Social sciences in the field of power - the case of Danish social science

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Abstract: The social science disciplines are strongly differentiated on an epistemological level and in problem choice. One can say that the social sciences are characterised by a number of different epistemological ways of taking position or ways of legitimising social scientific knowledge production. Further more different scientific problems and social institutions are allocated as research objects to different social sciences disciplines. This paper looks in to how these different epistemological styles and choice of scientific problems are not only internal principals of differentiation, but also constitutes important relations to other power full social interests and institutions in the field of power. I thus ague that we can understand the social sciences as a field of force and struggle, where different disciplines compete in producing legitimate representations of the social that also represent specific societal interests.
Using the language of Bourdieu, I construct a space of social scientific epistemological position taking using multiple correspondence analysis. Into this space I project a number of supplementary variables representing social science disciplines, position taking towards non academic institutions and interest and research subject and thus show how different epistemological position taking are connected to specific societal interest, problems and institutions.
The paper draws on data form a survey conducted among Danish social scientist in fall 2009 and uses specific multiple correspondence analysis.

Key words: social sciences, multiple correspondence analysis, Bourdieu, field of power,

Denmark, scientific disciplines

Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to look in to the epistemological and social differences within the social sciences and their relation to non academic interests and institutions; or in other words discuss the relations between the social sciences to what I with a Bourdieusian term will call the *field of power*. The differences regarding both epistemological convictions and methodological practises within the social sciences have been an ongoing object of both discussions and frustrations, but few studies has empirically looked in to the social sciences knowledge production, despite the growth of sociology of sciences and sciences studies in the last twenty years (Camic et al. 2011). The epistemological and methodological differences within the social sciences have been headedly debated, but few empirical analyses have looked into it. There is, thus, much knowledge to gain from a closer empirical look at the differences in epistemological convictions and methodological practises and at the relations between different parts of the social sciences to the non academic interest and institutions. Drawing on Bourdieus notion of field, I analyse the social sciences as a field, with homologous structures between position and position taking (Bourdieu 1988; Bourdieu 1996a). This theoretical framework combined with sophisticated statistical analysis leads me to claim, that we can not understand the relation between the social sciences and important societal institution and interests as one dimensional relation. Social scientific knowledge production is not only orientated towards either 'pure' academic problematic or 'applied' non-academic interest and institutions. In addition to this important distinction the social sciences are also differentiated in the ways of engaging with non academic institutions and interests. We can say that the way the relations to non academic institutions and interests is handled and legitimated differ widely within the social sciences. The different social sciences disciplines thus relates to different problematic and

legitimatize their knowledge in very different ways both in relation to academic and societal claims.

Social science and society

The connection between the social science and powerful social interests and institutions, mainly the state, has been an important research topic for social scientist looking in to the development and formations both the cognitive and institutional structures of the social sciences from the late 19th century and onwards. In this article I address the science/society relation as a relation between the social sciences and what Bourdieu designate the field of power. In the following section I sketch out the historical context of the relation between the social sciences and state to specify the relations and highlight the specific character of the relation.

Peter Wagner has designated the relation between the modern states and the social sciences established after the Second World War as 'reform coalitions' (Wagner 2001; Wagner & Wittrock 1991). In his historical analysis of the genesis and formation of the social sciences, he shows how the social sciences in the period was institutionalized and grew in state supported institutions. He furthermore shows how the social sciences on a discursive and institutional levels entered in to different forms of 'reform coalitions' with power full social institutions and interest with ambitions of reforming and governing the post war western states (Wagner 2001; Wagner 2003). The 'reform coalitions' build not only on shared ideas about political and social problems and solution, but also on the increasing demand for positive empirical knowledge about the social world in general, and particular social problems such as unemployment, poverty, ethnicity, economic development etc. (see also: Filtzpatrick 2003). Knowledge that should enable the growing welfare states to regulate and prevent social problems. This demand resulted in changes of

the organization of the social sciences enabling them to conduct societal oriented large scale studies on society. Here through producing representations of the social closely connected to ideas of state and social problems and usable in building up states institution (Desrosières 1991). Simultaneously with the organizational changes in social science, ways of legitimizing social science shifted towards a more scientistic or positivistic mode of representing both means and ends for the social sciences mimicking the natural sciences (Haney 2008; Steinmetz 2005).

In the process of establishing the social science disciplines and their relation to important social interest and institutions, specific problems and empirical topics was allocated to the different disciplines (Heilbron et al. 1998). The different social sciences disciplines were thus related to different social institutions and interest not only through their institutional connection to specific labour markets and financial sources, but just as much through their different representations of society and its problems and solutions.

This analytical description applies generally to social sciences in western countries, where social sciences are closely connected to the national states. It is however important to underline the specific properties of the relation between social sciences and the field of power in the Scandinavian welfare states, which this is case of. As Fridjonsdottir describes it, the social sciences in Scandinavia was institutionalized with close links to and shared reform ambitions with the growing Social Democratic welfare state (1991). In the Danish case this relation was uphold through the troublesome period of the late 1960s to the late 1970s, largely through specific research institutions devoted to social problems and other matters of concern for the welfare state. Through the 1990s the relation between the reformed Danish welfare state and the social sciences was re-strengthened through changes in allocation of funding directing funding towards more applied arrears as well as through a conjunction of academic and bureaucratic strategies and

interest (Kropp & Blok 2011). The following analysis is, thus, an analysis of a specific national setup, from which we can learn about general properties of the relations between the social sciences and the field of power.

Theory: Social sciences as a field

But how can we connect this historical description of the relation between the social sciences and different societal interests to the everyday practices of ordinary social scientists and the epistemological differences setting the social sciences apart? As shown in Wagners analysis the relation between social sciences and the field of power works through both institutions and the different choices of problems, methods and theories by the very single social scientists in their knowledge making. In this article I draw on Bourdieus theoretical framework in order to show and explain the connection between the particular ways social scientists build and think about social scientific knowledge, what I call *epistemological position taking* and the social institutions in which the social scientific knowledge is produced and relations to the field of power (Bourdieu 1975). Using the concepts of habitus, capital, field and field of power enables my to show how different ways of taking position in the social sciences is differentiated in a space of epistemological position taking and how this space in homologues structured in accordance with a space of social sciences disciplines and the field of power in a field like structure (Bourdieu 1996b).

