

AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF

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CLOTHING, TEXTILES, AND HOUSEHOLD OBJECTS

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Abstract approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
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The study investigates relations among Norwegian-American ethnicity, ownership of ethnic articles, and selected other factors. Articles include clothing, textiles, and certain household objects.

Hypotheses were drawn predicting relations between ethnic article ownership and ethnicity as expressed by ethnic practices and attitudes, and between ethnic article ownership and generation in America (first as compared to second and second as compared to third), travel to the mother country, communication with relatives, marital status (endogamy as compared to exogamy), educational level, and social class level.

Measures used were developed for the study. Data were collected by means of questionnaires mailed to a selected sample of married women of Norwegian descent or whose husbands were of Norwegian descent, and were analyzed for statistical significance by means of

simple correlation and the Behrens-Fisher test.

Ethnic article ownership was found to be significantly related to ethnicity as expressed by ethnic practices, and to generation in America (first as compared to second), travel to the mother country, and communication with relatives. No significant relations were found to obtain in the cases of ethnicity as expressed by ethnic attitudes, or of generation in America (second as compared to third), marital status (endogamy as compared to exogamy), educational level, and social class level.

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Textiles, and Household Objects

by

Mary Ann Jacobsen

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## DEFINITION OF TERMS AS USED IN THIS STUDY

<u>Assimilation</u>	the process whereby cultural differences and expressions of ethnicity disappear.	
<u>Endogamous</u>	pertaining to an individual who has married another member of the same ethnic group.	
<u>Endogamy</u>	marriage between members of the same ethnic group.	
<u>Ethnic article ownership</u>	unless stated otherwise, includes owning the articles as well as using them for every-day or special occasions, and if appropriate, displaying them in the home.	
<u>Ethnic articles</u>	Clothing	any article of ethnic origin or in ethnic style worn for every-day occasions, recreational pursuits, or special ethnic festivities. This includes sports clothes, folk costumes, and accessories such as jewelry, badges, and insignia.
	Textiles	articles of ethnic origin or style used as bed clothes, table linens, wall hangings, or cushion covers.
	Household objects	various useful and/or decorative articles of ethnic origin or style, such as bowls, plates, boxes, dishes, utensils, vases, and candle-holders.
<u>Ethnic attitudes</u>	reflections of individuals' opinions about their own ethnic group and its culture.	
<u>Ethnic group</u>	a group defined by race, religion, national origin, or some combination of these.	
<u>Ethnicity</u>	a sense of special ancestral identification with some portion of mankind; ethnic group consciousness.	

<u>Ethnic person</u>	one who considers himself a member of the particular group under discussion; in this study, usually Americans of Norwegian descent.
<u>Exogamous</u>	pertaining to an individual who has married outside the ethnic group.
<u>Exogamy</u>	marriage of an ethnic person outside the ethnic group.
<u>Mother country</u>	the country of origin of an individual and/or his ancestors.
<u>Non-ethnic person</u>	one who is not a member of the ethnic group under discussion.
<u>Significance of relation</u>	probability of .05 and below that the sample came from a population in which the relation did not obtain.



# NORWEGIAN-AMERICAN ETHNICITY AND ETHNIC CLOTHING, TEXTILES, AND HOUSEHOLD OBJECTS

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

#### Origin and Statement of the Problem

A little-understood and relatively unexplored aspect of human social behavior is the existence and function of ethnic groups in a society long after the period of mass migration to that society has ceased. This survival of ethnic groups has surprised American sociologists, as the approved and expected goal of immigrants has been total assimilation or "Americanization," which meant abandonment as quickly as possible of foreign identity and all aspects of the old culture. Cinel (1969, p. 60) states:

One of the tenets of the American creed has been the possibility of reshaping every newcomer into the American pattern of life. The new race of men, whose heritage was pure democracy, had to forget any link with the old world to be worthy of the American nation. Therefore, immigrants had to be stripped of their national culture.

Bernard (1967, p. 23) writes that assimilation meant the newcomer was "virtually remodelled in everything from clothes to ideology."

Many immigrants, and especially their children, hastened to

comply, struggling to divest themselves of external differences which would set them apart from the mainstream of American life. This led sociologists and proponents of the "melting pot" theory to predict that soon ethnicity would disappear, resulting in a new race and nation of people unaware of and uninterested in their separate heritages.

And yet today ethnicity is a living force in American society. In the opinion of Cinel (1969) it is experiencing a new vitality inspired by the Black revolution, just as in Canada French nationalism has inspired other national movements. Andrew Greeley (as cited by Madeline Engel, 1968) attributes this continued ethnicity to man's need to identify with a group, usually based on primordial bonds of blood and land, and suggests that ethnicity may still be the prime source of identification for Americans.

As a daughter of Norwegian immigrants, the writer has become increasingly aware of and interested in this phenomenon as it exists in both Canada and the United States. She has observed the tendency of some immigrants and their descendants to discard where possible external differences, enabling them to blend into the total population, and at the same time to retain and cherish certain symbols or expressions which relate them to the ethnic heritage. Each of the two different worlds can then come to the foreground as the occasion or mood dictates.

Ethnic clothing, textiles, and household objects are thought to be

some of these externals which, like foreign language, are the first to be discarded in the so-called assimilation process. Hartwell (1968, p. 40-41), in her study of second-generation Irish- and Italian-American women states:

It goes without saying that all of the women in the sample have been assimilated behaviorally in many ways which need not be demonstrated - clothing for instance.

Clothing is an aspect of life which is both conscious and public. A person who wishes to be assimilated into another cultural group, then, will be ready and able to change his behavior in this respect.

The present study, however, takes the point of view that such ethnic material artifacts are not necessarily totally discarded, but may be retained and used under appropriate circumstances. Their ethnic natures may be sometimes obvious, sometimes so subtle that only others of the same heritage can identify them.

### Purpose of the Study

The purpose of the study is to investigate relations between ethnicity and the ownership of ethnic articles, specifically clothing, textiles, and certain useful and/or decorative objects; and to discover some of the conditions under which such articles are owned and used by individuals in one ethnic group, Americans of Norwegian descent.<sup>1</sup> It is hoped that the investigation will make a contribution to

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<sup>1</sup> During the course of the study the writer became aware of an aversion

the knowledge of the significance of articles used for clothing the individual and furnishing his home, and that some light will be shed on ways in which ethnicity influences people.

A useful theory in the study of an individual's identification with a group is that of the reference group. A reference group has been defined by Shibutani (1955, p. 565) as

that group whose outlook is used by the actor as the frame of reference in the organization of his perceptual field....Of greater importance for most people are those groups in which they participate directly - what have been called membership groups - especially those containing a number of persons with whom one stands in a primary relationship. But in some transactions one may assume the perspective attributed to some social category - a social class, an ethnic group, those in a given community, or those concerned with some special interest.

This study will consider the ethnic group as a reference group. It will attempt to discover some of the conditions under which an individual identifies positively with the group, and how this identification relates to ownership of ethnic clothing, textiles, and household objects.

