5 The Galbraithian moment

Affluence and critique of growth in Scandinavia, 1958–1972

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

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

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

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

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

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

The historiography of Scandinavian affluence

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

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

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

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

The context of affluence

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

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

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

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

Knowledge of affluence

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

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

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

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

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

The affluent society in Sweden

The Swedish edition of *The Affluent Society* was published in 1959, at the height of postwar optimism and progressivism. Unemployment was low and GDP growth strong.³³ In Sweden too, there was a debate concerning the relationship between private productivity and public spending, but with different connotations than in the United States. The Social Democratic Party of Sweden had led the government since 1932.³⁴ For a few years, the most important issue in the domestic political debate had been a proposed pension reform, which was decided after a referendum in October 1957 and finally settled with the ATP reform of 1959. The 1956 Social Democratic election programme, signed by Prime Minister Tage Erlander and party secretary Sven Aspling, was marked by optimism and proposed that the standard of living could be increased twofold within the next few decades. The Social Democrats argued for a continued democratisation of society and the labour market in order to ensure that economic progress could be used for creating equality between citizens.³⁵

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The affluent society in Denmark

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

The Danish edition of *The Affluent Society* was published in 1961, at the height of Cold War rivalry. Titled *Det rige samfund* ("The rich society"), it was translated by civil servant Henning Gottlieb⁶¹ with a foreword by Erik Ib Schmidt, who has been described as an *éminence gris* of Danish public administration.⁶² According to historian Jesper Vestermark Køber, Galbraith became a key influence in the ideological reorientation of the Danish labour movement during these decades, and Erik Ib Schmidt was one of the leading figures in a group of politicians and scholars turning to economic science for solutions to the new social challenges of industrialised society.⁶³

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The affluent society in Norway

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Scandinavian affluence

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

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

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

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

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

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

Notes

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

- 16 Stefan Kesting, "John Kenneth Galbraith: A Radical Economist?" *International Journal of Social Economics* 37, no. 3 (2010): 179–196; Stephen Dunn and Steven Pressman, "The Lasting Economic Contributions of John Kenneth Galbraith, 1908–2006", *Journal of Post Keynesian Economics* 29, no. 2 (2006): 179–190.
- 17 Galbraith's relation to institutionalism has been discussed by Geoffrey M. Hodgson, "What Is the Essence of Institutional Economics?" *Journal of Economic Issues* 34, no. 2 (2000): 317–329; Geoffrey M. Hodgson, "From Veblen to Galbraith: What Is the Essence of Institutional Economics?" in *Economist With a Public Purpose: Essays in Honour of John Kenneth Galbraith*, ed. Michael Keaney (London: Routledge, 2001), 95–114; Malcolm Rutherford, "Institutional Economics: Then and Now", *The Journal of Economic Perspectives* 15, no. 3 (2001): 185; James Ronald Stanfield and Mary Wrenn, "John Kenneth Galbraith and Original Institutional Economics", *Journal of Post Keynesian Economics* 28, no. 1 (2005): 25–45.
- 18 Robert M. Collins, *More: The Politics of Economic Growth in Postwar America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000). See also Seefried, "Towards the 'Limits to Growth'?" (2011), 10.
- 19 Horowitz, *Anxieties*; Avner Offer, *The Challenge of Affluence: Self-control and Well-Being in the United States and Britain Since 1950* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 16. For a discussion on postwar critique of consumerism, see Gary Cross, *An All-Consuming Century: Why Commercialism Won in Modern America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000).
- 20 Friman, *No Limits*, 140–141. Galbraith's impact on British political discourse, specifically the notion of affluence, has been examined more closely in Lawrence Black and Hugh Pemberton, eds., *An Affluent Society? Britain's Post-War "Golden Age" Revisited* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004). Galbraith's contributions to the 1977 BBC television series *Age of Uncertainty* and the ensuing debate are covered in Alexandre Chirat, "When Galbraith Frightened Conservatives: Power in Economics, Economists' Power, and Scientificity", *Journal of Economic Issues* 52, no. 1 (2018); Angus Burgin, "Age of Certainty: Galbraith, Friedman, and the Public Life of Economic Ideas", *History of Political Economy* 45, no. 1 (2013): 191–219.
- 21 Leif Lewin, *Planhushållningsdebatten* (Uppsala: Uppsala universitet, 1967), 430.
- 22 Jenny Andersson, *Mellan tillväxt och trygghet* (Uppsala: Uppsala universitet, 2003), 41, 65.
- 23 Jesper Vestermark Køber also discusses Galbraith's influence on Danish social democracy during the 1950s and 1960s in his doctoral dissertation "Ett Spørgsmål om nærhed: Nærdemokratibegrebets historie i 1970'ernes Danmark" (Diss., University of Copenhagen, 2017).
- 24 Biographical accounts are offered in Parker, J. K. *Galbraith*; James R. Stanfield, *John Kenneth Galbraith* (New York: St. Martin's, 1996).
- 25 Holcomb Noble and Douglas Martin, "John Kenneth Galbraith, 97, Dies: Economist Held a Mirror to Society", *New York Times*, 30 April 2006, www.nytimes.com/2006/04/30/obituaries/john-kenneth-galbraith-97-dies-economist-held-a-mirror-to.html.
- 26 Parker, J. K. *Galbraith*.
- 27 *Ibid.*, 274–277.
- 28 Galbraith, *Affluent Society*, 257. Galbraith's use of the term "private opulence, public squalor" echoed the Latin phrase *publice egestatem, privatim opulentiam*, which Roman historian Sallust attributed to Cato the Younger (in *De Bello Catilinario et Jugurthino*, Section LII). In the nineteenth century, British poet Matthew Arnold used the phrase (as *publice egestas, privatim opulentia*) to describe contemporary London. Matthew Arnold, *Culture and Anarchy and Other Writings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 71. See also Peter Jay, "The Price of Civilization by Jeffrey Sachs", *The Spectator*, 29 October 2011.
- 29 Galbraith, *Affluent Society*, 251–271.
- 30 Mattias Schmeltzer, *The Hegemony of Growth: The OECD and the Making of the Economic Growth Paradigm* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016).

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

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

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