I here understand habitus as relatively durable mental dispositions acquired through practical academic activities. Mental dispositions which tend to dispose the actions of the social scientists in accordance with the structures under which they were acquired. The habitual dispositions is thus produced and inscribed into the body of the social scientist through their education, professional training as well as through their professional activities and trajectory. Habitus becomes one of the key concepts in understanding the

stability of academic institutions, because these institutions is produced and reproduced in the actions generated in the meeting of habitus and field (Bourdieu 1981; Bourdieu 1996a). In the statistical analysis I understand the answers of the social scientists in the questionnaire as expressions of their habitual disposition or as their ways of *taking position* towards central line of conflict and difference with in the social sciences.

In a field analytical approach the specific actions and beliefs of the social scientist are however always related to the actions and beliefs of other social scientists in a field. I here understand fields as relatively autonomous social spaces, bounded by a set of specific rules and practices (doxa) and held together by a common belief or interest in the game of the field (illusion) (Bourdieu 1996a). The filed of social sciences, which I construct in the following part, can be understood as a social structure differentiated by a horizontal and a vertical struggle. The vertical struggle regarding amount and the horizontal struggle regarding the type of social and symbolic resources or academic capitals (Bourdieu 1988). Academic capital is here understood as the social and symbolic resources that can be mobilized in order to change or maintain the social and symbolic structure of the field and positions within it. Bourdieu differentiate between institutionalized and specific prestige capital (Bourdieu 1998c). Institutionalized capital is attached to institutionalized positions such as heads of important department and funding agencies, membership of boards and review panels etc. whereas specific prestige capital derives from recognized academic products (Bourdieu 1998c). Fields are structures of objective relations between positions that tend to structure the strategies applied by the agents to improve or maintain their position. In the struggle in the field agents mobilize various forms for academic capital both institutionalized and specific prestige capital. Field can therefore be understood as both a field of force and struggles, a more static opposed to a more dynamic view of the

social structures. In this paper the field of social sciences is mainly analyzed as a field of force.

By saying the fields are relatively autonomous social space I have indicated that they are none the less related to struggles and structures that do not directly concern the activities and struggles of the field; here the production and legitimating of social scientific knowledge. Drawing on the concept of field of power enables us to understand how the social sciences relate differently to various forms of non academic interest and institutions. I here understand the field of power as a social space where agents of power, struggles over the right to impose and legitimatize specific principles of vision and division on to other social fields (Bourdieu 1996b; 264-272). The field of power is thus the locus of the struggles over general principles of vision and division imposed in different ways throughout the social space. The field of power is composed by the dominating agents and institutions form various fields. In the struggle between social interests and institutions social scientists plays an important role in producing legitimate representations of the social; potentially representing specific institutions and interests in the public (Lebaron 2001) and likewise producing what we can understand as informational capital for both state bureaucracy and private enterprises (Bourdieu 1998b). But concurrently with this process the field of social sciences stands in an antagonistic relation with other field in the field of power, where the field of social science can be understood as located in an intermediate position between the economic field and the field of cultural production (Bourdieu 1988; 118-127; Bourdieu 1996b; Part III).

Following this we need to understand the structure of the field for social sciences and the distinct ways of taking position within it not only as practices concerning different ways of producing social scientific knowledge, but also related to the struggle in the field of power. In the following empirical sections I will show how the different ways

of taking position are related to both specific structures within the field of social scientific research and to the field of power. Saying this is it of cause important to call attention to the relatively autonomy of the field. The relations between the field of social sciences and the field of power that I construct in the following sections are thus not mere reflections of a dominant social structure, but related through institutional and personal connections and arrangements through which different kinds of capital is accumulated and used to strengthened position and promote carriers and research programs. In this processes resources and recognition from non academic institutions and interest must be converted in to recognized academic forms capitals such as peer review publication and research projects.

Research question

Following the theoretical framework sketched out, I will address two key questions through the empirical analysis.

1. What characterize the differences in the space of epistemological position taking?
2. How do different part of the field of social sciences relate to the field of power through choice of research subject, funding and views on means and end for the social sciences?

Methods and data

In order to analyse difference in epistemological position taking and the relationship between the social sciences and the other important societal institutions and interests I use seems from a survey among all Danish social scientist conducted in fall 2009. The survey was conducted as a web survey and send out to social scientists on 65 social scientific institutions encompassing all major social scientific environments in Denmark. The survey

was sent out to 2692 researchers, of which 1296 responded, leading to a response rate at 48 %. The data is representative in regards of gender, position and institutional affiliation. The researchers in the sample were found by contacting to the selected social scientific institutions and by tracking them through web-sides of the institutions. The questionnaire included questions on educational background, institutional affiliation, financial resources, publications, views of epistemological questions, use of different types of empirical material and social background[i].

The data was analyzed using specific Multiple Correspondence Analysis (SMCA) (Le Roux & Rouanet 2004; Le Roux & Rouanet 2010)[ii]. This method was used by Bourdieu in the Distinctions to show differences structuring the social space (Lebaron 2009). Using this technique allow me to construct a social space and study the distribution of both individuals and modalities in a multidimensional space. The distance between individuals and modalities in the space depend on response patterns of individuals. Individuals with similar response patterns are located close to each other and modalities often chosen together are located close to each other in the multidimensional space.

The analysis in conducted in a two step procedure. In the analysis I first construct a space of epistemological position taking within the social sciences analyzing the first research questions; thereafter I use supplementary variables in a structured data analysis for the second research questions (Le Roux & Rouanet 2010; 68-80). The supplementary variables are projected in to the clouds making it possible to ad further analytical perspectives to the constructed space and scrutinize the thesis of homologies. This analytical strategy allows me to open up the descriptive method though a theoretical informed sociological analysis.

Construction a space of social sciences epistemological position taking

Following the study by Le Roux et. al. (Le Roux, Rouanet, Savage, & Warde 2008) I construct a social space using dispositional variables as active variables. In constructing the space of social science epistemological position taking I use variables representing classical lines of conflict and difference about means and ends in the social sciences. The variables in the statistical model follow the five heading: 1) inspiration to the research question, 2) use of empirical data 3) assumptions about human nature, 4) assumptions about society and 5) aim and purpose of the social sciences. The model consists of 15 variables with 76 modalities of which 60 are active.

Table 1 about here

The five headings are furthermore balanced so that none of the heading dominates the entire model (table 2). The axes produced in the statistical analysis are stabile if a variable is omitted or replaced by another relevant variable. The tree first axes represent 65, 6 % of the variance and is kept for further analysis (table 3).

