



Citing the world: A geometric data analysis of Swedish literary scholars' use of foreign critical resources



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ABSTRACT

The academic study of literature constitutes one institutional site for the production and reproduction of conceptions of literature. In a semi-peripheral country such as Sweden, this production partly relies on foreign intellectual goods. To analyze this transnational dimension of Swedish scholarship in a period marked by increasing internationalization, a Geometric Data Analysis (GDA) (Le Roux & Rouanet, 2004) was carried out on the bibliographies of 318 PhD dissertations, defended in the period 1980–2005, at Swedish departments of literary studies (*litteraturvetenskap*). The analysis of citational choices showed only an insignificant increase in the reliance on foreign sources in this period. The GDA revealed how these privileged references were distributed in a tripolar opposition, reflecting fundamentally different conceptions of literature, interpreted in this study as the three poles of textual singularity, secular particularity and anthropological universality. The analysis of supplementary variables shows that these oppositions are subtended by different geolinguistic orientations and that they correlate strongly with gender, which is overwhelmingly in evidence as one moves from the male-dominated textual pole to the strongly feminist and female social pole of the first axis. The lack of increasing internationalization measured by citations is attributed to the “national cultural mission” of these departments.

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1. Introduction: The translocal production and reproduction of the literary

This article takes the case of Sweden and asks, does the citational practices of literary scholars in a semi-peripheral national field change in significant ways in a period marked by increasing internationalization and globalization? Nuances, specifications and qualifications are in order, but the fundamental components of this question are: literary scholars (PhD dissertation authors), the practice of citing other authors (references to non-Swedish authorities in dissertation bibliographies), the national and “provincial” delimitation (Sweden), periodization (1980–2005) and a problematic condition (“globalization”). Mapping citational choices reveals underlying structures of this scholarly field. Thus, a second question arises: what were the main investments in foreign theoretical and critical resources made by Swedish literary scholars between 1980 and 2005? And from that question, others: Can the pattern of these investments be interpreted as

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reflecting deep-seated differences of the field? In short, can we give an outline of the principles of vision and division within this semi-peripheral intellectual field in the late 20th and early 21st century, based on the choices among all the resources that make up this period's "traveling theory"?¹

Such an analysis of a citational space is not an analysis of a scholarly field—much more data of different kinds would be required—but it contributes to the larger project of Bourdieusian field theory by showing how different agents within a field make use of intellectual resources available to them in ways that reflect struggles over legitimate critical perspectives within the field. In the present case, these resources are to a significant extent foreign, which points to a certain degree of "academic dependence" on the part of Swedish scholars (see *Alatas, 2003*), in the sense that changes in the theoretical discourse are conditioned by changes in that discourse in the core sites of theory production: the US, Britain, France, and Germany.² At the same time, these scholars' object of study is overwhelmingly national (roughly 80% of the dissertations analyzed focused on Swedish authorships) and, as we shall see, their citations include a large proportion of the "locally embedded references" that more dependent producers would forego (*Mosbah-Natanson & Gingras, 2014*). In short, when Swedish literary scholars cite the world, it is part of a nationally determined practice that is transnationally conditioned to a certain degree. Thus, the present study also contributes to a transnational sociology (and history) of the humanities, but it does so not by focusing on exchange or mobility (see *Heilbron, Guilhot, & Jeanpierre, 2008*) but on the way that non-domestic resources are employed for the reproduction of the literary within a national framework. As Pierre Bourdieu notes with regard to the international circulation of ideas, it is often the case with foreign authors, that it is not what they say that counts, but what they can be made to say (*2002*). The present analysis gives another turn to the screw, assuming that the very fact that a foreign author is cited says something, regardless of what that author says or is made to say.

This citational practice is one small but interesting part of the larger production and reproduction of the literary, a collective labor that has both symbolic and material dimensions (*de Nooy, 1991; van Rees & Dorleijn, 2001*). In sheer quantity—time and numbers—the predominant form of reproduction is that of individual readers reading texts as literature, but greater social visibility, and social puissance, is claimed by the reproduction that takes place in public spheres: literary criticism, reviews, marketing copy, new editions with new paratexts, television interviews and literary discussion programs, screen adaptations, and more recently digital arenas for discussion.³ One of the most important institutional and public sites for the symbolic production and reproduction of literature, for conceptions of literature and the *conscience collective* of "the literary," is the one formed by the various disciplines in the academy that deal with literary texts.⁴ This space is not isolated from the rest of the literary field: in the course of my research on critics, translators and literary scholars in Sweden, I found that of the 465 most prominent literary critics/reviewers in the period 1980–2005, 23% also had a PhD in literature, and many of the active scholars were also critics and reviewers. There is clearly traffic between the two domains of literary reproduction, and, all other things being equal, it seems safe to assume that the formation of conceptions of literature will to some extent take place in the academy, which not only "plays a major role in the canonization of literary works" (*Sapiro, Pacouret, & Picaud, 2015, 10*), but is also a site that specializes in the meta-discourse on literature, making concepts, periodizations, and genre distinctions available for further elaboration and canonization.⁵

Given the academic producers' particular role in the division of labor within the production of the literary, it is of some interest to gauge changes in that domain in the period of the discourse of globalization and the emergence of "world literature." *Johan Heilbron (2014, 686)* argues that globalization generally entails "the growing dependency of local settings on transnational structures" within an overall structure of unequally distributed symbolic and material resources. Even as literary scholars in Sweden are concerned with the making of a particular, local world of literature and address themselves mainly to a nationally delimited audience, they routinely draw on non-local references in the making of that local world. While focusing on the national literature, they constantly negotiate the relationship between the semi-peripheral literary field and the core of world literary space. In this negotiation, mastery of the conceptions of literature produced in the core is essential for the semi-peripheral actors, whether they perform the work of cultural transmitters (in the sense developed by *Petra Broomans et al. (2009, 13)*) or not. As we will see, this negotiation depends on the linguistic and intellectual resources of the scholars in the target domain.

¹ See *Sapiro and Heilbron (2008)* for a discussion of the status of different languages (and by implication, national fields) in a global circulation of books. Sapiro and Heilbron both identify Swedish as holding a semi-peripheral position (29). Their discussion is based on *Heilbron (1999)*. The place of Sweden in the social sciences and humanities is identified as among the "more peripheral" in Europe, alongside Finland, Norway and the Netherlands, in *Gingras and Heilbron (2009)* (379). In a recent essay, Yvonne Lindquist argues for the semi-peripheral position of Sweden in what she calls the "global translation field," noting its "centrality in the [Scandinavian] periphery" (*Lindquist, 2015, 184*). The phrase "traveling theory" is taken from Edward Said's essay with that title (*Said, 1983*), but the present analysis is not primarily concerned with Said's problem of "what happens to a theory when it moves from one place to another" but instead with the kind of space that is constituted by the choices of such portable intellectual property at their destination (230).

² Thus, the academic dependence in this case is restricted to the first of the six dimensions listed by *Alatas*, the dependence on ideas (*2003, 6*).

³ This opposition between what Richard Peterson calls "auto-production" and institutionalized production is not meant as a general and static relationship, but in this case and for this period the greater weight of the institutional practices can hardly be disputed (*Peterson, 2000*). For a useful summary of the "production of culture perspective," see *Peterson and Anand (2004)*.

⁴ The perspective afforded by the term "conception of literature" is one that avoids or at least postpones an allegiance to any particular theory of literature or poetics. Instead, it treats particular theories as institutional conventions that must be studied as objects in their own right. It was first introduced by C. J. van Rees and Hugo Verdaasdonk in the early 1980s, and elaborated in a number of articles by them and other scholars over the years (*van Rees, 1981, 1984, 1994; van Rees and Dorleijn, 2001; Verdaasdonk, 1982*).

⁵ The centrality of universities for various legitimating functions related to the arts and literature is broadly recognized. As *Baumann* notes, "literature departments serve to sustain the place of fiction and poetry among the arts" (*Baumann, 2007, 56*).

