
THE HISTORY AND CURRENT STANDING OF AMERICAN FOLKLORE

From the search for the origins of a nation
to the deconstruction of the field

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IZVLEČEK

Članek, ki je bil predstavljen kot razprava v Slovenskem etnografskem muzeju maja 1999, je pregled razvoja etnologije v Združenih državah Ameriki in njenega trenutnega stanja. Korenine vede so v evropskih intelektualnih vzorcih, medtem ko njena zgodovina zrcali specifične ameriške pristope do področja. Pomembni razvojni koraki v dvajsetem stoletju so zgodnja delitev med antropologijo in literaturo, zgodovinsko-geografska metoda, teorija pripovednih formul, strukturalizem, "folkloristika", "študije izvajanja", "javna folklor" in sodobna vprašanja politike kulture, pristnosti in predstavitve. Članek zaključuje kratka obravnava študijskih programov in zaposlitvene možnosti, ki so posledice razvoja ameriške družbe in gospodarstva v zadnjem obdobju.

ABSTRACT

This article, presented as a talk at the Slovene Ethnographic Museum in May 1999, surveys the development of folklore ("etnologija") in the United States and its contemporary situation. The roots of the discipline lie in European intellectual models while its history has reflected specifically American approaches to the field. Significant developments of the twentieth century include the early anthropological/literary division, the historical-geographic method, the oral formulaic theory, structuralism, "folklife studies," "Performance Studies," public folklore, and current questions of the politics of culture, authenticity and representation. The article concludes with a brief discussion of programs of study and employment opportunities, both of which reflect recent developments in the American society and economy.

Introduction

As an academic discipline, folklore in the United States has a relatively short history of approximately 150 years, although during this time it has reflected as well as contributed to the major intellectual paradigms of North American scholarship. In this lecture, I would like to present a brief history of the discipline and outline the current status of the field in the United States. As in Europe, folklore in the United States has been closely involved with the formation of a national identity, although in a unique way. Today, folklore's standing as a profession and as an academic discipline reflect this history, as well as the contemporary socio-political situation that place it in an unusual position.

In both North America and Great Britain, etnologija is known as “folklore” or “folkloristics,” while the term “ethnology” is used exclusively for European studies of the same field. The term “folklore” refers to both the academic discipline as well as the cultural phenomena that it studies. In the 1970s, the word “folkloristics” was introduced as a new term for the study of folklore, in an attempt to clarify the distinction between the discipline and its subject matter. While this term has gained some popularity in academic circles, “folklore” remains the predominant name for the field and its subject matter. In this lecture, I will use the European terms “etnologija” and “etnologi” for clarity, although they are not used in the United States in reference to American work.

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American folklore began to emerge as an independent discipline at the end of the nineteenth century on the basis of European intellectual models, particularly those of the *Enlightenment* and the *Romantic Movement*, although US scholars adopted these to the specific conditions of their context. The Enlightenment of the eighteenth century established rational empiricism as the accepted method of discovering the objective truth, and applied this approach to the study of newly discovered peoples. At the same time, in spite of its disdain of the non-rational, the Enlightenment viewed folklore with some fascination. This ambivalent attitude is captured in Jean-Jacques Rousseau’s notion of the “noble savage”. Together with Rousseau, Giambattista Vico applied the scientific approach of study to humankind and emphasized the importance of customs and language.

As European intellectual trends shifted towards Romanticism, the search for national literatures emerged which was also influential in the development of folklore. In England, this most notably included the work of James Macpherson, who “discovered” / falsified the ancient Scottish epic *Ossian*, and Thomas Percy, who published ancient English poetry. Both sought the voice of the “folk” while advancing the view that beauty is a matter of the national spirit.

The most influential thinker for folklore, however, was the German Johann Herder. His writings on the organic nature of the folk, on the continuity between historical periods, and on the national soul of the national people laid a foundation for all future folklore scholarship. As the initial proposal of an organic, national folk whose expressive culture and language embodies the non-modernized, national spirit, Herder’s work paved the way for the collection of cultural artifacts by folklorists. His ideas exerted an influence across all of Europe, and by extension reached into the New World as well. We should note that Herder wrote in the vein of Romantic Nationalism, which emphasized collective identity, while the North American folklorists adopted the French model of Liberal, or Enlightened, Nationalism, which emphasized individual rights and reason.

The drive to “collect” cultural artifacts combined with other scholarly trends to produce comparative mythology in continental Europe, as well as “popular antiquities”, or the study of oral tradition and customs, in England. Important early scholars include the brothers Grimm, who collected national folktales, first published as *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* in 1812, and Williams Thoms of the English Antiquarian movement, whose coining of the word “folklore” in 1846 established the field as a legitimate pursuit for gentlemen scholars.

By the last decades of the nineteenth century, folklore had clearly emerged as an independent discipline that applied scientific principles to the study of traditional cultural expressions. The discipline was divided along two lines – one branch focused on comparative mythology, or philological studies such as the Grimms', while the second branch was associated with anthropology. Influential representatives of the anthropological bent include Edward B. Tylor, who espoused an evolutionary view of cultures, as well as Frasier, Andrew Lang, and the teams of early British anthropologists who studied the colonized peoples of the Empire.

An American discipline

In parallel with European scholars' efforts in this vein from the mid-nineteenth century on, North American scholars began to search for an American "folk" during the late nineteenth century that could serve as the basis for a national identity. Like their European counterparts, early American folklorists were divided into two camps, were interested in cultural "survivals," sought a national literature, and experienced tensions between modern and anti-modern views of the world. In the New World, however, the collection of cultural expressions sought a national "folk" in a diverse body of people – the transposed Anglo-Saxon immigrants, the Native American population, and the individuals of African origin within US society. Additionally, in their search for a unique American identity, American folklorists were grounded in Liberal Nationalism, which emphasized the individual, and in the philosophy of the Transcendentalists. These thinkers, such as Ralph Waldo Emerson and Henry Thoreau, admired nature, the natural, self-sufficient man, and extreme individualism.

In 1888, folklorists of both the literary and anthropological bents founded in the American Folklore Society, the first national folklore organization, in support of the study of folklore. The charter of the Society captures their understanding of their field as well as of the American "folk" – the folklorists' interest lay in collecting the quickly disappearing traditional cultures of various peoples, including English immigrants, blacks in the South, Indians, French Canadians, and Mexicans. The Society founded the *Journal of American Folklore* for the publication of scientific studies, which today continues to figure as one of the main journals in the field.

Among the founders of the American Folklore Society, Williams Newell and Franz Boas were of the anthropological branch of folklore, while Francis James Child was of the literary branch. Although these two branches of folklore scholarship viewed their work as irreconcilably different, these two branches of folklore scholarship are today understood as engaged in highly similar activities, namely that of "collecting" cultural expressions. The two branches fought over control of the Society and the *Journal* until the mid-twentieth century, when the establishment of university departments of folklore lessened the division between the two branches. While the anthropological branch dominated in the Society up to the 1940s, both branches were active in promoting the professionalization of the field – meaning the study of folklore only by professional scholars, and not amateurs.