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on the part of some persons of Norwegian descent to the term, "Norwegian American," especially in its hyphenated form. For this reason, use of the term has been avoided wherever possible, except where necessary for the sake of brevity.

### Hypotheses

- Hypothesis I: Ownership of ethnic articles will be related to ethnicity as expressed by ethnic practices.
- Hypothesis II: Ownership of ethnic articles will be related to ethnicity as expressed by ethnic attitudes.
- Hypothesis III: The first generation will show greater ownership of ethnic articles than will the second generation.
- Hypothesis IV: The third generation will show greater ownership of ethnic articles than will the second generation.
- Hypothesis V: Persons who have travelled to the mother country will own more ethnic articles than will persons who have not visited it.
- Hypothesis VI: Persons who have relatives in the mother country with whom they communicate will own more ethnic articles than will persons without such relatives.
- Hypothesis VII: Ownership of ethnic articles will be greater among persons who are endogamous than among those who are exogamous.
- Hypothesis VIII: Ownership of ethnic articles will be negatively related to high educational level of husband.
- Hypothesis IX: Ownership of ethnic articles will be negatively related to high social class.

### Assumptions

1. The measures developed and used were valid and reliable.
2. The respondents' answers expressed their true opinions and practices, as well as accurate accountings of their ownership and use of ethnic articles.

## CHAPTER II

### REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

This review looks at pertinent studies and writings on ethnicity, the reference group concept as it may apply to ethnic groups, some aspects of Norwegian-American culture, and the significance of clothing and other material cultural artifacts in strengthening the identity of an individual or group.

#### Ethnicity in America

Many recent writings on the subject of ethnicity review the once widely held notion that within a few generations ethnic groups in America would lose their identity, shed the old culture, and become indistinguishable from the total population (Yinger, 1961; Greeley, 1964; Cinel, 1960; Fishman, 1966). These authors then point out that in spite of such predictions, ethnic groups and ethnicity continue to exist and to perform useful functions.

In direct contrast to the old notion of the desirability of complete Americanization, it is now suggested that preservation of ethnicity serves a useful purpose in that it provides a means of group identification, so necessary in an individual's adjustment to today's impersonal mass society (Handlin, 1961; Fishman, 1966). Fishman (1966) suggests that ethnicity may be one of the strongest unrecognized facets

of American life, and that the difficulty Americans have in understanding the rest of the world stems from a lack of understanding of themselves and their own ethnic nature.

In addition to identification, Gordon (1964, p. 38) discusses two other important purposes of the ethnic group. It provides organizations which permit an individual to carry out his primary group relationships within the ethnic group throughout his entire life cycle and it "refracts the national cultural patterns of behavior and values through the prism of its own cultural heritage." This results in a unique heritage evolved from but not the same as that of the country of origin.

But not all those with a particular ethnic background stay within the ethnic fold. The conditions under which they remain in the group or leave it is the subject of many a sociological discussion. Hansen (1938, p. 494) proposed that ethnic identification was a matter of generation. The first generation, that is, the immigrant himself, adjusted himself to American patterns of life where necessary, but insisted that family life at least should retain the traditional pattern. His children, however, were caught between two worlds. "Whereas in the schoolroom they were too foreign, at home they were too American." The solution, therefore, for the second generation was complete rejection of anything ethnic as soon as possible. "Nothing was more Yankee than a Yankeeized person of foreign descent."



But with the third generation, states Hansen (1938, p. 495), comes " 'the principle of third-generation interest. ' " The third generation is American-born and bears no traces of the immigrant's stigma. He has no reason to feel insecure or inferior, and in fact begins to be curious about and interested in his family's beginnings in America. Describing this interest, Hansen (p. 497) writes:

A spontaneous and almost irresistible impulse arises which forces the thoughts of many people of different professions, different positions in life, and different points of view to interest themselves in that one factor which they have in common: heritage--the heritage of blood.

Nahirny and Fishman (1965) take direct issue with Hansen's third-generation theory, hypothesizing instead that the ethnic heritage is relatively unimportant in the life of the third generation. They propose that even the highly negative responses of the second generation testify to the impact of ethnicity on it, but that the third generation is only slightly affected by ethnicity, and can therefore appreciate it without feeling hindered or restricted by it.

Glazer (1954) states that immigrant assimilation in America includes an initial rejection of the past and passionate acceptance of the new culture, often followed by a return, in some sense, to the original culture. Glazer uses the terms first, second, and third generations to refer literally to the immigrants, their children and grandchildren, as well as to three phases that may be condensed into the life of a single person or expanded to cover the history of four.

Nagata (1969) suggests that ethnic interests are temporarily abandoned until the first generation is established economically in the host society, and that two sets of cultural norms may coexist, alternately asserting themselves in the appropriate context.

Sevareid (1947, p. 11), writing of his own ethnic heritage, expresses another viewpoint:

For my father's generation, born in America though they were, the "old country," which they had never seen, still seemed close. He carried a faint Norwegian accent in his speech throughout his life, which came from his early boyhood when few around the farms spoke English. Christmas dinner was never right for him without lutefisk and lefse, and Pastor Reihus always preached first in Norwegian, then in English. But there came a break with my generation, the third. It happened throughout that northwest country. I hated the sound of the Norwegian tongue and refused to try to learn it. It meant nothing to me that my grandfather on my mother's side was one of America's most distinguished scholars of Scandinavian literature and life. The books in my classroom dealt only with the United States, and there lay the sole magnets to our imaginations. The thread connecting these northwest people with Europe was thinning out, and with my generation it snapped.

In contrast to the theories relating generation and ethnicity, Cinel (1969, p. 61) considers education to be a determining factor, stating that education "is the fastest way to escape from ethnicity." Scholars assume the mental set of the society in which they are trained and forget their past heritages. Cinel cites examples of scholars of Italian and Polish origin, who when asked to join their respective historical associations, refused any identification with their group. Sevareid's viewpoint also hints at the strong anti-ethnic influence of education.

Gordon (1964), discussing ethnic intellectuals, hypothesizes that most do not identify with their group. This, like Cinel's statement, suggests that ethnic identification decreases as education increases. Gordon also states that with regard to cultural behavior, social class level is more important than the ethnic group. Thus people tend to confine themselves to their own social segment of their own ethnic group. This segment Gordon defines as the "ethclass" (p. 52).

Strong ethnic group consciousness is found among people whose country of origin has been under foreign domination, according to Nagata (1969) and Glazer (1954). Shibutani and Kwan (1965) state that group solidarity is enhanced by conflict and the necessity of working together for a common cause or against a common enemy. Yinger (1961) states that pressure on a strong group makes it stronger, whereas pressure on a weak group makes it weaker.

The effect of having one parent in the dominant (i. e. non-ethnic) group is considered by Shibutani and Kwan (1965). The children of such persons are likely to be strongly oriented away from the ethnic group, as are those with considerable wealth. Handlin (1961) describes persons who remain unaffiliated as sometimes being torn by multiple identification due to mixed antecedents or incompatibility with the norms of their group.

Yinger (1961) states that pride in the national group and continuation of ethnic associations is not confined to those with a low degree of

acculturation, but can also be found among those who are well established.

