

Ritualised Behavior

Some Research Trends in Scandinavian Ethnology and Folklore in the 1970s

The aim of this study is to present some of the principal traits in Scandinavian ethnologic and folkloristic research. The main emphasis is placed on ritualised behavior, both in everyday and holiday contexts. In earlier European ethnology, this field has generally been called research on „customs“ (cf. Bringéus 1976, Brück 1981, Gustavsson 1981c). In more recent research, however, the terms „life form“ (cf. Christiansen 1980) or „rite“ (cf. Frykman 1979) have been used to replace „custom“. „Life form“ brings to mind the term „Lebensweise“ which has become significant in German ethnology, and which comprises, in a natural way, behavior in everyday life. „Rite“ is derived from Anglo-Saxon social anthropology as, for example, Mary Douglas uses the term. To use „rite“ in this sense is, however, questionable, partly since in Scandinavian ethnology and science of religion it has long been reserved for interactions between human beings and the world of the supernatural (i.e. Bringéus 1976, Siikala 1978). In my opinion, the term „custom“ particularly brings out the normative side, the group pressure, and the repetitive character through time of ritualised behavior (Gustavsson 1972a, 1981c). The value of this term as an ethnologic concept has been increasingly discussed and questioned in recent years (e.g. Egardt 1973). So as not to become involved in this discussion here, I use the expression „behavior“ wherever possible.

The object of this survey is to distinguish the different basic assumptions presented by various researchers. To illustrate the processes which have taken place in research, the term „trends“ is used. My aim is to bring out both shifts in interest and to discuss the way in which researchers with different basic points of view have confronted one another.

This study concentrates on presenting established problem areas and points of view, and not on specific subject matter dealt with by the researchers. It is organized around the question: How have directions in earlier research developed, and what new trends have appeared? Thus some scholars appear in several contexts, and developments over time may be illustrated.

In the interest of clarity, I exemplify different research trends with selected studies. Some comparisons with West German research discussed in greater detail elsewhere (Gustavsson 1980b) are also presented here. Of course, my selection is a subjective one, as is the length of the various commentaries. Research fields related to those I have worked with myself are most thoroughly treated. One of my primary goals has been that the individual researchers will be able to agree with my descriptions of their studies. My judgments,

especially the critical ones, are intended to further debate on research and encourage new studies which would concentrate on other aspects of these problems.

To assemble data for this investigation, I have reviewed journals, bibliographies, and publications from the 1970s in ethnology and folklore. With regard to the literature written in Finnish, I have mainly made use of the summaries for foreign language readers. Research in progress has been documented both via a questionnaire issued during the spring of 1981, and through personal contacts with departments across Scandinavia. Since its aim is not to investigate the history of learning but rather to indicate relevant directions for current and future research, this study begins around 1970. Earlier research is already available to international readers in several contexts (Svensson 1952, Bringéus 1961, 1968, Swahn 1961, cf. Grambo 1977, Brück 1981).

The major research areas which have not been included in this survey are research on popular beliefs and popular poetry in folklore, areas which have been surveyed by Ronald Grambo, Oslo (Grambo 1977) and Outi Lehtipuro, Helsinki (Lehtipuro, 1977/78), among others. Neither have I presented studies of material culture, as research developments in this area have been studied by Nils Stora, Åbo, (Stora 1981). It has, of course, been difficult to draw the boundaries between the different fields exactly. Investigations of children's culture, such as children's games and norms for children's behavior, are the only type of behavioral studies which I consciously have excluded from this study. Significant contributions in this area have been made by Leea Virtanen in Finland and by Åse Enerstvedt and Reimund Kvideland in Norway (cf. Virtanen 1978, 1979, Enerstvedt 1971). A publication developed as part of a project called „Children-Culture-Society“ at the Department of Ethnology in Gothenburg contains a survey of the trends in ethnological and folkloristic research on children's culture.

This survey first takes up studies in which various process perspectives are central. The diachronic perspective, both in the form of change and of continuity („stubborn structures“), is important in this area. These are mainly element-oriented studies of innovations, regressions, and revitalisations. Studies of conflicts, cultural contacts, and socialisation, in which the focus on cultural systems, social perspectives, and the instrumental side of behavior stand out, have also been included here. The other main section of the survey includes studies which focus more on a contemporary perspective (cf. Ek 1980b), either of the past or of the present.

I. PROCESS PERSPECTIVES

1. *Innovations*

Innovation research was one of the principal trends of the 1950s and '60s, and is one which has continued to develop in the 1970s. Researchers like Mats Rehnberg (Rehnberg 1965), and Nils-Arvid Bringéus have continued the work of Sigfrid Svensson (Svensson 1942), and also turned directly to cultural geographer Torsten Hägerstrand (Hägerstrand 1953). Recent interest in this type of research („Kulturraumforschung“ in German terminology) which was dominant in earlier diffusionistic research has been less and less spatial. The most recent proponents of this type of historic-geographic study are from Finland; I am thinking mainly of Ilmar Talve's study of namesday and birthday celebrations (Talve 1966), but Niilo Valonen's investigation from 1979 of parish catechetical meetings and holiday meals should also be mentioned (Valonen 1979). Both studies emphasize discussions of areas of distribution, which are taken to be cultural areas which have grown up since the medieval colonisation of Finland. Anna-Birgitta Rooth, Uppsala, has expanded folkloristic spatial studies to geographically widespread cultural contexts, including whole continents (i.e. Rooth 1978, 1980, 1981a). These studies correspond to the work of the European Atlas Commission (Forschungen 1980).

Recent innovation studies have instead increasingly concentrated on documenting and explaining temporal processes, as the studies of new holiday celebrations in the twentieth century. Nils-Arvid Bringéus, Lund, is a pioneer in this field, and he uses charting to follow the phases in the course of innovation on the macro-level. These charts are then used to distinguish new aspects of the course of innovations. In addition to temporal processes, they are also used to study the frequency of, and the relationship to, the social structure. This new orientation has been neglected by the critics of charting, who relate this method only to diffusionistic research and thus consider it worthless (cf. Svensson 1980). Bringéus (1965) claimed that macrolevel studies should be combined with deep analyses in selected local environments (Bringéus 1965, cf. Svensson 1942, Ek 1959/60). This would provide opportunities to relate innovation studies to individuals, a relationship which, according to Ulla Brück, Stockholm, has been neglected by previous research (Brück 1981). Research on the course of innovation has not been mechanical, as critics such as Börje Hanssen have implied. It has illustrated the way in which human beings acquire knowledge of, and accept, new ideas. The innovators, who lead the way for the new tradition, and the bearers, who build it up and maintain it, can only be reached on the microlevel. There it is possible to get some idea of their social status, their cultural background, and the personal experiences and motivation for taking up and carrying on

the new tradition. This perspective, which Bringéus claimed to be necessary, has been developed in Denmark by Karsten Biering, Copenhagen (Biering 1972). Documenting the course of innovation over time has not been the sole aim of innovation studies (cf. however, Fredelius 1980). Their aim has rather been to press on and analyse the mechanisms behind the processes of acceptance. Thus there have been discussions as to the possible interplay among different factors, particularly on the influence of social, physical-geographic, economic, and ideological factors (v. Bringéus 1969), in furthering and restraining developments.