In the following, I will present an analysis of the pattern that is realized as choices are made from an almost limitless “space of possibles”—the source domain of the global production of meta-discourses—by 318 PhD dissertation authors in Sweden between 1980 and 2005. The material that is analyzed comprises the bibliographic references in the dissertations. The study will chart the “citational universe” of Swedish literary scholarship, as represented by this group of scholars. As noted above, the period is conceived as the age of the discourse of globalization, in the latter part of which a renewed interest in “world literature” became clearly visible on the scholarly horizon.

2. “Globalization” and “World literature”

To take globalization first, or the age of the *discourse of globalization*. As has been shown by [Hirst and Thompson \(1996\)](#), there have been different periods of increased trade, investments, and cultural contacts across national or “cultural” borders in the past, and what is indisputable about this one is that it was everywhere heralded with the word globalization. A graph showing the uses of the words “internationalization” and “globalization” in the enormous digitized corpus of Google Books gives a convincing display of at least the tendency: mentions of the latter word overtake the former sometime around 1992. A similar finding is noted by [Rockhill \(2010, 474–475\)](#), pointing to the rising number of uses of the term in various indexes, such as the Library of Congress keywords and the New York Times index, with an acceleration in the 1990s. [Wallerstein \(2005\)](#) places the roots of the “new dogmas” of globalization in the debt crisis years of the early 1980s, and their flourishing in the 1990s, a pattern which closely matches the vagaries of word use in the Google Books corpus and the indexes searched by Rockhill. The deregulation of market controls, the increase of international trade and the increased privatization of what had earlier been public domains marked this period, in which calls for “internationalization” affected every domain of production in the core and semi-peripheral economies, not least higher education ([Leclerc-Olive, Scarfò Ghellab, & Wagner, 2011](#)). Against that background, a prima facie hypothesis would be that the formation of conceptions of literature in the academic domain of a semi-peripheral country will display an increasing reliance on non-domestic theories of literature in the period between 1980 and 2005.⁶

The internationalization of scholarship and education has been studied by a host of historians and sociologists.⁷ What the literature on this topic makes clear is, first, that it is a development as old as the institution of the university itself; second, that the current phase has seen the dominance of the two North Atlantic zones of North America and Europe, in which concerted political efforts within the European Union have recently affected the terms of that dominance ([Mosbah-Natanson & Gingras, 2014](#)); and third—of key importance for this study—that internationalization is a very uneven process with regard to different disciplines, the humanities remaining relatively impervious to international collaboration. As Gingras and Heilbron observe, the objects of the social and human sciences are not as delocalizable as those of the natural sciences ([Gingras & Heilbron, 2009, 360](#)). Moreover, in the humanities there is the added tradition of individual scholarship, so that collaboration, not to speak of international collaboration, is a marginal phenomenon ([Gingras & Heilbron, 2009; Gingras, Godin, & Foisy, 1999, 91](#)). The growth in international collaboration in the European humanities, measured by the number of co-signed articles, was modest in this period: from 2% in 1980 to 5% in 2006 ([Gingras & Heilbron, 360](#)). As Heilbron et al. note, the humanities comprise disciplines that are “wedded to their linguistic background,” which means that there may be limits to their transnational development not found in other disciplines ([Heilbron et al., 2008, 157](#)). The question is whether these limits impose themselves with equal force across this period of internationalization, and whether they pertain also to those particular intellectual goods that are always to some extent delocalizable: the general ideas that go to make up conceptions of literature, the ideas we think of as theory, general literary criticism, esthetics, in short, traveling theory.

To turn from “globalization” to “World literature” will add further weight to the hypothesis that literary studies in this period might be expected to respond to the calls for internationalization, even within a more peripheral national field. The appearance of Franco Moretti’s and Pascale Casanova’s seminal texts on “World literature” and a “World Republic of Letters” in 1999 and 2000 ([Casanova, 2000; Moretti, 1999](#)), followed by a host of other influential and controversial texts on the topic in the decade that followed, must be understood as expressing a recognition of developments that had been in the making over a long period.⁸ In the form of a debate engaging positions across academic fields, this recognition was instrumental in articulating a conception of literature that placed cross-cultural, transnational, migratory and translational dimensions of literary works in focus by diverting it from the “post-colonial” conception (while in certain respects reinforcing the conception of literature that was produced and supported by the emergence of postcolonial theory in the academy). The two paradigms of postcolonial theory and world-literature theory, taken together, form a rejection of conceptions of literature that had long performed the boundary-work sustaining national canons and domestic traditions. While we should not expect a wholesale adoption of these or any other single paradigms in the reproduction of literature within a semi-peripheral university system, their emergence would still tend to give credence to the basic hypothesis above, even in a field of literary reproduction distant from the sites in which these conceptions emerged.

⁶ This hypothesis echoes the one formulated by Susanne Janssen with regard to the expected increase in newspaper coverage of foreign literature, for the longer period 1955–2005 ([Janssen, 2009, 355](#)).

⁷ For the European context, see the articles collected in Sapiro 2009.

⁸ To Moretti and Casanova one might add works by [David Damrosch \(2003\)](#), [Emily Apter \(2013\)](#) and [Wai-Chee Dimock \(2001\)](#). However, a full list of texts establishing the terms of this debate and extending its scope would require more space than is called for by the present argument.

To sum up, conceptions of literature in the period 1980–2005 (and beyond) were formed in relation to a powerful discourse of globalization, and two of the notable movements in literary theory in the core sites of theory production in this period posed questions about cross-cultural and transnational phenomena with increasing urgency. In this period, too, the internationalization of academic work increased, as has been shown for the natural and social sciences, with some indications for a modest increase in the humanities as well. This is the background context for the study. In order to investigate how the production and reproduction of literature within this particular academic domain made (increasing, decreasing or stable) use of international theoretical and critical resources in the period of the discourse of globalization, this study analyzes a virtual space created by the citational choices made by PhD dissertation writers.

3. Citations, citation cultures, and the space of possibles

The guiding assumption in the construction of this object of study is that the bibliographies of PhD dissertations form a record of the individual authors' negotiation of the various conceptions of literature that are represented by different theorists and critics. To some extent, it is assumed, these choices are not determined by the specific research questions or the chosen topic (authorship, literary movement, genre, etc.), but by one's sense of what is recognized as valid authorities backing up conceptions of literature, that is, what counts as *general* (and thus near-universally recognizable) indices of the specific capital that is being accumulated in this social domain. It is also assumed that these "choices" are not entirely conscious, deliberate ones: they belong to a logic of practice in which the sense of the game allows particular moves without calculation or premeditation. Loot Leydesdorff argues that bibliometric analysis reveals patterns of communication that are not "consciously available to the actors involved": as such, the citation is a particular instance of a necessary misrecognition, in Bourdieu's sense (Leydesdorff, 1995, 20; Bourdieu, 1991, 114). That is, behind the limited recognition that is paid to an authority in the field by means of the individual reference lies the necessary misrecognition of the social existence of an unscalable mountain of such authorities, of such magnitude that no single scholar could ever have full knowledge of it. The simple fact that we cannot know in full the available *citables*, i.e. the space of possible choices in this particular domain, does not mean that we cannot register its weight.⁹ The space of possible references thus forms an academic sublime that is dealt with in the practice of compiling a limited list of references as a kind of mundane denial that is also an acceptance.

It should be noted that the PhD dissertation bibliography is the record of one key part of the entry conditions that this particular academic subfield imposes on those who seek to gain access to it (Bourdieu, 2004, 47). The rite of institution for which the PhD dissertation is written includes the demands for a documentation of sources that reflect both how fully the scholarship on the specific topic is covered but also an awareness of the critical discourse, or, even better, a construction of the theoretical-critical body to which this particular work seeks to graft itself. As an academic review of one of the dissertations included in the study points out, it is "close to a rule that the review of the theoretical literature that has been consulted will exceed by far what is in fact employed in the dissertation—for the latter should not just solve a specified task but also constitute a display of erudition" (Bergsten, 2006, my translation).

These particular entry conditions display great elasticity: in our corpus, we find dissertations with almost one thousand printed secondary sources, but also dissertations with less than ten such references. Only one dissertation in this entire period made do without a bibliography, using only footnotes to record its author's engagement with other critics: that author was to become, for a time, perhaps the most consecrated of all the guarantors of the symbolic production of literature in Sweden, Horace Engdahl, Permanent Secretary of the Swedish Academy from 1999 to 2009.¹⁰ The flouting of the bibliographical conventions of the PhD dissertation is in line with Engdahl's position-takings as a whole.