Glazer (1954) points to conditions of settlement, such as geographic isolation and concentration as important factors preventing full assimilation of early immigrant groups. Citing the cases of Norwegian and Swedish peasants, Glazer (p. 164) states that settlement into homogeneous colonies "inevitably led to the rise of an ideology and the growth of a concern for the old culture and religion, which concern was maintained for three generations."

#### The Ethnic Group as a Reference Group

Shibutani and Kwan (1965) state that the important change occurring in the assimilation process is the displacement of reference groups. The reference group of an individual may be a group or category to which he already belongs, or it may be a group in which he wishes to gain membership (Yinger, 1961). In the case of ethnics in the process of assimilation, these categories are the ethnic group and the host society or dominant group, respectively.

Reference groups may be described as being either positive or negative. A positive reference group has been defined by Merton (1957, p. 300) as one which an individual seeks to identify with and become a member of; a negative reference group involves "motivated rejection, i. e., not merely non-acceptance of norms but the formation

of counter-norms." Tavuchis (1963) describes such a situation in his discussion of Norwegian immigrants of the last century, who actively rejected the norms and values of their own religious leaders who had become involved with the German Lutheran Missouri Synod. These immigrants instead actively identified with the host society.

Reference groups are often viewed as being mutually exclusive; that is, identification with one reference group involves withdrawal from another. In some instances, however, membership in one group, or anticipation of membership does not conflict with identification with another. Shibutani (1955) notes that one of the characteristics of life in modern society is simultaneous participation in a variety of social worlds, or reference groups, these groups usually being mutually sustaining. Although ethnic group membership is usually viewed as a potential source of conflict with the larger society, it may be that in some cases one group serves to reinforce the other. Fishman's (1966, p. 390) description of the complexities of ethnicity could well be read with reference group theory in mind:

Ethnicity in America is not an all-or-none affair.... For some it is exclusionary and isolating; for others it is an avenue toward more secure and more authentic participation in American affairs. For some it is hidden and has negative or conflicted overtones; for others it is open, positive, and stimulating.... For some it is a badge of shame to ignore, forget, and eradicate; for others it is a source of pride, a focus of initial loyalties and integrations from which broader loyalties and wider integrations can proceed.

### Some Aspects of Norwegian-American Culture

Gordon (1964, p. 33) describes culture as consisting of

prescribed ways of behaving or norms of conduct, beliefs, values, and skills, along with the behavioral patterns and uniformities based on these categories. To these non-material aspects are added the artifacts created by these skills and values, called "material culture."

Even while outwardly conforming to his American neighbor, the immigrant felt a deep need for the security of being able to express his own culture. Handlin (1961) discusses the vast array of churches, philanthropic societies, and cultural institutions formed and maintained by ethnic groups to satisfy these longings.

In the case of Norwegians in America, the Lutheran Church was the first and most persistent institution (Haugen, 1953). It provided for religious and social needs, often being the only general meeting place for the ethnic community in rural settlements. Out of the Lutheran churches grew church schools and colleges. Bjørk (1958, p. 4), discussing these churches and schools, states:

These institutions, while not identical with those in the homeland, differed also from their counterparts in the New World. They symbolize a synthesis that underlies much of American history, emerging from the interplay of European heritage and American environment.

Many secular organizations were also formed, the largest being Sons of Norway, a fraternal order modelled on similar American lodges (Haugen, 1953; Bergmann, 1950).

The immigrant press also played an important part in the culture. Of several hundred newspapers ministering to Norwegians, there are now only two of general distribution. One is Decorah-Posten of Decorah, Iowa; the other Nordisk Tidende of Brooklyn (Haugen, 1953).

In addition to formal institutions and organizations, language bonds held the ethnic group together, particularly where settlement was in homogeneous colonies.

Other aspects of the ethnic culture include food habits and customs connected with festive occasions such as Christmas. In many areas musical endeavors such as folk dance groups and male singing choruses were popular (Haugen, 1967).

Aside from the occasional mention of ethnic folk costumes, the material side of ethnic culture has been almost completely ignored in ethnic studies. Bøhn (1956, p. 117) writes:

In recent decades Norwegian and American historians, sociologists, and men of letters have clarified many of the main points in the history of Norwegian immigration to America, but the material goods that the immigrants brought along have on the whole been a lost chapter.

Bøhn adds that making an inventory of what has been saved can clarify many aspects of the history of Norwegian immigration.

On her tour of the United States in 1949-50 Bøhn (1956) made such an inventory, including both immigrant goods inherited by Americans of Norwegian descent or purchased by them as tourist goods in this century. Among the immigrant goods were articles such

as rose-painted chests and other wooden containers, farm tools, kitchen utensils, spinning wheels, bridal ornaments, textiles, clothing, and small articles of silver such as spoons, beakers, and jewelry. Bøhn notes the second generation's rejection of such reminders of the past because of the stigma attached to the immigrant and pioneer, this attitude being followed by the subsequent generations' renewed interest in such artifacts.

Inherited and tourist goods acquired in this century included articles of pewter, rose-painted wooden plates, bowls, and chests; table linens, bridal ornaments, parts of folk costumes, and a wide variety of silver articles including table silver, jewelry, beakers, and tankards.

Discussing Norwegian ethnic artifacts in general, Bergmann (1950, p. 86) writes:

Like all other immigrant groups, the Norwegians were first ashamed of their old country paraphernalia and discarded them as soon as they could afford to buy Grand Rapids tables, rockers, beds, and Sears Roebuck curtains and crockery. Grandfather's sturdy homemade chairs were put in the storeroom with grandmother's wooden cooking bowls. Now these things are hauled down again as interesting antiques and, also, as the material witnesses of a past sufficiently remote that one may well be proud of it without jeopardizing one's secure Americanism.

#### Significance of Material Artifacts of a Culture

The significance of the material artifacts of a culture has been



discussed by several writers. Ruesch and Kees (1956) state that it is possible, by assessing the objects around us, including personal clothing and decoration as well as persons' homes and the objects found in them, to gain considerable information about the roles, statuses, and group memberships of others.

Goffman (1959), who describes man's social actions in theatrical terms refers to furniture, décor, and other background items as the setting or scenery in which a performance takes place. More personal equipment such as clothing is described as part of the "personal front" (p. 23). These components are all considered as part of a person's expressive equipment--vehicles by which signs are conveyed to others. Signs thus conveyed help define the social situation.

Laumann and House (1970) studied the relationship between social attributes and the patterning of material artifacts. Using the furniture and accessories found in urban living rooms, the researchers found the choice of décor to be strongly related to individuals' statuses, attitudes, and behavior.

Chapin (1935, p. 375) based a study on the assumption that

material cultural articles of living-room equipment, whether window drapes, rugs, chairs, pictures, musical instruments, or newspapers and other devices of communication, reflect the attitudes of members of the family;

and that

these same articles condition the attitudes of others toward the family and consequently determine its position in the community.