While interest in innovation research has clearly begun to diminish in Sweden in recent years, there have been several recent studies in Finland which take up this problem complex. As early as the late 1960s, Bo Lönnqvist, Helsinki, interpreted the newly-introduced celebrating of Saint Lucia's day as one of the means by which the Swedish minority reinforced ethnocentrism (Lönnqvist 1969/70).

Kaisu Jaakkola, Helsinki, used a questionnaire method in a local study in 1977 in a strongly-urbanized area in Southern Finland in an attempt to illustrate the way in which innovations connected with Christmas gain force. However, this quantitative, present-day study ignores the macro-perspective (Jaakkola 1977). Since the temporal aspect receives too little attention, it is also difficult to get any idea of how new Christmas customs have been successively accepted or what encouraging or restraining factors have been at work. The author describes the existing Christmas customs of 1969, when the data was collected, but hardly ever discusses the reasons for their existence.

Mary-Ann Elfving, Helsinki, has made a more present oriented study of the information processes which occur before the acceptance processes, which have received most attention from Bringéus. Elfving's point of departure is her interest in some of the English and American holidays which are being introduced in Finland. In her investigation of an ongoing process of innovation she attempts to study the channels, both mass media and direct oral channels, through which the new ideas become known (Elfving 1981).

2. Regressions

While innovation researchers have been able to continue the work of previous investigations, this is not the case with regression studies, which deal with how and why customs disappear. In the early 1970s I worked within this problem complex on studies relating to childbirth (the churching of

women) (Gustavsson 1972a, 1972b, cf. Grober-Glück 1977), marriage (Gustavsson 1974), and funerals (Gustavsson 1973). One of my primary aims was to follow the successive course of regression over time. Charting was then a useful method. Using contemporary source material, I was able to illustrate, with the help of chart sequences, the way in which mothers in certain parts of Sweden early began to abandon the churching of women, while in other parts of the country this custom retained its hold far into the 1900s. It proved necessary to obtain the role of relatives in these processes of dissolution, and the women's own opinions, i.e. to relate the study to individuals. In order to do this, it was necessary, like in the innovation studies, to combine the macro-studies with local in-depth studies. These micro-studies were strategically selected to represent both regions in which the women generally were early to abandon the churching and ones in which the women generally continued churching for many more years.

Studies of courses of regression were intended to form the basis for analyses of the mechanisms behind the process, both those which had furthered and those which had hindered the regression. The encouraging factors must have been particularly strong in areas in which the custom disappeared early, and vice versa. Like in innovation research, it has been necessary to discuss the way in which different factors (social, economic, physical-geographic, ideological, etc.) may have worked together. I also found that other factors had been of primary influence upon the early regression which occurred in the late 1800s, than those which had applied to the regression during the 1900s. While ideological factors, such as the growing Free Church movement, were of central importance to the early regression, social factors such as increased mobility and social heterogeneity were more decisive in the region, primarily in Western Sweden, in which the churching of women has retained the longest foothold.

During the late 1970s, these regression studies were continued by Magnus Gislason in a doctoral dissertation in Uppsala on „evening sitting-up“ in Icelandic rural communities. „Evening sitting-up“ means that neighbors and relations met on weekday evenings both to work and to socialize. The author describes the process which has occurred during the 1900s and discusses the ways in which changes in Icelandic society, such as urbanization, have had a levelling effect (Gislason 1977, cf. B. Hodne 1974).

3. Revitalisation

Like regression research, studies of revitalisation processes in modern society may be said to be a new trend in Scandinavian research. Magne Velure, Bergen, has been the leader of this movement. In a study from 1972 on the

revitalisation of folk dancing in Norway, he took up the German discussions from the 1960s about „Folklorismus“ (Velure 1972); his main statements are contained in a paper from 1977 (Velure 1977, cf. Bringéus 1979b). Present-day revitalisation is generally a question of individual cultural features being taken from older, rural society. These elements are taken out of their old contexts and given a new function. Velure is interested in the forces behind revitalisation. He does not, however, deal with issues such as information processes, how people today acquire information about the older culture in which they become interested and which they want to imitate. Nor does he discuss the course of revitalisation itself, but only the guiding factors, both idealistic and commercial. One aspect of revitalisation research which has not been seen to play a decisive role by Scandinavian scholars are economic conditions, e.g. recession periods, while this factor has been viewed as decisive in corresponding studies in West Germany (Jeggle and Korff 1974, Korff 1980, cf. Bausinger 1980). As far as I can see, the renewal of older cultural elements, for example of folk dancing, folk costumes, and folk music, must contain certain idealistic or ideological motives, as has clearly been true for the „back-to-the-countryside movement“. Later in the course of revitalisation, thoughts of status may arise, in which it becomes „the done thing“ to renew old traditions which, in turn, easily leads to commercial exploitation.

The researcher who has been mainly responsible for continuing revitalisation studies in the late 1970s is Anders Salomonsson, Lund. In 1979 he presented a doctoral thesis in Lund about „gotlandsdricka“, a mealtime beverage with a long tradition which many Gotland families began to drink again in the 1970s (Salomonsson 1979, cf. Rosander 1976). However, the author did not examine either information processes or the course of revitalisation, nor did he relate this renewed brewing to individuals by studying the „innovators“, the people who brew the drink. It would have been desirable to get an idea of their social status, interests, etc.

Salomonsson does, however, include an interesting discussion of the symbolic implications of the renewed brewing. He takes up the question of how an individual feature from the older local culture can be used today as a means of reinforcing the sense of regional identity. The beverage is interpreted as an instrument for the Gotlanders both to define their identity toward others and to reinforce internal solidarity. It is a custom in a social situation marked by inferiority and marginality. The Gotlanders feel their own position threatened by increasing numbers of tourists on their island, which has become an attractive holiday spot, particularly for Stockholmers. The author states that Gotlanders consider this beverage as their own, and as one which they want to keep among themselves. And therefore, it has not been commercially exploited, despite the large number of tourists.

One might say, that Salomonsson has mainly used a present-oriented perspective (see below). But this study is more of a function analysis of a specific social situation than a process-analysis. Yet I wonder whether Salomonsson has not over-interpreted his material. His presentation shows that the brewing has mainly been renewed among younger families, and people who have moved from rural areas into the city of Visby. In studying conflict situations in coastal villages in Western Sweden (Gustavsson 1980a, 1981b) I have found, contrary to Salomonsson, that the local population has more tried to undercommunicate or even to hide specific local cultural traits from summer visitors rather than to emphasize them. In other words, these older traits do not necessarily always reinforce the social position in relation to others. They can indeed contribute to retaining an earlier social distance if visitors consider the local population to be genuine, picturesque, exotic, or old-fashioned, as has been the case in several parts of Western Sweden.