This study, however, does not attempt to register all the coordinates of the position-takings within the field, but only what we will call, as a short-hand, the theoretical choices. Citations constitute the material evidence for these positions. As Paul Wouters notes, citations cannot be treated as a uniform phenomenon, but as a practice that varies across different "citation cultures" (Wouters, 1999). Moreover, the conventions of citing sources differ from one individual to another, showing "a remarkable resistance to standardization" even in the sciences (Cronin, qtd in Wouters, 1999, 9). It would be the topic of another paper to discuss how the humanities are becoming part of a citation culture that is overdetermined by the use of bibliometrics in an overarching project aiming at the standardization of how scholarship is evaluated, but I need to note that the present study of references bypasses that discussion, while it contributes to the knowledge about the specific "citation culture" of literary study.¹¹

4. The design of the study

Against the background given above, it was decided to analyze all Swedish PhD dissertations dealing with literature between 1980 and 2005, 26 years. An account of how the corpus was constructed and delimited is found in Appendix A. The data that are used in the analysis presented here, of 318 dissertations defended at Departments of literary studies

⁹ I am deliberately using the words of Marx concerning the mountain-like weight of the "tradition of all dead generations": the space of citables includes both the quick and the dead, but as citable authorities the living form as much a part of the tradition as all the dead generations.

¹⁰ Written outside of the academy, the dissertation was submitted as a PhD thesis upon encouragement by a professor.

¹¹ For valuable insights into the citation culture studied here, see Hammarfelt (2012).

(*Litteraturvetenskap*), comprise a register with 75,793 posts of secondary sources, leaving out 29,530 posts classified as primary sources (which includes all unprinted sources). Since the question we are interested in here is what has happened to the pattern of Swedish academics' use of foreign intellectual material, the GDA was carried out on the *frequently cited foreign critics*, that is, those names that were cited at least five times, in at least two dissertations. Out of 2321 *frequently cited critics* (11% of the total) 828 had a country other than Sweden as their final permanent residence, while 1493 resided in Sweden, roughly 4 and 7 percent of the total number of critics cited. Foreign critics thus accounted for 36% of the *frequently cited critics*. However, it should be noted that in a sample of the *not frequently cited critics*, the proportion of non-Swedish critics was much higher: 57%. The academic production of the literary within Sweden is thus to a significant extent dependent on non-Swedish scholars, critics, literary historians, theorists, authors and so on. Even within the core discipline of this subfield of academic production, the nationally focused departments of *Litteraturvetenskap*, more than half of the secondary sources cited belong to a global market of literary ideas with provenance outside Sweden.

The *frequently cited critics* are relatively few, just above ten percent of the total number of cited individuals, but if we look instead at the number of separate citations attributed to these critics, the picture changes. Of the 75,793 references, more than half, 41,964, cite the 2321 *frequently cited critics*. The *frequently cited domestic critics* account for 39 percent, the *foreign critics* for 16 percent of all citations. That means that in any given PhD dissertation, half of the citations of secondary sources would refer to these critics held in common. However, the picture of a shared domain of core theoretical resources must not be exaggerated: even the most commonly cited critic, Staffan Björck, is cited in less than half the dissertations (141), and the most cited foreign critic, Mikhail Bakhtin, is present in less than a third of the bibliographies (94).

Still, what can be said about these comparatively few critics who are depended upon for so much of the overall critical weight is that they constitute a kind of resource that is more generally relevant than the great number of critics whose findings are only drawn upon by a single dissertation. Taken together, I argue, they provide an image of the “field imaginary” to use Donald Pease's term (Pease, 1990). Any particular citation culture constitutes a way of agreeing and disagreeing about the key values of a field, and these overlapping choices of key citations allow us a glimpse of the principles of vision and division of the field.¹²

5. Analyzing the citational space: preliminaries

A correspondence analysis was made of dissertation authors and their citations (see Appendix A for details). The cloud of theoretical choices within the discipline of Literary studies, as represented by PhD dissertation authors in the departments of *Litteraturvetenskap*, gives us a multidimensional universe made up of a great number of oppositions. In what follows, the most important of these dimensions, hierarchically speaking, will be subjected to analysis. What counts as most important? The extent to which this space is hierarchic or dominated by one or several dimensions can be seen in the eigenvalues for each axis. While in many social domains, the first axis might account for 50% of all the variations in the material (often forming an opposition between haves and have-nots), this citational space is made up of more nuanced relationships (for eigenvalues, see Appendix A). However, the first axis contributes six times more to the total variation than would be the case given a fully even distribution, and we can detect salient cut-off points after the first three or the first six axes. Given the limitation of space, this analysis will focus on the first two axes.

To highlight some of the findings before we go into the details, the correspondence analysis points out theoretical affinities and repulsions, but it also reveals how choices are articulated with gender, with linguistic-cultural capital, with orientations toward the past, with preferences related to other disciplines and with the degree of literariness in one's citational practice.

5.1. Analyzing the citational space: quantitative changes in the reliance on foreign sources

The relation of this GDA to the question we started out with is not direct: since the analysis places the citational choices of the entire period within a single space, the method is not directly concerned with linear changes. However, it is only by understanding the larger oppositions of a slightly longer *durée* than the fluctuations revealed by a year-by-year plotting that we can capture the meaning of changes in this space.

To fulfill the promise made in the introductory paragraph, however, the material can yield a couple of simple answers right away. The hypothesis about an increasing reliance on non-domestic intellectual resources, first. Looking at the citations to frequently cited foreign critics and frequently cited domestic critics as a share of total citations in this period, the results are mixed, as Fig. 1 shows. However, counting only the foreign critics, there is an increase in their share, so that while in the first half of the period under consideration, citations to foreign critics account for 30% of all the citations to frequently cited critics, the figure is 36% for the second half. As a share of all citations, the increase is from 17% to 22%.

This increased reliance on foreign intellectual resources refers to the frequently cited authorities, as noted. For the sources at the long tail of the Bradford law of dispersion, however, the hypothesis of an increase is not supported: taking a random

¹² A key phrase in many of Pierre Bourdieu's discussions of the workings of social fields, “principles of vision and division,” are what entrants into a field are subjected to, and also what they become the subject of as they adopt these ways of seeing and classifying the social world. See, among many other examples, *Distinction* (Bourdieu, 1984, 547); and the important discussion in *Pascalian Meditations* (Bourdieu, 1999, 185–187).

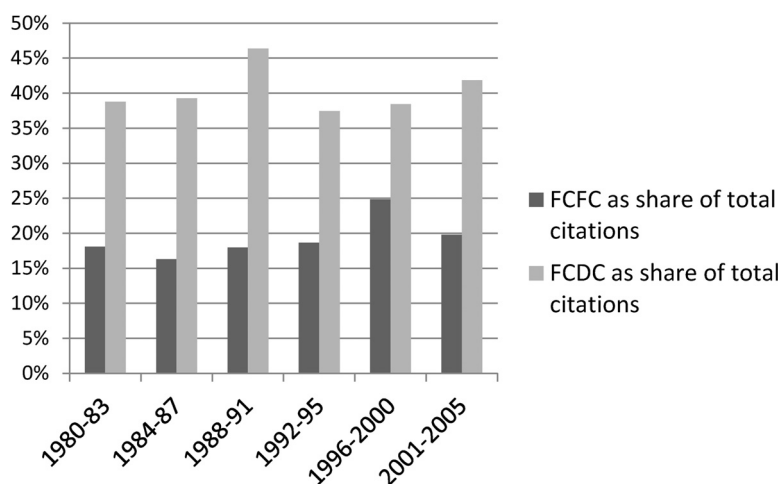


Fig. 1. Citations of works by *Frequently cited foreign critics* and by *Frequently cited domestic critics*, as share of total number of citations ($N = 75,793$).

sample from the first five years and one from the last five years, the figures point to the reverse: for 1980–84 foreign citations account for 60%, while they account for 53% in the sample for 2001–05.¹³ Thus, the hypothesis regarding an increased reliance on non-domestic intellectual resources in this period holds for the most recognized critics, but in a modest fashion, while those authorities who are cited just a couple of times, and in only one or perhaps two bibliographies, tend to be increasingly drawn from the Swedish part of the space of possibles.