Clothing, one of the aspects of Goffman's "personal front" is referred to by Shibutani and Kwan (1965) as a status symbol which provides a means of identification. Such symbols are important as they assist members of a category to establish personal contacts with ease. The authors cite the example of the Métis in Canada, who wore their belt under their capote, while most white men wore theirs above it. This was the symbol of the group. In a similar vein, Chrisman (1966) states that the extent of involvement with an ethnic group may be expressed through the symbols. In his study of Danish Americans, Chrisman notes that in the absence of physical or cultural visibility, ethnicity is expressed through the network of formal organizations and by lettered shirts worn by the Danish Brotherhood bowling team.

A study by Haugen (1953, vol. 1) of the shift from use of the Norwegian language to English by Norwegian Americans in Wisconsin suggests a relation of clothing and household furnishings to personal identity. While words used for impersonal articles, institutions, and activities such as autos, machinery, government, politics, and business had become predominantly English; words connected with more personal affairs such as home and family life, religion, music, emotions, and clothing remained predominantly Norwegian.

Expressions which were inclined to be a mixture of the two languages were those referring to semi-personal articles, institutions, and activities such as furniture and furnishings, schooling and books, food, drink, and *house keeping*.

Crawley (1931, p. 108) states that clothing expresses

every social moment, as well as every social grade. It also expresses family, municipal, provincial, regional, tribal, and national character. At the same time it gives full play to the individual.

Stone (1959, p. 5) expresses a similar view:

Clothing in its symbolic aspect provides a basis for the establishment of social identity, values, attitudes, and acts for those who come together.

Linton (1936, p. 416) writes that clothing

makes it possible for a stranger to determine at once the social category to which the wearer belongs and thus avoid acts or attitudes toward him which would be social errors.

In this context the findings of Orme (1962) are of interest. Her study of foreign women at Oregon State University revealed that women wearing traditional national costumes only occasionally in their homelands tended to wear them more frequently while in the United States. Orme concluded that the wearing of these national costumes reflected a pride in country, people and way of life.

The observations of Hartman (1949, p. 295) also seem appropriate:

The all but overwhelming desire to conform to the prevailing folkway in dress is matched by a weaker but nevertheless real demand for distinctiveness as the personality becomes more complex.... It is as though people find it necessary to give full vent first to one dominant impulse in their natures and then to indulge alternately that which previously was somewhat suppressed or subordinated....

## CHAPTER III

## PROCEDURE

Selection of Subjects for the Research

The subjects of the research were chosen from among the Norwegian-American population. This particular ethnic group was chosen for several reasons:

1. The researcher, being of Norwegian descent, was in possession of at least a small measure of background information on the culture that could be an aid to conducting such a study.

2. Studies have shown that a researcher is more likely to get good cooperation from subjects in a group to which he is related than from those in a different group (Selltiz, 1959).

3. Americans of Norwegian descent, along with other Americans of north European descent are thought to be so similar to the so-called Anglo-American ideal that they should have completely disappeared as an entity. Since this has not happened, the researcher considered them a particularly interesting subject for study.

4. There was a sufficiently large population of Norwegian descent available for study in the immediate geographic area.

The first step in finding a suitable group of subjects within this ethnic group was to contact the Sons of Norway lodge in Portland,

Oregon. By this means the researcher was provided with a copy of the 1968 Sons of Norway address book, which included a listing of all the lodges in Oregon. On studying this list, it was decided that the lodge in Eugene, Oregon was both close enough in geographic location and large enough with its 236 members to provide an adequate sample.

The president of Sonja Lodge in Eugene was then contacted and was most cooperative, providing the researcher with the lodge's 1970 membership directory, and giving permission for questionnaires to be sent to members.

### Preliminary Interviews

In order to determine the types of items to be included in the questionnaire used for the research, several open-ended interviews were conducted with persons of Norwegian descent living in the area surrounding Corvallis, Oregon. The subjects were obtained through the cooperation of a Sons of Norway lodge, one of the Lutheran churches in the area, and through personal contacts.

Several subjects were interviewed in their homes. They were most hospitable and very willing to show their collections of ethnic articles, as well as to discuss their families and traditions. The researcher became aware of the advantage in such a situation, of belonging to the same background, communication being greatly aided by the subjects' knowledge that the interviewer had an appreciation of

the heritage. A potential pitfall involving a topic of great emotional impact was also discovered. One of the subjects, who had been extremely hospitable and cooperative, became noticeably cool in manner on discovering that the researcher had not been brought up in the traditional church of the group.

The subjects owned a wide variety of ethnic articles. These included rose-painted objects such as wooden plates, bowls, boxes, and fireplace bellows; jewelry, eiderdowns, hand-knit sweaters, hand-woven wall hangings, hand-woven and embroidered cushion covers, costumed dolls, souvenir plates and silver spoons, books, newspapers, kitchen utensils for preparation of Norwegian foods, and parts of folk costumes. The articles had been obtained by gift, purchase, and inheritance; and some were prominently displayed in the subjects' homes.

One interview conducted with the aid of the first draft of the questionnaire gave the researcher valuable clues as to necessary revisions. Additional help was provided by two graduate students of Norwegian descent who also completed the first draft.

An additional experience which aided the researcher was attendance at the annual "Seventeenth of May" celebration at the Sons of Norway lodge in Eugene. This event commemorates the adoption of the constitution in 1814 when Norway was attempting to free herself from Sweden. It is a day for parades, social gatherings, patriotic

speeches, and wearing of folk costumes.

The gathering in Eugene was well attended by persons of all ages. Among those present were several women and young children in folk costumes. One of the wearers estimated that there were about 12 women in the group who owned such costumes. There were also men present whose dress reflected the ethnic heritage. The members of the lodge's male chorus, "The Norsemen," wore black trousers, red vests trimmed with silver buttons, and short white jackets fashioned after the male folk costume. The jackets had been specially made for the group, and were beautifully embroidered with floral motifs (see Figure 1).

#### Ethnic Articles Included in the Study

The ethnic articles included in the study were chosen from information received in the preliminary interviews, from discussions with other persons of Norwegian descent, and on the basis of the researcher's own knowledge of the culture.

Twelve categories of articles were included, each possessing some attribute making it distinct from that of another country, and recognizable as such. These articles were considered to be of monetary, sentimental, or practical value to their owners as well as being expressive of the culture or customs of their country of origin. Included were jewelry, national costumes, hand-knit sweaters,



miscellaneous other clothing, hand-woven tapestries and wall hangings, cushion covers, table linens, eiderdowns, rose-painted articles, silver tableware, pewter articles, and dishes.

### Jewelry

It was thought by the researcher that jewelry should hold an important place in the list of ethnic belongings. It satisfies the universal urge for self-decoration, is a favorite item for gift-giving and inheritance, and is easily transportable. Perhaps most important of all, it held an important place in the traditions of rural Norway. Stewart (1953) states that in addition to its monetary and esthetic value, silver was at one time thought to hold special powers, including that of protection against sickness and supernatural beings. Such superstition continued even into the 19th century. Where there were no banks, silver was transformed into various articles, including jewelry. In the form of jewelry it was closely associated with the church, as it was there the finest of one's clothing and ornaments were worn. Stewart adds that it became such an important part of dress that clothing became a foil for the jewelry, which was handed down from one generation to the next. Ebbing (1966, p. 249) calls silver articles, including jewelry "a symbolic connecting link between the generations."

