De urvalsprocesser som utvecklades av stiftelserna formaliserades, standardiserades och lades ut på entreprenad efter andra världskriget.

För Sveriges del fanns såväl ett intresse som bättre finansieringsmöjlighet för akademiska vistelser i USA, antingen mer tillfälliga eller permanenta, samt en regelstruktur som välkomnade västeuropéer, om än på ett alltmer formaliserat och standardiserat sätt. Från omvänt håll fanns det generellt sett både ett begränsat intresse och begränsade medel för amerikaner att besöka Sverige, och endast ett partiellt fokus på Sverige. De mest kapitalstarka organisatoriska ramverken, såsom Rockefeller Foundation, var mer globalt orienterade. Även American-Scandinavian Foundation hade ett bredare fokus och var inriktad på de skandinaviska länderna generellt, vilket innebar att amerikaner kunde välja mellan de skandinaviska länderna, medan de skandinaver som sökte stipendier alla hade USA som destination.

Slutåret för denna studie, 1980, är den tidpunkt då akademisk mobilitet som praktik och stipendier som medel för akademisk mobilitet absorberades av de högre utbildnings- och forskningsinstitutionerna och blev ett sätt för dem att signalera kvalitet och prestige. Ledande forskningsuniversitet i USA har en lång historia av att ta emot utländska studenter och forskare. I Sverige bidrog de koncentrerade investeringsflödena, förkroppsligade i investeringarna i amerikanska studenter, lärare och forskare vid landets första universitet, Uppsala universitet, och dess fjärde, Stockholms universitet, till att upprätthålla och (re)producera lärosätenas prestige och status.

De stipendieprogram som studerats i denna avhandling skar också genom många områden utanför akademin; de användes för att bedriva maktpolitik och hade en både unilateral och bilateral karaktär. Effekterna av detta visar sig såväl i svenska studenters och forskares ökande beroende av USA som i tillväxten av vissa forskningsområden och universitet i Sverige på bekostnad av andra. Dessutom är effekterna synliga i kunskapens koncentration till vissa akademiska och tekniska områden, universitet och geografiska platser. Denna studie bidrar med en djupare förståelse för den stipendiefinansierade transatlantiska akademiska mobilitetens institutionella utveckling samt dess inverkan på flödena av människor och kunskap under 1900-talet, och överbryggar den tidigare forskningens fokus på enskilda organisationer, högre utbildningsinstitutioner, akademiska discipliner eller fält, länder och tidsperioder.

SUMMARY

Have Money, Will Travel

The large-scale transatlantic mobility of students, teachers, and researchers is a twentieth-century phenomenon that has contributed to the reshaping of international cultural, economic, and political relations into the twenty-first century. This study focused on the transatlantic mobility of students, teachers, and researchers in the twentieth century by investigating organizations that funded and awarded merit-based scholarships. In particular, it examined the development of several important scholarship programs in Sweden and the United States and the flows of people and knowledge between the two countries from the 1910s to the 1970s. The organizations investigated in this study facilitated mobility through scholarships and structured complex and asymmetrical flows of people and knowledge between Sweden and the United States in the twentieth century. In tracing the development of scholarship programs and flows of people and knowledge, this study aimed to explain the role of scholarships in Swedish-American relations. This study contributes to several existing research fields, including the history of transatlantic academic mobility; Swedish and American philanthropy and cultural diplomacy; and Swedish-American relations in the twentieth century.

The first year investigated, 1912, marked the beginning of organized transatlantic academic exchange between Sweden and the United States. The roots of this phenomenon can be traced back to uneven processes of industrialization that led to a wave of progressivism from the late 1800s. The relative prosperity of the United States compared to certain parts of Europe influenced the mass migration from several European countries beginning in the mid-1850s. Amid this mass migration, over 1.3 million Swedes immigrated to the United States from roughly the 1850s to the 1920s. Swedish immigrants that remained in the United States and those that remigrated created important links within and between the two countries.

Chapter 1 introduced relevant previous research as well as the purpose, questions, and limitations; points of departure; sources and methods; and the general structure of the study. This study focused on the long-term development of organizations and their scholarship programs and the impact of this development on scholarship awarding praxis over time. Specifically, this study focused on the case of Sweden and the United States from when transatlantic academic exchange was still an elite practice to the point at which it became a mass phenomenon. Three questions were asked in Chapter 1, namely 1) why were scholarships awarded?, 2) how did the

organizational frameworks and praxis of scholarship programs develop in light of broader political, cultural, and economic conditions?, and 3) who were awarded scholarships? The study used three analytical points of departure: Hans de Wit's rationales for internationalization, historical institutionalism, and symbolic capital to answer these three questions.

Chapter 2 addressed the founding and work of three private foundations established in the 1910s that awarded scholarships for academic exchange between Sweden and the United States. These foundations, the American-Scandinavian Foundation (est. 1911), the Sweden-America Foundation (*Sverige-Amerika Stiftelsen*, est. 1919), and the Rockefeller Foundation (est. 1913) were involved primarily as funders of merit-based, competitive scholarships for study, training, or research in Sweden or the United States. This chapter focused on the founding, purposes, and organizational frameworks of the above organizations and the economic bases for their general operations and scholarship programs.