Table 2 about here

Table 3 about here

Summary interpretation of the axis

Most of the variance on the first axis is accounted for by the heading 2) use of empirical data, 3) assumptions about human nature, 4) assumptions about society and 5) aim and purpose of the social sciences, but heading 1) inspiration to the research question do not contribute. The second axis is accounted for by headings 2) use of empirical data and 1) inspiration to the research question. The third axis is mainly accounted for by heading 3) assumptions about human nature.

First axis (see table 4 and figure 1)

Seventeen modalities contribute above the average of contribution to the first axis (100/60=1,66667) and account for about 85 % of the variance of the axis. On the left hand side we find ten modalities representing extensive use of quantitative material, no use of qualitative material, rationalistic assumption about human nature and methodological individualism. Together with these modalities we find modalities representing a social science aiming at determining causal relations and regularities. On the right hand side we find the modalities representing the use of qualitative material, and a rejection of the rationalistic assumptions on human nature and methodological individualism. We all so find modalities representing a social science that favours interpretations of cultures and symbols over the search for causal relations and regularities.

Table 4 and figure 1 about here

Hence, the first axis represents common epistemological and methodological differences found within social sciences knowledge production and in the theoretical and methodological debates about social sciences methods and theoretical styles. It thus represents a distinction between a nomothetic and quantitative oriented epistemological position taking opposed to an idiographic and qualitative one.

Second axis (see table 5 and figure 2)

On the second axis twenty modalities contributes over average, these modalities account for almost 80 % of the variance of the axis. On the upper part of the axis we find modalities representing theoretical position taking and forms of practices. We thus find several modalities indicating no use of empirical materials and theoretical inspiration to the research questions and not from empirical materials nor in cooperation with non academic interests. To these modalities I have added two modalities that do not contribute over average (but both very close to (Le Roux & Rouanet 1998)); both representing clear-cut

theoretical positions and aspirations for the social sciences (in italic in table 5). On the lower part of the axis we find opposite modalities representing the use of various form of empirical material, but mostly quantitative, and research questions formulated in cooperation with non academic interests. Regarding aim and purpose for the social sciences the part of the axis is represented by more moderate or pragmatic form for positions taking.

Table 5 and figure 2 about here

Summing up, the axis represents different orientation of the social scientific research. On the upper part of the axis we find academic orientation and theoretical epistemological positions taking oriented towards academic audiences opposed to the lower part where we find a more empirical epistemological position taking and an orientation towards non academic audiences.

Third axis (see table 6 and figure 3)

On the third axis 19 modalities contribute over average accounting for almost 80 % for the variance. On the upper part of the axis we find modalities representing use of qualitative empirical material. Here we also find a rejection of a rationalistic view of human nature and a view on human as governed by emotions and personal moral. Likewise society is seen as held together by common moral and values. On the lower part of the axis we find not only the opposite modalities, but also modalities representing the intermediary position.

Table 6 and figure 3 about here

The axis is to a very large degree a repetition of the first axis, but with modalities from the heading assumption about human nature instead of modalities from empirical material and assumptions about society. We can thus understand the axis as

representing, some of the same differences in position taking as the first axis, but here expressed in different assumption about human nature.

The space of epistemological position taking

The space of epistemological position taking is differentiated by two main principles of distinction represented on three axes. On the first axis we found a difference between classical opposition within philosophy of social science and methodological discussions. Thus, we fund a nomothetic and quantitative position taking opposed to an idiographic and qualitative one. The second axis represented the second principal of difference; the orientation of research. Here we fund the opposition between a theoretical and academic orientated position opposed to a empirical position orientated toward non academic interests. The third axis repeat distinction from the two first axes, but ads a difference in assumptions on human nature in the opposition found on the first axis. In the following part of the paper I will relate this different was of taking position to other social properties and thus sketch out a field of social sciences.

In structured data analysis I project supplementary variables in to the space of social scientific epistemological position taking in order to address the second research question. The structured data analysis shows that the difference in position taking represented at the third axis did not differentia regarding relations to the field of power. The following analysis is therefore restricted to the first two axes.

The relation to the field of power

As pointed out earlier, the social sciences – its institutions and problematic – stands in a very close relation to non academic institutions and interests; especially the nation states. The issue about the relation to non academic interest and institutions constituted the

seconds axis in the space of epistemological position taking and thus empirically reconfirmed the centrality of the relation. And as known by all taking part it social science activities, the relation to non academic interest and institutions can mobilize social scientist to heated debates about autonomy and societal relevance. Debates not only about engagement or distance, but just as much discussions about types of engagements and the epistemological aims and purposes for the social sciences (For some recent contributions to the discussion: Boudon 2002; Burawoy 2005; Cole 2001; Flyvbjerg 2010; Goldthorpe 2004).

The differences can be understood using Bourdieus model of fields of cultural production (Bourdieu 1996a). In this model, drawing on the basic theoretical assumption about social fields, we find two different orientation of the cultural production in the strife for recognition; an orientation of the production towards other producers opposed to an orientation of the production towards non-producers. In a academic context associated with the *production for producers* we find modes of production, which uses the internally recognized products such as peer reviewed publications and address problems that have arise within the academic institutions such as social theory and sophisticated econometrics. Opposed to this mode of production we find the *production for non-producers*; associated with this mode of production is different forms of cooperation with non academic interests looking in to problems that has arisen in non academic contexts. Likewise we find different kinds of commissioned work and funding from more application-oriented funding agencies very often concerning contemporary problems from unemployment through migration to the organisation of public institutions and HRM. The two modes of production represent two different forms for legitimate social scientific labour and products; or two ways of engaging in the struggles in the field.

In the concept of field lies also the hypothesis that such differences in the field tend to be homologues structured in the metal and institutional structures of the field. In the following analysis I have therefore used variables representing both institutional and mental structures. The institutional part of the difference is represented by two variables: 1) number of projects with external founding and 2) source of funding. The mental structures is represented by four variables, one about inspiration to research questions, and three about aim and purpose for the social sciences. Furthermore I use research subject to show how different part of the field of social science relates to different part of the field of power by addressing specific subjects and producing knowledge about specific areas or problematic of the social.

First axis (see figure 4)

The finding on the first axis bears to the interpretation of the different epistemological position takings as relatively distinct social spaces with own division of academic labour, following the overall principle between production for non-producers opposed to production for producers. There is thus no difference regarding number of external project or source of external financing between the nomothetic and idiographic part of the axis. Likewise we find no differences in position taking regarding inspiration to research question from public debates or whether the social sciences should contribute to improve the foundation for practical action. The differences found on the first axis relates to epistemological conviction between different epistemological positions. They firstly regard different ways of engaging with non academic interest and institution, and represents different views on the social sciences relations to society, and secondly different views on the character for social scientific knowledge. Thus, we find associated with the nomothetic part of the axis modalities representing a instrumentalist view on the purpose of social

sciences as well as rejection of any critical ambition. On the idiographic part of the axis we find the opposite modalities representing a more engaged and critical view on both relation to non academic institutions and purpose of the social sciences.