It is, of course, important that Magne Velure and Anders Salomonsson have drawn the attention of researchers to the fact that many people today are consciously turning back toward, and even renewing, old cultural elements from rural culture (cf. Jacobson and Lundblad 1979). One important task for ethnologists will be to investigate the way in which knowledge about this older culture is passed down to younger generations and how and why older cultural elements are being taken up. These are important future research projects. In discussing the mechanisms behind revitalisation processes, it will be important to draw attention, among other things, to the extent to which these processes are expressions of people's protests against modern society, an expression of dissatisfaction with existing conditions. Revitalisation can then be placed in a conflict perspective. Then it will not only need to be seen as an expression of idyllic nostalgia as is now the case in the opinion of some critics particularly from Tübingen (Bausinger 1980). The processes will then be seen as a means of active resistance against, and a way of combatting dissatisfaction and not only a way of legitimizing the existing social order.

4. Cultural Contacts

In studies of cultural contact processes, either long or short-range, it is important to note the way in which cultural elements may be used as symbolic instruments both to strengthen the sense of solidarity, the group identity, and to strengthen the social position of the group in relation to the other party in a cultural meeting. The unifying function becomes particularly noticeable among Scandinavian emigrants in the United States and among immigrant groups in Scandinavia. Phebe Fjellström, Umeå, showed in 1970 exactly how the Swedish Christmas celebrations among emigrants in Califor-

nia contributed to increasing solidarity in the totally new situation in which these people found themselves (Fjellström 1970, cf. Nilson 1973/1974, Carlborg-Mannberg 1980).

In a similar way, a study made under my guidance in Gothenburg showed how immigrants of the Muslim faith in Trollhättan in the 1970s have carefully protected their traditional culture both in everyday life and at festivals. Their religion has become an essential means of keeping the group together and at the same time of drawing a boundary line that separates them from the Swedish majority culture. This has been particularly true when conflicts with other groups and other values have developed in housing areas, at schools, and at places of work (Lindmark 1978). In Finland, Pirkko Kovalainen (now Sallinen-Gimpl), Helsinki, has studied the way in which the Karelian population which was compulsorily removed to Finland after the Second World War, has acclimatized there. This study pays most attention, however, to how and why the Karelian eating culture has been retained in the new environment. The immigrants have protected the traditional diet and thus strengthened their group feeling (Kovalainen 1974, 1975, cf. Ek 1971). I would like to see further studies of the way in which different cultural elements have been retained among the different generations after having moved to a new environment. Does a belated interest in the original culture develop in the youngest generation? This would refer to what Ulrik Tolsdorf, Kiel, has called „Großmutter-Effekt“ (Tolsdorf 1975). One of my students has looked into this question in three generations of Swedish emigrants in Seattle, Washington during the 1970s. The youngest generation has proved considerably more aware of protecting and renewing the Swedish cultural heritage than the middle generation (Carlborg-Mannberg 1980). This type of question is also dealt with by George Nellemann, Copenhagen, in a dissertation on Polish immigrants in Denmark (Nellemann 1981).

In a study of contacts between the local population and summer visitors in Western Sweden in the last hundred years, I have recently discovered what an active role their interactions with each other have had in these contact processes (Gustavsson 1980a, 1981b). Local individuals in lower social positions have often held themselves apart e.g. from the summer visitors' midsummer eve celebrations. In doing so, they have both shown their social awareness and contributed to reducing social distance upwards. The summer visitors, on the other hand have mainly obeyed rules and prohibitions which the local population have found important, such as Sunday being a day of rest. Had they not done so, open conflicts of values would have arisen, and social sanctions would have been taken by the local population.

Simultaneously, summer visitors in the early 1900s reinforced their social superiority by giving gifts to the local population on major holidays, which

may be interpreted as charity. In the increasingly open conflict situation which has arisen during the 1970s, the summer visitors consciously made an effort to participate in the official celebrations which have been arranged by the local population in support of the local village associations. The summer visitors have thus used this participation as a symbol of outward manifestation of solidarity with the interests of the local population. In this way they have attempted to tone down the existing oppositions.

5. Conflict Studies

An instrumental view of culture has also become clear in studies made from a historical-materialistic standpoint. The conflict perspective, the production situation, the view of society as a class society, and the question of the class awareness of lower social classes in the hierarchy are basic to this view. A historical process perspective is established to show how conflicts force changes to occur. Behavior becomes the means for the lower classes to assert themselves upwards and thus to alter their position of social inferiority compared with the upper classes, which represent social hegemony. Among those researchers who have clearly used these perspectives in behavioral research we find Olli Alho, Jyväskylä, and Flemming Hemmersam, Copenhagen. One of the recent studies which I will mention is the investigation of different working-class groups in Skåne which is being made by Mats Lindqvist and Magnus Wikdahl in the project „Cultural boundaries and class boundaries“ in Lund (cf. Lindqvist 1979, 1980; Tolstrup 1979). In addition, Sven B. Ek has initiated studies in Gothenburg in the project „Cultural patterns and cultural activities“ (cf. Ek 1980a).

In his dissertation on religious life among American Negro slaves in the nineteenth century (1830-1865), Olli Alho has consistently indicated how the slaves were able to use their own religion, which was beyond the reach of their white masters, as an instrument against the social inferiority they experienced (Alho 1976). Religion became a way of showing dissatisfaction with the current situation and of attempting to change it. The Negroes planned revolts etc. at their secret meetings. There was also some passive resistance, such as falling asleep during sermons held by whites. The slave owners, on their part, attempted to use the official religion, which was controlled by them, to emphasize subservient obedience. It is interesting to note that in Alho's interpretation, religion did not serve to passivize the lower classes but rather to activate them in conflict situations.

Flemming Hemmersam has mainly concentrated on public celebrations among the Danish working class in the twentieth century, primarily the May Day demonstrations. This is the subject of his thesis, which will soon be

completed. It relates this celebration to political ideology of working-class movements. The Danish socialist parties have tried to introduce new celebrations among the workers and to use these to spread political messages. Celebration innovations in the early 1900s are interpreted as conscious parts of the battle against the capitalist society (Hemmersam 1973, cf. Piø 1977). These celebrations were to activate the participants to fight for socialism. This study also shows that centrally-guided ideological efforts have met difficulties when confronted with the working-class population which has attended the festivities. By contacting the participants at the celebrations, just as ethnologists in Marburg (cf. Bimmer 1980) and Frankfurt (cf. Frankfurter Feste 1979) have done, and not just the arrangers, Hemmersam has been able to study the activities, interests, and experiences of working-class families. It has been indicated that these families have, during the 1970s, shown greater interest in the social side of the celebrations, i.e. the opportunity to socialize, than in the political messages (Hemmersam 1979, 1981, cf. Ek 1971, Sauermann 1976, Kleinschmidt 1977).