Important scholars of the literary branch include Francis James Child, who introduced German comparative philology to the United States, thanks to post-graduate

studies in Germany and contact with the Grimms' work. Child's collection of Scottish ballads, spanning volumes of comparative listings of "pure" ballads as found throughout written texts, offers an excellent example of the gentleman literary scholar pursuing oral expressions of the non-modernized folk without interacting with them. Other scholars in this vein include George Kitteridge, Child's student at Harvard University.

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In parallel with the "literary" bent, the collection of cultural expressions through ethnographic research among the studied peoples figured prominently within this early paradigm. A founding figure of tremendous importance to both folklore and anthropology is Franz Boas. Boas trained as a physicist in his native Germany, and changed to focus on the study of human culture after immigrating to the US. Boas' work figures particularly importantly within anthropological and folklore scholarship thanks to his introduction of cultural relativism, the thought that every culture should be understood on its own terms. This theory has since served as the foundation for anthropology in the United States, and the students "Papa Franz" trained at Columbia University, such as Ruth Bunzell, Margaret Mead and Edward Sapir, have defined American anthropology.

Franz Boas' work, together with that of his students, provides an example of "anthropological" work among North American native populations that collected cultural artifacts as expressed in language, material objects and social organization. United with anthropology, folklore scholarship at the turn of the twentieth century reflected the political desire to conquer the frontier, as well as the scholarly desire to map out the cultures of the world in a scientific manner.

Dominant methodologies

Within both bents, the dominant methodology of work up to mid-century was the comparative approach, a notion linked to the mapping of cultures. This methodology has also been termed the historic-geographic method, or the "Finnish" method, as it was formally developed by the Finns J. Krohne and K. Krohne, and outlined in an article by the latter in 1910. In this methodology, scholars searched for original, or "Ur," forms of cultural expressions that "diffused" their way through contact among groups across the Indo-European nations. The approach posits a universal that is shared by all humankind, and implicitly rests on the notions of fixed genres, such as legend, myth, and folktale, that may be traced throughout all cultures as cultural products with an independent existence.

Borrowed by North American scholars, this approach found its greatest expression in the work of individuals such as Archer Taylor and Stith Thompson. Thompson's monumental endeavors include his *Motif Index* of the mid-1950s and his *Tale-Type Index* of the early 1960s, the latter of which was developed from the Finn Antti Aarne's prototype. While the comparative approach lost its dominant position in scholarship in mid-century, much folklore research is still based on the notion of fixed genres. Current representative work includes much of the publications in the journal *Western Folklore*, as well as the assumptions underlying the work of Alan Dundes.

The attempt to interpret cultural expressions within set academic paradigms continued throughout the twentieth century and, while these paradigms shifted from functionalism to structuralism, their emphasis remained on the cultural expression as

product that conforms to scholarly notions. Within the "anthropological" bent, functionalism figured particularly strongly following the work of Bronislaw Malinowski and has continued to represent a dominant paradigm in today's anthropology and linguistic research.

During the first half of this century folklorists attempted to introduce new approaches to their material, including the oral-formulaic theory which was developed during the 1930s and 1950s by Albert Lord and Milman Parry on the basis of research in the south of Yugoslavia. In their book *The Singer of Tales*, Lord and Parry presented the thought that epoch poetry is composed during performance and that thus tradition lies in the mastery of a technique, not of the form. During the 1970s the oral-formulaic theory took on importance for young American folklorists.

A second approach that opposed the historic-geographic method was that of structuralism. Structuralism, one of the major theoretical concepts of the twentieth century, flourished in folklore as well as in other social sciences from the 1960s on, following its introduction from Saussurian linguistic analysis into anthropology by Claude Levi-Strauss. The first structuralist statement in folklore scholarship came in the 1930s, with the translation of the Russian Vladimir Propp's morphological analysis of the folktale.

Although structuralism was no longer in its heyday when folklore adopted it, the structuralist search for an underlying grammar had a particularly strong influence in narrative analysis. In the 1950s structuralism introduced the distinction between categories of analysis established from inside, alternatively known as emic, ethnic or native categories, and between those imposed by outside scholars, termed etic or analytic. This distinction continues to remain important in folklore scholarship. In the 1960s, structuralist analysis was extended to material culture, most notably in Henry Glassie's classic *Folk Housing in Middle Virginia*. Ultimately, folklorists found structuralism unproductive, as it shifted focus away from the creative artistic art; its influence, however, must not be overlooked.

Equally in the 1960s, folklore scholarship was broadened by the introduction of the term "folklife" into academic studies, which aimed to incorporate new subjects into the formal study of folklore. This move grew out of the European *Volkskunde* movement of the late nineteenth century and its application by amateur folklorists to the study of German immigrants in Pennsylvania in the 1940s. In the 1960s, "folklife" broadened folklore scholarship to include material culture, folk architecture, and the customary, spiritual aspects of culture such as folk costume, foodways, and religion. While today it is criticized for its lack of reflexivity and is no longer prominent, "folklife" has left an important imprint on folklore scholarship both as regards subject matter and the concept of "total ethnography" that it inspired.

The non-academic sphere

Thus far, I have discussed trends in the academic study of folklore. Before moving to an examination of the contemporary situation, I would like to turn briefly to the popularization of folklore, or the promotion of folklore activities outside the university sphere. In counterdistinction to European countries, folklore has very rarely been sponsored by the government in the United States, despite its concern with national

identity, a phenomenon related to the American desire for an absolute minimum of government involvement in daily life.

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In the first three decades of this century, a number of individuals promoted folklore-related activities outside the university, including programs directed towards African-American populations, the rural poor, and the recent floods of immigrants and that aimed to americanize these segments of society. These activities were an example of the typically American activity of "volunteerism," which frequently doubles as the only legitimate form of social aid. In parallel, a boom in festivals occurred, particularly in "folk festivals" that featured traditional performances such as singing and dancing flourishing around the country. During the Second World War, the United States saw an unprecedented involvement of the government in folklore work, as the federal government employed folklorists for the first time to collect material. This work was part of the WPA program, intended to provide employment to the vast numbers of jobless workers.

Following the war, the field of folklore became professionalized as graduate programs were established at Indiana University in 1949 and the University of Pennsylvania in 1953, a reflection of folklore's gaining a greater foothold as an independent discipline at American universities. During the 1950s certain scholars, in particular Richard Dorson at Indiana University, fought strongly against popular, or amateur, work in folklore, termed "faklore" by Dorson. These efforts in turn helped to deepen the division between academic researchers and popularizers of folklore. The folk music revival of the 1960s gave "folkies", or its followers, and by extension folklorists, a bad name as being associated with life-wing hippies. This situation led to a lack of direct government funding for folklore education.