Bøhn (1956) found jewelry in both silver and gold a frequent

item in her inventory of Norwegian folk art in America. Articles mentioned were brooches, rings, earrings, buckles, and various bridal ornaments including the elaborate bridal crowns worn at country weddings. These items had been brought to America by immigrants, sent as inheritances, or purchased by tourists to Norway.

Jewelry thought to be among the possessions of present-day Americans of Norwegian descent includes contemporary silver pieces fashioned after antique styles (see Figures 2 and 3), as well as the sølje, an elaborate brooch worn on folk costumes (see Figure 4).

Additional items of jewelry might include club insignia such as Sons of Norway membership pins and pins depicting the Norwegian flag. During World War II a popular lapel pin was one showing the emblem of the then King Haakon.

### National Costumes

Norway, like many other countries, has a rich tradition of folk or national costumes which developed through the centuries, each rural parish or district evolving its own particular style. Traetteberg (1966) states that some components of the costumes can be traced back to pre-historic and Viking times, although most date from the period between the Middle Ages and the 1800's.

Until recent years, these costumes were worn by the rural population for every-day as well as for festive occasions (Traetteberg,

1966). There is currently a revival of interest in them in Norway, so that today even city dwellers often have copies of old costumes made for festive wear (Stewart, 1953; Noss, 1965). This revival of interest is taking place in America as well (Haugen, 1967), and it has become fashionable to make or buy one of the costumes, especially the bright colored Hardanger costume with its fine embroidery and beadwork (see Figure 5).

Although Bøhn (1956) found scant evidence of folk costumes in America in 1949, mentioning only one bridal outfit, a silk skaut or headcovering, and parts of a Hardanger costume, it is the researcher's opinion that the wearing of costumes for special occasions is now becoming more extensive, at least among some segments of the Norwegian-American population.

#### Hand-knit Sweaters

Although Norwegian knitting is very old, the popular hand-knit patterned sweaters did not appear until around 1830, when they developed to replace the jackets and vests after which they were styled (Stewart, 1953). Today they are available in an almost endless variety of patterns, some of which are traditional designs from particular districts, and others which are updated versions or completely new and original designs (see Figure 6).

According to Magness (1963) the attitude toward the wearing of

these sweaters is quite different in Norway and America. In Norway they are worn quite casually and unselfconsciously for work or play by country and city dweller alike (with the exception of the suited businessman). In America the sweater is treated with special reverence and care--as a work of art rather than as something merely to keep one warm.

These sweaters are available in some retail outlets in America, selling for from \$25 to \$50. They are also appearing in kits including yarn, needles, and directions, for about \$15 a kit (Magness, 1963).

### Other Clothing

This category was intended to allow respondents to include tourist and gift items such as hand-knit caps, gloves, mittens, scarves, and socks. These are widely used for casual wear in Norway, and for skiing in America. The long patterned mens' socks, for example, have been particularly in vogue with the popularity of knickers for skiing in recent years. Ski shops often stock them.

Another clothing item purchased by tourists to Norway is some variety of after-ski boot such as those made of reindeer skin in the fashion of the Lapp costume of northern Norway (see Figure 7). These have the light brown fur on the outside, a pointed, curled-up toe, and may be trimmed with colorful woven braid or felt and large

tassels at the ankles (Woxholth, 1969).

### Tapestries and Wall Hangings

Bøhn (1956) states that tapestries were included in the usual equipment brought to America by many Norwegians. Their importance as decorative items may be understood from Asker's (1967) statement that in Norwegian peasant houses the woven tapestries hung up on festive occasions were at one time the only form of colored ornament in use.

In the present study, the terms "tapestries" and "wall hangings" are used loosely, with no attempt to distinguish between pictorial and geometric designs. In the researcher's experience, however, those of the geometric, or aakle type are by far the most common (see Figure 8). Stewart (1953, p. 163) describes the aakle as a "colorful square-weave tapestry used for coverlets, carriage robes, bench covers, pillows, rugs, and a myriad of other items." It was more characteristic of home weaving than were the picture tapestries, as no professional skills were required. The warp is of linen, and the weft of wool, resulting in a rep surface with the warp completely covered. The design used depends on the geographic area in which it is made.

### Cushion Covers

Cushion covers made by some form of hand craft are widely used in Norway and are thought by the researcher to be fairly common among Americans of Norwegian descent. These covers may be of the same designs as the aforementioned aakler (singular: aakle) or they may be embroidered in wool or linen (see Figures 9 and 10). The designs may be geometric, floral, or pictorial.

### Table Linens

This category was included as it is another area in which distinctive hand crafts such as native embroidery flourish. Bøhn (1956) mentions table linens as one of the types of items acquired by Americans of Norwegian descent as tourist or inherited goods. Stewart (1953, p. 183) states that such embroidered goods, their designs based on the past and adapted to the present, offer "the integrity of the past translated into the terms of the present, thereby providing the security of tradition for contemporary living."

The best known of these types of embroidery is Hardanger embroidery, a double drawn work (see Figure 11). American women of Norwegian descent also practice this craft on articles such as tablecloths (Bøhn, 1956) although it is not known how widespread the practice is.

### Eiderdowns

The eiderdown or dyne (plural: dyner) is the common bedcover in Norway, being used instead of blankets. The researcher expected that its presence and use in America would be quite rare, and that the ownership of such an article would be found only with persons with a very strong attachment for their old culture.

### Rose-painting

Rose-painting is a decorative art of the Norwegian country districts. It is found on walls, ceilings, furniture, and on smaller objects such as bowls, boxes, and wooden chests (see Figures 12 and 13). It includes figure motifs, Biblical scenes, geometric patterns, an occasional landscape, but above all, the Baroque vine and flower (Asker, 1967; Hauglid, 1956).

Rose-painting reached its peak at the end of the 18th century but by 1870 it had died out completely in most districts. Bøhn (1956) states that the 19th century immigrants to America had with them many rose-painted objects, notably the large wooden chests for storage and transport of clothing and foodstuffs. These chests, besides being the usual trunks of the day, were also valued as family showpieces.

Today, rose-painting is a popular folk art tradition in the Norwegian areas of the United States. Bøhn (1956) states that since

the revival of interest in Norway which occurred during World War II, many people, especially women, have turned to rose-painting as a hobby.

### Silver Tableware

Bøhn (1956) notes that among the immigrants of the 20th century, silver beakers and spoons were the most common immigrant possessions. Like jewelry, silver is a favorite item for gift giving and inheritance, and is easily transported. Today it is sought after by tourists to Norway for its antique value as well as for the usual sentimental reasons.

The patterns available from Norwegian silversmiths today include many which by either their names or designs provide a link with ethnic tradition--with Viking ships and sagas, with heroes in literature and song, with home districts, and with princes and princesses (see Figures 14 and 15).