Our expectation that Swedish scholars would be affected by the increasing internationalization of culture and scholarship in their practice of citing shared authorities was thus unfulfilled. The Swedish PhD's stuck to their domestic guns in this period. It is clear that the humanities do form a different case, and it must be recalled that literary studies are not just “wedded to their linguistic background” but in their disciplinary form in Sweden they are also charged with an implicit cultural mission to preserve and consolidate the national literary heritage (see Nyström, 2010). This forms part of the very idea of legitimacy in Swedish scholarship at the departments of literature. Given that the struggle over positions in this field is always marked by the mastery of the national tradition, it seems likely that there is simply a limit to the space that can be allotted to traveling theory. The data point in this direction: If we divide the dissertations into five groups according to the size of their bibliographies, we find that the two categories with the more modest bibliographies (no more than 190 secondary sources) have a larger proportion of foreign secondary sources (38% and 40% of the frequently cited critics) than do the more heavily referenced dissertations (191–430 secondary sources, 34%), while the most impressive bibliographies (quantitatively speaking, more than 430 secondary sources) have the lowest share (31%). The larger your investment in cited sources, the lower the proportion of foreign authorities.

Obversely, even the most voluminous bibliographies have a substantial share of foreign references. What the rest of this article will do is outline an answer to the question: what kinds of non-domestic intellectual resources define the citational practice of Swedish literary scholarship in the period of the discourse of globalization? Within that question lies the issue of the different strategies that are available for aligning one's scholarly project with available positions and trends.

It should be noted first of all that the citational universe of Swedish literary studies is a space of agreements as well as key dissensions, and a brief discussion of the “least controversial” critics will be found in Appendix B. If critics such as Barthes and Benjamin, Baudelaire and Bloom were oft-cited across various positions, however, most of the citational choices do add to the distances making up this space. While the consensual center is part of what keeps this universe together, this is the place to recall Bourdieu's observation that what unites the individuals in a field are their disagreements (Bourdieu, 1996, 163).

5.2. Analyzing the citational space: oppositions across the first two axes

Let us turn to this space of differences. It is a multidimensional universe, with oppositions along many axes that make sense to the informed observer. The objective here is to present the main principles of division in the choices of non-domestic authorities, and I will restrict the analysis to the plane of the first two axes and its main oppositions. We need not think of this in terms of antagonism, but it is a heuristic approach to see the differences as indicators of principles of vision and division: the field of literary scholarship is divided in particular ways, and these divisions make certain critics visible (and potentially useable) while others become structurally invisible. These abstract considerations will become clear as we look closer at this map of choices.

¹³ With a margin of error of 3% and a confidence level of 95%, a random sample of 812 citations was coded for the first period ($N = 3400$), and one of 929 citations for the second ($N = 7171$).

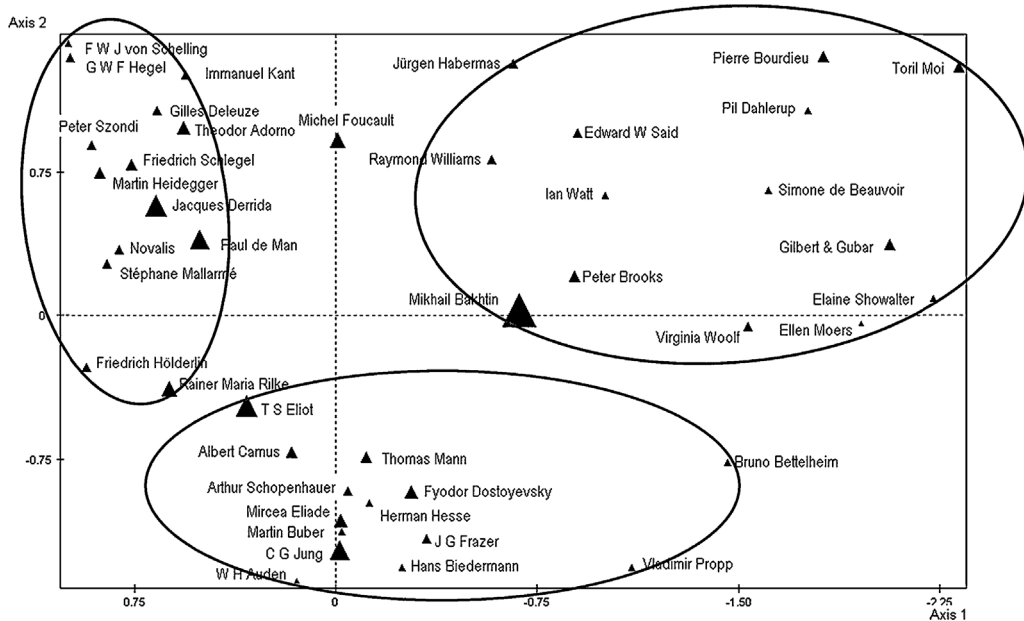


Fig. 2. Correspondence analysis of citations, the plane of axes one and two, active frequencies with more than double the average contribution. Size according to weight.

A triangular pattern of major oppositions in this citational universe is given on the plane of axes one and two, and can be represented by a graph that includes all critics who represent a contribution to either of the two axes that is more than double the average contribution to that axis. There are 24 cited critics who meet that criterion for axis 1, and 28 for axis 2. Since nine critics are included in both categories, we have a total of 43 critics, as seen in Fig. 2, which shows the plane of axes 1 and 2 as structured by the active frequencies, with the position of the 47 critics marked out and labeled by name. The size of the triangles is according to weight, that is, the number of citations.

This space is shaped by distances that can be understood precisely in the sense of disassociating oneself from something or of simply being detached from possibilities that are indeed remote. It is the (relative or absolute) absence of certain possibilities that is registered in these oppositions. As we know, scholars cite authors for purposes of disagreement almost as much as for support, but the point is that even the critic with whom one disagrees is drawn inside a sphere of relevance. The critics on either side of the divides are thus considered irrelevant to the questions asked on the other side. This is the logic that lies beneath the distances we see visualized in the graph. A critic who is placed right on an axis line, such as Foucault and Bakhtin in this case, contributes nothing to the oppositions between the two sides separated by that line, but is perfectly aligned with the oppositions *along* that line.

The names in Fig. 2 will appear instantly interpretable to those whose own principles of vision and division have been formed by the field, less so by others. My own interpretation is based on a similar formation, over a long time, of a specific disposition to register differences that are meaningful within this field. To be clear on the work of interpretation here: I am not stating claims about the individual scholarly projects represented by the dissertations considered in their own right, but elaborating the best possible analytical description of the pattern that emerges from the aggregate practice of citing secondary sources.

The shape of the cloud of cited authorities suggests a triangular set of oppositions, and we are encouraged to identify three poles of choices that are significantly distant from one another. Based on the contributions and the affinities between proximate positions, those poles can be indicated by drawing circles of inclusion.

Clockwise, starting with top left: a pole drawing on German idealism and French poststructuralism, centered on the problematics of metaphysics, dominant across this period; for short: the pole of textual mystique and singularity. Across from it, horizontally, a pole drawing on Anglo-American feminism, social theory and historical-cultural theories of the novel, centered on socio-historical problematics, emergent in this period; for short: the pole of secular critique and particularity. Distant from both of these, a pole drawing on studies of myths and religion, centered on the problematics of a universal anthropology, residual in this period; for short: the pole of archetypes and universality.¹⁴

¹⁴ The triad dominant-emergent-residual is taken from Raymond Williams (1977) and will be developed below.

In their citations of foreign critics, theorists, writer-critics and other authorities, Swedish scholars take up positions that structure a universe of disciplinary alignments and oppositions. My short-hand descriptions above are the result of a careful analysis of these patterns. I will now sketch out some of the traits at more length.