Nils-Arvid Bringéus' study of celebration as trauma (Bringéus 1978a, cf. Gustavsson 1980a, 1981b) provides an example of the fact that a conflict view need not necessarily be related to a historical-materialistic scholarly conflict theory. He states that festivals do not only have their light sides with harmony and happiness, but also include disharmony, traumatic experiences. This may be true, for example, for people who are not invited, or who do not fulfill the demands of the celebration.

6. *Continuity*

Continuity studies must also be included in the study of cultural processes. They attempt to show long-range contexts, often beginning in the Middle Ages or the Pre-Christian era and continuing to the nineteenth or twentieth century. Researchers in the 1970s have been able to relate their work to earlier research traditions among ethnologists and religion researchers. The chief names that come to mind are Hilding Pleijel, Carl-Martin Edsman, Kustaa Vilkkuna (e.g. Vilkkuna 1969), John Granlund (Granlund 1970, cf. Gustavsson 1976), and Nils-Arvid Bringéus (Bringéus 1964). Scandinavian continuity studies in the post-war period do not aim at showing Germanic origins as they did in Nazi Germany. Thus the ideological criticism of continuity studies which has been stated mainly in Tübingen does not bear on the Scandinavian studies.

Problems with a point of departure in the Middle Ages or in Pre-Christian times have mainly been taken up by the Swedish church historian Curt Wallin and by Christoph Daxelmüller, an ethnologist from Würzburg. In several stu-

dies, Curt Wallin has used guild ordinances and records in order to discuss life in the Swedish and Danish guilds (e.g. Wallin 1975, cf. Köstlin 1976, Hastrup 1981). Religious life and everyday life were closely knit in these guilds. In line with the principal research traditions in Würzburg, Christoph Daxelmüller has documented Danish medieval pilgrimage sites (Daxelmüller 1978). Unfortunately, it was not possible to study either the religious or the social life of the medieval people related to the pilgrimages, as German researchers such as Wolfgang Brückner, Würzburg, und Helge Gerndt, Munich, have done with relation to later pilgrimages.

I myself have studied the drinking of wine to the memory of the deceased at funerals. This drinking existed in the 1970s mainly in Western Sweden where, since the nineteenth century, there has been an intra-church pietistic type of revival movement (Gustavsson 1973). The drinking can be understood only in a long historical perspective. I have attempted to follow it back as far as Pre-Christian times. The function and the form, including the transition from drinking beer to drinking wine which took place after the Reformation, has varied somewhat over time. This is related to changes in social situations and in dominant ideologies. Yet the basic structure has remained unchanged, a rite of transition at the end of a life, when the living take leave of the deceased. In my opinion, this is a case of a „stubborn structure“ (cf. below) in the culture. The task of the ethnologist is to attempt to reveal the mechanisms which have influenced its retention.

Arni Björnsson, Reykjavik, is working with similar questions in a study of an Icelandic festival custom, „Porrablót“ (blot = sacrifice), which has been revitalized; the author argues that it must be seen against a background of Pre-Christian sacrifices. These have long survived in secret after Christianity became the official religion of Iceland (Björnsson 1981). It seems particularly possible in Iceland, thanks to the Sagas, to establish long time perspectives.

During the 1960s, Nils-Arvid Bringéus attempted to show how popular behavior during the nineteenth century, for example in connection with mis-carriages, goes back to medieval church rituals (Bringéus 1964, cf. Gustavsson 1974). During the 1970s he has established similar continuity perspectives in studies of motifs in folk art, mainly that which is related to ceremonial occasions (Bringéus 1981a). While form and function have changed, the basic structures in the message of the art have remained constant over time. It has, in this case, been helpful to analyse the art with the help of a structuralistic perspective, particularly pairs of binary oppositions (Bringéus 1980a, cf. 1979d, 1980b). It is of principle interest that the structuralistic viewpoints have been used here to illustrate historical processes and not, as is generally

the case (see, for example, Bregenhøjs study below), only synchronic perspectives.

Börje Hanssen, Stockholm, has also touched on the continuity problem in his studies of family structures in older rural Swedish society (Hanssen 1979/80). In a paper in 1973, he stated, without referring to earlier continuity studies in ethnology, that in their process studies, ethnologists have neglected the permanence, the „stubborn structures“, in culture (Hanssen 1973). Analysis of the existing historical processes must be an important future research area. These opinions have been particularly taken up by Danish ethnologists, especially Palle Ove Christiansen, Copenhagen, but also by Orvar Löfgren, Lund (Frykman/Löfgren 1979, Löfgren 1980a). In recent years, these researchers have also been inspired by the mentality research in French historical anthropology. In Denmark there are also clear points of contact with an earlier cultural-historical trend which has appeared beginning with Troels-Lund and continuing through Bjarne Stoklund. In Danish folkloristic Gustav Henningsen, Copenhagen, has been one of the main researchers to present studies reminiscent of French mentality research (Henningsen 1980). With the aid of contemporary records, he has studied the fifteenth century Spanish inquisition.

Palle Ove Christiansen has developed his thoughts in a study of the Giese-gaard estate in Zealand. He summarized his results at a symposium in Lund in 1981, the subject of which was „world view“ (Christiansen 1981a). In analysing the „mentalities“ of the different social classes on the estate, he works with long-term historical perspectives. His interest is in the life styles and ways of thinking of the individual, which he studies with the aid of contemporary sources. Ethnologists in Copenhagen have shown a particularly strong interest in analysing older diaries (e.g. P. Balle-Petersen 1980, Bonde-dagbøger 1981, cf. Finländskt herrgårdsliv 1978, Hopf-Droste 1980). A central theme is the interpretation of the current situation in a historical light. The key words for P.O. Christiansen are „historical dependence“ and „continuity“ (Christiansen 1978, 1980, 1981a, 1981b, cf. Ø. Hodne 1979). The course of change is slow. People's life styles and ways of thinking over the long course of history are discussed against a background of social contexts, i.e. the current economic and social conditions in each period of time. This means that it is more a question of historical system analyses than of „cultural element“ perspectives. That the life style of subservient classes has shown such permanence over a long period of time is interpreted by Christiansen in the light of the fact that the economic and social forms of organization have remained virtually unchanged since the seventeenth century. Noting the significance of economic factors is a connecting link between Christiansen and historical-materialistic interpretations, although the key words there are conflicts, class society, and changes rather than continuity.

7. *Cultural History*

Alongside studies aimed at continuity, some Scandinavian ethnologists and folklorists have published surveys of holidays from a long or short historical perspective. These publications may be classified as cultural history. In contrast to continuity studies, they do not depart from a particular and usually current problem and then analyse its background backwards in time; instead they present a general cultural-historical description of the forms and functions. These authors use older conditions as their point of departure, and usually follow the holidays through the present time. Even modern holidays have been discussed, such as athletic celebrations like Holmenkollen Day in Norway (Bø 1980). These authors touch on the question of how the mass media in modern society influence the celebration of holidays (cf. Ljung 1979).