In the case of the American-Scandinavian Foundation, its general purposes were primarily based on a cultural rationale. The American-Scandinavian Foundation was founded by a first-generation Danish immigrant involved in the wider Scandinavian-American immigrant community in the United States and had the purpose of facilitating and maintaining educational and cultural relationships between the Scandinavian countries and the United States as well as Scandinavian-Americans within the United States. The Sweden-America Foundation had roots in a Swedish governmental advisory committee created in 1912 under the responsibility of the Swedish Minister of Foreign Affairs in cooperation with the American-Scandinavian Foundation.

The Sweden-America Foundation was founded with cultural and semi-explicit political rationales, which included facilitating and maintaining contact between Sweden and the United States to protect the interests of the Swedish people and the Swedish nation. The Rockefeller Foundation's general purposes were broad and abstract, and its goals were multifaceted. This openness left room for significant changes in the direction and scope of their operations, depending on their priorities at the time, resulting in a priority shift from the chiefly political rationale of technical assistance, or development cooperation, related to building medical institutions and knowledge, disease eradication, and war relief to primarily academic rationales, especially related to the entwined arguments for the enhancement of quality, broadening the academic horizon, and providing an international dimension to research and teaching.

As private organizations, the American-Scandinavian Foundation, Sweden-America Foundation, and Rockefeller Foundation relied on donations to fund their operations. In the case of the American-Scandinavian Foundation and Sweden-America Foundation, donations designated for creating permanent scholarship funds allowed the establishment of scholarship programs. Concerning the evaluation and selection of scholarship holders, the practices were fairly similar. The American-Scandinavian Foundation and Sweden-America Foundation relied on groups of experts, primarily Swedish and American academics, industry leaders, medical

professionals, and government officials, to evaluate and recommend scholarship candidates. This expertise was also divided by country, wherein Swedish experts evaluated and recommended Swedish candidates, and American experts evaluated and recommended American candidates. The Rockefeller Foundation relied primarily on American academic experts and recommendations from their contacts in foreign countries. The Rockefeller Foundation also relayed some parts of the evaluation and recommendation processes to its Paris and New York offices. In short, these organizations relied on board members, staff, or experts within academia or their own networks to evaluate, nominate, and select scholarship holders.

Chapter 3 focused on the scholarships awarded by the American-Scandinavian Foundation, Sweden-America Foundation, and Rockefeller Foundation, both on the broad patterns and trends in scholarship awards and the organizational rationales behind academic mobility from 1912–1944. The first section examined the number of scholarships awarded by all three organizations and the broad patterns of academic mobility structured by their combined investments. The second section analyzed the period's particular flows of people and academic and technical knowledge. The concluding section discussed the organizational rationales that structured general and specific flows of people and knowledge between Sweden and the United States from 1912–1944.

From 1912–1944, three times the number of Swedish students and researchers were awarded scholarships to the United States than the reverse. Not only this, but the vast majority of scholarships were awarded in natural, engineering, and medical sciences fields, with a clear overrepresentation in engineering and engineering trades, physical sciences, and life sciences. This means that from 1912–1944, the organizations in this study were significant in the movement and transfer of technical and scientific knowledge between both countries. In humanities and social sciences fields, there were more scholarships awarded to Swedish students and researchers in nearly every field, except one. In the field of humanities, there were more scholarships awarded to American students and researchers, which shows the significance of Sweden as a place for cultural and historical knowledge in the period. Geographically, many scholarship holders traveled between major cities and reputable universities and colleges in Sweden and the United States. In particular, from Stockholm and Uppsala in Sweden to New York, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Illinois, and California in the United States.

Chapter 4 addressed the organizational frameworks and praxis of the scholarship programs of the American-Scandinavian Foundation, the Sweden-America Foundation, and the Rockefeller Foundation as well as the establishment of the Fulbright Program and its binational commission in Sweden, the Swedish Fulbright Commission (CEEUS). The period between 1945 and 1980 was marked by a gradually more complex structure of academic mobility. Not only were new organizations established, which changed the roles of existing organizations, but the funding, selection, and placement processes were both streamlined and made more elaborate.

The chapter began with a discussion of the increasing involvement of the Swedish and US governments in academic mobility through the creation of the Fulbright Program and the Swedish Institute. It then discussed the decreased involvement of the Rockefeller Foundation and the changing roles of the American-Scandinavian Foundation and the Sweden-American Foundation. It also examined the importance of bequests and fundraising for scholarships, the organization of work placements through traineeships, and the changing legal frameworks that affected academic exchange between Sweden and the United States in this period. The last section of this chapter addressed the development of the Fulbright Program and its impact on the power shift between private and public organizations by the 1970s.

Some several important continuities and changes transformed the practices of academic exchange between Sweden and the United States from 1945–1980. The first change was the establishment and increasing importance of intermediary agencies and the Swedish and US governments in the financing and administration of scholarships. The increasing reliance on intermediary agencies gradually restructured the power dynamics between private organizations and governments in both countries. The involvement of the US government in educational exchanges also brought increased regulation and standardization to the practices of academic mobility, especially for Swedish students, teachers, lecturers, and researchers that traveled to the United States.