Equally during the 1960s, the United States experienced a general economic boom and a liberalization in society which led to the birth of a large number of cultural programs. Folklore research began to include Americans of color as well as ethnic minorities, such as Italian-Americans, on a more equal basis. Within these movements the field of "public folklore" emerged, or the employment of folklorists by state agencies as well as not-for-profit organizations. Important events included the establishment of a Folklife Center at the national Smithsonian Institution, a series of museums that are nationally managed but privately endowed, as well as a national folklife festival in Washington, D.C. Public folklore flourished up to 1980s, when the arrival of conservative governments heralded a decrease in public funding for folklore work.

Current trends

By the 1960s and 1970s, a new approach emerged in folklore that challenged previous definitions by emphasizing the interaction of the folklore object of study with its context. Known as the New Folkloristics, this movement shifted the focus from text, either written or physical, to context. In the attempt to study in context, scholars emphasized native understandings of folklore, versus imposed scholarly categorizations of it. Furthermore, research turned to focus on performance and communication as folklore came to be understood as a process, a communication, and a behavior, and not a fixed phenomenon. With its central focus on the event and not on the folklore item, this methodology gained

the name Performance Studies and continues to play a prominent role in folklore scholarship today. The major representatives of this approach exerted a strong influence in a number of fields, including sociolinguistics, literature, and the study of immigrant and ethnic cultures within the United States. With their strong social science orientation, they sought to create new definitions of existing terms, such as "genre."

The individuals proposing these revolutionary ideas were termed the "Young Turks", a term reserved for those who challenge the established order. Major scholars include Dell Hymes' *Ethnography of Speaking* that drew attention to the function of language within the context of social life. Together with work such as that of Erving Goffman in sociology, this approach understands all social structures as emergent and negotiated by the individuals involved. By extension, this approach also proposes that culture's structure is emergent in its performance. Other "Young Turks" included Dan Ben-Amos, Roger Abrahams, Richard Bauman and Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett.

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In 1969 Dan Ben-Amos proposed that tradition is not the defining element in folklore; rather, the defining element is the process of face-to-face artistic communication in small groups. Additionally, Ben-Amos challenged the definition of genres as fixed forms, or types, (such as the folktale, the legend, the ballad), arguing that they represent imposed scholarly categories. Rather, he proposed, genres should be seen as forms of discourse and should be studied from the native, or indigenous, point of view.

Following the shift from text to context, in the 1980s and 1990s folklore scholarship has broadened the understanding of context to include scholars themselves. Today scholars are concerned with reflexivity, representation of subject matter, and the cultural construction of reality.

This development has occurred under the influence of a movement in anthropology known as reflexivity, or the desire to consciously include the position of the scholar in his or her work. The beginning of reflexivity is generally traced to Paul Rabinow's 1977 *Reflections on Fieldwork in Morocco*, although similar discussions began in novels by anthropologists of the 1950s. Reflexivity draws scholars' attention to how they construct their disciplines – how do scholars choose their subject matter? How do they construct the theories through which they analyze their subject matter? In folklore, for example, scholars have begun to question the concept of "authenticity" that has guided folklore research for two hundred years; today, folklorists tend to see all cultural expressions as constructed, even those that were previously seen as "authentic".

In parallel, a significant interdisciplinary influence on folklore research came from the new understanding of the nation as an "imagined" phenomenon, that is, a constructed one, not a natural or a solely politically formulated one. This idea was proposed in 1983 by Benedict Anderson in *The Imagined Community*. A second significant influence came with the understanding of all tradition as invented - and by extension all other basic assumptions-, as expressed by Raymond Williams in his *Keywords* and Terrence Ranger and Eric Hobsbawm in their *The Invention of Tradition*.

Similarly, folklorists are questioning how they represent their subject matter. Does folklore give a voice to those who were previously voiceless, or does it construct a voice for these people? Works such as David Whisnant's 1989 *All That is Native and Fine* have

drawn attention to the “politics of culture” that necessarily plays a role in all folklore work and research. Here, “politics of culture” refers not to national political forces, but to the personal biases of the scholar that have a political bent – such as racism, or the desire to see a particular type of “folk” in a local community. In a typically American way, “politics of culture” additionally refers to the indirect link between the unexpressed political motivations of local actions and the broader socio-political situation of the country.

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Lastly, attention has turned to the role of the ethnographer in post-modernity where cultures produce texts about themselves. This self-referentiality and the related ironic historical references displace the traditional role of the fieldworker as one who documents other cultures. Where is folklore in advanced consumer culture, or late capitalism that is based on a newly emerging service economy, versus a traditional or industrial-based one? In the post-modern age, where images flood our world and circulate as commodities, how does the community see itself and how should we represent it in folklore scholarship? And what is national identity in a transnational world of hybridizing cultures? Today these questions are significant for both folklorists in the university and those in the public sphere. The post-modern approach to folklore material has not erased other views, but rather represents one of many possible theoretical approaches for folklorists today. Representatives of all understandings of cultural expressions may be found in articles in the leading folklore journals, such as *Journal of American Folklore*, *Journal of Folklore Theory*, *Western Folklore* and *Southern Folklore*. Articles in these publications also reflect the interdisciplinary nature of the field, as folklorists today examine a diverse body of material that has moved beyond well-studied subjects, such as music, dance and foodways, to include new topics such as cults, the globalization of culture, and consumer culture.

Education and employment opportunities

I would like to devote the conclusion of my talk to a short description of the study and employment opportunities for folklorists. Folklore may be studied at the undergraduate level and the graduate level, although there are very few departments of folklore – a reflection of the fact that folklore has never become a mainstream discipline within the American academy, as have literature, history, and anthropology.

In the American educational system, an undergraduate degree is gained in four years, during which time usually approximately one third to one half of a student's courses lie in his or her primary subject of study, or major. While both state and private universities exist in the United States, no generalizations can be made regarding the quality of education they offer as it is dependent on the standing of an individual university or department. As with all undergraduate degrees in the humanities, a B.A. in folklore does not provide extensive training for any particular job. Many undergraduate folklore programs are contained within larger departments, such as English literature or American studies.

An individual may gain greater qualifications either through work experience, with a cultural institution, or through a graduate degree. Master's programs in folklore are generally in public folklore and emphasize theoretical as well as administrative issues. Particularly well-known programs in the United States include those at the

University of California at Berkely, Western Kentucky University and at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. These programs generally last two years.

Folklorists find employment in a number of areas. In keeping with the American emphasis on the practical, individuals often do not work in the field they studied and often work in fields that they did not study. Individuals with training in public folklore frequently find employment with state agencies and cultural organizations - such as state arts councils, folk organizations, not-for-profits, heritage development corporations, not-for-profit historic sites and museums. The combination of conservative governments through the 1980s with greater competition for funds in all areas has brought about changes in the field of folklore that are similar to shifts throughout American society. As in other areas of the economy, folklorists have had to become highly adept at financial and managerial skills, as most cultural organizations rely on private donations of money, which must be solicited, and not governmental funds. Nevertheless, folklorists are adapting well to this new situation.