5.2.1. *The pole of textual singularity*

Before we start looking at the critical resources used in the pole of textual singularity, we should note two key characteristics which define it in opposition to the pole of secular particularity. First, there is not a single female critic among the authorities that contribute more than the average to this side of the axis. Second, the cited authors are philosophers or poets, rather than literary critics or social thinkers. The philosophy in question is defined by choices like Schlegel, Hegel and Heidegger, tracing a lineage in German romantic, idealist and phenomenological philosophy. This lineage is central to the deconstructive project of Jacques Derrida, who contributes more than any other cited authority to this pole. Next to Derrida, Paul de Man is the critic most associated with the project of deconstruction, and just like Derrida, his critical project takes Heidegger as a central starting point (de Man, 1989). Peter Szondi is, along with Hans-Georg Gadamer, perhaps the main exponent in the 20th century of German idealist philosophy in literature, in the tradition of hermeneutics.

Schlegel argued that the division between poetry and philosophy was recent and unfortunate, while Heidegger brought thinking and poeticizing together in his essay on Hölderlin's "Andenken" (see Heidegger, 1993). The geometric visualization of our data mimics this crossing of boundaries by drawing up a close relationship between poets and philosophers in the Textual singularity cluster. Moving from top to bottom, the continental philosophers, writing in German and French, are succeeded by French and German poets: Novalis, Mallarmé, Hölderlin, and Rilke.

Gathered at this end of the graph, then, we find the central names of German idealist esthetics, along with the names of others who can be argued to have preserved something of the impulses of German idealism in the forms of phenomenology, hermeneutics and, finally, of deconstruction. As Toril Moi notes, German idealist esthetics is at work, and can be found, "in places we would not necessarily have connected with German philosophy" and some such "idealism in action" is registered in the cited authorities that contribute to this side of the first axis (Moi, 2006, 70).

But a tradition, a "lineage" that gets perpetuated, is not simply an active organic principle: it has to be actively reproduced. A portal figure in the active assembling of a canon of sacred singularity in the Swedish intellectual field is Maurice Blanchot, who took a profound interest in Rilke, Hölderlin, Novalis, and Mallarmé (and also Breton, who is also found here) and is placed close to de Man in this pole. Blanchot helps us establish a delimited site for the entanglement of these poets and philosophers in the influential Swedish periodical *KRIS*, which took it upon itself to introduce continental philosophy for domestic intellectual consumption: the September issue of 1980 is dedicated to Derrida and Blanchot, for example, and over the course of the 1980s the journal would publish six translated pieces by Hölderlin, four essays by Blanchot, four by Derrida, four by Barthes, three by Benjamin (one of which is on Hölderlin), three by Hegel, two by Heidegger (one of them the essay on Hölderlin and the essence of poetry), as well as scattered pieces by Kristeva, Bataille, Hoffmansthal, Novalis, Lyotard, Levinas, Girard and Husserl. The Swedish contributors also provide many pieces of commentary on Derrida, Blanchot, Hegel, Heidegger and Hölderlin. Hans Ruin writes about "Heidegger reading Hölderlin" and the journal publishes in translation the "First system program of German idealism."¹⁵ In short, we find considerable agreement between the choices made by the editors of *KRIS* and this part of the citational universe. Not surprisingly, four of those editors are also found here, if we look at the dissertation authors: Horace Engdahl, Anders Olsson, Aris Fioretos, and Roland Lysell.

Drawing up a list of all the non-Swedish critics, philosophers and theorists that were featured in *KRIS* from 1977 onwards, either as the objects of articles by the *KRIS* contributors, or with one or several pieces of their own, and mapping them among the cited authorities in our material, we get the distribution in Fig. 3, which reveals a striking overlap with the choices at the left-hand side of the first axis, with only Habermas providing some cognitive disjunction. The principles of vision at work at the pole of textual singularity are clearly very similar to the ones at work among the editors of one particular avant-garde intellectual journal. The constellation of intellectual resources displays some of the key names of what was seen as high theory at the time, but the overall impulse is toward a recuperation of the past, an essentially conservative vision of literature as poetic language, singular in its being, to be read for its intrinsic or intertextual meaning.

5.2.2. *The pole of secular particularity*

Clearly opposed to almost every single value of the pole of textual singularity, we find on the right hand of the horizontal axis a pole pronouncedly marked by feminism. What is rejected by the textual singularity cluster but present here is, to put it bluntly, women. At the pole of secular particularity, there are seven female critics whose positions are all at a great distance from the left-hand pole, with only Bourdieu being placed at a farther remove than any of the seven. Toril Moi, Pil Dahlerup, Simone de Beauvoir, Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar, Elaine Showalter, Ellen Moers and Virginia Woolf are all part of a heterogeneous and temporally complex feminist literary-scholarly formation, present to different extents in a large number of dissertations in this period. Not coincidentally, they are also, as we just noted, female critics, in clear contradistinction to the critics that are favored at the two other poles, where no women belong to the most distinctive choices.

¹⁵ The pattern of x reading y reading z is a characteristic one in this tradition, so that we are not surprised to read an essay in which Aris Fioretos writes on Derrida commenting on Heidegger reading Trakl.

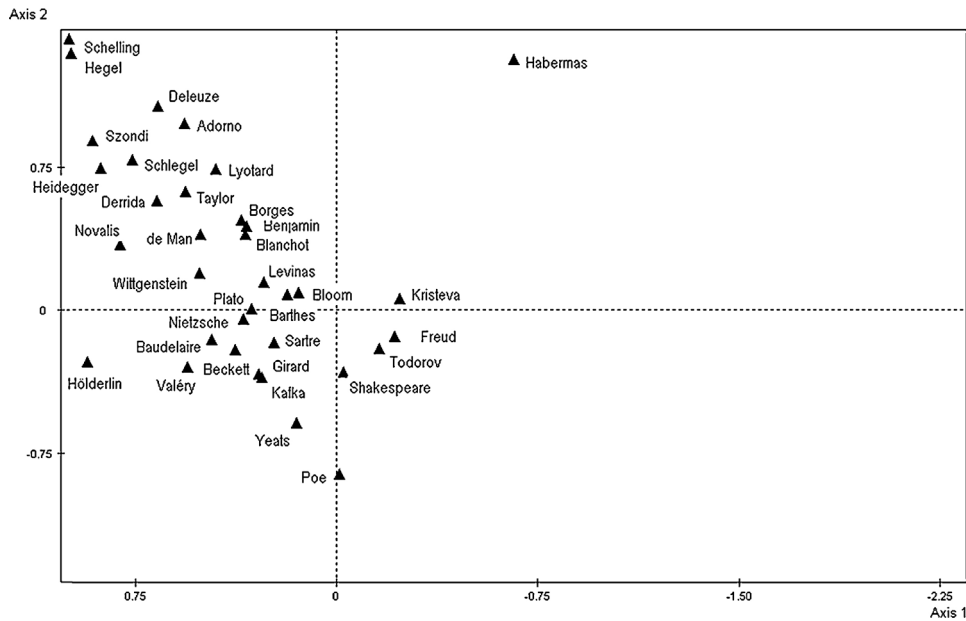


Fig. 3. Authors, critics, philosophers, etc. featured in the journal *KRIS* from 1977 onwards, as placed in the plane of axes 1 and 2.

But the pole of secular particularity is not only feminist and female: there are structural affinities expressed in other choices at this pole. A description that will connect the qualities by which they oppose the other poles would go something like this: Pierre Bourdieu is a sociologist of culture, as distinct from the philosophical and poetic accounts of esthetic matters given by the textual singularity critics and the archetypal critics; Edward Said's insistence on a "secular" criticism also foregrounds the social and political world out of which literature arises; Ian Watt's *The Rise of the Novel* (Watt, 1957; 22 out of the 28 citations to Watt) charts the emergence of a literary form as a phenomenon made possible by social changes. Mikhail Bakhtin, one of the most "elastic" authors available for appropriation, is firmly placed at this socio-historical end, where his influential theorization of the novel as heteroglossic fits in well.¹⁶ Peter Brooks is represented by titles linking desire, psychoanalysis and narrative, most importantly in the influential study *Reading for the Plot: Design and Intention in Narrative* (Brooks, 1984). He has the interest in prose narrative in common with Said and Watt, as against the focus on poetry on the left-hand side, and the linking of narrative with psychoanalysis is present also in the work of Elaine Showalter and Gilbert & Gubar. In their focus on desire and gender, however, they differ very much, as we will see, from the psychoanalytical traditions at the pole of anthropological universality.