The organizational changes were set in the context of changing political and educational conditions partially spurred by the events surrounding World War II. This new political context, which prioritized mutual understanding and goodwill on a global scale, began as an idealistic attempt to maintain peace in a post-war world but quickly adapted under the conditions of the Cold War. The establishment of the Swedish Institute and the entrance of the US government into educational exchanges through the Fulbright Program institutionalized academic mobility as a tool of public diplomacy. In this way, the cultural, economic, and academic rationales dominant from 1912–1944 were submitted to overt political rationales during the Cold War.

The expansion of higher education and research in both countries, and the growth in funding opportunities through scholarships, made academic mobility available to significantly more students, teachers, lecturers, and researchers. This increased interest was most clearly marked in Swedes wishing to study, teach and conduct research in the United States. The increased workload led to the use of the Institute of International Education for the placement of Swedish undergraduate and graduate students, who competed with other foreign students for additional scholarships and spots at universities and colleges in the United States. By the 1970s, academic mobility was a growing phenomenon and an increasingly an institutionalized practice employed by European, and American, students and scholars, on a gradually more standardized pathway for mobility, in the context of the increased selectiveness of certain universities and colleges in the United States.

Chapter 5 focused on the scholarships awarded by the American-Scandinavian Foundation, Sweden-America Foundation, Rockefeller Foundation, and the

Fulbright Program from 1945–1979, both on the broad patterns and trends in scholarship awards as well as the organizational rationales behind these flows of people and knowledge. The first section examined the number of scholarships awarded by all four organizations and the broad patterns of academic mobility structured by their combined investments. The second section investigated particular flows of people and knowledge throughout the period, including the transatlantic networks of exchange within American and Scandinavian studies and the reliance of Swedish engineers on American technology and industry. The concluding section discussed the organizational rationales behind academic mobility in this period and the conditions that impacted the general and specific flows of people and knowledge between Sweden and the United States from 1945–1980.

Between 1945–1980, three times the number of Swedish students, lecturers, and researchers traveled to the United States on scholarships than the reverse. Not only this, but the majority of scholarships were awarded in humanities and social sciences fields with a clear overrepresentation in certain fields, like the humanities and social and behavioral sciences. These knowledge flows show that the organizations in this study were important in the movement and transfer of cultural and social knowledge between both countries in this period. In natural, engineering, and medical sciences fields, there were also a significant number of scholarships in the physical and life sciences as well as health sub-fields. Geographically, the majority of scholarship holders traveled between major cities and reputable universities and colleges in Sweden and the United States. In particular, from Stockholm and Uppsala to California, New York, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and Illinois.

Chapter 6 summarized the main results and discussed the contribution of this study. One of the main results is the gradual shift in power from the private to the public sphere, with World War II as a watershed. In this way, private foundations were the forerunners to the government exchange programs. The selection processes developed by these foundations were formalized, standardized, and outsourced after World War II.

For Sweden, there was interest and increasing means to visit the United States, whether more temporarily or permanently, as well as a regulatory structure that welcomed, even if in an increasingly formalized and standardized way, foreigners from Western Europe. There was generally limited interest and means for Americans to visit Sweden, and only a partial focus on Sweden. The most heavily endowed organizational frameworks, like the Rockefeller Foundation, were focused more globally. Even the American-Scandinavian Foundation was focused on the Scandinavian countries, so Americans had the choice of any Scandinavian country, while Scandinavians applying for scholarships only had the option of the United States.

The end year of this study, 1980, signifies the point at which academic mobility as a practice and scholarships as a means for academic mobility were embedded in higher education and research institutions as well as a way for them to denote quality and prestige. Leading research universities in the United States also had a long history of hosting foreign students and scholars. In Sweden, the concentrated flows

of investment, embodied in the investments in American students, teachers, and researchers at the country's first university, Uppsala University, and its fourth, Stockholm University, helped maintain and (re)produce their prestige and status.

The results of this study show that scholarship programs facilitated the rise of certain individuals, higher education institutions, and businesses in Sweden and the United States. The asymmetrical distribution of scholarships also gradually structured a reliance on the academic, economic, and technological resources of the United States by Swedish students, trainees, and researchers.

Appendices

Appendix A

Description of scholarship datasets

Two scholarship datasets were created for the quantitative analysis of scholarship awards from 1912–1979. The first dataset covers the period from 1912–1944, and the second the period from 1945–1979.