Second axis (see figure 5 and 6)

It in the space of epistemological position taking the second axis is constituted by a difference between what I designate production for producers opposed production for non-producers. Using variables representing institution and mental structures bear to this interpretation. Regarding the institutional structures we find an opposition between many and non grants and likewise a difference in source on this axis. Associated with the production for producers we find funding from research councils and associated with the production for non producers we finds funding from various non academic institutions ranging from public institutions to private companies and organizations. Furthermore the axis is constituted by differences in position taking regarding the orientation of the social scientific production. On the upper part of the axis we find modalities representing a rejection of non academic problematics as important inspiration for the research questions and a rejection of more instrumental and application-oriented purposes for the social sciences. Opposed to this we find on the lower part of the axis position taking positive towards both engaged and more instrumental purposes for the social sciences.

Research subjects in the field of social sciences (see figure 7)

We have now seen how different ways of looking at and practicing social sciences is distributed in structures which we can understand as a field of cultural production. As earlier pointed out the social sciences stands in a very close relationship to various social institutions and interest and, as we saw above, the views on the relation to non academic

interest and institutions differ not only between 'basic' and 'applied', but just as important between different views on the relation to non-academic institutions and interest and the character of social scientific knowledge.

Looking at the research subjects in relation to the first axis, we find a distribution of research subjects among the social sciences disciplines. On the left hand side we find research subjects such as management studies, labour marked studies, public politics, welfare studies, economics, financing and accounting. In other words forms of knowledge associated to powerful social institutions and interests. On the right hand we find social scientific research addressing the less favoured parts of the social space including classical areas for welfare state politics such as social problems, children and youth, education, refugees and emigrants. Thus, we find among the more applied research subjects a difference between research orientated towards what Bourdieus designate the right and left hand of the state bureaucracy. Using this distinction Bourdieus original pointed to different positions in the struggles within the reforms welfare states bureaucracy between agents representing the institutions and ministries responsible for minimizing the social consequence of reformed welfare stats (the left hands) opposed to theocrats in ministry of finance and the like controlling both budgets and citizens (the right hand) (Bourdieu 1998a; Bourdieu et al. 1999; 181-254; Wacquant 2010). Here we see how different parts of the field of social sciences – often through the problems and sectors historical allocated to the different social sciences disciplines – is related to specific social institutions and interests through the knowledge they produces through which the social world is represented with specific problems and solution.

The second axis adds to the earlier interpretation of this axis differentiation between production for producers opposed to production for non produceres. Here we finds more 'applied' subjects of research on the lower part of the axis, such as labour

marked studies, management, social work, youth and children, work life, public administration etc. and on the upper part of the axis we find subjects such as econometrics and social theory oriented toward an academic audience.

Conclusion

This paper sat out to understand the relation between the structure of the field of social sciences and the field of power. Using sMCA on survey data I show how we can understands the social sciences as a social space structures by two antagonistic struggles. Drawing on concepts from Bourdieus sociology of sciences, I construct a field of social sciences, stating out with a space of epistemological position taking; thereafter using supplementary variables in a structured data analysis.

The social sciences have since their institutionalization had a close relationship to important societal interest and institutions which has been decisive for both institutional settings and cognitive content of the social sciences. In this paper I show how different parts of the social sciences through choice of research subjects, theory and methods relate them self to specific social interest and institutions. These relations can be used in the field internal struggles for recognition and in the struggles about principles of vision and division in the field. The analysis followed two main research questions, which I will summarize the results of.

1. The space of social scientific epistemological position taking followed two main principles of differentiation. The fist axis follows a classic difference within philosophy of the social sciences between a nomothetic and quantitative epistemological position taking opposed to an idiographic and qualitative one. The second axis differentiated on the orientation research between a theoretical and academic epistemological position taking opposed to an empirical and non-

academic one. The third axis repeated the difference found on the first axis. The analysis thus ads a important social and epistemological aspect to the understanding of the lines of conflict in the field of social sciences, namely conflicts about the orientation or audience structure of the social sciences (Whitley 1984; 234-238).

2. In the analysis of the social sciences relations to non-academic institutions and interest I used Bourdieus model for fields of cultural production and Bourdieus distinction between the right and left hand of the state bureaucracy. From the model for field of cultural production I drew the distinction between production for non producers and production for producers. On the first axis we found no difference regarding the amount or source of funding; but important differences in the way different part of the field of social science engage with non academic institutions and interest and how they viewed the character for social scientific knowledge. We thus found a difference between an instrumentalist and disengaged position taking opposed to a more critical and engaged one. Furthermore the first axis differentiated between research subjects orientated toward the right hand of the state bureaucracy and the private sector associated with the nomothetic and quantitative parts of the axis opposed to the idiographic and qualitative part of the axis associated with research subject orientated towards the left hand of the state bureaucracy. On the second axis we found a difference between the production for non-producers opposed to the production for producers. This distinction was found in variables representing both mental and objective structures, as well as for research subjects.

The main conclusion of this paper is strait forward but important; both in relation to futures studies of the social sciences and in order to understand differences in their relations to the field of power. That is, the empirical findings in this paper emphasize other

studies findings indicating that several epistemic cultures or modes of knowledge production coexist within the social sciences (Albert 2003; Lamont 2009; Mallard et al. 2009; Ylijoki 2000). This emphasize that one should not envisage academics research – and especially not the social sciences – as a homogenous unit. On the contrary we need to understand these different modes of knowledge production as distinct epistemic cultures (Knorr Cetina 1999) or fields of cultural production (Heilbron 2004). It is however important to maintain a truly relational view on the social sciences in order to understand how changes and institutional settings influences the different social science disciplines and their modes of knowledge production and in consequence the power structure and struggles in a field of social sciences.