Such cultural-historical surveys are written both as textbooks for undergraduate courses in ethnology and folklore, and for a more general reading audience. Thus they are written in a popular-scientific tone. Kustaa Vilkuna, Helsinki, has made an extensive description of Finnish annual holidays; its time perspective begins in prehistoric times (Vilkuna 1969). Comparable publications have been presented by: Nils-Arvid Bringéus in Sweden in 1976, (cf. *Skånska årsfester* 1973), Olav Bø in Norway (Bø 1980), and Arni Björnsson in Iceland (Björnsson 1980). In Denmark, Iorn Piø, Copenhagen, has concentrated on Christmas in the last hundred years (Piø 1977, cf. Schön 1980). Birgit Hansen, Copenhagen, has published a publication on spring celebrations (Hansen 1980, cf. Stigsdotter 1977). In Sweden, Karin Johansson has written a historical survey of nameday and birthday celebrations over four hundred years (Johansson 1973).

In the second edition of „Festival Customs throughout the Year“, Nils-Arvid Bringéus has supplemented his earlier presentation, which was mostly descriptive, with a new analytic chapter. It discusses the forces behind the festivals, both economic and ideological ones, thus placing the celebrations into a social perspective (Bringéus 1981c, cf. Gustavsson 1979b). Yet he allows no real weight for explanations based on the psychology of needs, as Åke Daun, Stockholm, among others, has done in behavioral studies (see below).

8. *Socialization*

Studies of socialization deal with questions as to how the norms which support a tradition are learned and passed down from one generation to another. This characterization is a cultural process which is particularly notable among children and young people but which also applies later in life.

Without the thorough acquisition process beginning in childhood, both of what is considered socially acceptable and rejected, human life would be more changeable over time. Thus it is important for researchers to take careful note of the way in which this cultural learning takes place in the youngest generation of different social classes and in groups which represent different ideologies, e.g. religious ones. Such studies also contribute new orientations to the study of passing down processes in folkloristics.

Sven B. Ek, Lund, and now Gothenburg, was early to note the importance of child-rearing in working-class families in Lund (Ek 1971). In one study he analysed the way in which upbringing affected choice of reading material among bookbinders (Ek 1974). Brita Egardt, Lund, has studied the way in which various punishments were used as a means of upbringing in schools in the nineteenth century (Egardt 1972, cf. Egardt 1978).

Socialization studies have recently become increasingly interesting, particularly in Sweden. Such studies are being made, among others, by several of the participants in the project „Cultural boundaries and class boundaries“ in Lund (Löfgren 1976, Löfgren and Frykman 1981b). I have studied the way in which pastors in older times worked actively to impress behavioral norms upon their parishioners (cf. Pleijel 1977), and the way the parishioners reacted, both with obedience and opposition. This has been achieved, in part, with the help of gossip about the pastors (Gustavsson 1979a). Nils-Arvid Bringéus has, in his folk art studies, shown how pictures with religious motifs have been used pedagogically within the State and Free Church preaching during the nineteenth century (i.e. Bringéus 1979d). Anna-Birgitta Rooth, Uppsala, has studied Alaskan Indians and the way in which value acquisition and attitudes among children and young people are passed down through story-telling (Rooth 1971, 1976).

In Finland, Markku Aukia, Åbo, has written a dissertation about the impression of norms, both at home and at school, on children and young people in rural areas between 1890 and 1940 (Aukia 1979, cf. Lindström 1979). Now he is extending that study into the present, including urban areas, and particularly working class families. In this context, the changing role of traditional religion in connection with the processes of urbanization and industrialization becomes significant.

The norms which are impressed via socialization processes are carried on, in turn, by fixed ideologies. It is my opinion that both religious and political ideologies and economic conditions must be considered, precisely as they guide people's ways of life. In this context I use the word „ideology“ as meaning basic patterns of thought in collectives (cf. Schwarz 1978). Ideologies form the basis of norms and behavior. They are most explicit among religious and political groups, including protest movements.

One such problem complex related to ideology and life style was mentioned above in connection with the historical-materialistically oriented studies of Olli Alho and Flemming Hemmersam. Even researchers with other basic theories of scholarship have taken an interest in this type of question, both in relation to the past and to the present. Notable among such studies are church historian Hilding Pleijel's studies in Lund on the social significance of religion before industrialization (e.g. Pleijel 1970, 1971, 1977). In the official State or National Churches in Scandinavia a great deal of the impressment of church ideology on the young people takes place in confirmation classes. The final confirmation service is their test. Ørnulf Hodne, Oslo, has studied these classes, using Norwegian records as his point of departure (Ø. Hodne 1980). The parishioners' reactions to this impressment, particularly the opposition against authoritative pastors, often recur in the records. Thus a conflict perspective is established in this investigation, in which the recipient of the religious message is placed in the center. The acquisition of religious norms which took place in the home in older times, can be studied in Sweden with the help of the extensive records available in the archives of church history in Lund. Nils-Arvid Bringéus has made an examination of the information about saying grace at meals (Bringéus 1979a).

The significance of religious ideology for minority groups has been studied by Margareta Balle-Petersen, Copenhagen, among the members of two revival movements in Denmark in the nineteenth century (M. Balle-Petersen 1981, cf. Bolstad Skjelbred 1977, B. and S. Ehn 1977, Weibust 1972, Ropeid 1974, Christiansen 1979, Fjellström 1981). This investigation shows the significant social consequences of religion in these groups. It has actually guided the whole life style, including choice of names, choice of spouse, socializing, etc. Production, too, was affected, for example when people who had been „saved“ founded their own dairies or fishermen's co-operatives (cf. Hjorth Rasmussen 1972). Joining one of these revival movements implied almost a cultural revolution in the individual's system of values. New norms were acquired, and the rules were then painstakingly passed on from generation to generation. Individuals with different social backgrounds achieved solidarity by embracing a common ideology. The religion also served to mark the outward boundaries. Unni Sandsdalen, in a dissertation on folklore in Oslo, has discussed the question of how knowledge of a nineteenth century revival movement has been passed down from one generation to another until the present day (Sandsdalen 1980). Also, Andreas Ropeid, Oslo, has made several studies of the laymen's movements in the State Church of Norway (Ropeid 1974, 1975).

In Gothenburg, I supervised a study of the way in which contemporary religion determines the way of life and way of thinking in groups of young people in the current Jesus-movement. Patterns of behavior and socializing

were radically changed, even nearly revolutionized, when the young individuals experienced personal conversion and became members of this type of youth movement. In Finland, the folklorist and religious researcher Juha Pentikäinen, Helsinki, has led a project concentrated on ideological impressment in different religious movements in modern society, both Christian ones, and the non-Christian ones which have arisen in Scandinavia in recent years (Pentikäinen 1975). Martti Junnonaho at the Department of Folklore and Comparative Religion in Åbo has studied one of these non-Christian movements, Divine Light Mission, which has its roots in India. The author's intention is to show that this is a counter-cultural religion of the present day which has turned against the Establishment and the processes of secularization (Junnonaho 1979, 1981).