Category	Description	Code
Last name	Last name at time of scholarship	Unique
First name	All known first and middle names	Unique
Last name 2	Maiden, married, or other changes	Unique
Sex		Male; Female
Year	Year of scholarship award	Between 1912 and 1979
5-year	5-year period of scholarship award	Between 1912 and 1979
Host country		Sweden; United States
Type		Full grant
Total		Travel grant
		Fellowship
		Scholarship
		Lectureship
Fund	Name of donor, fund, or program	Unique
Position		Graduate student
		Fellow
		Research scholar
		Teacher
		Visiting lecturer
Organization	Awarding organization	American-Scandinavian Foundation
		Fulbright Program
		Rockefeller Foundation
		Sweden-America Foundation
Purpose		Study/research [default code]
		Training
		Teaching
Subject	Topic or field of education/research	Coded using ISCED 1997/99
Home institution	Name of home institution(s)	Last known institutional affiliation (≤ 2 years before award)
Home institution (type)	Type of home institution	Government
		Industry/commerce
		Medical facility/hospital
		Music/arts
		Museum/library
		Private organization
		Religious organization
		Research facility
		School
		University/college
		Unknown
Home institution (location)	Location of home institution	Town/city and county (Sweden); State (United States)
Host institution(s)	Name of host institution(s)	Those listed by awarding organization
Host institution (type)	Type of host institution(s)	See code for home institution (type)
Host institution (location)	Location of host institution(s)	Town/city and county (Sweden); State (United States)

Sources for scholarships datasets

American-Scandinavian Foundation Directory of Fellows, 1912–1997.
American-Scandinavian Foundation Annual Reports, 1912–1979.
American-Scandinavian Foundation fellowship and traineeship recorder cards.

Rockefeller Foundation Directory of Fellowship Awards, 1917–1950.
Rockefeller Foundation Directory of Fellowship Awards, Supplement 1951–1955.
Rockefeller Foundation Directory of Fellowships and Scholarships, 1917–1970.
Rockefeller Foundation fellowship and scholarship recorder cards (RAC).
International Education Board (IEB) scholarship recorder cards (RAC).
Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial (LSRM) scholarship recorder cards (RAC).

Sverige-Amerika Stiftelsen: Jubileumsskrift 1919–1929.
Sverige-Amerika Stiftelsen: 20 år. En återblick 1919–1939.
Sverige-Amerika Stiftelsen verksamhetsberättelser, 1919–1979 (RA Arninge).
Register över avresta amerikaner, odat. (RA Arninge).
Register över stipendiater på SA indelat efter ämne (RA Arninge).

Fulbright Alumni Directory, 1953–1977.
Swedish Fulbright Commission (CEEUS) Annual Reports, 1953–1979.
Swedish Fulbright Commission (CEEUS) grant recorder cards, 1960–1969.

Reference works including *American Men of Science, National Cyclopaedia of American Biography, Vem är det* , *Vem är vem*, and*Who's Who in America* were used to cross-reference and confirm information found in the above sources.

Appendix B

International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED) 1997 and Addendum for Fields of Training 1999

The first version of the International Standard Classification of Education (ISCED) was approved by the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) Division of Statistics on Education in 1976. According to UNESCO, it was "designed […] for assembling, compiling, and presenting statistics of education both within individual countries and internationally."[518] This classification measures both the level and the content of education based on an entire program down to a single course. The classification was revised in 1997 with an addendum for fields of training in 1999[519] and revised again in 2011. This study uses the 1997/1999 version of the classification, which better captures the growth and solidification of certain fields of education and training, especially in the social sciences, than the 1976 version.

In the 1997/1999 version, the levels of education (I) are independent from the fields of education (II) and training (III). The majority of individuals in this study were graduate students, schoolteachers, and professors (teaching and research) who were awarded scholarships for the purpose of studying, teaching, or conducting research relevant to levels five (tertiary education, first stage) and six (tertiary education, second stage) of this classification.

Level (I)	Level description
0	Pre-primary level of education
1	Primary level of education
2	Lower secondary level of education (2A, 2B and 2C)
3	Upper secondary level of education (3A, 3B, 3C)
4	Post-secondary, non-tertiary education
5	First stage of tertiary education (5A and 5B)
6	Second stage of tertiary education (leading to an advanced research qualification)

Source: UNESCO (2006) *International Standard Classification of Education. ISCED 1997*, re-edition.

[518] UNESCO (1976) *International Standard Classification of Education*, p. 1.
[519] UNESCO (2006) and CEDEFOP (1999) *Fields of Training Manual.*

Code	Broad fields	Code	Fields of education (II)	Code	Fields of training (III)
1	Education	14	Teacher training and education science	141	Teaching and training
				142	Education science
2	Humanities and arts	21	Arts	211	Fine arts
				212	Music and performing arts
				213	Audio-visual techniques and media production
				214	Design
				215	Craft skills
		22	Humanities	221	Religion and theology
				222	Foreign languages and culture (area studies)
				223	Mother tongue
				224	History, philosophy and related subjects
3	Social sciences, business and law	31	Social and behavioural science	310	Social and behavioural science
		32	Journalism and information	321	Journalism and reporting
				322	Library, information, archive
		34	Business and administration	341	Wholesale and retail sales
				342	Marketing and advertising
				343	Finance, banking and insurance
				344	Accounting and taxation
				345	Management and administration
				346	Secretarial and office work
				347	Working life
		38	Law	380	Law
4	Science	42	Life sciences	420	Life science
		44	Physical sciences	440	Physical science
		46	Mathematics and statistics	460	Mathematics and statistics
		48	Computing	481	Computer science
				482	Computer use
5	Engineering, manufacturing and construction	52	Engineering and engineering trades	521	Mechanics and metal work
				522	Electricity and energy
				523	Electronics and automation
				524	Chemical and process
				525	Motor vehicles, ships and aircraft
		54	Manufacturing and processing	541	Food processing
				542	Textiles, clothes footwear, leather
				543	Materials (wood, paper, plastic, glass)
				544	Mining and extraction
		58	Architecture and building	581	Architecture and town planning
				582	Building and civil engineering
6	Agriculture	62	Agriculture, forestry and fishery	621	Crop and livestock production
				622	Horticulture
				623	Forestry
				624	Fisheries
		64	Veterinary	640	Veterinary
7	Health and welfare	72	Health	721	Medicine
				722	Medical services
				723	Nursing
				724	Dental studies
		76	Social services	761	Childcare and youth services
				762	Social work and counselling
8	Services	81	Personal services	811	Hotel, restaurant and catering
				812	Travel, tourism and leisure
				813	Sports
				814	Domestic services
				815	Hair and beauty services
		84	Transport services	840	Transport services
		85	Environmental protection	850	Environmental protection
		86	Security services	861	Protection of property and persons
				862	Occupational health and safety
				863	Military