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Doctoral studies in folklore may be pursued at four universities in North America, the University of Pennsylvania, Indiana University, the University of California at Berkeley and Memorial University, in Canada. Additionally, Ohio State University offers a PhD in English literature with a possible concentration on folklore. These programs generally last six to eight years. Increased exposure to market forces in a variety of sectors has recently led to changes in American universities under which unusual programs such as folklore have suffered. Thus, many departments of American Studies have closed, while UCLA has merged its Department of Folklore with its World Cultures program and the department of folklore at the University of Pennsylvania has been diminished into a program.

Only a few folklorists are able to teach folklore, given the limited number of departments, and they instead generally find teaching jobs in related departments. At this time, the US market for professorships is highly competitive and jobs are difficult to find. Folklore scholarship, however, remains active despite these recent changes.

Conclusion

Today folklore scholarship finds itself caught up in the search for the most "honest" portrayal of its subject matter, a pursuit shared by all the disciplines within the social sciences. Over the course of its two hundred years of development, the field has interrelated with other disciplines and political movements through its underlying assumptions and goals. It has been influenced by all the major theories of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, from the historical-geographic to the post-modern. Today folklorists understand their subject matter from a variety of perspectives - some as continuing cultural expressions that adapt to new circumstances, and others as proof of the watershed of post-modernity. Throughout its history, the development of folklore in the American sphere has reflected uniquely North American interpretations of generally shared folklore concepts, while remaining within the Western, post-Enlightenment construction of understanding its world.

ZGODOVINSKI RAZVOJ IN SEDANJOST AMERIŠKE ETNOLOGIJE

Od iskanja narodnih prvin do dekonstrukcije discipline

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Uvod

Kot akademska disciplina ima etnologija v Združenih državah relativno kratko zgodovino – dolgo približno 150 let -, ki pa je v tem času odsevala in prispevala k razvoju glavnih severnoameriških teorij in delu v družboslovju. To predavanje bom posvetila kratkemu pregledu zgodovine te vede in hkrati skušala orisati njen sedanji status v Združenih državah. Tako kot v Evropi je bila tudi v Združenih državah etnologija tesno povezana z nastajanjem narodne identitete, čeprav na svojstven način. Tako je njen sedanji status – kot vede in kot poklica – odsev tega zgodovinskega dogajanja in sodobnih družbenopolitičnih razmer, ki jo postavljajo v malce neobičajen položaj.

V Severni Ameriki, tako kot v Veliki Britaniji, poznajo etnologijo kot "folklore" ali "folkloristics" (narodopisje, narodoslovje), medtem ko je izraz "ethnology" (etnologija) rabljen samo v povezavi z narodopisnim proučevanjem Evrope. Izraz "folklore" se nanaša tako na akademsko disciplino kot tudi na kulturne pojave, ki jih le-ta proučuje. V sedemdesetih letih so za označevanje narodopisja kot vede uvedli izraz "folkloristics", da bi z njim lažje osvetlili razliko med vedo in njenim predmetom proučevanja; čeprav se je v akademskih krogih ta izraz precej udomačil, pa ostaja "folklore" tisti, ki označuje tako vedo kot njen predmet proučevanja. V tem predavanju bom zaradi jasnosti uporabljala evropska izraza "etnologija" in "etnologi", čeprav v Združenih državah z njima ne označujejo ameriškega narodopisnega proučevanja.

Evropske korenine

Ameriška etnologija se je pričela uveljavljati kot samostojna disciplina na koncu devetnajstega stoletja in je posnemala evropske intelektualne modele, še posebej tiste iz obdobja razsvetljenstva in romantike. Te so ameriški preučevalci prilagodili posebnostim svojega raziskovanja. Razsvetljenstvo osemnajstega stoletja je utemeljilo racionalni empirizem kot metodo odkrivanja objektivne resnice in ta nazor preneslo na proučevanje novo odkritih narodov. Kljub razvrednotenju neracionalnega pa je bila etnologija v očeh razsvetljenstva občudovana veda. To protislovje je ujeto v Rousseaujevem pojmu "le noble sauvage" oziroma "plemeniti divjak". Tako kot Jean-Jacques Rousseau je tudi Giambattista Vico sprejel znanstveni pristop proučevanja človeštva in poudaril pomen običajev in jezika.

S premikom usmeritve evropskih intelektualnih gibanj k romantiki se je pričelo odkrivanje nacionalnih literatur, kar je vplivalo tudi na razvoj etnologije. V Angliji je to gibanje vključevalo delo Jamesa Macperhsona, ki je "odkril" oziroma ponaredil starodavni škotski ep Ossian, in Thomasa Percyja, ki je izdajal starodavno angleško poezijo. Oba sta si prizadevala odkriti glas "naroda", pri tem pa zagovarjala svoje načelo, da je lepota izraz narodove duše.

Za etnologijo najvplivnejši mislec je bil Nemec Johann Herder. Njegovo pisanje o organski naravi naroda, o kontinuiteti zgodovinskih obdobij in o narodovi duši nekega ljudstva oz. naroda je postavilo temelje za vse prihodnje etnološko proučevanje. Kot začetni predlog organskega naroda je Herderjevo delo utrlo pot zbiranju etnološkega gradiva. Njegove ideje so vplivale na vso Evropo in dosegle tudi Novi svet. Treba je poudariti, da je Herder pisal v duhu romantičnega prebujanja narodne zavesti, ki je postavljalo v ospredje kolektivno identiteto, medtem ko so severnoameriški etnologi sprejeli francoski model liberalne oziroma prosvetljene narodne zavesti, ki je zagovarjal posameznikove pravice in razum.

Želja po "zbiranju" etnološkega gradiva se je združila z drugimi akademskimi usmeritvami in se na evropski celini oblikovala v komparativno mitologijo, v Angliji pa se je osredotočila na proučevanje ljudskega (ustnega) izročila in običajev, kar so imenovali "popular antiquities". Med pomembnimi zgodnjimi raziskovalci najdemo brata Grimm, ki sta zbirala ljudske pripovedke in jih izdala leta 1812 pod naslovom *Kinder- und Hausmärchen*. Pomemben predstavnik angleškega antikvarnega gibanja je bil Williams Thoms, ki je z lastno skovanko "folklore" leta 1846 pripomogel k uveljavitvi te discipline med ljubiteljskimi znanstvenimi krogi.

