

FUS

Forskningsprogrammet
Ungdomskultur i Sverige

Research program Youth culture in Sweden

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The research program *Youth Culture in Sweden* (Forskningsprogrammet Ungdomskultur i Sverige, FUS) has 1987-1994 explored central aspects of Swedish youth culture. It has focused on four *themes* – Modernization, Gender, Style and Spheres – studying how modernization processes affect and are expressed in youth culture, especially in the relations between genders, between different symbolic means of expressions and media, and between various social spheres. The theme of Modernization dealt with historical transformations in a time dimension. The Gender theme opened up for discussions not only of gender and sex, but also more generally psychological dimensions of identity formation and inner subjectivity. In the Style theme, perspectives on culture, aesthetics, symbolic modes and mediated communication were also included. The theme of Spheres contained problematizations of power and resistance, and of social institutions framing youth culture.

FUS was based at the Department of Journalism, Media and Communication (JMK), Stockholm University, and was started in 1987 by the musicologist and media researcher Johan Fornäs. He also lead its central "umbrella" group, together with Ulf Boëthius who is professor of literature at Stockholm University, the media researcher Michael Forsman (Stockholm) and (in various periods) the ethnologist Johan Wennhall (Uppsala), the sociologist Sabina Holstein-Beck (Göteborg) and the media researchers Bo Reimer (Göteborg) and Hillevi Ganetz (Stockholm). The tasks of this group was by *comparisons* between projects and theoretical traditions to contribute to a theoretical development transgressing former boundaries in the youth culture field, and to initiate and support *communication* among researchers and projects within the national *network* of FUS.

For these purposes, the umbrella group published a yearly series of in all 6 *FUS-reports* in anthology form, and an internal *information bulletin* (*Bulletin för Ungdomskultur i Sverige – BUS*, in all 26 issues). Every year small-scale and large-scale *seminars* were organized for the 68 *researchers* and postgraduate students who participated in the network, coming from many different disciplines within the humanities and social sciences. These network members carried on individual or collective *projects* in the field. In all, there were c. 60 such projects, plus another c. 40 dissertations in progress, of which 15 were finished during the FUS period. Some *interest groups* were also formed with certain common activities, such as those around The 1930s, Music video, Gender identity, Ethnicity, Rock & adolescence and Aesthetics & media use. Two of these projects, The 1930s and Music video, have become research projects in their own right, while the one on Gender identity has produced one anthology on young women and one on young men. The other groups were more of seminar groups, gathering researchers from different universities and disciplines to discuss various texts and research projects within their particular subfields.

Youth Culture in Sweden was financed by the Swedish Research Council for Humanities and Social Sciences (HSFR), within the framework of its programme for comparative cultural research.

More information was offered in a special English-language *pamphlet* (Fornäs, Boëthius, Forsman, Ganetz & Reimer: *Youth Culture in Sweden – Presentation of a Research Programme*, Stockholm 1992, 32 pp., reproduced below). A *final report* in Swedish has also been published.

The project has published a series of Swedish anthologies, dealing mainly with fundamental theoretical issues within various aspects of the field. The first one treated methodological questions, the next four each concentrated on one of the main themes of the programme, and the last one exemplified a series of fascinating studies carried out by researchers in the network.

A selection of eight articles is published in English by Sage in 1995. Sage also publishes a monography on cultural theory by Fornäs, incorporating many themes which have been developed in this project.

The program finished in 1994, but has a continuation in form of the association of Swedish youth culture researchers (Sveriges ungdomskulturforskarens förening; SUF).

Swedish reports

Johan Fornäs, Ulf Boëthius & Sabina Cwejman (1990): *Metodfrågor i ungdomskulturforskningen. FUS-rapport nr 1*, Stockholm / Stehag: Symposion
(Methodological Issues in Youth Culture Research, 83 pp.).

Johan Fornäs & Ulf Boëthius (1990): *Ungdom och kulturell modernisering. FUS-rapport nr 2*, Stockholm / Stehag: Symposion
(Youth and Cultural Modernization, 96 pp.).

Johan Fornäs, Ulf Boëthius & Sabina Cwejman (1991): *Kön och identitet i förändring. FUS-rapport nr 3*, Stockholm / Stehag: Symposion
(Gender and Identity in Transformation, 220 pp.).

Johan Fornäs, Ulf Boëthius, Hillevi Ganetz & Bo Reimer (1992): *Unga stilar och uttrycksformer. FUS-rapport nr 4*, Stockholm / Stehag: Symposion
(Young Styles and Forms of Expression, 304 pp.).

Johan Fornäs, Ulf Boëthius & Bo Reimer (1993): *Ungdomar i skilda sfärer. FUS-rapport nr 5*, Stockholm / Stehag: Symposion
(Youths in Different Spheres, 298 pp.).

Johan Fornäs, Ulf Boëthius, Michael Forsman, Hillevi Ganetz & Bo Reimer (1994): *Ungdomskultur i Sverige. FUS-rapport nr 6*, Stockholm / Stehag: Symposion
(Youth Culture in Sweden, 436 pp.).

Fornäs, Boëthius, Forsman & Reimer (1994): *Forskningsprogrammet Ungdomskultur i Sverige: Slutrapport*, Stockholm: JMK
(Research Programme Youth Culture in Sweden: Final Report, 123 pp.)

Bäckström, Åsa, Johan Fornäs, Michael Forsman, Hillevi Ganetz & Adrienne Sörbom (1998): *Nätverk för ungdomskulturforskning. Verksamhet 1987-1998*, Stockholm: JMK (JMK skriftserie 1998:2)
(Networks for youth culture research: Activities 1987-1998, 50 pp.).

English volumes

Johan Fornäs & Göran Bolin (eds) (1995): *Youth Culture in Late Modernity*, London: Sage; 198 pp.

Johan Fornäs (1995): *Cultural Theory and Late Modernity*, London: Sage, 312 pp.