Sources: UNESCO (2006) and CEDEFOP (1999) *Fields of Training Manual*.

Appendix C

Carnegie Classification of Institutions of Higher Education (CCIHE) 1976

The first version of the Carnegie Classification of Institutions of Higher Education (CCIHE) was developed by the Carnegie Commission of Higher Education (later named the Carnegie Council on Policy Studies in Higher Education) in 1970 to enable research on American higher education by the Commission. The classification was published for general use in 1973 and has since been revised a total of nine times (1976, 1987, 1994, 2000, 2005, 2010, 2015, 2018, and 2021). This study uses the 1976 version to remain as comparable as possible to the higher education system in the United States during the period of investigation.[520]

The CCIHE 1976 includes a total of 3,074 higher education institutions. This list was obtained by the Commission from the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES), a US government agency responsible for collecting, analyzing, and publishing statistics on education. The NCES directory includes all higher education institutions in the United States that offered at least a two-year degree and were accredited or had pre-accreditation status as of 1976–77. As stated in the CCIHE 1976, since accreditation was "generally a requirement for eligibility of an institution's students for federal and student aid, the large increase in appropriations for student aid in recent years has created a powerful incentive for institutions to seek accreditation."[521]

According to William K. Selden, Executive Director of the National Commission on Accrediting from 1955–1964, the process of accreditation was initiated by higher educations and professional associations in the United States to protect individuals from "unqualified, even dishonest, institutions" as well as to "meet the social needs for improved higher education."[522] Accreditation agencies were generally "voluntary, non-governmental, extralegal organizations" and they functioned as "controls […] for the purpose of improving minimum standards" in higher education.[523] Programs of accreditation were conducted by states, regional associations, or national professional associations depending on the type of higher education institution.[524]

The classification divides these institutions into six main categories and 17 sub-categories based on the amount of federal funding received, the existence and size of PhD programs, the range of educational programs offered, and the size and qualifications of the student population.

[520] All editions of this classification can be found at: https://carnegieclassifications.acenet.edu/ (last accessed: 2022-10-29).
[521] Carnegie Council on Policy Studies in Higher Education (1976) *A Classification of Institutions of Higher Education, revised edition*.
[522] Selden (1964) "Nationwide standards and Accreditation," p. 312.
[523] Selden (1964), p. 312.
[524] Selden (1964), pp. 312–313.

Category and sub-category		Description
1. Doctoral-Granting Institutions		
1.1	Research Universities I	50 leading universities in terms of federal financial support of academic science and at least 50 awarded PhDs
1.2	Research Universities II	100 leading institutions in terms of federal financial support and at least 50 awarded PhDs
1.3	Doctorate-Granting Universities I	Universities with at least 50 million in federal financial support or awarded 40 or more PhDs in at least five fields
1.4	Doctorate-Granting Universities II	Universities with at least 20 awarded PhDs without regard to field or 10 awarded PhDs in at least three fields
2. Comprehensive Universities and Colleges		
2.1	Comprehensive Universities and Colleges I	Offered a liberal arts program as well as several other programs. Many offered master's degrees but lacked or had an extremely limited doctoral program. Had at least two professional or occupational programs and enrolled at least 2,000 students
2.2	Comprehensive Universities and Colleges II	Offered a liberal arts program and at least one professional or occupational program. Many former teachers' colleges. At least 1,500 students at public institutions or 1,000 at private institutions
3. Liberal Arts Colleges		
3.1	Liberal Arts Colleges I	Scored at least 1030 on a selectivity index (based on average SAT scores of entering freshman) or included in the 200 leading baccalaureate-granting institutions (based on graduates awarded PhDs at 40 leading doctorate-granting institutions from 1920-1966)
3.2	Liberal Arts Colleges II	Colleges that did not qualify under 3.1
4. Two-Year Colleges and Institutes		
5. Professional Schools and Other Specialized Institutions		
5.1	Theological seminaries, bible colleges, etc.	Institutions primarily focused on the training members of the clergy
5.2	Medical schools and medical centers	Only institutions listed separately by the National Center of Education Statistics (NCES)
5.3	Other separate health professional schools	-
5.4	Schools of engineering and technology	Awarded bachelor's degrees and programs limited almost exclusively to technical fields of study
5.5	Schools of business and management	Awarded bachelor's degrees or higher and limited almost exclusively to business curriculum
5.6	Schools of art, music, design	-
5.7	Schools of law	-
5.8	Teachers' colleges	-
5.9	Other specialized institutions	Graduate centers, maritime academies, military institutes without a liberal arts program and other miscellaneous
6. Institutions of nontraditional study		

Source: Carnegie Council on Policy Studies in Higher Education (1976).