V zadnjih desetletjih devetnajstega stoletja se je etnologija nedvomno uveljavila kot samostojna smer, ki je uporabljala znanstvene pristope proučevanja kulturnega izročila in etnološkega gradiva. Disciplina je bila tedaj razklana med dvema smerema – ena se je opirala na komparativno mitologijo ali na filološko proučevanje, kot je značilno za brata Grimm, medtem ko se je druga smer navezovala na zgodnjo antropologijo oziroma njene zametke. Med vplivnimi predstavniki antropološke smeri so bili tako Edward B. Tylor, utemeljitelj evolucijskega razumevanja kultur, kot tudi Andrew Lang in skupine zgodnjebritanskih antropologov, ki so proučevali kolonizirana ljudstva britanskega imperija.

Ameriška stroka

Vzporedno s tovrstnimi prizadevanji evropskih raziskovalcev od srede devetnajstega stoletja naprej so proti koncu stoletja severnoameriški znanstveniki pričeli proučevati ameriški "narod", da bi odkrili osnovne prvine nacionalne identitete. Tako kot evropski so bili tudi zgodnjeameriški etnologi razdeljeni na dva tabora; zanimalo so jih ohranjene prvine kulturnega izročila naroda, nacionalna literatura, občutili pa so tudi trenja med naprednimi in nenaprednimi pogledi na svet. Vendar je bilo v Novem svetu zbiranje etnološkega gradiva usmerjeno na različne populacije znotraj ameriške družbe – na anglosaške priseljence, ameriške domorodce in temnopolto prebivalstvo oziroma potomce nekdanjih sužnjev. Poleg tega so ameriški etnologi pri iskanju skupne ameriške identitete

izhajali iz liberalnega pojmovanja narodne zavesti, ki je poudarjalo posameznika, in iz transcendentalizma. Transcendentalisti, kot npr. Ralph Waldo Emerson in Henry Thoreau, so opevali naravo in naravnega, samozadostnega človeka ter skrajni individualizem.

Leta 1888 so etnologi, tako literarne kot antropološke smeri, ustanovili Ameriško etnološko društvo "American Folklore Society", to je prvo nacionalno etnološko organizacijo, ki naj bi podpirala etnološko proučevanje. Program društva je izhajal iz njihovega razumevanja te discipline in iz ameriškega "naroda" – etnologi so se animirali za zbiranje prvin hitro izginjajočega kulturnega izročila različnih ljudstev, vključno z angleškimi priseljenci, črnci, Indijanci, francosko govorečimi Kanadčani in Mehičani. Društvo je tudi ustanovilo revijo "Journal of American Folklore", v kateri so objavljali znanstvene razprave in ki je še dandanes ena najpomembnejših strokovnih revij na tem področju.

Med ustanovitelji društva "American Folklore Society" so bili člani antropološke smeri, in sicer Williams Newell in Franz Boas, kakor tudi predstavniki literarne smeri, kot na primer Francis James Child. Čeprav sta bili gledišči teh dveh etnoloških smeri videti nezdružljivi, ju danes pojmujeemo kot zelo podobni, saj sta se ukvarjali z "zbiranjem" etnološkega gradiva. Obe struji sta se borili za prevlado v društvu in pri reviji vse do srede dvajsetega stoletja, ko je ustanavljanje etnoloških oddelkov po univerzah zmanjšalo razkorak med njima. Antropološka smer je sicer imela prevlado v društvu vse do štiridesetih let tega stoletja, vendar sta se obe dejavno zavzemali za profesionalizacijo etnologije – kar pomeni, da se z etnološkim proučevanjem ukvarjajo samo etnologi strokovnjaki, ne pa etnologi amaterji.

Med vidnejšimi predstavniki literarne smeri je tudi Francis James Child, ki je v Združene države prvi prenesel prvine nemške komparativne filologije, saj je svoj podiplomski študij opravil v Nemčiji, kjer je spoznal delo bratov Grimm. Childova zbirka škotskih in angleških balad, obširnih primerjalnih zapisov "izvirnih" balad, ki jih je našel v pisanih virih, je odličen primer dela uglednega literarnega raziskovalca, ki je proučeval ustno izročilo starodavnega ljudstva, ne da bi bil z njim v pravem stiku. Drugi etnolog te smeri je bil George Kitteridge, Childov študent na harvardski univerzi.

Vzporedno z "literarno" smerjo pa je bilo beleženje kulturnega izročila prek antropološko-etnografskega proučevanja zelo razširjeno tudi med etnologi tega zgodnjega obdobja. Franz Boas je kot teoretik zelo pomemben tako za etnologijo kot za antropologijo. Kot fizik se je izobraževal v rodni Nemčiji, vendar se je po naselitvi v Združenih državah preusmeril na proučevanje človeške kulture. Njegovo delo je še posebej pomembno za antropologijo in etnologijo, predvsem zaradi utemeljitve kulturnega relativizma, nazora, da moramo vsako kulturo razumeti v njej lastnem okviru. Ta teorija od tedaj predstavlja temelj antropologije v Združenih državah, ameriško antropologijo pa so definirali Boasovi študentje na kolumbijski univerzi, kot so na primer Ruth Bunzell, Margaret Mead in Edward Sapir.

Delo Franza Boasa in njegovih študentov predstavlja primer "antropološkega" proučevanja severnoameriških avtohtonih populacij in zbiranja etnološkega gradiva, ki so ga iskali v jeziku, med predmeti in v družbenih skupinah. Tako kot antropologija je

etnologija na prelomu v dvajseto stoletje odsevala politično željo po razširitvi meja, kakor tudi željo, da bi na znanstveni način zarisali zemljevid svetovnih kultur.

Prevladujoče metodologije

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Pri obeh smereh je veljal vse do srede stoletja kot prevladujoča metodologija dela komparativni pristop, ki se je navezoval na zemljevid kultur. To metodologijo imenujejo historično-geografska metoda ali pa "finska" metoda, ker sta jo razvila Finca J. Krohne in K. Krohne in jo opisala v svojem članku leta 1910. Ta metodologija je raziskovalcem narekovala iskati izvirne oziroma "Ur" oblike kulturnega izročila, ki se je "širilo" prek stikov med skupinami indoevropskih ljudstev; zagovarja stališče, da obstaja nekaj, kar je splošno razširjeno in velja za vse človeštvo. To stališče implicitno izhaja iz predpostavke, da obstajajo ustaljeni žanri, kot so na primer legende, miti, ljudske pripovedke ali bajke, ki jih lahko zasledimo pri vseh kulturah.

Ta pristop, ki so ga osvojili severnoameriški etnologi, je še posebej viden v delih Archerja Taylorja in Stitha Thompsona. Thompsonova prizadevanja vidimo v delu "*Motif Index*" (Zbirki motivov) iz srede petdesetih let in v delu "*Tale-Type Index*" (Zbirki pripovednih vrst) iz začetka šestdesetih let. Slednji izhaja iz prototipa, ki ga je razvil Finec Antti Aarne. Čeprav je sredi stoletja komparativni pristop pričel izgubljati svojo prevladujočo vlogo v etnologiji, se še vedno mnoga etnološka proučevanja naslanjajo na idejo ustaljenih žanrov. Tovrstno proučevanje je mogoče zaslediti predvsem v strokovni reviji *Western Folklore*, kakor tudi v delu Alana Dundesa.