In relation to the main question of the article, I have shown that different part of the field of social sciences relates in very different ways to the field of power. Using the notion from Wagner we can say that different parts of the social sciences enter in to coalitions with different part of the state bureaucracy and other part of the field of power. The nomothetic and quantitative oriented parts associate them self to the dominated fractions of the field of power, is also mimic the dominating modes of knowledge production in the academic field at large – the natural sciences mode of knowledge production. Through quantification and formalization economics, as well as part of business studies and political sciences, is mimics the modes of knowledge production of the natural sciences - and likewise the natural sciences more instrumental and disengaged stance towards the social use of the knowledge produced. As Lebaron shows this way of taking position, representing and seeing social scientific knowledge as neutral and disengaged scientific knowledge are important properties in understanding the symbolic function of economic knowledge when mobilized in the struggles in the field of power (Lebaron 2000; Lebaron 2006). Thus, it is important to recognize the various ways the

social sciences enter into coalitions and strategic cooperation with institutions and interest from different part of the state bureaucracy and the field of power and there through produces symbolic legitimacy for both specific forms of social scientific knowledge and specific position in the field of power, symbolic underpinning specific social interest. In this way this paper shows very important principles of vision and division setting the field of social sciences apart. Likewise it shows differences in the ways social sciences enter in to coalition with non academic institutions and interests, which we need to have in mind when studying social science knowledge production, the social use of social scientific knowledge and the interactions between social scientists and non academics institutions and interest.

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Figures and tables:

Headings and variables	Modalities (passive modalities)
Inspiration to the research question	**15 (3)**
Research questions has mainly a theoretical inspiration (RQ theory)	5 (1)
Research questions mainly arises from the empirical material (RQ empmat)	5 (1)
Research questions are drawn up in cooperation with non academic interests (RQ coop)	5 (1)
The use of empirical material	**25 (5)**
Public register data (Pub.reg.)	5 (1)
Public statistics (Pub.stat.)	5 (1)
Questionnaire data (Quest)	5 (1)
Qualitative interview (Qual.int.)	5 (1)
Documentary sources (Docu)	5 (1)
Assumptions on human nature	**13 (3)**
Humans acts primarily in accordance with rational self-interest (Rat. Self.)	5 (1)
Humans acts primarily form emotions (Emot.)	4 (1)
Humans acts primarily on the basic of a personal moral (P.moral)	4 (1)
Assumptions on society	**13 (3)**
Society is best understood on the basic of individuals (Soc=ind)	5 (1)
The economy is most decisive for social development (Econ =>Soc)	4 (1)
Society is held together by common values and moral (Soc=moral)	4 (1)
Aim and purpose for the social sciences	**10 (2)**
Uncover causal relations/Understanding of culture and symbols[iii] (Caus & cult)	10 (2)

Table 1: Active questions with number of modalities. Abbreviation used in the following maps in brackets

Headings	Overall contribution
Research Question	19,9
Empirical material	33,3
Assumption on human nature	15,7
Assumptions on society	15,7
Aim and purpose for the social sciences	15,5
Total	100,0

Table 2: Overall contribution of the five headings in the model

Axis	Eigenvalue	Mod. rates	Cum. Rates
1st	0,1910	36,27546	36,27546
2nd	0,1492	17,86709	54,14255
3rd	0,1297	11,49712	65,63967

Table 3: Variances of axes, modified rates and cumulated rates

1. axis					
Heading	**Cont.**	**Modalities**		**Cont.**	
		Left	**Right**	**Left**	**Right**
Research questions	1,88				
Empirical data	41,23	Public registers in all or much of my research		6,68	
		Public statistics in all or much of my research		3,80	
		Questionnaire data in all or much of my research		1,67	
		Qualitative interviews in non of my research	Qualitative interviews in all or much of my research	7,86	5,00
		Documentary sources in non of my research	Documentary sources in all or much of my research	6,09	2,40
Assumptions on human nature	16,98	Agree, humans acts primarily in accordance with rational self-interest	Disagree, humans acts primarily in accordance with rational self-interest	8,45	5,13
Assumptions on society	22,46	Agree, society is best understood on the basic of individuals	Disagree, society is best understood on the basic of individuals	3,23	4,78
		Agree, The economy is most decisive for social development	Disagree, The economy is most decisive for social development	6,40	5,55
Aim and purpose	17,46	caus++ & cult.--	caus-- & cult.+/-	5,74	1,13
		caus++ & cult.+/-		2,73	

Table 4: 1st axis: modalities contributing over average with contribution and contribution to the axis by heading (100/60=1,666667)

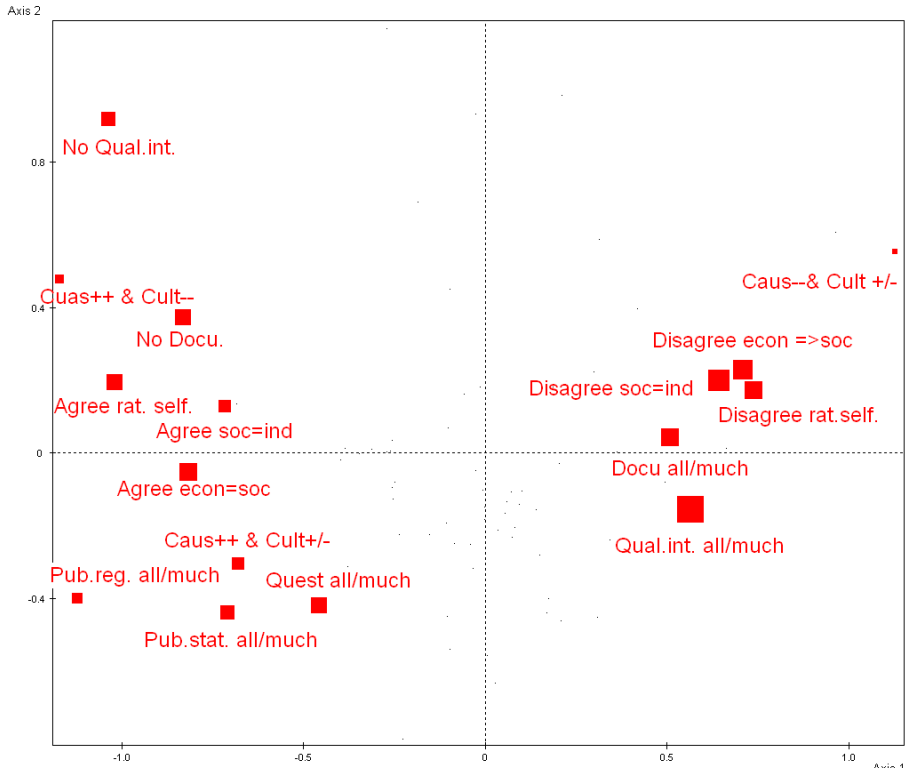

Figure 1: Plane 1-2 active modalities on 1st axis. Nomothetic and quantitative opposed to idiographic and qualitative.