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Presentation of a Research Program

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Hillevi Ganetz
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1992

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The research programme Youth Culture in Sweden was started in 1987 by Johan Fornäs at Stockholm University at what is now included in the Department for Journalism, Media, and Communication (Institutionen för Journalistik, medier och kommunikation, JMK). The programme is financed mainly by The Research Council for the Humanities and the Social Sciences (Humanistisk-Samhällsvetenskapliga Forskningsrådet, hereafter abbreviated to HSFR) and is scheduled to continue until 1994.

The programme explores central aspects of contemporary youth culture in Sweden through four *themes*; Modernization, Gender, Style, and Spheres. It studies how present modernization processes find expression in the relations between genders, between different symbolic means of expression and media, as well as between different life spheres and fields of power.

The programme combines qualitative studies with quantitative ones. The emphasis lies on research around the lives and forms of expression of present-day Swedish youth, but posed against a background of global and historical relations. The programme is *comparative* along several dimensions and has a strong *cross-disciplinary* bent. Its task is to create contact and concrete research collaboration between researchers within different fields and traditions, to survey the current field of research, and to further its theoretical development. Swedish research on youth culture has developed, since the arrival of FUS, into a tremendously expansive, dynamic, and multifaceted field. This has broken the dominance of directly or indirectly policy-oriented research, which was interested in specific, problematic youth groups and which gave a distorted image of the life forms of current youth. This new basic research on youth culture is contributing to a deeper understanding of societal tendencies and processes in general. The programme aims to combine theories of the social, psychological, and aesthetic aspects of youth culture developed in close, empirical studies from the past or the present. The program's multidisciplinary and comparative perspective is visible at different levels.

Firstly, the programme organizes activities that bring together *researchers* from various places and disciplines and allow discussion and concrete collaboration.

Secondly, *theoretical traditions* that have developed within different fields are linked together within balanced dialogues, leading to new syntheses. The programme combines theories of the social, psychological, and aesthetic dimensions in youth culture, of modernization, socialization, styles, symbols, and hierarchies. Among the fields that have contributed to the development of the theories the programme draws on are cultural sociology, media theory, popular culture research, style theory, semiotics, hermeneutics, psychoanalysis, as well as theories of gender, ethnicity, and class.

Thirdly, *empirical* comparisons are carried through along several lines; time (past-present), space (Sweden-other countries, country-city, local and regional characteristics), gender (male-female), means of expression (music, TV, video, reading), styles, subcultures, and spheres (high-low, family-peer groups-school-work-leisure organizations-the media).

Fourthly, different *methods* are pragmatically and undogmatically combined in order to clarify complex questions on a wide front, and to reflect consciously on the relations between methodologies and theories.

The research programme is oriented towards *basic, fundamental research*. It does not aim to be a direct or primary service for those government agencies that are concerned with youth issues. The project offers no suggestions for policy on the issues of politics and work among youths, even if its work can, of course, be useful to 'practitioners' in the field. Youth cultural processes must be studied and discussed at a distance from the immediate needs and interests of governmental politics and youth social work, if the work is to reach a deeper level of understanding. This can counteract the rise of moral panics and eventually lead to a situation in which policies and work for and with youths are improved and become more far-sighted. We also find it crucial to keep a *critical* perspective on different societal power relations. It is important that youth research sees and reflects upon the institutionalized hierarchies that both the market and state systems support, as well as the more informal relations of domination between the sexes, classes, ethnic groups, and individuals in the youth culture field. Not least important is the necessity of reflecting upon the

position and role of youth research itself within such power fields and social hierarchies – not to conjure them away but rather to gain insight into our own functions and to manage them better.

Modernization

The study of youth culture has two aims; to produce knowledge about youths, and also to gain new insights into the relations and processes that hold good for all of society. This programme addresses both aspects. Youth culture is a hot area in Sweden today, acting as a projection screen and seismograph for present tendencies within society as a whole. This dynamism ought to be used by youth culture research to develop an understanding of the modernization processes that, with all their contradictions, permeate our entire culture. Using a spectrum of theories to explore youth culture's input into these processes will, of course, also increase our understanding of youth culture in its own right.

The programme is focused around the symbolic aspects of all the life forms experienced by young people. The concept of youth points to both a phase of life and a social category, neither of which has rigid boundaries. 13 to 19 year old teenagers form the main focus of the project, although statistical studies often have a wider range of 12 to 24 years, and, in particular cases, individuals up to the age of 30 might fall under the category of "youth." 'Subcultures' in the plural normally indicates those more eye-catching styles and youth cultures, one of whose functions is to provide an orientation pole in most youths' search for an identity, but the programme is interested in the culture of all youths.

There is a dense relationship between youth, modernity, and cultural forms of expression. During the past few decades, youths in general, and a number of young subcultures in particular, have shown themselves to be greatly and increasingly interested in aesthetic means of expression. The period of youth is rich in cultural creativity; intense use of the products of popular culture, experiments with individual and collective styles as an expression of particular life forms and identity choices, in addition to extensive production of music, texts, and images. This can be related psychologically to the particular developmental processes of the period of adolescence, socioculturally to the special position youths occupy within society, and also historically to certain transformations that present societal developments cause.

Central aspects of the global sociocultural transformation processes of our time have, within a broad theoretical discourse, been labelled modernization. This points to certain types of rationalization, conflictual relations between the market and state systems and communicative elements in people's everyday lives, differentiation and globalization through, among others, new transnational media structures, and social changes deeply affecting groups and individuals. It would be foolish to claim that our period is only marked by drastic upheavals or that the relatively constant features are less important. On the contrary, very important aspects of life forms are reproduced from generation to generation and it is important to see and keep in mind these relatively static structures. It is a matter of both objective relations, such as generational oppositions, socialization agents, and power hierarchies, and subjective and cultural factors in maturity processes, in the discourse of youths, and in the habitus of youth groups. It is, nevertheless, important to develop theoretical concepts that address fundamental and dynamic cultural aspects at a more profound level than the vagaries of fashion. The epoch we live in, as well as the ever-shifting research field of youth culture, call for such theoretical development. We find here useful challenges to theory's internal tendency to think in terms of rigid structures and to petrify developmental processes into static schemes.