Appendix D

Rationales for the internationalization of higher education

The rationales listed below are adapted from Hans de Wit (2002) and are discussed in the points of departure section in Chapter 1. They were created as part of a conceptual framework to explain why different stakeholders were invested in the internationalization of higher education in different periods. The four categories of rationales: political, economic, social-cultural, and academic, and their sub-categories are listed below. In this study, de Wit's rationales are used to analyze the purposes of scholarship programs over time.

Political rationale
Foreign policy (to improve country's image; cast its policies in a favorable light)
National security
Technical assistance or development cooperation
Peace and mutual understanding
Enhancement of national identity [linked to cultural rationale]
Enhancement of regional identity
Economic rationale
Growth and competitiveness (in relation to technological development)
Labor market competitiveness
National educational demand (educational resources abroad as complement to national system)
Marketization/education as commodity (foreign students as consumers of education)
Social-cultural rationale
Cultural: Culture promotion (related to export of national, cultural and moral values as well as the universalism of knowledge and its institutions)
Social: Personal development (cultural awareness and enlightenment)
Academic rationale
International dimension to research and teaching (to avoid parochialism and stimulate critical thinking)
Broaden academic horizon (by using educational resources abroad)
Institution-building (through recruitment of foreign students and faculty)
Profile and status (premise that more international = better)
Enhancement of quality
Meet international academic standards (to receive of international recognition)

Source: De Wit (2002).

Appendix E

Total scholarships by host country and fields of education/training, 1912–1979

Total scholarships to Sweden by fields of education/training, 1912–1944.

Fields of education and training	1912–14	1915–19	1920–24	1925–29	1930–34	1935–39	Total
Natural, Engr and Medical Sciences	**-**	**10**	**29**	**20**	**8**	**18**	**85**
Science	**-**	**3**	**11**	**11**	**2**	**11**	**38**
Physical sciences	-	3	6	5	2	4	20
Life sciences	-	-	4	6	-	7	17
Mathematics and statistics	-	-	1	-	-	-	1
Engineering, mfg and construction	**-**	**5**	**7**	**3**	**4**	**7**	**26**
Engineering and engineering trades	-	5	6	1	2	2	16
Architecture and building	-	-	1	2	2	4	9
Manufacturing and processing	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Agriculture	**-**	**2**	**10**	**4**	**2**	**-**	**18**
Agriculture, forestry and fishery	-	2	10	4	2	-	18
Health and welfare	**-**	**-**	**1**	**2**	**-**	**-**	**3**
Health	-	-	1	2	-	-	3
Humanities and Social Sciences	**6**	**4**	**14**	**7**	**5**	**13**	**49**
Humanities and arts	**6**	**2**	**9**	**4**	**4**	**10**	**35**
Humanities	6	2	8	3	4	9	32
Arts	-	-	1	1	-	1	3
Social sciences, business and law	**-**	**2**	**5**	**3**	**1**	**2**	**13**
Social and behavioral sciences	-	2	5	3	1	2	13
Education	**-**	**-**	**-**	**-**	**-**	**1**	**1**
Teacher training and edu science	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Total	**6**	**14**	**43**	**27**	**13**	**31**	**134**

Source: See Appendix A.

Total scholarships to Sweden by fields of education/training, 1945–1979.

Fields of education and training	1945–49	1950–54	1955–59	1960–64	1965–69	1970–74	1975–79	Total
Humanities and Social Sciences	**23**	**20**	**15**	**42**	**103**	**99**	**76**	**378**
Humanities and arts	**12**	**10**	**9**	**20**	**73**	**50**	**38**	**212**
Humanities	9	6	5	19	52	40	25	156
Arts	3	4	4	1	21	10	13	56
Social sciences, business and law	**8**	**9**	**5**	**22**	**26**	**45**	**35**	**150**
Social and behavioral sciences	6	5	5	14	16	39	31	116
Law	-	-	-	6	9	3	3	21
Business and administration	2	3	-	2	1	2	1	11
Journalism and information	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	2
Education	**3**	**1**	**1**	**-**	**4**	**3**	**2**	**14**
Teacher training and edu science	3	1	1	-	4	3	2	14
Health and welfare	**-**	**-**	**-**	**-**	**-**	**1**	**-**	**1**
Social services	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
Services	**-**	**-**	**-**	**-**	**-**	**-**	**1**	**1**
Personal services	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Natural, Engr and Medical Sciences	**22**	**13**	**11**	**25**	**48**	**41**	**26**	**186**
Science	**13**	**11**	**8**	**12**	**25**	**23**	**15**	**107**
Physical sciences	6	4	4	7	20	11	8	60
Life sciences	7	7	3	3	5	10	6	41
Mathematics and statistics	-	-	1	2	-	1	1	5
Computing	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
Engineering, mfg and construction	**4**	**2**	**1**	**7**	**9**	**8**	**8**	**39**
Architecture and building	3	2	1	3	5	4	4	22
Engineering and engr trades	1	-	-	4	4	2	4	15
Manufacturing and processing	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	2
Health and welfare	**4**	**-**	**2**	**6**	**12**	**9**	**3**	**36**
Health	4	-	2	6	12	9	3	36
Agriculture	**1**	**-**	**-**	**-**	**2**	**1**	**-**	**4**
Agriculture, forestry and fishery	1	-	-	-	2	1	-	4
Total	**45**	**33**	**26**	**67**	**151**	**140**	**102**	**564**

Source: See Appendix A.