2. axis					
Heading	**Cont**	**Modalities**		**Cont**	
		Bottom	**Top**	**Bottom**	**Top**
Research questions	28,29		Agree, research questions has mainly a theoretical inspiration		3,19
		Agree, research questions mainly arises from the empirical material	Disagree, research questions mainly arises from the empirical material	1,83	7,48
		Agree, research questions are drawn up in cooperation with non academic interests	Disagree, research questions are drawn up in cooperation with non academic interests	3,53	7,64
		Partly agree, research questions are drawn up in cooperation with non academic interests		1,72	
Empirical material	57,99	Public register data in half of my research	Public register data in non of my research	3,28	7,10
		Public register data in less then half of my research		2,11	
		Public statistics in about half of my research	Public statistics in non of my research	2,48	8,86
		Public statistics in about all or much of my research		1,87	
		Questionnaire data in all or much of my research	Questionnaire data in non of my research	1,82	11,92
		Questionnaire data in about half of my research		3,82	
			Qualitative interview in non of my research		7,87
Assumptions on human nature	3,56				
Assumptions on society	4,33				
Aim and purpose	5,84	caus+/- & cult.+/-	*Caus-- & cult.++*	1,72	*1,38*
			Caus ++ & cult --		*1,21*

Table 5: 2nd axis: modalities contributing over average with contribution and contribution to the axis by heading

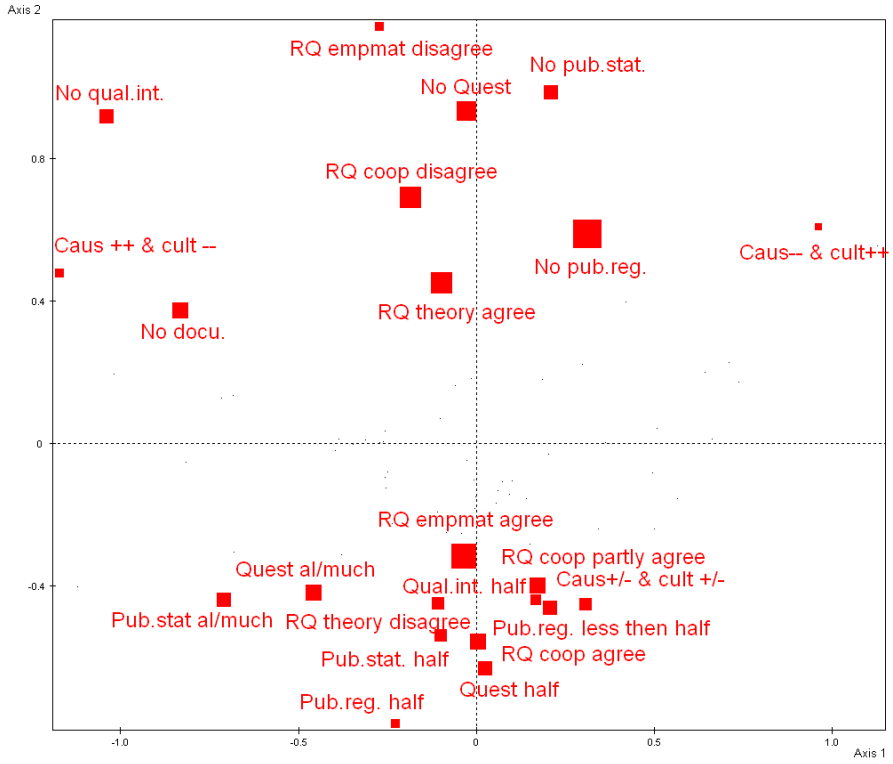

Figure 2: Plane 1-2 active modalities on the 2nd axis. Orientation of research

3. axis					
Heading	**Cont**	**Categories**		**Cont**	
		Bottom	**Top**	**Botto m**	**Top**
Research question	14,98	Partly agree, research questions mainly arises from the empirical material	Agree, Research questions mainly arises from the empirical material	3,41	4,19
			Agree, research questions are drawn up in cooperation with non academic interests		3,03
Empirical material	12,78	Qualitative interviews in about half of my research	Qualitative interviews in all or much of my research	2,29	4,23
Assumption on human nature	48,21	Partly agree, humans acts primarily in accordance with rational self-interest	Disagree, humans acts primarily in accordance with rational self-interest	1,91	1,85
		Disagree, humans acts primarily form emotions	Agree, humans acts primarily form emotions	3,63	16,31
		Patly agree, humans acts primarily form emotions		2,31	
		Disagree, humans acts primarily on the basic of a personal moral	Agree, humans acts primarily on the basic of a personal moral	3,13	15,44
		Partly agree, humans acts primarily on the basic of a personal moral		1,70	
Assumptions on society	15,28		Agree, society is best understood on the basic of individuals		1,73
		Partly agree, the economy is most decisive for social development		2,16	
		Partly agree, society is held together by common values and moral	Agree, Society is held together by common values and moral	2,67	5,40
Aim and purpose	8,75		caus+/- & cult.++		1,92
			caus-- & cult.++		1,76

Table 6: 3rd axis: modalities contributing over average with contribution and contribution to the axis by heading