The modernization of culture changes socialization patterns and life conditions for adults, youths, and children. In certain ways, the youths of today live in a different world than the youths of previous generations and they meet this new world with a subjective constitution that is also different. It would, therefore, be interesting to examine issues of such changes in the cultures of youths at different levels, e.g.; the relations between different generations alive at present. What exact differences exist between generations born in the 20s, in the 40s, and in the 60s? How do

accidental events and random swings in fashion, regularly repeated cyclical processes, epochal shifts, and relative constants unite to form the different cultural patterns of the Swedish youths of today?

As youths go through socialization processes, they experience a contradictory spectrum of learning processes, connected to various activity forms and socializing institutions. Modernization creates new and reforms the old fields of tension in these processes. Youth culture is both a symptom and a means of handling these contradictions. The capitalist form of modernization provokes resistance in the form of countermovements, countercultures, and counter public-spheres, while also making possible new forms of critique and utopia. Youth cultures reproduce and yet change power relations of gender and class. The arenas of youth culture are permeated by both power and resistance, and we can understand better the relationship between the two by studying certain key fields of tension in order to understand youth culture and developmental tendencies in Swedish society, in which the welfare state and the strong, centralized populist movements, to mention only two examples, mark very special conditions.

The programme focuses on the most recent decades, but also traces back the lines of development to provide a background for and bring into relief the present. Historical comparisons are what allow us to understand what is new in late modern society. In addition, the historical time dimension can still be found to a large extent in the present, as a memory and a point of reference. In a partially analogous way, the study of other countries can be doubly useful to the understanding of our main field of research, youth culture in Sweden. We want to single out what is specific to Sweden, as well as to try to understand the significance of the international flows of culture for youths in Sweden.

Some of the program's researchers conduct studies of the gradual permeation in the twentieth century of youth culture by modernization processes, with the 1930s as one focal point. Others study the variegated effects of modernization in cities and in the countryside, or among different ethnic groups. Different modernity theories are related to each other, to historical theories, and to empirical youth research. Concepts such as "Zeitgeist," modernization, and modernity are defined clearly and then used within empirical Swedish youth culture research. A platform is created for the juxtaposition of modernization and reproduction theories in order to clarify the relationship between continuity and disruption and to see what are the new forms of youth culture, as well as to pinpoint more exactly the moment of appearance of transformations. Confronting contemporary practical studies allows the modernity-oriented analyses of the present to become more nuanced and specific along several dimensions, such as gender, class, ethnicity, and geography.

Gender

Adolescence is a period in which identity plays a large role, although identity does concern all ages. The concept of identity points, on the one hand, to how social groups cohere and distinguish themselves from other groups, and, on the other, to the individual's sense of self. Rapid social transformational processes enforce ever more intense work on identity, not least among the young, who are always involved in the problematics of identity as they move from adolescence to adulthood. A particularly interesting field of tension occurs around the issue of social and cultural gender. The programme is concerned with a number of differentiations, such as those based on class, race, or geographical boundaries. But it is gender that holds a very central place within youth culture and yet has not received sufficient attention from research. By studying the significance of gender for the formation of identity and culture among youths, we can deepen our understanding of society as a whole.

Present tendencies in societal relations as well as international developments in theory have highlighted gender to be both a fruitful and conflict-ridden area. Gender identities and the relations between the genders have been discussed and problematized – denaturalized – more and more in modern times. While one can trace concrete instances of shifts against the traditional pattern, fundamental relations of power still persist in politics and work, making the area socially explosive.

Since adolescence is strongly marked by gender-determined identity work, sexual maturation, and experiments with relationships, youth culture is rich in expressions of such changes and problematizations. The gender issue encourages a fruitful meeting of social, psychological, and aesthetic analysis, which can inspire other areas of the research field. FUS is interested in the differences and relations between the socialization and cultural patterns of young women and men, and tries to understand the historical shifts to which modernization gives rise. In connection with this, it is also important to make clear the various, internal power structures and hierarchies that arise within youth groups.

At the same time that modernization has brought about certain changes in gender relations and ideologies, other deeply-rooted individual structures and wide-ranging power structures have retained their traditional forms. Modern society gives youths contradictory messages as to what constitutes behavior characteristic for men and women. This unclarity causes confusion but also opens up new possibilities of forming one's own identity in an unconventional way within the only partly malleable framework defined by the rigid structures of power relations.

There are reasons to believe that this area is particularly interesting in Sweden, considering the policy of equality carried through here and the attempts at new gender relations that could be discerned within Swedish society. Can one find signs of this within the cultural expression of youths? From a gender angle, what is the relationship between life patterns, ideologies, forms of reception, and expressions of style? There are a great number of FUS projects around such questions, for example, projects that take up issues of how young women become adults or explore gendered subcultures. The programme also has good contact with a Nordic network focusing on gender socialization research, and another NOS-S financed Nordic project called "Young Women's Everyday Life and Culture in the Nordic Countries." A great deal of feminist and cultural research has since the 80s begun to discuss the sociocultural construction of gender identity, often through exciting combinations of (semiotically influenced) popular culture analysis, psychoanalytic theory, and cultural sociology. Many general theories have also begun to be re-formulated from a perspective that keeps in mind gender aspects. Within FUS, different feminist theories are related to each other and to empirical Swedish material in order to develop concepts and explanatory models around socialization, identity, and gender.