In the researcher's own experience, table silver has been the most persistently collected ethnic article. It was one of the two items brought to this continent by her mother (the other item being blankets), it was been added to by inheritance from both parents' antecedents, and has been collected by every member of the second generation, both by gift and purchase.



## Pewter

Objects of pewter were included in both early immigrant possessions and in inherited and tourist goods of this century (Bøhn, 1956). Vreim (1937) states that although pewter was in use in Norway from the year 1500, it was not until modern times that craftsmen were able to do justice to the metal's special qualities.

Today a great variety of pewter objects such as mugs, bowls, trays, vases, and coffee services is available in Norway, and to a lesser degree in Scandinavian specialty shops in America. These objects are found in both traditional and contemporary design. One of the popular items is inspired by the traditional Viking ship design (see Figure 16).

## Dishes

Because of the relative difficulty of transporting dishes to America and of obtaining them on this continent, it was not expected that many would be found among the ethnic possessions uncovered in the study. They were not among the commonly owned immigrant goods of former days. However, with improvements in transportation and the increase in tourism, it was thought that some persons at least would own such articles, either individual pieces of a souvenir nature or complete sets, the latter being occasionally available in

Scandinavian import stores in America. Like silver tableware, they are found in both contemporary designs and designs relating to the past (see Figures 17 and 18).

### Development of the Measures

It was necessary that the questionnaire be composed of two main parts: one to include items to measure degree of ethnicity, and one to include a measure of ownership of ethnic articles. In addition, certain background information was to be requested for the purpose of interpreting the data.

Since no suitable instrument was found, one was developed for the study. The selection of items developed gradually from perusal of other ethnic studies, the writer's own knowledge of Norwegian-American culture, conversations with Norwegian and Norwegian-American friends and relatives, and from several open-ended interviews conducted in the early stages of the study.

### Background Information

Background information requested concerned age of respondents, national origin of husband and wife, generation in America, travel to Norway, national origin of the community and neighbors, and communication with relatives in Norway.

Since one of the hypotheses dealt with social class, questions

were constructed to be used for estimation of social class level. The items and method used were adapted from those of Warner, Meeker, and Eells (1957); thus, although the respondents were women, the social class level was determined by the status characteristics of the husband or head of the family. The wife was then assigned the same status.

Status characteristics measured were occupation, education, and source of income. As the questionnaire was not to be personally administered, house type and dwelling area (usually included by Warner et al., 1957) were omitted due to the difficulty of obtaining this information. Education was substituted for dwelling area, as outlined by Warner et al.

The questions were constructed in such a way that respondents checked one of seven possibilities for both education and source of income, the classifications being adapted from Warner et al. (1957). Provision was made for the respondent to state her own education also, although this information was not to be used in the calculations. The question on occupation was left unstructured, and the replies classified during scoring.

### Ethnicity

Geismar's (1954) study on measuring ethnic identification was a useful aid in the preliminary stages of constructing questions to measure ethnicity. Geismar worked on the assumption that

identification could be defined as the degree to which persons participate in ethnic activities, traditions, and religion; have ethnic friends; and support ethnic causes. Proper measurement of these factors should then reveal the extent of ethnic identification. Geismar also suggested that a more practical method is to measure attitudes of identification, or more precisely opinions which reflect attitudes toward ethnic identification. With these points in mind, it was decided to construct two sets of questions, one to measure ethnic practices, and one to measure ethnic opinions, the latter being referred to hereafter as ethnic attitudes. It was expected that on testing the data received from respondents, the two sections would be found to be sufficiently related to permit combining them for a total ethnicity score. This result did not obtain, however. The coefficient of correlation ( $.2097$ ;  $df = 62$ ) did not indicate relation at the predetermined level of significance. Hence, the ethnic attitudes and ethnic practices scores were not combined for a total ethnicity score, but were used separately in testing for relation with ownership of ethnic articles, as provided for in Hypotheses I and II.

Ethnic Practices. Items designed to reveal ethnic practices included questions on having friends of Norwegian descent, belonging to ethnic social organizations, subscribing to ethnic periodicals, owning ethnic books and music, observing ethnic holidays, familiarity with ethnic foods, practicing ethnic traditions connected with Christmas

and weddings, and awareness and use of possible ethnic symbols.

After considerable deliberation, association with the Lutheran Church was also included as an ethnic practice. Guterman (1968) states that in spite of its division into many Norwegian synods and the bitter internal struggles it experienced, the Lutheran Church was one of the main forces which preserved and fostered Norwegian culture in America during the pioneering days. Until recent years, services were held in the Norwegian language. In addition, preliminary interviews conducted by the researcher gave weight to the opinion that association with the Lutheran Church could be considered related to ethnicity.

All the preceding items were included on the basis that they involved deliberate decisions in favor of maintaining ethnic ties or traditions.

Knowledge of the Norwegian language was not included in ethnic practices as some of the respondents were wives of Norwegian Americans rather than being of Norwegian descent themselves. It is of interest to note that since widespread use of European mother tongues began their decline in America, not all ethnics have viewed the development with alarm. Essayist Carl G. O. Hansen (quoted by Haugen, 1967, p. 415) wrote that "paradoxical as it may sound, it can be maintained that a Norwegian activity in this country does not become any less Norwegian even if English is given the place of

honor." Fishman (1966, p. 451) states that not all modes of ethnicity contribute to language maintenance, and suggests that in America "some kind of ethnicity usually appears to be a much more stable phenomenon than does language maintenance."

Ethnic Attitudes. Ten items were included for the purpose of measuring respondents' attitudes to their own ethnic group. These were constructed in such a way as to obtain either positive or negative opinions. Four choices were given for each item, allowing either a strong or weak positive position or a strong or weak negative position.

Items included were on attitudes toward being of Norwegian descent; working with, living near, and associating with persons of Norwegian descent; learning the Norwegian language; preserving knowledge of Norwegian background; traveling to Norway; choosing Norway as an alternate place of residence; restricting the wearing of Norwegian costumes to ethnics; and children marrying persons of Norwegian descent. The item on attitude toward being of Norwegian descent was later discarded for scoring purposes as it did not apply to all respondents.

#### Ownership of Ethnic Articles

A table was constructed to facilitate tabulation of numbers of articles owned in each of the 12 categories previously described. After the preliminary interviews it was decided that it would be

impracticable for the purpose of this study to determine the exact nature of articles in each category.

In order to determine the relative value or importance of items owned, provision was made for respondents to state how often items in each category were used. For articles which were not of a useful or every-day nature, provision was made for indicating use of articles for special occasions and for use as display or decorative objects.

In addition, a table was included for respondents to indicate how they obtained most of the articles in each category: as gifts, by inheritance, by purchase, or self-made. Respondents were also asked to indicate which of these four methods of obtaining ethnic articles provided them with the items they valued most. The purpose of these two questions was to obtain information with which to weight the value of articles owned, since it was felt that there might be a difference in significance or appreciation of items according to how they were obtained. It was later found that this plan was not workable, as many respondents had not obtained articles by all four methods.