In Lund and Gothenburg we have also begun studies in the new research field of ethnology of religion, in Western Swedish coastal villages, characterized by intra-church revival movements in the nineteenth century and free church movements in the twentieth century. Central questions are how religious revival led to new norms and group constructions and how the revival movement's ideology is retained from one generation to the next in the same family. Of special interest is the fact that this is taking place in an increasingly secularized and pluralistic environment in modern times, in which several systems of values are in competition with one another (cf. Londos 1980). It is also important to shed light on the question of how local social life is affected if religious revival movements become the local majority culture. This has namely been the case in certain free-church-dominated coastal communities which we are studying. Is it possible then to speak of a cultural system shift in the local environment after the acceptance of the revival movement?

II. CONTEMPORARY PERSPECTIVES

While studies of cultural processes present a diachronic perspective, other studies analyse contemporary conditions, either present or past. As in studies of cultural contacts, conflicts, and socialisation, the social perspective stands out, although in another way. In the studies examined here, the researchers have concentrated mainly on the symbolic or expressive side, as opposed to the instrumental one. Great weight is also attached to function, cultural systems, and holistic contexts, as well as the communicative perspectives. Social analyses can study both the local environment and society at large, including the economic conditions. There is a clear connection between the micro- and the macro-perspectives in the many studies of local societies which have been made in the 1960s and 1970s (see e.g. Stoklund 1979, cf. Stora 1979, Christiansen 1980).

The system and holistic aspects are brought out in conscious opposition to older ethnology which is said to have been primarily element-oriented, and thus to have mostly neglected social and functional perspectives. In this category of investigations I include studies which bring out structuralistic, cultural-ecological, and interactional-(including performance) theoretical points of view. Such aspects have become more and more prominent in Scandinavian research over the past ten years. The main sources of inspiration have come from anthropology, particularly from the Anglo-Saxon world.

1. Structuralistic perspectives

Carsten Bregenhøj, Copenhagen, establishes a clearly structuralistic perspective in his dissertation of 1974 on masking parades on Twelfth Night (January 5). These have survived through the present day on some of the small Danish islands (Bregenhøj 1974). The author places equal emphasis on the people who are visited as on those who wear costumes and do the visiting. This gives his celebration study an interactionistic feature, in which both parties communicate with the aid of symbols. The main aim of the study, however, is to reveal the hidden structures.

In his analysis Bregenhøj applies the ideas of both Levi-Strauss and Edmund Leach. The celebration is considered an abnormal, sacral time (cf. Leach 1976) in which the participants may behave in a different manner than in everyday situations, although the celebration has its own rules. With the help of pairs of opposites such as nature-culture, everyday-celebration, masking-unmasking, normal-abnormal, giving-receiving, the author attempts to find the basic structures in all human action, a tendency which has been criticized, among others, by Birgitte Rørbye, Copenhagen (Rørbye 1976). Structuralistically-inspired investigations such as Bregenhøj's, I think, try to detect regularities in a culture rather than variations and changes which dominate in process studies. This type of perspective does not require the establishing of either diachronic or spatial aspects. Instead, discussion is based on static conditions. There is, for example, no idea given of how the norms are passed down from one generation to another. Yet this is an important question for the understanding of why the masking has been retained only on these islands, but has disappeared in others areas. Neither has Bregenhøj made any extensive system analysis, for example of the economic situation in the area. It may rather be said that he has concentrated on a cultural element seen from a structural and functional perspective while he has pulled it out of its economic, temporal, and spatial contexts.

Social perspectives stand out much more clearly in Jonas Frykman's dissertation from Lund in 1977 on unwed mothers (whores) in Sweden in

the nineteenth century (Frykman 1977). Like Bregenhøj, he has been greatly inspired by E. Leach, but even more so by Mary Douglas' thoughts on social impurity and deviants, i.e. groups and individuals with marginal social status (Douglas 1966, 1973). Although Frykman studies the past, the pre-industrial agricultural society, his perspective is, like Mary Douglas' primarily synchronic, not process-oriented. This might easily evoke the impression that conditions in agricultural society were static. In a study of an old bridal custom, I have demonstrated the importance of establishing a diachronic perspective over a long period of time in symbol studies. Only then is it possible to distinguish the way in which the custom has gained significance, for example in communicating social status to the environment, and how the symbolic implications change over time. If this function changes, due to changes in the surrounding society, then the custom also disappears (Gustavsson 1974, cf. Bringéus 1979c).

The most important point in Frykman's investigation, however, is that he very clearly shows the way in which the treatment of unwed mothers by those around them reflect the existing social conditions in the nineteenth century and the basic ideologies as they were impressed upon people, particularly by the church. The expressive side is central for the analysis in the entire dissertation (cf. Daun 1971, Dahllöf 1977, P. Balle-Petersen 1978). These women were placed in a marginal position by the surrounding society and were thus socially ostracised. In contrast to Bregenhøj, Frykman also pays attention to the spatial macro-perspective. He does so by contrasting the more socially homogenous Northern Sweden with the more stratified Southern Sweden (cf. Wikman 1937, Egardt 1962, Löfgren 1969, Bringéus 1978b, 1979c, Kjellman 1979a).

Jonas Frykman later developed his ideas on social impurity within the project „Cultural boundaries and class boundaries“, in conjunction with Orvar Löfgren. This was done in studies of Swedish upper class culture in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (Frykman/Löfgren 1979, Frykman 1981), which show a tangible influence by the French historian of ideas, Michel Foucault (Foucault 1977, cf. Olsén 1979). In these upper classes, young people were carefully brought up to repress all that had to do with their own bodies. To illustrate this, Frykman has used the structuralistic pair of opposites nature-culture. In the upper classes, it was important to further the cultural side of one's behavior, to become cultivated, and to repress the natural side. There was at the same time an effort to discipline the lower classes, both farmers and workingmen. Their way of life was considered uncultivated and thus closer to nature, the animalistic side of man. These studies have led to a lively, highly polemic discussion between Sven B.

Ek and Frykman/Löfgren. Their debate is on basic principles of ethnological research (Ek 1981, Löfgren/Frykman 1981a).

In another study, Frykman attempts to show how the upper classes, during the inter-war years, tried to spread their ideals of sexuality and bodily hygiene to the general public. This was done particularly through propaganda from the medical experts, in an attempt to discipline people with the help of new hygienic ideals. One fundamental idea is that in this period physicians increasingly took over the previous role of the clergy as givers and impressers of norms to the general public (Frykman 1981). In this context, I would like to see Frykman carry these studies further to give us some idea as to the way in which the general public reacted on these new messages. We know very little of their effect on the common people.