Style

Cultural symbols fulfill a number of important functions within youth culture. Different learning processes with a use value for the forming of relations and identities take place through the reception of massmediated popular culture, as well as in the production of cultural expressions (music making, writing, shaping of one's visual style, etc.). There is an intricate interplay between, on the one hand, "reception," consumption, or use of unfamiliar cultural products and, on the other, one's own production and creation. In reception, symbolic artefacts are used as raw material for the production of knowledge, meaning, relations, experiences, and identity. How does this happen among young people of different sexes in various social, ethnic, and geographic milieus, and how do different aesthetic areas, language systems, and symbolic systems relate to one another and to the individual and collective formation of identity in socialization processes? What specific traits are there in the style production of Swedish youths? What happens when styles and expressions are imported and taken over by Swedish youth groups?

The cultural forms of expression of youths shares many features with society's at large, and a study of youth culture can be expected to provide insight into more general tendencies. How do symbolic systems relate, for example, to power and resistance? What role and function do rebellious or (to be more general) eye-catching counter- or sub-cultures play in the lives of "ordinary" youths? Is there anything that can properly be called main-stream culture among the Swedish youths of today? Can we find in the cultural patterns of youths shifts in the use of different media, between the verbal and the non-verbal, between the oral and the visual, and between other, more specific forms?

Youth cultural expressions are also bound partly to the particular circumstances of the psychological aspects of the phase of youth and the socially constructed category of youth. How is it, for example, that youths show such a strong interest in music (primarily rock) and images? Conclusions abound and there is a great deal of statistics on the cultural habits and media consumptions of youths, but there is still a lack of detailed qualitative analyses and theoretical interpretations of the processes in youths' production and reception of cultural symbols. The theme of style concerns the production and reception of specific aesthetic forms of expression, such as literature, music, image, and so on. Equally important, however, are the aesthetic expressions in the practice of everyday life, in which many important manifestations of visual style occur (such as dress, hairstyle, jewelry, attributes, gestures, and rituals), in specific youth cultures as well as in every young individual. Also worth more close analysis are relations to one's own body, as well as to the corporeal in general. This touches upon research on dance and sports, as well as to a wider cultural sociology.

Many researchers in the programme study such issues, for example, youth styles, dance, the playing of rock, music use, or other forms of media reception. Symbol theories from semiotics, hermeneutics, cognitive psychology, psychoanalysis, ethnology, and social anthropology are related to one another in theoretical texts and empirical studies. Cultural sociological lifestyle studies, subculture theory, and media research are confronted with aesthetic and psychodynamic theories in order to illuminate further, from a youth cultural perspective, our ideas on subcultures, life forms, lifestyles, styles, genres, texts, discourses, and symbols.

Spheres

Our final interest area is the relationship between the different spheres and institutions in which and between which youths move. Some important identity learning processes take place in public institutions such as school or leisure organizations, others are tied to more informal structures such as family or peer groups, still others are organized by commercial market forces. How do youths, in groups or as individuals, use these different spheres, where do conflicts arise, and with what effect? What are the fundamental differences between youth's various life areas, and what long term developmental tendencies can be posited concerning the different types of learning processes. How do state and market forces influence the different segments and processes of youth culture? What aspects of the changes in family, school, culture industry, and working life affect youth culture? What is the significance of geographic variations?

This field of tension also points towards society as a whole. It poses questions of power and resistance in the form of conflicts within and between different subcultures as well as spheres. In Sweden, the relatively strong and centralized structures of the state and the populist movements also have consequences for youths, both through the extensive apparatuses of public and professional socialization (child care, school, university, etc.) and through the media's structures. What role do these factors play in youths' life conditions and senses of self, or in discourses about youths within the adult-dominated media and institutions? What does it mean that in Sweden the state, the communes, and the populist movements to such a large extent have controlled the areas that in other countries are usually structured by informal peer groups and the commercial culture industries, like sports or music?

This also touches upon the question of the relation between 'popular' and 'high' cultures – the interplay between them and the possible dissolution or displacement of their boundaries. Youth-oriented popular culture has interesting relations both to the established, official, elite culture and to the artistic avant-gardes. How are the life conditions of youths related to adults' discourses on youth; the professionalized ways that social workers, parents, youth literature writers, cultural workers as a whole, debaters, and researchers handle youths, but also the ways that all adults, in words and actions, relate to youth as a social category and a life phase? What happens when the need structures and life conflicts of youths meet the 'serious' children and youth cultures that adults create for them? Similar questions can be raised (and are often raised in debates) about the products

offered by popular culture. The programme focuses on popular culture and autonomous aesthetic creativity, but always in relation to the forms and structures of elite culture. Finally, the theme is directly related to issues of power. How are power and class relations reproduced and transformed through socialization and cultural patterns in modern Swedish society? How are issues of class expressed in the different forms of youth culture? It is important for us to realize that our own research is not unaffected by these problematics. Our studies of youth culture in present-day Sweden also provide us with keys to understanding our own position in that society. As researchers, we are also positioned in specific social positions within power hierarchies and social fields. It is essential that we critically and self-critically scrutinize and examine the social functions of our own youth research. It is important that we pay attention to the relations of dominance, in research and in the field of youth culture, which are caused by both main social systems (market and state), and that we develop or support movements that offer resistance to systemic demands and test the potentialities of the communicative rationality of the everyday life world. Researchers in the programme have explicitly dealt with this theme through studies of the relations between elite culture and popular culture, between different life spheres and arenas, between classes, and between powerful institutions and youth groups. Theories of societal power systems, of class and power relations, of societal institutions, of moral panic, and of the role and development of popular culture are all used within this work. Juxtaposition of modernization discussions, class analyses, and other structural power theories helps to nuance them further and to bring them into sharper focus, with the aim of understanding power, institutions, spheres, arenas, and fields in the youth culture area.

Timetable

The entire programme will run for a period of a little more than 7 years, from 1987 to 1994.

1986/87: The programme was initiated in the spring of 1987 by Fornäs. Planning discussions within a small group.

1987/88: The discussions continued. HSRF approved the grant application.

1988/89: The programme got under way. A series of meetings and seminars were arranged.