Total scholarships to United States in fields education/training, 1912–1944.

Fields of education/training	1912–14	1915–19	1920–24	1925–29	1930–34	1935–39	1940–44	Total
Natural, Engr and Medical Sciences	**2**	**12**	**23**	**61**	**44**	**53**	**30**	**225**
Engineering, mfg and construction	**1**	**6**	**9**	**27**	**15**	**22**	**10**	**90**
Engineering and engr trades	-	3	6	18	12	16	8	63
Architecture and building	1	3	2	4	1	4	-	15
Manufacturing and processing	-	-	1	5	2	2	2	12
Science	**-**	**1**	**8**	**17**	**14**	**14**	**10**	**64**
Life sciences	-	1	2	8	7	8	2	28
Physical sciences	-	-	5	9	7	5	2	28
Mathematics and statistics	-	-	1	-	-	1	6	8
Health and welfare	**1**	**4**	**3**	**5**	**9**	**12**	**3**	**37**
Health	1	4	3	5	9	12	3	37
Agriculture	**-**	**1**	**3**	**12**	**6**	**5**	**7**	**34**
Agriculture, forestry and fishery	-	1	3	12	5	5	7	33
Veterinary	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1
Humanities and Social Sciences	**-**	**8**	**23**	**48**	**36**	**33**	**11**	**159**
Social sciences, business and law	**-**	**6**	**19**	**38**	**19**	**20**	**3**	**105**
Business and administration	-	1	12	24	10	8	-	55
Social and behavioral sciences	-	2	5	10	5	10	2	34
Journalism and information	-	3	2	4	3	-	1	13
Law	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	3
Humanities and arts	**-**	**2**	**2**	**4**	**5**	**10**	**4**	**27**
Humanities	-	2	-	2	2	8	4	18
Arts	-	-	2	2	3	2	-	9
Education	**-**	**-**	**2**	**3**	**3**	**1**	**4**	**13**
Teacher training and edu science	-	-	2	3	3	1	4	13
Health and welfare	**-**	**-**	**-**	**1**	**6**	**1**	**-**	**8**
Social services	-	-	-	1	6	1	-	8
Services	**-**	**-**	**-**	**2**	**3**	**1**	**-**	**6**
Personal services	-	-	-	2	3	1	-	6
Total	**2**	**20**	**46**	**109**	**80**	**86**	**41**	**384**

Source: See Appendix A.

Total scholarships to United States in fields education/training, 1945–1979.

Fields of education and training	1945–49	1950–54	1955–59	1960–64	1965–69	1970–74	1975–79	Total
Natural, Engr and Medical Sciences	**95**	**101**	**78**	**124**	**145**	**131**	**170**	**844**
Science	**30**	**37**	**30**	**59**	**59**	**60**	**80**	**355**
Physical sciences	13	15	9	25	32	30	35	159
Life sciences	14	18	16	19	19	17	29	132
Mathematics and statistics	3	4	4	13	5	8	12	49
Computing	-	-	1	2	3	5	4	15
Engineering, mfg and construction	**35**	**39**	**32**	**42**	**46**	**33**	**46**	**273**
Engineering and engr trades	25	29	19	31	31	13	25	173
Architecture and building	8	6	8	7	9	13	14	65
Manufacturing and processing	2	4	5	4	6	7	7	35
Health and welfare	**23**	**19**	**13**	**19**	**29**	**25**	**34**	**162**
Health	23	19	13	19	29	25	34	162
Agriculture	**7**	**6**	**2**	**3**	**9**	**12**	**8**	**47**
Agriculture, forestry and fishery	6	6	-	2	8	8	7	37
Veterinary	1	-	2	1	1	4	1	10
Services	**-**	**-**	**1**	**1**	**2**	**1**	**2**	**7**
Environmental protection	-	-	1	1	2	1	2	7
Humanities and Social Sciences	**49**	**71**	**71**	**145**	**184**	**165**	**116**	**801**
Social sciences, business and law	**23**	**37**	**37**	**75**	**89**	**109**	**63**	**433**
Social and behavioral sciences	14	19	15	37	37	57	28	207
Business and administration	6	9	16	23	31	33	15	133
Law	1	6	2	9	11	14	11	54
Journalism and information	2	3	4	6	10	5	9	39
Humanities and arts	**13**	**24**	**26**	**59**	**79**	**48**	**46**	**295**
Humanities	8	12	16	46	60	41	31	214
Arts	5	12	10	13	19	7	15	81
Education	**7**	**4**	**1**	**8**	**11**	**6**	**5**	**42**
Teacher training and edu science	7	4	1	8	11	6	5	42
Services	**3**	**5**	**5**	**2**	**3**	**-**	**-**	**18**
Personal services	3	5	4	2	3	-	-	17
Security services	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
Health and welfare	**3**	**1**	**2**	**1**	**2**	**2**	**2**	**13**
Social services	3	1	2	1	2	2	2	13
Total	**144**	**172**	**149**	**269**	**329**	**296**	**286**	**1,645**

Source: See Appendix A.