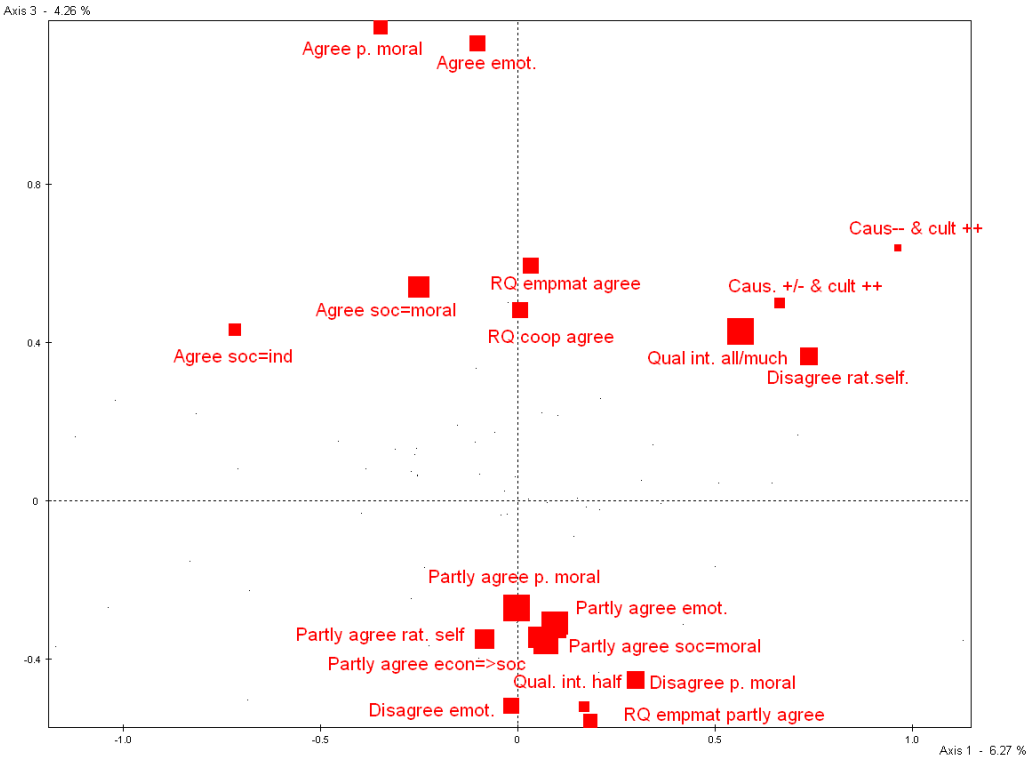

Figure 3: Plane 1-3 active modalities on the 3rd axis.

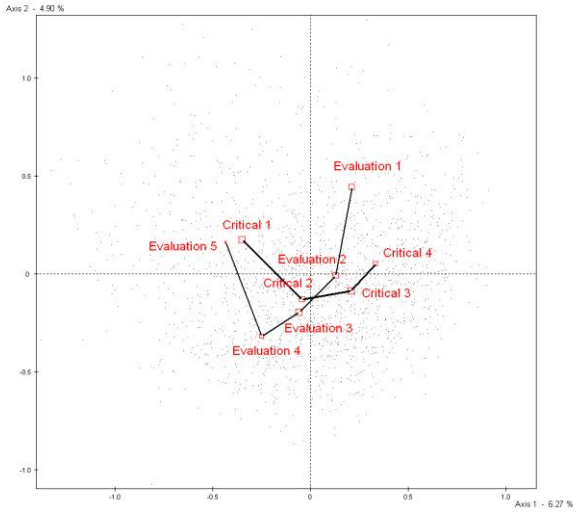

Figure 4: Position taking regarding relation to non-academic institutions and interest on the first axis. Likert scale 1 = completely disagree, 5 = completely agree

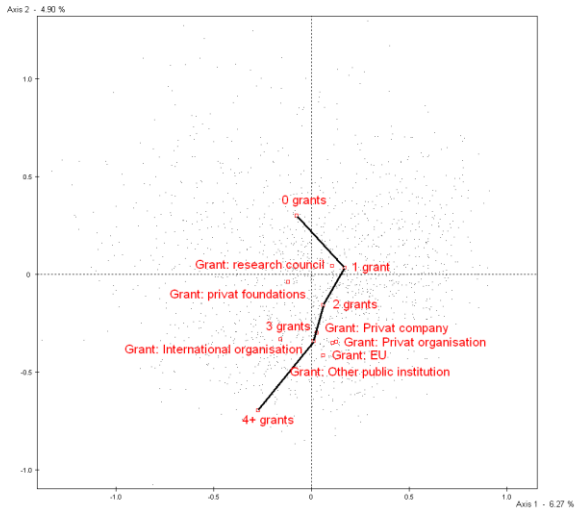

Figure 5: Number and source of grants in plane 1 and 2.

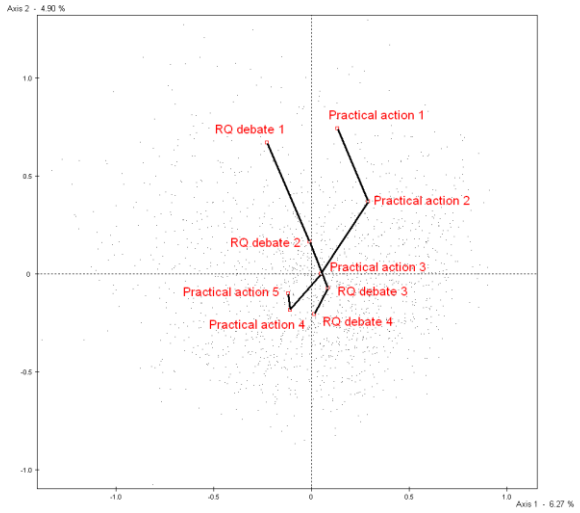

Figure 6: Position taking regarding relation to non-academic institutions and interest on the second axis. Likert scale 1 = completely disagree, 5 = completely agree

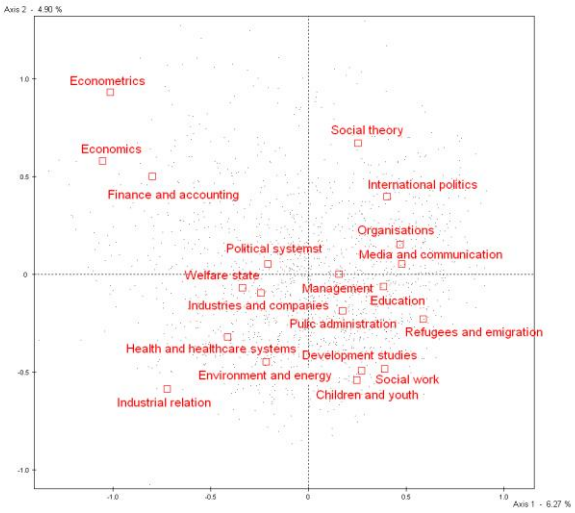

Figure 7: Research subjects in plane 1 and 2.