To sum up our interpretations of the right-hand pole of the first axis, we see a complex pattern in which feminist frameworks of reading dominate side by side with secular and sociological modes, along with a partiality for prose narratives, and with a presence also of psychoanalytical approaches. The further we get toward the extremes of this pole, the more do female critics predominate.

5.2.3. The pole of anthropological universality

Turning to the bottom of the figure—a pole primarily constituted by an opposition along the second axis—and the cited critics who contribute more than double the average to it, we find a cluster of critics that has scant impact on the horizontal opposition between textual singularity and secular particularity. With respect to this pole of anthropological universality, the clusters marked out by Moi and Schelling, Bourdieu and Derrida are now on the same side. While in so many ways different or even antagonistic, these positions keep an objective distance from the choices at the opposite pole, which taken together display a fascination with myths, symbols and archetypes.

The constellation of names found here is easily recognizable as largely fitting under the umbrella label "archetypal literary criticism," but it is worth making a reckoning of the individual critics and expanding the umbrella a bit. The central names in that cluster, as measured by their contribution, are Carl Gustav Jung and Mircea Eliade, both of them embodying career-long searches for archetypal patterns in the religious and spiritual documents formed through the ages and across the

¹⁶ Bourdieu makes the point that certain "elastic" authors circulate particularly well across borders (Bourdieu, 2002). The case of Bakhtin is an interesting illustration. The GDA clearly places Bakhtin as a resource that is used in the socially and historically inflected dissertations, at a distance from poststructuralist and hermeneutic positions, while an earlier study of the Swedish uses of theory takes him to be a thinker imported along with poststructuralism (Gustavsson, 2005, 524).

world's cultures. A similar generalist and broadly comparatist interest is found in James George Frazer's *The Golden Bough*, cited by some thirty dissertations. Taking the other high-contributing critics into account, as well as others cited at this pole but with lower contributions, the common link is a speculative anthropology expressed in different discourses. Considering Martin Buber in relation to Jung, for example, one thinks first of him as a fierce critic of Jung's gnostic view of religion, but clearly this disagreement betrays a proximity in the terrain where they both moved. They were both seeking universal anthropological truths, although by different, psychological or religious-ethical, paths and both had an abiding interest in myths. Chronologically, the earliest of the authorities cited here, and the actual or potential source for much of the scholarship, is Schopenhauer. Jung's deep debt to this philosopher is well attested. The program for a philosophical and psychological anthropology based on drives that are relatively or fully independent of rational reflection was influentially established in Schopenhauer's work.

Vladimir Propp differs in giving to his underlying schema of fairy tales no psychological or mythical motivation, but the folkloric search for underlying structures is not far removed from the archetypal schemes of Jung. Claude Lévi-Strauss and Northrop Frye are also found near this pole. A fundamental orientation toward mythic motifs and symbols as existing independently of the individual text is revealed also in the citations to Hans Biedermann, alongside Jean C. Cooper (just below the double average contribution): they are both authors of comprehensive dictionaries of symbols, *Knaurs Lexikon der Symbole* and *An Illustrated Encyclopedia of Traditional Symbols*.

As a contrast to the logic of the encyclopedia entry, what is also striking about the citations at this pole is the reliance on literary authors, both novelists and poets: Eliot, Camus, Dostoevsky, Mann, Hesse, Auden, with Edith Södergran and Edgar Allan Poe falling just below the double average contribution. The intense states of consciousness that interested Jung and Buber are the stuff of the stories and poems of Dostoevsky, Poe and Edith Södergran. Hermann Hesse is another mainly literary writer whose interest in psychoanalysis (a great admirer of Freud, and also, with some reservations, of Jung) and in a larger anthropology than one centered in Europe places him comfortably along the other cited critics here, in that "ideological matrix of religion and psychology, centering on ideas of Jung, Bachofen, Nietzsche and Hölderlin, as well as on Gnostic notions" (Solbach, 2009, 81). A similar matrix in which myth is central informs T. S. Eliot's modernism, his debt to Frazer a well-established one (Eliot, 1975, 177–78; Vickery, 1973). Belonging to the same period, Thomas Mann wrestled with the claims of philosophy and psychology, famously seeing Freud's theories as the "translation of [Schopenhauer's] metaphysics to psychology" (Mann, 1999, 285). There are paths that can be pursued to bring Camus and Auden into contact with the anthropological-mythical network, but their presence here is more to be explained as effects of a general concern with existential problematics, and not least in these cases with iconic writers who turned away from radical politics. Most significant, however, is the choice at this pole to turn to literary authors as authorities: the vatic view of the writer is not far removed from an interest in myth and archetypes.

Buber's fundamental question, "What is man?" is at stake for all of these critics and writer-critics; it is asked within a general project of a universalist anthropology, and often in the name of symbolic transcendence. Within this tradition, literary texts are read for the underlying symbolic, mythical meanings, and literary writers themselves are endowed with special authority as critics and commentators.

This prophetic universalism—of myth, of archetypes, religious, metaphysical, literary-modernist, existentialist—is countered by critical philosophy and especially the philosophical critique of metaphysics (not without its own universalist dimensions, one might add)—Kant, Hegel, Deleuze, Adorno, Derrida, Heidegger—and critical social theory—Foucault, Habermas, Bourdieu, Moi. Discounting Moi, feminism and female authorities do not directly contribute to the opposition along the second axis. Its keystone is Michel Foucault, whose influence fails to register along any other of the first five axes, but is given a position right on the line of axis two. A central figure for the rejection of anthropological universals and all other unities, whether of myth, religion or history, Foucault also provides a counter-voice to the concerns with modern forms of subjectivity as cultivated by the literary writers at the other pole.

5.3. Analyzing the citational space: strategies, supplementary variables

To sum up before going on, the citations of foreign intellectual resources by Swedish scholars form a space defined by a tripolar opposition. Continental philosophy, hermeneutics and poetic language faces sociologically informed critique, feminism and the dialogics of the novel, and these two poles are both distant from the anthropological universalisms and existential preoccupations of the third pole. Having interpreted this tripolar opposition as a primary structure of this citational universe, one must then think of this pattern as reflecting strategies and resources, in Bourdieu's sense.

5.3.1. Time

To speak of strategies means introducing time. The choices are bound up with basic orientations, I have argued, and these orientations are understandable only within the field and its space of possibles. To cite an authority reflects an investment of time and energy—all the more so if it involves reading texts that almost invariably offer some difficulty. Whether an investment will yield a profit also has to do with timing. Symbolic goods are subject to cycles of recognition, and the foreign imports in this period can be classed in Raymond Williams's terms: residual, dominant, and emergent (121). Looking at the most cited authorities across this period, the overall number of citations for each of them increases year by year, with the single exception of Carl Gustav Jung, for whom references decrease toward the end of the period. Taking the main contributors to the two poles along the first axis and the bottom pole of the second axis, we can see these trends on a larger

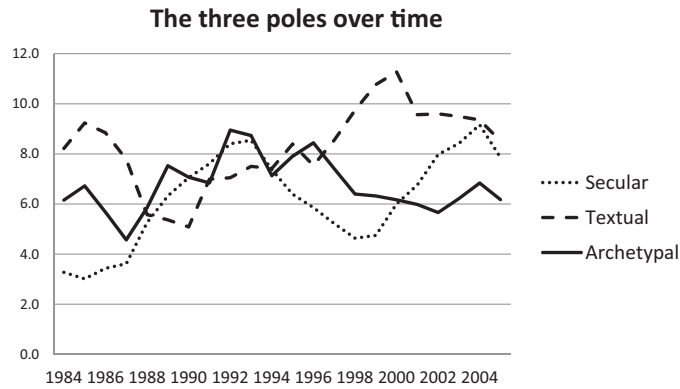


Fig. 4. Citations to the distinctive formations at the three poles of the plane of axes 1 and 2, over time, as a proportion of all citations, running five-year averages.

scale in Fig. 4. Only very briefly, around 1990, are the “textual” citations eclipsed by the “secular” or “anthropological” citations. “Textual” and “secular” shares increase in the second half of the period, while the “archetypal” or anthropological share declines.¹⁷

To say that the pole of textual singularity is the dominant one in this period, while a more sociological and feminist approach is emergent, is not to predict that the latter will overtake the former and become dominant. It seems likely that the discipline will remain anchored in forms of literary analysis that will privilege the textual over the contextual, the esthetic over the political, while harnessing and transforming different types of social critique so as to make them forms of celebrating the literary text. This process quite simply reflects the fundamental censorship of the field, which insists that the final term of any negotiation is the notion of the literary. So the fact that references to Bourdieu increase in this period (five in the first half, 30 in the second) does not imply that Swedish literary scholars are all literary sociologists by now. The “emergent” status might be understood as registering a potential, drawing one vector toward a wholly different space of possibles, in which the academic study of literature is successively disenchanted of its belief in the sacredness of the literary. While I would endorse such a development, I can only see its realization in a total transformation of the discipline—not a likely prospect.