Poskusi razvrstiti oblike kulturnega izročila v okviru ustaljenih etnoloških modelov, se nadaljujejo skozi vse dvajseto stoletje; medtem ko so se ti modeli zasukali od funkcionalizma k strukturalizmu, ostaja poudarek na kulturnem izročilu kot produktu, ki ustreza akademskim okvirom. V "antropološki" smeri je funkcionalizem še posebej sledil delu Bronisawa Malinowskega in še vedno predstavlja enega izmed prevladujočih modelov v današnjem antropološkem in lingvističnem proučevanju.

Med prvo polovico tega stoletja so etnologi skušali uvesti druge pristope do svojega gradiva. Med njimi je tako imenovana ustna-formulaična teorija (oral formulaic theory), ki sta jo med tridesetimi in petdesetimi leti razvila Albert Lord in Milman Parry na podlagi raziskav na jugu Jugoslavije. V knjigi *The Singer of Tales* (Pevca pripovedek) sta Lord in Parry predstavila ugotovitev, da epski pevci skomponirajo epski napev med predstavo, oziroma da se tradicija nahaja v obvladanju tehnike ustnega izročila, ne v obliki. Ustna-formulaična teorija je v sedemdesetih letih postala zelo pomembna za mlade ameriške etnologe.

Drugi pristop, ki je nasprotoval zgodovinsko-geografski metodi, je bil strukturalizem. Strukturalizem, eden najpomembnejših teoretičnih konceptov dvajsetega stoletja, je od šestdesetih let naprej prevladoval tako v etnologiji kot tudi v drugih družboslovnih vedah. Iz Saussurove lingvistične analize ga je v antropologijo prenesel Claude Levi-Strauss. Prvič se je strukturalizem pojavil v etnologiji v tridesetih letih, in sicer v prevodu morfološke analize ljudske pripovedke Rusa Vladimirja Proppa.

Čeprav je v času, ko se je uveljavil v etnologiji, strukturalizem že izgubljal na

pomenu, je imelo strukturalistično iskanje podpomenske slovnice močan vpliv na analize ustnega izročila. V petdesetih letih so tako imenovani strukturalistični etnologi uvedli razliko med dvema kategorijama analiz: notranjimi, to so "emic", "etnične", "native", in zunanji, to so takoimenovane "etic" ali analitične. V šestdesetih letih se je strukturalistična analiza razširila na "materialno kulturo"; najboljši primer tega je delo Henryja Glassieja, *Folk Housing in Middle Virginia* (*Ljudska arhitektura v srednji Virginiji*), ki je danes že klasika na tem področju. V zadnjih desetletjih je večina etnologov strukturalizem opustila, ker ni dopuščal dovolj prostora ustvarjalnosti, vendar pa njegovega vpliva ne smemo spregledati.

V šestdesetih letih je v akademsko obravnavo etnologije prodrli izraz "folklife". To gibanje so v Ameriki prvi uvedli neakademski etnologi, in sicer v štiridesetih letih v predstavitvi kulture nemških priseljencev v Pennsylvaniji, tako imenovanih "Pennsylvania Dutch". V šestdesetih letih je gibanje "folklife" prodrlo v akademske obravnave, in sicer z razširitvijo etnološkega gradiva na materialno kulturo, ljudsko arhitekturo, običaje in duhovno kulturo, kot so naprimer noša, jedi in vera. Čeprav mu danes očitajo pomanjkanje refleksivnosti in je tudi kot metoda vedno manj prisoten, je pustil pomembno sled pri obravnavi etnološkega gradiva, predvsem v poskusu zajetja tako imenovane "kompletne etnografije".

Etnološke dejavnosti izven univerze

Do sedaj sem obravnavala smernice v akademskem študiju etnologije. Preden nadaljujem s sodobnim položajem, pa bi rada povedala nekaj stvari o popularizaciji etnologije oziroma o promociji etnoloških dejavnosti izven akademskega področja (univerze). Za razliko od evropskih držav je v ZDA etnologija le redko subvencionirana s strani vlade, neglede na to, da se ukvarja s pojmom narodne identitete; gre torej za pojav, ki je povezan s tipično ameriško željo po ne vključevanju vladnih institucij v vsakdanje življenje posameznika.

V prvih treh desetletjih tega stoletja so se pojavili posamezniki, ki so promovirali etnološke dejavnosti izven univerze, predvsem tako imenovane "folk festivals". To je potekalo vzporedno z drugimi kulturnimi dejavnostmi, ki so imele namen amerikanizirati revne črnce, neizobraženo, predvsem agrarno prebivalstvo in številne nove priseljence. Gre za tipično ameriško potrebo po prostovoljnem delovanju v dobro družbe, tako imenovan "volunteerism", ki je hkrati edina oblika legitimne socialne pomoči. Ti ljudski festivali, na katerih so izvajali tradicionalne predstave s petjem in plesom, so doživeli velik razcvet. Med drugo svetovno vojno se je vlada kot nikoli prej vključila v etnološke dejavnosti in v okviru javnih del prvič zaposlila etnologue za zbiranje gradiva. Ta dela so bila del programa WPA (Works Programs Administration) in so bila kmalu po vojni ukinjena.

Po vojni se je etnologija "profesionalizirala"; in sicer z ustanovitvijo podiplomskih študijskih programov: leta 1949 na Indiana University in leta 1953 na University of Pennsylvania. Tako je na ameriških univerzah dobila status samostojnega študijskega predmeta. V petdesetih letih so se nekateri etnologi - predvsem Richard Dorson na Indiana University - borili proti neakademskemu raziskovanju in delovanju v etnologiji,

kar je Dorson poimenoval kot "fakelore". To je pripomoglo k še večjemu razkolu med akademskim pristopom k etnologiji in "popularistično" dejavnostjo. Ko so se v šestdesetih letih tako imenovani "folkies" začeli zanimati za narodno glasbo, so jih nekateri povezovali z levičarskimi hipiji, kar jim je prineslo slab sloves, ki se je s tem prijel tudi etnologov. Posledica tega je bila, da etnologija ni bila uvrščena med prioritete in štipendijske programe.

Istočasno je prišlo do vsestranskega ekonomskega razcveta in liberalizacije družbe, kar je privedlo do velikega števila kulturnih programov. V etnološke obravnave so začeli vključevati temnopolto prebivalstvo in prebivalstvo etničnih manjšin (Italijane, Mehičane,...) na enakopravni ravni. V okviru teh se je rodila "public folklore" - etnološke dejavnosti pri državnih agencijah posameznih držav, kakor tudi pri neprofitnih organizacijah. Med pomembne dejavnosti v tem času lahko štejemo ustanovitev "Folklife Center" pri narodni ustanovi Smithsonian, ki zajema skupino muzejev pod vladnim upravljanjem, čeprav so financirane iz zasebnih sredstev, prav tako tudi narodni ljudski festival v Washingtonu, DC. "Public folklore" je bil v razcvetu do osemdesetih let, ko je nastop konservativnih vlad omejil sredstva iz vladnega proračuna za vse kulturne, s tem pa tudi etnološke dejavnosti.