Appendix 1: Frequencies and Coordinates of supplementary categories

Frequencies and coordinates of supplementary categories						
Label	**Count**	**Absolute weight**	**Distance to origin**	**Axis 1**	**Axis 2**	**Axis 3**
Number of grants						
0 grants	494	494,00	1,62146	-0,08	0,30	0,06
1 grant	326	326,00	2,97239	0,17	0,04	-0,05
2 grants	225	225,00	4,75556	0,06	-0,16	-0,11
3 grants	120	120,00	9,79167	0,01	-0,34	0,06
4+ grants	121	121,00	9,70248	-0,27	-0,70	0,05
Missing category	9	9,00	142,88900	-0,12	0,02	0,04
Source of largest grant						
Grant: Research councils	282	282,00	3,59220	0,11	0,04	-0,17
Grant: Other public source	227	227,00	4,70485	0,06	-0,41	0,10
Grant: Private foundation	111	111,00	10,66670	-0,12	-0,04	0,10
Grant: EU	74	74,00	16,50000	0,11	-0,35	-0,19
Grant: International organization	45	45,00	27,77780	-0,16	-0,33	-0,10
Grant: Private companies	18	18,00	70,94440	0,03	-0,30	0,29
Grant: Private organization	34	34,00	37,08820	0,13	-0,34	-0,19
Missing category	504	504,00	1,56944	-0,07	0,29	0,07
My research question arise from social debates						
Missing	36	36,00	34,97220	-0,03	-0,29	0,12
RQ debate 4 (completely agree)	524	524,00	1,47137	0,02	-0,20	0,15
RQ debate 3	384	384,00	2,37240	0,09	-0,07	-0,14
RQ debate 2	178	178,00	6,27528	-0,01	0,16	-0,03
RQ debate 1 (completely disagree)	173	173,00	6,48555	-0,23	0,67	-0,12
My research should improve practical action						

Missing	37	37,00	34,00000	-0,12	-0,11	0,11
Practical action 5 (completely agree)	208	208,00	5,22596	-0,12	-0,10	0,48
Practical action 4	423	423,00	2,06147	-0,11	-0,18	0,07
Practical action 3	410	410,00	2,15854	0,05	0,00	-0,22
Practical action 2	157	157,00	7,24841	0,29	0,37	-0,25
Practical action 1 (completely disagree)	60	60,00	20,58330	0,13	0,74	-0,09
My research should undertake evaluation in relation to set goals						
Missing	84	84,00	14,41670	-0,19	0,00	0,10
Evaluation 5 (completely agree)	42	42,00	29,83330	-0,43	0,16	0,38
Evaluation 4	204	204,00	5,34804	-0,25	-0,32	0,20
Evaluation 3	351	351,00	2,68946	-0,06	-0,20	-0,10
Evaluation 2	322	322,00	3,02174	0,13	-0,01	-0,08
Evaluation 1 (completely disagree)	292	292,00	3,43493	0,21	0,44	0,00
My research should undertake critical analysis of society						
Critical 4 (completely agree)	214	214,00	5,05140	0,33	0,05	0,30
Critical 3	354	354,00	2,65819	0,21	-0,09	0,08
Critical 2	311	311,00	3,16399	-0,04	-0,13	-0,17
Critical 1 (completely disagree)	368	368,00	2,51902	-0,35	0,17	-0,16
Missing category	48	48,00	25,97920	-0,11	-0,06	0,36
Self reported research subjects						
Political systems	49	49,00	25,42860	-0,20	0,05	-0,41
International politics	44	44,00	28,43180	0,40	0,40	-0,10
EU	11	11,00	116,72700	0,38	0,51	-0,57
Public administration	53	53,00	23,43400	0,18	-0,19	0,05
Area studies	6	6,00	214,83300	0,82	0,33	0,43
Development studies	35	35,00	36,00000	0,27	-0,49	-0,38
Industries & corporation	100	100,00	11,95000	-0,24	-0,10	-0,01
Finance and accounting	45	45,00	27,77780	-0,80	0,50	-0,43
Management	44	44,00	28,43180	0,16	0,00	0,13
Organization	39	39,00	32,20510	0,47	0,15	0,33
Industrial relation	56	56,00	22,12500	-0,72	-0,59	-0,22
Work life	20	20,00	63,75000	0,65	-0,43	0,05
Law	14	14,00	91,50000	-0,03	0,30	-0,60
Econometrics	33	33,00	38,24240	-1,01	0,93	-0,41
Economics	47	47,00	26,55320	-1,05	0,58	-0,47
Marked studies	8	8,00	160,87500	-0,54	0,32	-0,10
Children and youth	30	30,00	42,16670	0,25	-0,54	0,09
Education	40	40,00	31,37500	0,39	-0,06	0,15
Democracy	29	29,00	43,65520	0,00	0,06	-0,21
Consumption and consumers	17	17,00	75,17650	0,04	0,29	0,53
Health and healthcare systems	67	67,00	18,32840	-0,41	-0,32	0,21
Family	5	5,00	258,00000	-1,01	-0,06	0,73
Housing research	13	13,00	98,61540	-0,72	-0,26	0,50
Social work	42	42,00	29,83330	0,39	-0,48	0,18
Welfare state	34	34,00	37,08820	-0,33	-0,07	0,09
Leisure time and sport	14	14,00	91,50000	0,30	-0,11	0,39

Cities and regions	30	30,00	42,16670	0,19	-0,26	0,08
Refugees and emigration	23	23,00	55,30430	0,59	-0,23	0,43
Gender and sexualities	7	7,00	184,00000	0,60	0,18	-0,12
Humanities	35	35,00	36,00000	0,28	0,57	0,13
Religion	31	31,00	40,77420	0,31	0,37	0,11
Media and communication	57	57,00	21,71930	0,48	0,05	0,11
Environment and energy	41	41,00	30,58540	-0,21	-0,45	0,13
Science and technologies	32	32,00	39,46880	0,68	-0,02	-0,02
Social theory	21	21,00	60,66670	0,26	0,67	0,10
Methods	5	5,00	258,00000	0,18	0,09	0,28
Public policies	16	16,00	79,93750	-0,31	-0,25	-0,31
Informatics	9	9,00	142,88900	0,31	0,00	0,08
Transportation	11	11,00	116,72700	0,59	-0,52	0,16
Identities and cultures	4	4,00	322,75000	0,59	0,10	-0,13
Other	1	1,00	1294,00000	-0,78	-0,07	0,02
Unclear	9	9,00	142,88900	0,42	-0,03	-0,02
Broad disciplinary designation	47	47,00	26,55320	0,62	0,25	0,24
Missing	21	21,00	60,66670	-0,26	-0,07	0,16

Table 7: Coordinates of supplementary categories

[i] Further account of the collection of the data and construction of the questionnaire can be found in (Kropp 2011)

[ii] For a short introduction to the methodology please see appendix 5 in (Hjellbrekke et al. 2007) and the methodological discussions in (Le Roux et al. 2008).

[iii] Two items about purpose for the social sciences is coded together. On about whether social sciences should 'uncover regularities or causal relations' or 'strive for deeper understanding of culture and symbols'.