On the other hand, the pole of universal anthropology is not likely to return as a dominant, at least not in the constellation this analysis reveals. But that does not mean that this stance is simply archaic or obsolete: as Williams argues, the residual is not to be equated with the archaic, since unlike that which is recognized as safely in the past, it is still “active in the cultural process, not only and often not at all as an element of the past, but as an effective element of the present” (122). As we will see, however, the dissertation authors found at this pole are on average older than the others.

5.3.2. Gender, age, linguistic orientation, institutional basis

Timing informs and enables strategies. But what other factors condition these stances? If we think of this map of a citational universe as showing us a particular dimension of the overall position-takings, we would want to see which positions underlie those strategies. A full prosopographical study of these individuals has not been carried out, so for now we will only be able to point to some key indicators.

The most striking division correlated with the opposition along the first axis is that between male and female, in terms of the gender of the dissertation author, of the object of study, and of the cited foreign Intellectuals. As supplementary variables projected into the plane, the distance between the “extreme” position-takings (more than 33% female critics among the *frequently cited foreign critics* as against no female critics) is greater than between the gender of the dissertation author (see Appendix C, Fig. C1). The preponderance of male authors among the objects of study is remarkable: 139 dissertations studied male authorships, as against 43 studying female authors.

Looking at age, there is an interesting relation between the relative youth of the PhD dissertation author at the time of the degree and the age of the cited critics: the younger the PhD, the older the critics cited. As was shown above, one key citational resource at the pole of textual singularity consisted of the German idealist tradition, while the secular particularity pattern looks to more recent critics in sociology and feminist theory. The results concerning age mainly affect the horizontal opposition, but we can see that the older dissertation authors tend to be oriented toward the anthropological universality paradigm. It might have been expected that the temporal succession of the different PhDs would have formed an almost

¹⁷ The fact that all three curves display a dip toward the end of the time series cannot safely be interpreted as a sign that some new formation is displacing them. Rather, it is an artifact of the method: since citations to newly available or newly discovered intellectual resources will occur piecemeal and only later snowball, such solitary resources, which would otherwise have boosted the figures of existing formations, will not be included since they fall under the limit of at least five citations in at least two dissertations. At the same time, some of the references within a given formation will fall out of fashion.

straight line from the left to the right, and while the most recent PhDs are to the right and the earliest PhDs to the left, they are all very close to the center, indicating that this dimension is not very significant for the distribution of citational choices along the first two axes (see Appendix C, Figs. C2 and 3). The absence of a strong temporal logic may indicate that the period chosen was, in fact, precisely a period, while including the preceding decade might have shown us the break between two different periods.

Finally, given that this is a space formed by an intellectual gaze turned outwards, to a global space of citable authorities, the enabling conditions for the choices made include a geolinguistic orientation, a disposition to search for resources in certain language areas, a disposition one may assume is supported by the requisite linguistic capital. All frequently cited critics were identified by their final or most recent permanent residence, which was then coded according to language area. Each dissertation was then accorded variables which described whether, in proportion to all the citations to frequently cited critics, it had a high share, a medium share, or a low share of cited authors from each major language area. Most of the modalities were found in the center of the space, distinguishing but slightly different choices. The varying shares of critics from the English language areas, in particular, were not distinctive along the first two axes. Keeping only the distinctive choices with respect to language area, and adding the distinctive categories for the degree to which cited publication sites matched language area, we can see in Fig. 5 that linguistic choices indeed are correlated with the structuring patterns of this space.

At the pole of textual singularity, critics from the German and French language areas held high shares, a result strengthened by the high degree to which the cited works were published in those language areas. The secular particularity pole displays a relative lack of interest in German, French and other West European secondary sources, but otherwise a general lack of distinctive language orientations, except in their disposition to cite scholars from the other Scandinavian countries. Moving closer to the pole of anthropological universality, the Scandinavian element is absent, while critics from “All Other” language areas, and from Eastern Europe are more in evidence here than in the other poles (keeping in mind that the numbers are very low for these references), but what is most characteristic of this pole is the low matching of the critics’ language area and the publishing site of the cited works. This implies that the archetypally inclined dissertation scholars are more disposed to work with translated work; in that way, they are freer to draw on language areas in which very few Swedish scholars are competent in terms of language proficiency. It seems clear that textual singularity is a pole of choices reflecting a certain linguistic distinction, typical of the traditional requirement that the comparative literature scholar be fully conversant in German and French. This pattern corresponds rather well to the inclusion of these scholars in databases of translators and practical critics in this period, with a preponderance of translators and prolific critics in the upper left quadrant of this plane (see Appendix C, Fig. C5). The pole of secular particularity, by contrast, does not display this linguistic distinction, but converses with other Scandinavian scholars to a higher degree. From the “universal” perspectives of the anthropological pole the close neighbors are less relevant, while foreign sources are sought also where the existence of translations, not one’s own linguistic capital, makes them accessible. These findings imply a paradox with regard to the international openness of the discipline: the scholars who display less linguistic capital in their non-domestic citations are

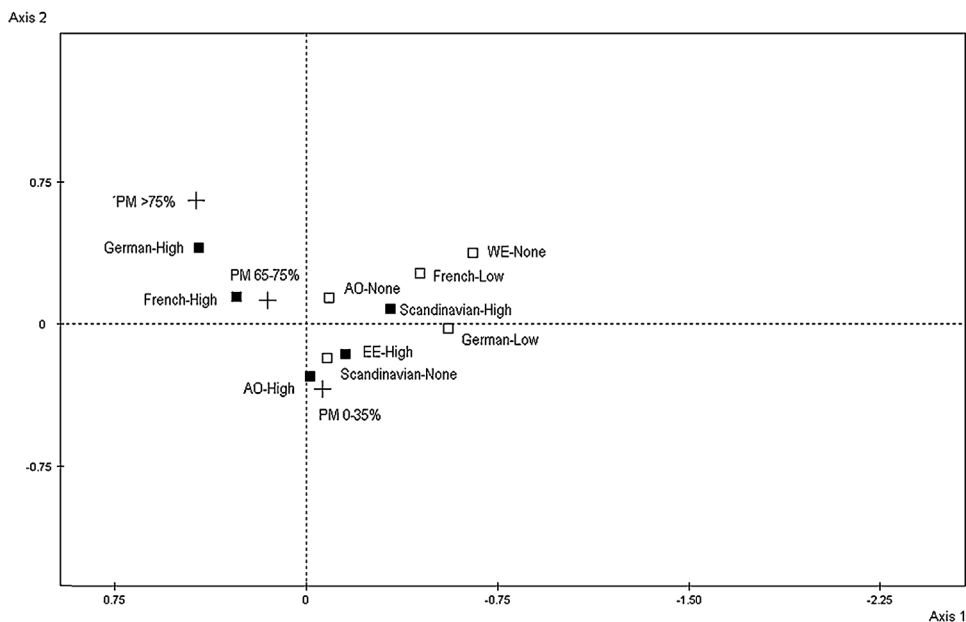


Fig. 5. Citations of critics from different language areas, coded as High share, High Medium share, Low share and None, only the distinctive choices plotted (WE: other West European; EE: East European; AO: All Other language areas). Degree of matches between language area of critic and publication site of cited work (PM: Publication Match), five categories, only three distinctive categories plotted.

able to cite scholars from outside the internationally hegemonic language area of English and the nationally distinct and privileged language areas of German and French, but to do so they are of course more dependent on translations.