Frykman's most recent work has been increasingly inspired by investigations of the history of civilization, mainly by Norbert Elias (Elias 1939/78). Thus his studies have also gained a more tangibly diachronic process perspective than they previously had, alongside with their synchronic social analyses (Löfgren and Frykman 1981a).

Among other researchers who have applied the structuralistic ways of thinking used by Mary Douglas, Ann Helene Bolstad Skjelbred from Oslo should be mentioned. I am thinking particularly of her 1972 dissertation on popular ideas and transition rituals regarding childbearing women in nineteenth century agricultural society (Bolstad 1972, cf. Viljanen-Saira 1978). Like Jonas Frykman in his dissertation on whores, she used record material from the archives of ethnography and folklore. She tried to develop a new interpretation using a theoretical framework taken from anthropology.

Bjarne Hodne, Oslo, has a different point of departure for his study of the expressive side of funerals in pre-industrial Norway (B. Hodne 1980). The basic question is what funeral customs in Norwegian agricultural society say about the attitudes toward death held by the people of those times. This is a similar perspective to the one established by B. Hodne regarding historical legends (B. Hodne 1973). As with Frykman and Bolstad Skjelbred, this is another attempt to interpret old folklore records in a new way. It was, however, hardly possible in this case to include the perspective of change; nor has the author extended the investigation all the way to the present (cf. Bringéus 1981b, Ferrer 1981, Schiøler 1981, Gustavsson 1981a). B. Hodne indicates that there were certain fixed attitudes toward death, but he hardly relates this at all to the social structure of Norwegian society. He does not discuss why the particular attitudes existed, nor how they were passed down from one generation to another in a historical process (cf. Bringéus 1981d).

2. Perspectives of Cultural Ecology

In Finland, Matti Sarmela, Helsinki, representative of a cultural anthropology trend within ethnology, has clearly marked the social perspective in his studies. The custom as a carrier of messages reflects the social hierarchy in the local environment. Particularly at weddings, families try to manifest their social status. Sarmela has developed this, among other things, in a study from 1979 called „The Wedding as a Social Spectacle“ (Sarmela 1979, cf. Brandt 1973). Both this paper and Sarmela's dissertation from 1969 show a clear relationship with Jonas Frykman. Sarmela's dissertation is on youth groups in Finland (Sarmela 1969, cf. 1971, 1974, Swang 1979). In this thesis he has divided the country into different cultural regions characterized by different social and economic structures. He calls his analysis perspective cultural-ecological, which is meant to imply the interpretation of the formulation of the custom against the background of the social, economic, and even ideological and political conditions existing in the contemporary environment, the „ecological superstructures“ (cf. Fjellström 1971). Juha Pentikäinen, Helsinki, has also established similar cultural-ecological perspectives in studies of Finnish revival movements (cf. above, Pentikäinen 1975), while Lauri Honko, Åbo, uses the term ecology of tradition instead (Honko 1973, 1979/80, 1981).

3. Interactionistic Perspectives

Orvar Löfgren, Lund, calls his review of Gunilla Kjellman's dissertation from Lund, 1979, on wedding gifts in Swedish agricultural society „Custom as social mirror“ (Löfgren 1980b). Thus he marks the central role played by the symbolic side in this investigation, as in Sarmela's Finnish wedding study. Kjellman's main questions are how the customs function socially and economically. The upper social classes were among the leaders in the rural areas in communicating their social status outward with the aid of wedding gifts. On the other hand, the gifts had great economic significance for the young lower-class couples who received them at the time of their marriage. The author abandons neither the temporal nor the spatial aspects of her socially oriented analyses. In order to reflect the relationship to social structure in all of Sweden, she makes effective use of the charting method.

Another important trait that Gunilla Kjellman attempts to make use of is different theoretical perspectives. This is not only true for structuralistic points of view, such as when the pair of opposites 'nature-culture' help her to describe the function of the gifts in different social classes (Kjellman 1979a, 1979b, cf. Heikinmäki 1970, 1981); also she uses materialistic trains of thought, taken particularly from Maurice Godelier, France. The author

places the gifts into economic systems, but does not use historic-materialistic conflict perspectives. This approach which attempts to test different theoretical points of departure in the same investigation may be characterized as eclectic. It has been criticized in principle by other scholars, particularly historical materialists (e.g. Alho 1979). Yet Gunilla Kjellman's pronounced aim was the analysis of particular questions regarding one cultural element. The different theoretical perspectives are used by her as scholarly aids which are tested, not as models whose applicability must be proven. The latter usually involves the risk that the theoretical point of view becomes a strait jacket which hinders the researcher; furthermore, it is often tempting to try to make the empirical material fit into the chosen theoretical model. It then becomes easy to ignore information which does not fit the mould. Instead, it is essential for the researcher to explain his material.

Gunilla Kjellman's dissertation may be seen as a connecting link between structuralistic and more purely interactionistic studies. In these, role perspective and performance of message, and thus also aspects of synchronic function, are significant. The studies are more individual-oriented than the other ones presented so far. Yet the individuals must also be said to act repetitively in the face of group pressure and expectations from the social environment (Arvastson 1979). This is what, in my opinion, motivates their inclusion in this presentation of trends in research on ritualised behavior.

In Finland, Lauri Honko, Åbo, and his co-worker Aili Nenola-Kallio, have studied Karelian mourners from role and function perspectives (Honko 1974, Nenola-Kallio 1980). Nenola-Kallio also adds a symbolic aspect to ritualised behavior at weddings and funerals at which Karelian mourners are present (Nenola-Kallio 1981). At the same time, Honko and Nenola-Kallio have made a more traditional, folkloristic analysis of the laments. One of their question is what messages the mourners tried to communicate to their audiences. The perspective is synchronic and, in accordance with the role perspective, the mourners' actions are characterized by the expectations of their audiences. A similar point of view is also found in a dissertation from 1978 by Anna-Leena Siikala, Åbo, a student of Lauri Honko. It is a study of Siberian shamans from a role perspective (Siikala 1978, cf. Honko 1969).

In Norway Wigdis Espeland, Bergen, has been the main proponent of this way of thinking. Her main source of inspiration were American performance folklorists such as David Ben-Amos (cf. Toelken 1981, Kvideland 1981) for her studies of contemporary street musicians and „Kjøpmeister“ (toast masters) at weddings (Espeland 1977, 1979, 1980). The communication perspective is central to her interpretation of the actions of these people. In order to succeed in getting their messages across, these actors must be receptive to their audiences. They must attempt both to fulfill the audience's

expectations and not to disturb their values, for example their religious beliefs. They must perform in a neutral manner and not touch on sensitive subjects in the local environment. W. Espeland gives the reader a presentation of the way in which different rules function in human interaction. Since her perspective is entirely synchronic, however, she does not analyse their origins, retention, or change in a continuous historical process. Neither do these role studies relate local interaction to the social and economic structures of the surrounding society.