Sodobne usmeritve

V šestdesetih in sedemdesetih letih se je v akademskem proučevanju etnologije pojavil nov pristop, ki je predhodne definicije izpodbijal s poudarjanjem povezave med predmetom etnološkega proučevanja in njegovim kontekstom. Za to gibanje, ki ga poznamo pod imenom "New Folkloristics" ("nova folkloristika"), je značilen premik od besedila na kontekst. Tako so znanstveniki poudarjali razumevanje izvirne ljudske kulture kot take nasproti vsiljeni znanstveni kategorizaciji. Še več, obrnili so se k izvajanju in komunikaciji, saj so ljudsko kulturo začeli razumevati kot proces, komunikacijo in vedenje, ne pa kot nekaj statičnega. Z osredotočenjem na dogajanje v razvoju si je ta metodologija pridobila naziv "Performance Studies" ("proučevanje izvajanja") in tako ostaja med vodilnimi metodologijami sodobne etnologije. Njeni vidnejši predstavniki so močno vplivali na različne discipline, vključno na sociolingvistiko, literaturo in na proučevanje priseljeništa in etničnih kultur v Združenih državah. S svojo močno znanstveno usmeritvijo so si prizadevali ustvariti nove definicije še obstoječih znanstvenih izrazov, kot je "žanr".

Posameznike, ki so predlagali te revolucionarne ideje, so imenovali "mladi turki"; to so bili tisti, ki so rušili že ustaljeni sistem. Med pomembnejšimi imeni je Dell Hymes z delom *Ethnography of Speaking* (*Etnografija govora*), v katerem se je osredotočil na funkcijo jezika v kontekstu življenja v družbi. Gre za razumevanje vseh družbenih struktur kot porajajočih se v družbeni interakciji; kar so v sociologiji že spoznali v teoretičnem delu Ervinga Goffmana. To razumevanje lahko razširimo tudi na kulturo. Med druge "mlade turke" sodijo še Dan Ben-Amos, Roger Abrahams, Richard Bauman in Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett.

Leta 1969 je Dan Ben-Amos izjavil, da tradicija ni določujoč element v etnologiji, temveč je to proces neposredne umetniške komunikacije v majhnih skupinah. V določenih

akademijskih krogih se je ta zamisel uveljavila kot nova definicija etnologije. Poleg tega je Ben-Amos izpodbijal definicijo žanrov kot ustaljenih oblik (kot so ljudska pripovedka, legenda, balada), ker je menil, da predstavljajo vsiljene znanstvene kategorije. Predlagal je pojmovanje žanrov kot diskurzivnih oblik, ki bi jih morali razumeti s stališča nosilca kulturnega izročila.

Z odmikom od besedila h kontekstu se je v etnologiji v osemdesetih in devetdesetih letih razširilo razumevanje konteksta in vključilo tudi same etnologe. Danes se etnologi ukvarjajo z refleksivnostjo, obravnavo in predstavljanjem predmeta ter pojmovanjem stvarnosti.

Sodobno stališče etnologije se je oblikovalo pod vplivom antropološkega gibanja, ki ga poznamo pod izrazom refleksivnost. Gre za to, da znanstvenik pri svojem delu upošteva svoje lastno stališče. Začetke refleksivnosti povezujemo s Paulom Rabinowom, ki je leta 1977 objavil *Reflections on Fieldwork in Morocco* (*Razmišljanja o terenskih raziskavah v Maroku*), čeprav so podobne razprave že v romanih antropologov petdesetih let. Refleksivnost znanstvenika osredotoča na oblikovanje lastne discipline – na to, kako izbira svoj predmet proučevanja, kako oblikuje teorije, prek katerih ga analizira. V etnologiji so znanstveniki pričeli dvomiti v koncept "avtentičnosti", ki je bil dvesto let vodilo etnoloških raziskav; danes se etnologi nagibajo k temu, da kulturno izročilo vidijo kot konstrukt, pa čeprav so ga prvotno pojmovali kot "avtentičnega".

Vzporedno s tem pa pomeni pomemben interdisciplinarni vpliv tudi novo pojmovanje naroda kot "namišljenega" fenomena, ki je skonstruiran, ni naraven ali samo politično opredeljen. To idejo je leta 1983 predstavil Benedict Anderson v svojem delu *The Imagined Community* (*Namišljena skupnost*). Drugi pomemben vpliv predstavlja razumevanje tradicije kot izmišljene – in posledično tudi vse druge osnovne predpostavke –, kar so menili Raymond Williams v svoji objavi *Keywords* (*Ključne besede*) ter Terrence Ranger in Eric Hobsbawm v njunem delu *The Invention of Tradition* (*Iznajdba tradicije*).

Podobno se etnologi sprašujejo, kako predstaviti svoj predmet proučevanja. Ali etnologija daje besedo tistim, ki jim predhodno ni bila dana, ali pa jo zanje oblikuje? Dela, kot je knjiga *All That Is Native and Fine* (*Vse kar je izvirno in lepo*) avtorja Davida Whisnanta iz leta 1989, so opozarjala na "politiko kulture", ki neobhodno igra svojo vlogo v vseh etnoloških raziskavah in delih. "Politika kulture" se tu značilno ameriško ne nanaša na nacionalne politične sile, temveč na osebno pristranskost raziskovalca, ki pripada določeni politični opredelitvi – kot je razizem ali želja, da bi v lokalni skupnosti videli določene vrste ljudi. "Politika kulture" se nanaša tudi na neposredno povezavo med neizraženimi političnimi hotenji na lokalnem področju in na splošne družbenopolitične razmere v državi.

Nenazadnje pa se je pozornost usmerila na vlogo etnografa v post-moderni dobi, kjer kulture ustvarjajo besedila o njih samih. Opisovanje samega sebe in s tem povezane ironične zgodovinske navedbe zanikajo tradicionalno vlogo terenskega raziskovalca. Kje je etnologija v razviti potrošniški kulturi ali poznem kapitalizmu, ki temelji na novo porajajočem se gospodarstvu uslug, nasproti tradicionalnemu ali industrijskemu gospodarstvu? Kako se skupnost vidi v post-moderni dobi, v kateri je naš svet preplavljen s predstavami, ki krožijo kot blago, in kako naj to predstavimo v etnologiji? In kako naj

pojmujeemo narodno identiteto v transnacionalnem svetu, kjer se kulture vedno bolj prepletajo? Danes so ta vprašanja pomembna za etnološke na univerzah, kakor tudi za tiste, zaposlene pri ustanovah. To post-modernistično gledanje na etnološko gradivo ni izbrisalo drugih pristopov in še danes velja le za eno izmed možnih teoretskih izhodišč. Med članki v vodilnih strokovnih revijah, kot so *Journal of American Folklore*, *Journal of Folklore Theory*, *Western Folklore* in *Southern Folklore*, lahko najdemo predstavnike vseh pristopov do kulturnega izročila. Veliko je tudi interdisciplinarnih obravnav. Etnologi se dandanes ukvarjajo z gradivom, ki ne zajema samo že dobro poznanih vsebin s področja na primer glasbe, plesa in prehrane, temveč tudi prej neobravnavane pojave, kot so verski kult, globalizacija kulture in potrošniška družba.