### Collection of Data

It was decided that it would be necessary to send questionnaires to approximately 100 persons in order to receive a sufficiently large

return. On studying the Sonja Lodge directory it was found that this number could be obtained by sending a questionnaire to every married woman listed who lived in either Eugene or neighboring Springfield. Most questions about marital status of prospective respondents were resolved by a telephone conversation with the lodge's secretary. Several persons who were not known by the secretary were included, their eligibility to be settled by their responses to pertinent questions on the questionnaire. This procedure resulted in a list of 105 prospective respondents.

One of the difficulties in conducting an ethnic study is to locate persons not belonging to a formal ethnic organization. Because of this problem, and as it was considered desirable to include non-lodge members in the sample, it was decided that the 105 persons to whom the questionnaire was to be mailed be requested to supply names and addresses of such non-members, either friends or relatives, who might also be willing to complete the questionnaire.

#### Response to the Questionnaire

The questionnaire was mailed with an explanatory cover letter to the 105 prospective respondents early in June, 1970. Two weeks later a reminder postcard was sent to each person from whom no response had yet been received (see Appendices I, III, and IV).

The result of this first mailing was that 76 persons replied



(see Table 1). A few of these did not return the questionnaire, but sent a note or postcard explaining that although they belonged to Sons of Norway neither they nor their husbands were of Norwegian descent. Some explained that they were Danish, Swedish, or Finnish; and that they belonged to Sons of Norway because clubs for persons of their own national origins were not available in the community. Some completed questionnaires were also received from this group. In addition, one completed questionnaire was received from a single person.

Table 1. Response to the First Mailing by Classification of Useability.

	No.	Total	%
Useable responses	39		
Non-useable responses	37		
Incomplete questionnaires (21)			
Respondent ineligible (descent) (10)			
Respondent traveling (2)			
Questionnaires received too late (1)			
Respondent ineligible (single) (1)			
Respondent an invalid (1)			
Respondent uninformed (1)			
Total responses		76	72
No response	<u>29</u>	<u>29</u>	<u>28</u>
Total questionnaires mailed	105	105	100

Other messages received regarding the questionnaire were that the person was traveling and would no doubt complete it on her return; the person declined to complete the questionnaire because she felt she didn't know enough about the subject; or was an elderly invalid and unable to complete it.

On the whole the size of the response was greater than expected, particularly in view of the length of the questionnaire.

Seventy-two percent of the persons to whom questionnaires were sent in the first mailing replied by note, postcard, or returned questionnaires. Of the questionnaires returned, 39 were complete, from eligible persons, and received in time to be included in the study.

The request for names of friends or relatives who were not members of Sons of Norway and who might be willing to complete the questionnaire yielded 65 names. Of these, five were received too late to use and three were found to have been already included as Sons of Norway members. This left 57 persons to whom questionnaires were sent in the second mailing, early in July. Two weeks later a reminder postcard was sent to those from whom no response had been received.

This procedure yielded a total response of 80.7%, or 46 out of 57 questionnaires sent (see Table 2). Of these, one questionnaire was returned unanswered, two were received from unmarried women, and three from women who were not eligible for reasons of descent. In addition, two were received too late to use.

Table 2. Response to the Second Mailing by Classification of Useability.

	No.	Total	%
Useable responses	19		
Non-useable responses	27		
Incomplete questionnaires (14)			
Respondent a Norwegian club member (5)			
Respondent ineligible (descent) (3)			
Questionnaires received too late (2)			
Respondent ineligible (single) (2)			
Questionnaires returned unanswered (1)			
Total responses		46	80.7
No response	<u>11</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>19.3</u>
Total questionnaires mailed	57	57	100.0

Five were received from persons who were members of Sons of Norway or other Norwegian-American clubs. These were added to the usable questionnaires from the first mailing, for a total of 44 respondents.

Fourteen questionnaires from the second mailing had one or more questions incomplete. This left a total of 19 usable questionnaires out of the 46 received.

It was expected that a higher return would result from the first mailing, to members of the fraternal organization, but the reverse occurred. Those respondents in the second mailing, who had no bond of common club membership and whose homes were more scattered

geographically gave a response nearly 8% higher. When the five returns received from Norwegian club members in the second mailing were removed from the calculations the results were similar, showing a 78.5% return. This was a 6.5% higher return than that from the first mailing. However, when the proportion of useable questionnaires from each group was considered, it was found that the first mailing yielded a return 3.7% greater than did that of the second mailing.

### Scoring the Questionnaire

#### Background Information

In order to calculate a score for social class level each social class characteristic was rated from 1 to 7 using Warner's (1957) categories. For example, the scale for rating occupation gave a top rating of 1 to doctors, lawyers, engineers, and gentlemen farmers; and a bottom rating of 7 for heavy labor, miners, janitors, and migrant farm workers. The top rating of 1 for education was given for professional or graduate school, and the bottom rating of 7 for zero to three years of schooling. For income, the top rating of 1 was given for inherited wealth and the bottom rating of 7 for public relief.

Scores for each of the three categories, occupation, education, and source of income were then weighted according to Warner's (1957) scheme in order to attain the "maximum degree of social class

prediction" (p. 122). The occupation score was multiplied by five, the source of income score by four, and the education score by three. The products were then summed. For example, if the ratings for one respondent were 5, 6, and 7 for occupation, source of income, and education respectively, the total weighted score would be  $25 + 24 + 21 = 70$  points out of a possible 84. This score would place the respondent in the lower-lower class according to Warner's (p. 194) Index of Status Characteristics, revised for Scandinavians.

Respondents were classified for generation in America on the following basis: Classification as first generation was made if a respondent indicated that she was born in Norway. If she was not Norwegian-born but indicated that either or both of her parents were, she was classified as second generation. If neither she nor either of her parents were Norwegian-born but any or all of her grandparents were, she was classified as third generation.

Nominal scales were utilized for classification of other background information for facilitating analysis of the data.

### Ethnic Practices

An attempt was made to weight the various ethnic practices according to their importance but this idea was abandoned and a maximum possible score of 5 points arbitrarily assigned to each.

Two of the questions on books and music (items 37 and 40 on the

questionnaire) were excluded. These dealt with how the items had been obtained and although they were designed to indicate the importance of the articles in the lives of their owners, it was found to be impossible to assign scores to them with any degree of accuracy.

Question 42 on Norwegian food was also omitted as it was in effect an attitude question. Question 43 was considered adequate to cover food practices.

Question 44 on ethnic influence on celebration of special occasions such as Christmas was scored by giving 1 point for each ethnic custom mentioned, with the exception of food practices, which had already been covered in the preceding questions.

Questions 45 to 47 on ethnic symbols were scored so that the total maximum possible for the three questions was 5 points. One point was given for a "yes" answer to question 45, a maximum of 2 points was given for question 46, and a maximum of 2 points for question 47.

### Ethnic Attitudes

Each of the ten attitude questions was assigned a maximum possible score of 4 and a minimum possible score of 1 to correspond with the strongest positive and negative attitudes respectively. For the statistical analysis, it was found necessary to omit question 53 on attitude toward being of Norwegian descent as this question was of

necessity left incomplete by non-ethnic respondents.