Through a series of enquiries and questionnaires, the members' particular orientations and interests were delineated. The internal bulletin was started. Themes and basic foundations were clarified further. The umbrella group and The 1930s interest group held several meetings during the spring.

1989/90: The first full scale year. A major seminar based around the topic "Youth and Cultural Modernization" and involving everyone in the network was held in September, with lectures, discussions of theory and method, as well as special meetings of the interest groups. Spring saw the publication of the first two reports: *Metodfrågor i ungdomskulturforskningen* (Questions of Method within Youth Culture Research) and *Ungdom och kulturell modernisering* (Youth and Cultural Modernization).

1990/91: In September there was a major seminar on "Gender in Transformation – Youth culture and Identity," with Kirsten Drotner from Copenhagen as the foreign guest lecturer and the Gender Identity interest group's contributions to the anthology on young women as a base for discussion. FUS report no. 3 *Kön och identitet i förändring* (Gender and Identity in Transformation), addressing the same theme as the seminar, came out in the spring.

1991/92: The Gender group's anthology *Om unga kvinnor. Identitet, kultur och livsillkor* (On Young Women. Identity, culture and Life conditions) published. Major seminar in September on "Young Styles and Forms of Expression," with Dick Hebdige from London as our foreign guest lecturer. Report no. 4 on the same theme was published in the summer: *Unga stilar och uttrycksformer* (Young Styles and Forms of Expression). Interest groups' work lead continuously to new publications and projects. The network's researchers were invited to send article proposals for the final FUS report.

1992/93: A major seminar was held like the previous years, this time organized around the theme “Youths in Different Spheres,” and a report addressing the same theme was brought out in the spring: *Ungdomar i skilda sfärer* (Youth in Different Spheres). The umbrella group selected contributions to the final report and the final manuscripts were delivered in May.

1993/94: One final major seminar, addressing the theme “Youth Culture in Sweden: Modernity, Gender, Style, Spheres,” summarized and brought together loose threads. The final book was produced and published in 1994: *Ungdomskultur i Sverige* (Youth Culture in Sweden). Also an extensive final report was published, summarizing the experiences and results from the project. The FUS programme was formally ended and the network transformed into the Swedish Association of Youth Culture Researchers (SUF).

1995: An English anthology was published: *Youth Culture in Late Modernity*, as well as Fornäs’ monograph *Cultural Theory in Late Modernity* (both London: Sage).

Organization

FUS is formed around four *themes*: Modernization, Gender, Style, and Spheres. It connects researchers in a *network* that is kept together by an *umbrella group*.

1. The five member *umbrella group*, whose tasks are to enable communication and comparison, acts as a hub for the programme.
2. A series of *FUS reports* are published annually by the umbrella group through the Symposion publishing company.
3. Exchange of information between researchers and projects in the network, 4-6 times per year through *the internal bulletin BUS*.
4. General, annual *major seminars* for all the network’s members.
5. Smaller group seminars are regularly held for each and every one of the 6 or so specific *interest groups*.
6. Collective and inter-disciplinary *projects* and other research collaborations within the network.
7. Around 70 *researchers* in the *network* who conduct their own independent research within different disciplines and in different places.

FUS aims to develop empirical knowledge of youth culture in Sweden by addressing the four themes and to contribute simultaneously to the development of fruitful theory. The *communication* between researchers in different places and within different research traditions is facilitated, and the programme stimulates a greater number of multidisciplinary and collective projects. *Comparisons* between theoretical and empirical research are carried out, with the aim of contributing to the formation of explanatory models that over-ride boundaries. Set out below are the particular functions and duties of the program’s various organizational levels.

1. The umbrella group

Ulf Boethius, Johan Fornäs, Michael Forsman, Hillevi Ganetz, and Bo Reimer constitute a central group that is responsible for the programmes collective aims. (Ganetz and Reimer succeeded Sabina Cwejman in 1991). The group is responsible for the smooth operation of the various organizational levels set out below. It supports communication between researchers (and research groups), while also trying to contribute to wide-ranging theories by comparing detailed and thorough projects and by clarifying, commenting on, or formulating significant concepts in and for youth culture research. Through an ongoing survey of past and present research that could be of use to our programme and through close communication via bulletins and at seminars, the programme

develops theoretical work that juxtaposes different ways of using concepts and proposes useful interpretations that mediate between and bring together different projects and traditions. The successive, in-depth work on the program's four themes gives rise to material for the FUS report series, in which the umbrella group (along with other, specially invited researchers), drawing on the seminar discussions, publish a series of wide-ranging texts addressing each and every of the program's themes. These texts survey research from Sweden and other countries that have relevance for the particular theme and develop the theoretical models. This comparative, theoretical work is vital for the coherence of the programme and is as important for the maintenance of the network as direct communication between the particular researchers.

Here is a possible scenario to show how things run in practice. The umbrella group puts together material, compendiums, and surveys that deal with a certain issue. These are sent out to participants before the seminars that FUS arranges, in which various researchers also contribute with introductory papers and reports. The seminar discussions then make it possible for the umbrella group, in their own texts, to summarize and work further on current theoretical questions, and to survey and compare different research and theoretical fields, concepts, and concrete empirical projects within and outside the program's network.

This work links together results from completed and current quantitative macrostudies and qualitative microstudies, dealing with both single-gendered and mixed groups, groups with distinctly and intentionally different subcultural profiles (e.g; hip-hop youth) and "normal" youths, groups that are involved in goal-oriented activities (rock bands and so on) and those that are not gathered around any well-articulated collective, productive projects. Of greatest interest here are ethnographic studies in which youths are followed intensively and for a long period of time through participant observation, group and individual interviews with both the youths and the key persons in their environments, and appropriate analysis of the material the youths have produced or used. It is also important to follow youths' lives and activities in various spheres, e.g. with the family at home, with friends during leisure time and at school, and so on. Quantitative over-views add perspective to empirical studies.