Only to a very small extent do these stances correlate institutionally, that is, with the distribution of dissertation authors' universities (see Appendix C, Fig. C4). However, looking at the academic trajectory that followed on these investments, there is an opposition between the two oldest, most prestigious universities, Uppsala and Lund. Marking only those scholars who received a professor's title within 15 years after defending their PhD dissertation or getting a *docentur* within ten years, the Uppsala positions are found mainly in the north-west quadrant and the Lund positions in a cluster in the south-west quadrant and in the two right-hand quadrants (see Appendix C, Fig. C6). The citational choices thus appear to coincide with dispositions that will tend to lead to particular destinations.

6. Concluding remarks

In the period 1980–2005, Swedish scholars in literature responded to increasing globalization with what we might term citational business as usual, increasing the proportion of citations to foreign critics only for the most frequently cited critics, and to a modest degree. In the patterns of citational choices revealed by the GDA, however, that business as usual turns out to underlie fundamental oppositions between different conceptions of literature. To cite the larger world is also to display an orientation in one's institutional world.

The patterns of citational choices as analyzed here, falling into three main poles on the plane of the first two axes, reflect fundamentally different conceptions of literature. In other words, the Geometric Data Analysis of the citations of non-Swedish intellectual sources shows us how these global resources become a means for articulating basic stances toward literature. Since the analysis of citations constructs an object that speaks only of *position-takings*, this study needs to be complemented with an analysis of the *positions* of the dissertation authors, and especially their trajectories, in order to say whether different stances correspond to different positions—dominant or dominated—in the field (see Bourdieu, 1993, 30). Or rather, whether they correspond to positions that are consistent with a path toward dominant or dominated positions: since dissertation authors are by definition young, sociologically speaking, they do not hold a dominant position at the time of the dissertation defense. But this points to an important issue to pursue in future research: does the appropriation of foreign intellectual goods carry any decisive weight in the struggles over legitimacy in the humanities, with their strong anchoring in the local language and culture? Even without such an analysis of positions and trajectories, the GDA presented here reveals principles of vision and division pertaining to a linguistically ordered “geointellectual” space, as seen from this Swedish disciplinary location. Whether these principles belong to the “unconscious national culture” that Bourdieu speaks about, or whether they are principles imported from that geointellectual space cannot be determined without comparative study (2002, 7). Until we have such results, it might be best assumed that while these stances reflect “national categories of thought” (Bourdieu, 2002, 7), they do so by means of international and transnational appropriations. In other words, the national categories of thought express themselves partly via foreign sources.

The interpretation of the first two axes yielded three scholarly conceptions of literature, labeled textual singularity, secular particularity and anthropological universality on the basis of the critics and theorists favored at each pole. The analysis of supplementary variables showed weak institutional and temporal correlations, but an interesting linguistic dimension—at the dominant textual pole the scholars distinguish themselves in terms of choices that seem to reflect a particular linguistic capital, with a high degree of sources cited in the original German and French—and a decisive gender correlation.

The gendered structure of these oppositions is overwhelmingly in evidence as one moves from the male-dominated textual pole to the strongly feminist and female social pole of the first axis. This opposition reveals one dimension of the struggle over the power to determine the legitimacy of conceptions of literature in this field: it is one that has pitted several generations of female scholars against a masculine domination of this field.¹⁸ In a recent debate raging in the major Swedish dailies in May 2015, over the figure of the “culture man” (*kulturmännan*) in Swedish intellectual life, one of the leading Swedish scholars tersely summed up the best strategy for male scholars and critics: “Cite only male forebears, male theoreticians, and philosophers who write in a foreign language” (Witt-Brattström, 2015). The implicit link between foreign intellectual resources and masculinist domination is of some interest given the findings of the GDA. What is more, the structural analysis shows there are implicit alliances between such a feminist challenge and a sociologically inclined study of literature.

The relationship between structural oppositions, large-scale trends of internationalization, and conjunctural politics prompts a reflection on the status of the former for understanding the two latter. Two avenues for speculative conclusions present themselves: one of them attends to local and particular conditions, and would recognize this structure as the outcome of struggles in the Swedish field of literary studies and literary criticism, in which the “radical seventies” were laid to rest by means of a turn away from realism and documentarism toward textual theories of meaning, a trail blazed prominently by the avant-garde journal *KRIS*, while new feminist positions are established by means of explicit feminist

¹⁸ For a study of how a particular intellectual resource was mobilized by female critics, in different ways, see Alexander Ekelund's analysis of how Julia Kristeva was appropriated by literary scholars in this period (Ekelund, 2011).

theory as well as sociological and historical interrogations of literary values; myths, at the same time, provided, in Donald Broady and Mikael Palme's words, "an honorable retreat" from, and, one should add, an alternative to, Marxist frameworks of explanations for critics who retained a belief in the power of literature to explain our social or existential being without recourse to sociology (Broady & Palme, 1998, 185). The other avenue would frame this tripolar structure as a fundamental and predictable one for this discipline generally, and one that we should expect to find in many other national fields: the origins of the discipline in the forced marriage of esthetics and "national" values (or similar values concerned with cultural identification and patrimony) will always produce a pole in which dominant cultural values are euphemized as inherent in the literary singularity of charismatically transmitted texts; the larger historical and social transformation by which literary and other esthetic forms of expression were invested with energies earlier channeled through official and unofficial religious apparatuses will in the same order of things always produce a pole in which spiritual and existential values will be euphemized as deep structures of literary texts; finally, the forces of disenchantment and resistance to these two socially conservative poles will tend to generate a pole that seeks to lay bare the political and social structures that sustain the literary institution and its symbolic violence in the forms so successfully misrecognized within the other poles. Perhaps it is not in a choice between these two avenues, but in an effort to keep both scales present in the analysis that research should proceed, as Anna Boschetti has recently argued (2012, 29). Comparative studies of other national fields could help determine whether oppositions between conceptions of literature derive from local particularities or more general disciplinary requirements.

Be that as it may, the results of this study underline the relatively closed nature of the humanities with regard to internationalization, a state of affairs already asserted by other scholars, as noted above. The practices of this category of Swedish literary scholar, at least, remain largely unchanged in terms of openness to international scholarship in this period. It is suggested here that the "national cultural mission" of the academic departments of *litteraturvetenskap* put an effective limit on the share of non-domestic resources that can be deployed and thus, by extension, the degree to which international collaboration may be engaged in. In other words, scholarly reproduction of literature shares that "local bias" found by Susanne Janssen in elite newspaper coverage of literature, because for both scholars and journalists it is at the national level that their judgments count, especially in less central national fields (Janssen, 2009, 368). On the other hand, it is possible that these domestic imperatives within the scholarly arena are to some extent formed by pre-existing lines of engagement that originally come from outside: if we take the opposition along the first axis, with its link to linguistic resources, do we not see reflected in it a European divide of very long standing?¹⁹ Heilbron observes that "cultural globalization manifests itself primarily as a process of polycentric concentration" (Heilbron, 2001, 146). Swedish scholars, situated in a peripheral location, relate themselves to that polycentric system by affiliating themselves either to a German, continental tradition of hermeneutics (and its more or less heretic elaboration by French philosophers making their own use of German philosophy) or to a social-historical empiricism that harks back to British and French enlightenment traditions.

The GDA reminds us that whatever quantitative changes may take place, each citation says something (which is not said by the words of the cited or citing author) which can be understood only by locating it in the struggle over legitimate conceptions of literature. One might use the data collected for this study to argue that the citations reflect the changing centrality of the core producers, simply by pointing out that the mean share of citations to US authorities increases in this period (from 22% in the first half of the period to 30% in the second). But far from being directly expressed by the numbers, the impact of that increase will depend on the place held in the field by the scholars making those citational choices. The quantitative increase of US and other Anglophone sources is counterbalanced by a logic of distinction at play within the target field, giving "continental" authorities a symbolic position of privilege.

For the study of internationalization within the humanities, the tools supplied by field theory, not least GDA, allows for the further exploration of the internal, local dynamics involved in the appropriation of delocalizable, global intellectual resources. And for a lot more besides.

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¹⁹ See Heilbron's discussion concerning this continental divide (Heilbron, 2009, 314).

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Supplementary data

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