Študij in možnosti zaposlitve

Konec referata bi rada posvetila kratkemu orisu študija in možnosti zaposlitve za etnološke. Etnologija se lahko študira na dodiplomski in na podiplomski ravni, čeprav le na redkih univerzah, kar je odsev dejstva, da se nikoli ni uspela vključiti med v ZDA tako poimenovane "klasične discipline", kot so npr. književnost, zgodovina, antropologija itd.

V ameriškem izobraževalnem sistemu se dodiplomski študij konča v štirih letih, v katerih je približno tretjina do polovica predavanj posvečenih glavni študijski smeri. V ZDA poznamo državne in privatne univerze, vendar ni mogoče govoriti o neki splošni razliki v kakovosti izobrazbe; ta je odvisna od posamezne univerze oziroma oddelka. Kot velja za vse družboslovne smeri, tudi dodiplomski študij etnologije ne nudi poglobljene usposobljenosti za kasnejše delo. Veliko dodiplomskih programov etnologije je izbirnih predmetov v sklopu drugih študijskih programov, kot so književnost in "American studies".

Diplomanti se lahko po končanem študiju usposablajo praktično, na primer v določeni kulturni ustanovi, ali s podiplomskim študijem. Magistrski programi so običajno usmerjeni na "public folklore" in poudarjajo tako teoretične kot praktične plati. Zelo znani programi so na UC Berkely, Western Kentucky University in University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill in običajno trajajo dve leti.

Etnologi se lahko zaposlijo na več področjih. V skladu z ameriškimi poudarjanjem praktičnosti se ljudje pogosto zaposlujejo na področjih, ki jih niso študirali. Tisti, ki so končali podiplomski študij iz "public folklore", velikokrat najdejo službo pri državnih agencijah posameznih zveznih držav in v kulturnih organizacijah, kot so na primer državni sveti za umetnost, neprofitne etnološke organizacije, organizacije za promocijo dediščine, neprofitne organizacije za upravljanje zgodovinskih zmanenitosti in muzeji. V osemdesetih letih so konservativne vlade in manjše možnosti za financiranje v vseh sektorjih družbe prinesle spremembe tudi v etnologijo. Tako kot v ekonomskih panogah so tudi etnologi morali pridobiti finančne in administrativne veščine, ker so skoraj vse kulturne ustanove odvisne od privatnih dotacij denarja, ki jih je treba znati pridobiti. Etnologi so relativno dobro kos temu izzivu.

Doktorski študij etnologije je možno opravljati na štirih univerzah - University of Pennsylvania, Indiana University, UC Berkeley in Memorial University v Kanadi. Poleg teh se lahko na Ohio State University v okviru doktorata iz angleške književnosti študira tudi etnologija. Doktorski študij običajno traja šest do osem let. Nedavne spremembe

na ameriških univerzah, do katerih je prišlo zaradi večjega tržnega pritiska na vsa področja, so postavile podrejene discipline, kot je etnologija, še v težji položaj. Prizadeti so bili tudi ostali podobni programi, npr. veliko oddelkov American studies so zaprli, etnološki oddelek na UCLA so združili s programom Kulture sveta, etnološki oddelek na University of Pennsylvania pa so preoblikovali v program.

Redki etnologi lahko predavajo etnologijo, ker je zelo malo etnoloških oddelkov, običajno se zaposlijo na sosednjih področjih, npr. književnosti ali jezikoslovja, pa tudi na teh je konkurenca za profesorska mesta izredno velika. Neglede na vse to pa se študij etnologije kljub vsemu ohranja.

Zaključek

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Danes je etnologija ujeta v iskanju najbolj objektivnega opisa svojega predmeta proučevanja, kar je cilj vseh disciplin družboslovja. V toku dvesto let trajajočega razvoja se je povezala z drugimi vedami in političnimi gibanji prek osnovnih predpostavk in ciljev. Prešla je vse vodilne teorije devetnajstega in dvajsetega stoletja, od historično-geografskega do post-modernega. Dandanes se etnološko gradivo razume na različne načine – nekateri ga razumejo kot ljudsko izročilo, ki se prilagaja novim razmeram ob ohranjanju kontinuitete, drugi pa kot dokaz prelomnice post-moderne dobe. Zgodovinski razvoj etnologije na ameriških tleh odseva svojstveno ameriško interpretacijo običaj etnoloških konceptov, vendar ostaja v okvirih zahodnega porazsvetljenskega pojmovanja sveta.

BESEDA O AVTORICI

Veronica Aplenc, mag., je etnologinja in strokovnjakinja za varstvo kulturne dediščine in trenutno pripravlja doktorat iz etnologije na Univerzi Pennsylvania v Filadelfiji, ZDA. Njeno raziskovalno delo je osredotočeno na zgodovinsko zgrajeno okolje in na krajevno razumevanje te dediščine. Poleg znanstvenega raziskovanja je sodelovala v projektih varovanja in interpretacije dediščine v Pennsylvaniji (ZDA) in v Češki republiki. Diplomirala je iz zgodovine na Williams College, magistrirala pa je opravila iz varstva zgodovinske in stavbarske kulturne dediščine na Univerzi Pennsylvaniji.

Objavila je raziskavo *Interpreting Through Restoration: Czech Practices at the Lednice-Valtice World Heritage Site* in magistrsko nalogo *The Conservation of Cultural Identity Through the Care of Monuments*. Napisala je tudi vrsto strokovnih člankov o zgodovinskih krajih v ZDA.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Veronica Aplenc, M.A., folklorist and preservationist, is currently a Ph.D. candidate in folklore at the University of Pennsylvania, in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, USA. Her research interests focus on the historic built environment and local understanding of this heritage. In addition to academic research, she has worked on preservation and heritage interpretation projects in Pennsylvania, USA, and the Czech Republic. She received undergraduate training in history at Williams College, and graduate professional training in historic preservation and architectural conservation at the University of Pennsylvania.

Ms. Aplenc's research articles include *Interpreting Through Restoration: Czech Practices at the Lednice-Valtice World Heritage Site* and her master's thesis *The Conservation of Cultural Identity Through the Care of Monuments*. She has additionally authored a number of professional reports for US historic sites.