"Re-reading" different studies illuminates questions concerning the programmes four themes and so makes it possible for theory and practice to enrich each other across and over their boundaries. The internal bulletin *BUS* and the report series make this plain to see. Researchers in the network are encouraged to address insufficiently studied important questions and the umbrella group investigates completed studies in order to develop our theories.

2. Reports

A series of *FUS reports*, dealing with the different themes of the programme, was printed in book form by Symposion publishing company. The first, published in the spring of 1990, addressed *Metodfrågor i ungdomskulturforskningen* (Methodological Issues in Youth Culture Research) and carried papers from Fornäs, Boethius, Cwejman, Magdalena Czaplicka, and Keith Roe. The second report, came out in the same year, *Ungdom och kulturell modernisering* (Youth and Cultural Modernization), with texts from Fornäs and Boethius. A third report, taking up issues of *Kön och identitet i förändring* (Gender and Identity in Transformation), was published in the spring of 1991 and comprised of articles by Fornäs, Boethius, Cwejman, Margot Bengtsson, and Kirsten Drotner. The fourth report *Unga stilar och uttrycksformer* (Youth Styles and Forms of Expression), with articles from Fornäs, Boethius, Ganetz, Reimer, Leni Filipson and Jan Nordberg. came out in the summer of 1992 The spring of 1993 saw the publication of the 5th report, *Ungdomar i skilda sfärer* (Youths in Different Spheres.) Our final summary report, *Ungdomskultur i Sverige, kön, stil, sfärer* (Youth Culture in Sweden: Modernity, Gender, Style, Spheres) to which all the network members were invited to contribute, was published in the summer of 1994. In English, one anthology and one monograph were published in 1995: Johan Fornäs & Göran Bolin (eds): *Youth Culture in Late*

Modernity and Johan Fornäs: Cultural Theory in Late Modernity (both London: Sage).

3. The internal bulletin

FUS' internal mail is always very busy. Papers, articles, and such, are distributed in the network before the plenary and group seminars. The internal bulletin *BUS* comes out 4 to 6 times a year and is distributed for free to the network's participants. This carries reports on the umbrella group, seminars, projects, and publications.

4. Major seminars

FUS arranges an annual *major seminar* that is open to the entire network and is usually held in September or October. The seminar focuses in turn on one of the programmes themes. This does not exclude the other themes. On the contrary, each seminar sets out to clarify all four themes, but with one theme in firm focus.

The major seminars comprise of activity reports, meetings for the umbrella and interest groups, talks by guest lecturers addressing the seminar theme, participants' presentation of ongoing projects, theoretical discussions based on the introductory talks and on the texts sent out in advance, debates on the particular theoretical problems posed by the focal theme, and more unstructured meetings for new project ideas and open discussions.

5. Interest groups

A number of *interest groups* have been formed in order to collaborate at specially arranged seminars and to plan new research projects. There are, at present, six such groups, holding small group seminar at least once a year.

The 1930s: Several researchers studying in an autonomous project the youth culture of this decades from the perspective of modernization. The group's work is connected mainly to the first theme of the programme, although it does touch on certain aspects of the other themes of gender, forms of expression, and spheres. Contact person: Mats Franzen.

Gender Identity: This constitutes a central interest area for everyone in the network. A special interest group has been formed in connection with the second theme of gender. The group has contacts with other networks researching teenage girls and gender socialization and conducts research on the youth cultural aspects of both sexes. Contact person: Hillevi Ganetz.

Ethnicity is an ever hotter field of research. A group of FUS researchers, in collaboration with other projects such as the HSRF-financed Mixed Sweden project, work in this area, with the aid of collective workshops and seminars. Contact person: Billy Ehn.

Rock and Adolescence is a group containing around ten researchers from different fields and places who meet on a regular basis to discuss their own texts and dissertation chapters. Contact person: Ulf Lindberg.

Aesthetics and Media Use is a group whose area touches most directly the program's third theme of style. There is a tremendous dearth of qualitative studies on the use of aesthetic means of expression and media forms. This "black hole of cultural studies" is today widely discussed within media research as well as aesthetics. Contact person: Tommy Lindholm.

Music Video is a more narrowly-focused group, in which media, film, and music researchers collaborate in a separate project. The area concerns above all the theme of style. Contact person: Michael Forsman.

6. Projects

The research that constitutes the network's base is carried out within different, empirical, cross-disciplinary basic research projects about youth culture in Sweden, all within the interest areas of the research programme. The projects can be collective and with varying degrees of focus, but they can also be carried out individually by accredited researchers or even simply consist of the doctoral students' dissertations. The umbrella and interest groups often act as mediatory agencies for an exchange of specialized abilities between the projects. The projects are autonomous and are founded on the commitment and initiative of individual researchers.

Up to spring 1992, 50 projects have been initiated, not counting the more than 30 dissertation projects. Three larger collective projects have so far developed directly out of the work of the interest groups.

Music Video. The group consists of Alf Björnberg, Ole Breitenstein, Michael Forsman, Tommy Lindholm, and Ola Stockfelt who bears chief responsibility. In 1991 the group received support from HSRF for a three-year pilot project that will be carried out by the cross-disciplinary group that make up the FUS Music video interest group.

Young Women: An Anthology. The group consists of Sabina Cwejman, Hillevi Ganetz, Karin Lövgren, and Ulla Tebelius. This project has come to an end with the publication of the anthology that was the project's goal: *Om unga kvinnor. Identitet, kultur och livsvillkor* (On Young Women; Identity, culture, and Life Conditions, Lund: Studentlitteratur, 1991). The FU S Gender Identity interest group, which (in cooperation with USU, the local, youth culture organization based at Stockholm University) were responsible for the anthology, is, however, continuing with new work.