Appendix F

Visits to the United States and Sweden, 1912–1979

Total visits to the United States by state of host institution(s), 1912–1979.

	1912–1944		1945–1979		Total	
State	Count	%	Count	%	Count	%
Alabama	0	0%	1	0%	1	0%
Alaska	1	0%	3	0%	4	0%
Arizona	1	0%	7	0%	8	0%
Arkansas	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
California	31	6%	342	20%	373	17%
Colorado	0	0%	22	1%	22	1%
Connecticut	12	2%	42	2%	54	2%
Delaware	0	0%	2	0%	2	0%
District of Columbia	17	3%	37	2%	54	2%
Florida	2	0%	6	0%	8	0%
Georgia	0	0%	5	0%	5	0%
Hawaii	0	0%	3	0%	3	0%
Idaho	0	0%	2	0%	2	0%
Illinois	50	9%	95	6%	145	7%
Indiana	2	0%	19	1%	21	1%
Iowa	7	1%	14	1%	21	1%
Kansas	1	0%	9	1%	10	0%
Kentucky	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
Louisiana	2	0%	0	0%	2	0%
Maine	1	0%	1	0%	2	0%
Maryland	4	1%	26	2%	30	1%
Massachusetts	88	17%	217	13%	305	14%
Michigan	7	1%	58	3%	65	3%
Minnesota	17	3%	51	3%	68	3%
Mississippi	0	0%	1	0%	1	0%
Missouri	0	0%	12	1%	12	1%
Montana	1	0%	1	0%	2	0%
Nebraska	0	0%	2	0%	2	0%
Nevada	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%
New Hampshire	4	1%	2	0%	6	0%
New Jersey	15	3%	50	3%	65	3%
New Mexico	0	0%	2	0%	2	0%
New York	125	23%	218	13%	343	15%
North Carolina	4	1%	19	1%	23	1%
North Dakota	0	0%	1	0%	1	0%
Ohio	9	2%	30	2%	39	2%
Oklahoma	0	0%	1	0%	1	0%
Oregon	3	1%	11	1%	14	1%
Pennsylvania	29	5%	55	3%	84	4%
Rhode Island	0	0%	6	0%	6	0%
South Carolina	0	0%	1	0%	1	0%
South Dakota	1	0%	1	0%	2	0%
Tennessee	0	0%	7	0%	7	0%
Texas	0	0%	12	1%	12	1%
Utah	0	0%	5	0%	5	0%
Vermont	0	0%	1	0%	1	0%
Virginia	2	0%	9	1%	11	0%
Washington	3	1%	24	1%	27	1%
West Virginia	0	0%	1	0%	1	0%
Wisconsin	21	4%	43	3%	64	3%
Wyoming	0	0%	1	0%	1	0%
Unknown	73	14%	216	13%	289	13%
Total	**533**	**100%**	**1,694**	**100%**	**2,227**	**100%**

Source: See Appendix A.

Total visits to Sweden by municipality of host institution(s), 1912–1979.

			1912–1944		1945–1979		Total	
Town/city (*Tätort/stad*)	**Municipality (*Kommun*)**	**County (*Län*)**	**Ct.**	**%**	**Ct.**	**%**	**Ct.**	**%**
Borås	Borås	Västra Götaland	0	0%	1	0%	1	0%
Eketorp	Mörbylånga	Kalmar	0	0%	6	1%	6	1%
Eksjö	Eksjö	Jönköping	0	0%	1	0%	1	0%
Fiskebäckskil	Lysekil	Västra Götaland	0	0%	1	0%	1	0%
Gothenburg	Gothenburg	Västra Götaland	1	1%	55	10%	56	8%
Gävle	Gävle	Östergötland	0	0%	1	0%	1	0%
Insjön	Leksand	Dalarna	0	0%	1	0%	1	0%
Linköping	Linköping	Östergötland	0	0%	1	0%	1	0%
Lund	Lund	Skåne	6	4%	42	7%	48	7%
Malmö	Malmö	Skåne	0	0%	3	1%	3	0%
Stockholm	Stockholm	Stockholm	96	65%	250	44%	346	49%
Trollhättan	Trollhättan	Västra Götaland	1	1%	0	0%	1	0%
Umeå	Umeå	Västerbotten	0	0%	9	2%	9	1%
Uppsala	Uppsala	Uppsala	30	20%	108	19%	138	19%
Västerås	Västerås	Västmanland	1	1%	0	0%	1	0%
Unknown	-	-	12	8%	83	16%	95	15%
Total			**147**	**100%**	**562**	**100%**	**709**	**100%**

Source: See Appendix A.

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