During the 1970s, some researchers have even studied problems concerning fieldwork from an interactionistic point of view. Through their interviews and observations, field workers participate in and affect, to a greater or lesser extent, the social life they are studying. Anna-Birgitta Rooth, Uppsala, was early to note these questions in several studies of ritualistic behavior, including the puberty ceremonies of the Alaskan Indians (Rooth 1968, 1971, 1978, 1979, 1980, 1981). Using fieldwork in Swedish coastal communities as a point of departure, I have discussed the questions of how and why information barriers develop in interview situations (Gustavsson 1979a, 1981a, cf. e.g. Sandsdalen 1980, Muntlige kilder 1981).

At the Department of European Ethnology in Stockholm, the synchronic, interactionistic point of view has been dominant for several researchers in the 1970s. Since the 1960s, their inspiration has primarily derived from the trends in social anthropology represented by Fredrik Barth, Bergen. Åke Daun, who has come to be one of the leaders, has mainly studied leisure time activities, particularly forms of socializing, in modern Stockholm suburbs. In his study „A strategy for community fellowship“ (1976), the main question was which factors further, and which factors form obstacles to people's socialising with one another (Daun 1976). „Community fellowship“ is one of the author's key expressions; it is criticized, from a historical-materialistic point of view, by some ethnologists in Denmark, especially Bjarne Kildegaard Hansen and Bodil Grue-Sørensen (e.g. Grue-Sørensen 1979). In order to explain the background to the increasingly private social life, „familism“, in modern urban society Daun uses a generative action model inspired by social anthropology (Daun 1974, 1976, 1977, 1979, 1980). An explanation of individual behavior, according to this model, requires consideration of both their needs, experience, values, and of the surrounding conditions. This situation includes both assets which further actions, in this case socializing, and limitations, which have a restraining effect. This perspective does not, however, clearly bring out the significance of cultural impressment, or the way in which norms affect actions. Daun's studies of leisure-time social life among working-class Stockholm families in the early twentieth century can be characterized as interpretations of contemporary situations, as opposed to process and change perspectives (Daun 1974). His main aim in comparing

the older working-class environments with contemporary suburban life was to illustrate how changed living conditions today lead to changed patterns of action.

Daun has recently extended his research field to include rituals of transition as well. He has analysed high school graduation („studentexamen“), with the aid of the theories of van Gennep (cf. Storå 1971, Bolstad-Skjelbred 1972, Gustavsson 1974, Honko 1979) and of the way of thinking used in the generative action model (Daun 1981, cf. Nordström 1976). His study contains both reasoning based on the psychology of human needs and an assertion of the action situation; the actions communicate the needs and experiences of human beings today. However it contains no discussion of questions of tradition.

Karla Werner, Stockholm, has recently used a similar perspective to interpret the social life of women, particularly everyday life, in a few modern residential areas (Werner 1981, cf. Arnstberg and Ekenborn 1979). She analyses both the factors which lead to and those which counteract a feeling of fellowship among the people in these areas. Her analysis is also valuable because it has established a sex-role perspective on this behavior. This aspect has thus far received altogether too little attention in Scandinavian ethnology and folklore research (cf. Lützen 1979, Gustavsson 1980b, Vestergaard 1981).

Billy Ehn, Stockholm, has like Gösta Arvastson, Gothenburg, extended interactionistic studies to include everyday factory life (Ehn 1981, Arvastson 1979, cf. Jørgensen 1979, Holm Löfgren 1980, Hilpinen 1981). One aim is not to separate the working hours from the leisure time hours of the workers as has often been done previously, but rather see them as belonging together. Billy Ehn's most recent study (Ehn 1981), however, hardly touches on the leisure time activities of the factory workers. It is interesting to note that both researchers have examined forms of socialising such as conversation, games, card-playing, etc. which take place in the breaks during the working day. This socialising is interpreted both as an expression of fellowship among the workers and as a form of counter-culture, as protests upwards in the social hierarchy, against the management. Especially Gösta Arvastson, in his studies of industrial places of work in Gothenburg, has shown to what extent everyday factory life in the twentieth century has been and still is regulated by norms. Individuals working in the factories have always been obliged to respect the group pressure which has developed among the workers. He states: „This factory culture is actually a question of rules for community life within the gates. There, human beings relate to the company, to technology, to their workmates, and to other categories of employers. There is a great deal of knowledge which everyone shares and which decides what is right or wrong, what are suitable topics for discussion, how to behave to-

ward superiors, or how to sit — in the breaks, in the cubbyholes, on the chairs. There are preconceptions about foremen, unions, and the company which unite people in common norms and values" (Arvastson 1979). Unlike Billy Ehn, Gösta Arvastson has also established a process perspective of working-class culture which extends over the entire twentieth century. Thus it is also important to him to see how knowledge and rules of behavior are passed on, that is, both retained and changed, among the different generations at the place of work (Arvastson 1981).

SUMMARY

Finally, I shall discuss some of the research areas to which more attention should be paid during the 1980s. The trend toward analysis of human behavior in everyday life, and not just at holiday time as was the case in previous research (cf. Skånska årsfester 1973) should continue to develop in importance (cf. Gustavsson 1980b, Ek 1971, Frykman/Löfgren 1979, P. Balle-Petersen 1980, Werner 1981). It should cover different social environments and establish historical process perspectives. This is also in line with the increased interest of international ethnology and anthropology in everyday life, „Alltagsleben“.

Those social classes which have previously been neglected, such as former and contemporary working classes, are especially important research objects. A sex-role perspective on behavior should also be established. Women's ways of life, particularly on an everyday level, have received all too little attention.

In any given culture new traditions are always being introduced. Therefore, innovation research will continue to be necessary. By making analyses on both the macro- and micro-levels, ethnologists can contribute to elucidating the ways in which and the reasons why cultural changes occur, both today and in the past (cf. Brohed 1977). The social perspective must be more clearly expressed, so that cultural elements are put into their social contexts.

In modern society it is important to study minority groups, particularly immigrants, and their contacts in different generations with the native Scandinavian culture, by using a process perspective. This will bring up the subject of how ideologies influence ways of life in groups and individuals. These are central fields of research, along with impressment of behavioural norms, and their retention and change from one generation to another. Questions of ideologies and life styles are also important in studies of protest movements, counter-cultures, which turn against the establishment, both in the present and in the past. In ethnology of religion there are important questions re-

garding different religious groups. This type of study will provide an opportunity to test the conflict perspective as a tool for analysis. This is also true for future studies of revitalisation.

Studies of socialisation should also focus on the process of socialisation which takes place later in life. How do people react to new impressions and values they encounter as they grow older, and how do these oppose what they have already learned? A conflict perspective can contribute to illustrating the processes which take place when contrasting values confront one another.

With regard to revitalisation studies, increased attention must be paid to how the selection available via the mass media has come to affect the way human beings live and think, their socialising with one another, their celebrations. There is also a need for studies of changes which occurred in the past. This need applies both to innovations and regressions, which should be studied both from a process perspective and from the contemporary social point of view.

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