Youth and Modernity in The 1930s. The group consists of Ulf Boethius, Magdalena Czaplicka, Johan Fornäs, Per-Olof Qvist, Olle Sjögren, and Mats Franzen who bears the main responsibility for the group. The project received in 1990/91 and 1991/92 a small planning grant from HSRF. The group is now applying for funding for a three-year project that plans to study important aspects of the mass mediated as well as autonomously produced youth culture of Sweden in The 1930s. The approach will be cross-disciplinary.

The following research projects are also going on within the FUS network and programme area, allowing for those that have not come to the umbrella group's notice.

Adults' Images of Youth. Sven-Axel Månsson and others are working on a cross-disciplinary study within the framework of local support systems for youth activity milieus. A pilot study of 20-25 families with teenage children was completed in 1990.

Aesthetic Anthropology: The Cultural Role of Literature from a Transnational Perspective. Helena Wulff. HSRF 1992-1996.

A Life of Prostitution; A Ten-year Study of the Social Careers of 224 Prostitutes. Sven-Axel Månsson together with Stig Larsson. SFR 1989-1992.

Are Youths Politically Indifferent? Magdalena Czaplicka. The project is supported by The Swedish Council for Social Research (SFR) and the final report will be presented in 1992.

Big City Dwellers in the Future. Anders Löfgren. The project was financed by The Building Research Council (Byggeforskningsrådet) from 1987 until 1990, when Löfgren completed his dissertation.

Children, Adolescents, and Music. Cecilia von Feilitzen will finish in 1992 two studies of children, adolescents, and music, one in collaboration with Keith Roe. Financed by The State Radio (Riksradiön), Swedish Television (Sveriges Television), and The Regional Radio (Lokalradion).

Children on TV. Cecilia von Feilitzen. The project will be completed in 1992. Financed by The Bank of Sweden Tercentary Foundation (Riksbankens jubileumsfond) and Stockholm University.

Class Mobility and its Dilemmas: The Working Class at University. Mats Trondman is working on this project, supported by doctoral grants, which will be completed in 1992.

Cultural Patterns and Life Opportunities among Youths. Mats Trondman is involved in this HSRF project, which has been going on since 1985 and will finish in 1992. The project is headed by Göran Arnman and Ingrid Jönsson, two sociologists in Lund. The project is quite extensive and

draws on both quantitative and qualitative methodologies in a Bourdieu-inspired study that investigates school, leisure, culture, and the future for 13 to 16 year old school students from three different social milieus/classes.

The Critical Reception of 1950s "Youth Films." Tommy Lindholm, with support from the Holger and Thyra Lauritzen Foundation for the advancement of the study of film history (Holger och Thyra Lauritzens stiftelse för främjande av filmforskning).

Detailed Studies of Different Demographic Groups. Cecilia von Feilitzen is working together with Peter Petrov on a statistical and graphical analysis programme for detailed studies of different demographic groups. Swedish Radio (Sveriges Radio), 1991-1992.

Drug Addicts in Malmö: An Ethnographic Study. Sven-Axel Månsson is working on this SFR-financed project together with Bengt Svensson. 1989-1992.

Ethnicity and Individuality in Late Modernity. Magnus Berg, Lars Kromsten, and Tommy Lindholm make up this project that has received funds for a pilot study from The Swedish Council for Planning and Coordination of Research (FRN) and is to take place during the first half of 1992.

Ethnicity in Youth Culture. Karin Lövgren is responsible for this anthology project that builds on an "ethnicity in youth culture" seminar that took place in 1991. Like the conference, the anthology is funded by The Swedish Immigration Institute and Museum (Sveriges invandrarinstitut och museum) in Botkyrka, and The Stockholm University Youth Culture Programme (Ungdomskultur vid Stockholms universitet).

Farmer Households and Transformations in their Environment. As part of this project, led by Göran Djurfelt, a Gothenburg sociologist, and run through The Swedish University of Agricultural Sciences (Lantbrukshögskolan) in Uppsala, Yvonne Gunnarsson is doing research on adolescents, in particular girls, and their conditions in the countryside. The project is financed by The Swedish Council for Forestry and Agricultural Research (Skogs- och jordbruksforskningsrådet) from 1992 to 1995.

Four Generations. Erling Bjurström and Johan Wennhall work together with Benny Henriksson on this project on four generations in Västerås. Some findings from the project, which has been going on since 1988 and is financed by Västerås commune, have become available. The final report will appear in the summer of 1992.

Gummi-Tarzan at the Library. Agneta Rehal is involved in this project, which is financed by The Swedish Council for Planning and Coordination of Research (FRN) financed since 1989, and whose primary aim is to study book preferences among students at the elementary school level (9 to 12 year olds). Using psychoanalytically-based developmental psychology, children's partiality to certain genres, themes, and motifs are also studied.

Institutions and Adolescents' Everyday Lives. Kenneth Petersson works with Kerstin Bergqvist in this project, financed by The Swedish Council for Planning and Coordination of Research (FRN) 1991-1994.

Language and Environment. Oscar Pripp is working in this study of the language learning processes of second generation immigrants in Botkyrka. The project runs from 1991 to 1994 and consists of various sub-projects. It is run through The Swedish Immigration Institute and Museum (Sveriges invandrarinstitut och museum) and is led by Annick Sjögren.

Lifestyles and Mass Media Culture. Thomas Johansson and Fredrik Miegel work part-time within this project that is running from 1988 to 1993. The project is supported by The Bank of Sweden Tertiary Foundation (Riksbankens jubileumsfond) and is headed by Professor Karl Erik Rosengren.

Measuring Measurements: A Study of the Reliability and Validity of the Techniques of Measurement within the Social Sciences. Keith Roe. An HFRS-sponsored project, 1988-1991. A number of reports have already come out. Final report 1992.

The Meeting of the Social Services and Youths. Thomas Öhlund is studying the meeting between youths in different subcultures and institutions within youth social work. This project is financed by The Swedish Council for Social Research (SFR) and has been going on since 1988, consists of three sections, and is to finish in 1993.

Mixed Sweden – the Social and Cultural Organization of Diversity. Billy Ehn is at the head of this HSFR-financed project that runs from 1989-1992. FUS has collaborated to a certain extent with Mixed Sweden and Oscar Pripp is working on a subproject on young second generation immigrants in Botkyrka.

Music in the Lives of Youths. Erling Bjurström and Johan Wennhall. A study that is financed and administered by The State Youth Council (Statens ungdomsråd) and that will continue until 1992. Bjurström and Wennhall, who lead the project, use researchers with special abilities in the field. Several FUS members are involved in the project. A preliminary report was presented in 1991.

The Oral Dissemination of Music. Lars Lilliestam. Gothenburg University provides the financial support and the project runs from 1991 to 1993.

The Path of Teenage Girls; Strategies in the Division between Ideological Gender Neutrality and Gender-segregated Practice. Sabina Cwejman and Gunilla Furst from The Department of Sociology in Gothenburg. The project ran from 1987 to 1991 and was financed by Equality Opportunities Ombudsman (JÄMO). The final report was published in 1991.

People, the Mass Media, and Motorcycle Clubs. Tom O'Dell is studying the development of popular discourse around motorcycle clubs in the Malmö area. The project is being financed privately in 1992.

Rock Music and Lifestyles in Gothenburg in the 1950s and 60s. Lars Lilliestam and Erling Bjurström are presently applying for funds at HSFR and The Bank of Sweden Tercentary Foundation (Riksbankens jubileumsfond) for this project, which is scheduled to run from 1992 to 1995.

The Role of Sports in Teenage Girls Conception of their Bodies. Ulla Tebelius. The project is financed by IFR, Halmstad University. 1988-1992.

Sixty-eight. Sven-Axel Månsson rejoins Svante Lundberg in order to continue work that they began in 1968 with their book *Demonstrators*, in which they interviewed politically active youths. Now, more than twenty years later, they have followed up their work by re-interviewing 35 of those youths in order to find out how they relate as adults to political activity and how they see their own former political engagements.

Teenage Girls at Youth Recreation Centers. Ulla Tebelius, with support from Halmstad College and SFR, 1991-1994.

Teenage Girls' Views of the Possibilities and Limitations of Women's Roles. Ulla Tebelius. The project runs from 1988 to 1992 and is financed through various resources from the local research fund at the college at Halmstad.

The Words of Rock. Ulf Lindberg. This project on rock lyrics and the reception of rock is slated to continue from 1991 to 1994, financed for the present by The Swedish Council for Planning and Coordination of Research (FRN).

Working Class Culture and Politics 1890-1960. Björn Horgby; a section of this project concerns youth workers. HSFR 1992-1995.

Young Adults – Love, Work, Morals. Margaret Norell is carrying out this study of 20 year olds' life forms, life patterns, and perspectives on the future. The project receives support from The Swedish Council for Planning and Coordination of Research (FRN).

Young Swedes in New York. Helena Wulff is interviewing Swedish youths who have worked in New York for a shorter or longer period of time. The project is financed by HSFR and runs until 1992.

Young Women's Everyday Lives and Culture in the Nordic Countries. Magdalena Czaplicka and Hedwig Ekerwald. A Nordic collaborative project, funded by NOS-S (1989-1992) and The Swedish Council for Planning and Coordination of Research (FRN) (1991-1992), in which women from three generations are interviewed about their adolescence. The project is planned to continue until 1994 and is headed by Kirsten Drotner in Copenhagen.

Youths and Media Reception. Robert Burnett. The project runs during 1992 and is financed by The Wahlgren Foundation (Wahlgrenska stiftelsen).

Youth and Music. Jan Carle and Erling Bjurström. The project is based on a questionnaire investigation of the music and media habits and choices of school students at Gothenburg schools.

Youth and their Environment. Jan Carle and Per Sjöstrand worked on this project during 1991-92. The project was commissioned by The State Youth Council (Statens ungdomsråd).

Youth and Time in Sparsely Populated Areas. Anders Löfgren. HSFR 1991-1994.

Youth Culture Meets Work Place Culture. Hans-Erik Hermansson. The project is financed by The Swedish Work Environment Fund (Arbetsmiljöfonden) from 1989 to 1991.

Youth in the New Media World. Keith Roe brings out intermittent reports from this ongoing project that received support from The Bank of Sweden Tercentary Foundation (Riksbankens jubileumsfond) from 1983-1987. The final report comes out in 1992.

Youth Language in Three Stockholm Suburbs. Ulla Kotsinas is continuing work on this project, which was begun in 1989 with funds from The Bank of Sweden Tercentary Foundation (Riksbankens jubileumsfond).

Youth on the Downswing. Mats Jacobsson and Peter Waara. This three-year project (1990-93) studies youths' migration away from the Norbotten region and is financed by the Norbotten County Administrative Board (Norbotten Länsstyrelsen) and HSFR. The first part of the project, in which the attitudes of youths towards migration are investigated, mainly through quantitative data collection and interviews, will be presented in the summer of 1992. Grants are being sought for a more in-depth, extensive and more qualitatively oriented accompanying analysis.

Youth with a Strong Interest in Computers. Jörgen Nissen leads this three year project whose final report will appear in 1992. The project is one part of a larger three part project "Lifestyles and conditions among youths" that is financed by The Swedish Inheritance Fund (Allmänna arvsfonden).

7. The network's researchers

About 70 researchers are involved in the programmes network, of whom about one third are women. A slightly higher fraction have a doctoral degree or the equivalent (the others are research students). The network's researchers are quite evenly divided between the social sciences and the humanities. Sociology, masscommunication (which covers popular culture), and ethnology are the three largest fields, but aesthetic disciplines such as film, literature, and music are also well-represented. The number of members from each university is roughly in proportion to their respective size (the majority of youth researchers being in Stockholm, Gothenburg, and Lund), although there are a few members from some other colleges. A full list of these researchers, with short descriptions of their work, is found in the printed version of this presentation.