### Ethnic Articles

For each category of ethnic article the mean number owned by respondents was calculated by dividing the total number owned by the number of owners. In the cases of articles which are usually collected and used in large numbers, or where the numbers owned by several respondents were grouped near the mean, such as with dishes, silver tableware, and jewelry; an interval was used as the mean (see Table 3).

Table 3. Mean Number of Ethnic Articles Owned.

Articles	Mean
Jewelry	3-4
Costumes	1
Sweaters	2
Other clothing	2
Tapestries, wall hangings	3
Cushion covers	2
Table linens	5
Eiderdowns	2
Rose-painted articles	4
Silver tableware	12-18
Pewter	3
Dishes	17-24

Quantities equal to the mean in each category were assigned a score of 2 points, quantities less than the mean were assigned 1 point, and quantities greater than the mean were assigned 3 points.

In order that the scoring take into account the various natures of the ethnic articles, scores were weighted according to the characteristics of the articles (see Table 4). For example, an article considered difficult to transport because of its bulk or fragility was scored higher than one that could easily be carried home from a trip to Europe in purse or pocket. Similarly, an article not in customary use in America was scored higher than one in common use.

Table 4. Weighting of Scores for Ethnic Articles.

Special Characteristics of Articles	Jewelry	Costumes	Sweaters	Other clothing	Tapestries, etc.	Cushion covers	Table linens	Eiderdowns	Rose painting	Silver tableware	Pewter	Dishes
Difficult to ship or carry: bulky, breakable, or large		1						1				1
Expensive		1						1		1		1
Non-useful		1			1				1			
Not customary in America		1						1	1			
Difficult to obtain	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Total weight	1	5	1	1	2	1	1	4	3	2	1	3



Some ethnic articles are never used or displayed, but simply stored away. Since it was felt that such ownership without use or display indicates a lack of identification with or appreciation for the articles, a maximum of 3 points was added to each category for frequency of use. In addition, 1 point was added for each article listed as being used for special occasions, and 1 point for articles displayed in the home. The latter point was thought necessary to give sufficient weight to articles which filled an important and obvious part in the traditions of the home, but which because of their natures could only be displayed rather than being used. Table 5 shows the complete scoring scheme.

As noted previously, the information on how articles were obtained was not scored for inclusion in the statistical analysis.

#### Selection of Statistical Tests

Simple correlation from a step-wise regression program was used to determine if there was sufficient correlation between the scores for ethnic practices and attitudes to allow summing these scores for a total ethnicity score.

Simple correlation was also applied to data relating to Hypotheses I, II, V, VI, VIII and IX.

Hypotheses III, IV, and VII were analyzed by means of the Behrens-Fisher test for equality of means with unequal variances.

Table 5. Complete Scoring Scheme for Ownership of Ethnic Articles.

Articles	Mean	Wt.	Scores Possible							
			No. Owned			Frequency of Use			Spec. Occas. Use	Dis- play
			< Mean	Mean	> Mean	Occas- ional	Often	All the time		
Jewelry	3-4	1	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	1
Costumes	1	5	5	10	15	1	2	3	1	1
Sweaters	2	1	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	1
Other clothing	2	1	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	1
Tapestries	3	2	2	4	6	1	2	3	1	1
Cushion covers	2	1	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	1
Table linens	5	1	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	1
Eiderdowns	2	4	4	8	12	1	2	3	1	1
Rose-painting	4	3	3	6	9	1	2	3	1	1
Silver tableware	12-18	2	2	4	6	1	2	3	1	1
Pewter	3	1	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	1
Dishes	17-24	3	3	6	9	1	2	3	1	1

## CHAPTER IV

### FINDINGS

#### Description of Respondents

##### Distribution of Respondents by Residence and Club Membership

The sample consisted of 63 respondents, 62 of whom were residents of western states, and one of whom lived in the Mid-West. Two respondents lived in a community or part of a city in which most people were of Norwegian descent and 23 respondents had immediate neighbors of Norwegian descent.

Forty-four respondents were members of an ethnic club, mainly Sons of Norway, and 19 were non-members.

##### Distribution of Respondents by Age

At the time the questionnaires were completed none of the respondents was under 21 years of age; six were between 21 and 35; 16 were between 51 and 65; and 13 were over 65 (see Table 6).

Table 6. Distribution of Respondents by Age.

Age	Number of Respondents
Under 21	0
21-35	6
36-50	16
51-65	28
Over 65	<u>13</u>
Total	63

Distribution of Respondents by Occupation

The distribution of respondents by occupation is shown in Table 7.

Table 7. Distribution of Respondents by Occupation.

Occupations	Number of Respondents
Housewives	34
Teachers	8
Librarians	2
Nurses and practical nurses	2
Secretarial, sales, and bookkeeping occupations	12
Managerial occupations	2
Food service occupations	<u>3</u>
Total	63

### Distribution of Respondents and Husbands by Education

It was found that there were more wives than husbands in the top three educational levels. Fifty of the wives and 45 of the husbands had completed at least high school graduation (see Table 8).

Table 8. Distribution of Respondents and Husbands by Education.

Educational Level Completed	Number	
	Respondents	Husbands
(1) Professional or graduate school	7	9
(2) College or post-high school training (1-4 years)	24	19
(3) High school graduation (12 years school)	19	17
(4) 1 to 3 years high school (9 to 12 years school)	4	9
(5) Grammar school (finished 8th grade)	8	8
(6) 4 to 7 years school	0	1
(7) 0 to 3 years school	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>
Total	62*	63

\*One respondent did not state her level of education.

### Distribution of Respondents by Main Source of Family Income

Respondents were grouped in the three middle categories for main source of family income (see Table 9).

Table 9. Distribution of Respondents by Main Source of Family Income.

Source of Income	Number of Respondents
(1) Inherited	0
(2) Savings, investment, interest	0
(3) Profits, fees (private business, farming, etc.)	22
(4) Salary (regular income on a monthly or yearly basis)	27
(5) Wages (determined by an hourly rate)	14
(6) Private relief	0
(7) Public relief	<u>0</u>
Total	63

### Distribution of Respondents by Variables Under Study

#### Descent

The respondents were married women of Norwegian descent, and of non-Norwegian descent whose husbands were of Norwegian descent. Twenty respondents were endogamous; 25 were exogamous; and 18 were non-ethnic (see Table 10).

#### Generation

The procedure used for classifying respondents by generation resulted in eight first-generation respondents, 22 second-generation

Table 10. Distribution of Respondents by Descent and Means of Weighted Scores for Educational Level. \*

Respondents	Number	Educational Level: Mean of Weighted Score
Endogamous (respondent and husband ethnic)	20	9.600
Exogamous (respondent only ethnic)	25	6.960
Non-ethnic (husband only ethnic)	18	9.667
Total sample	63	8.571

\*High score indicates low educational level; low score indicates high educational level. Possible score range: 3-21.

Table 11. Distribution of Ethnic Respondents by Generation and Means of Weighted Scores for Educational Level. \*

Ethnic Respondents	Number	Educational Level: Mean of Weighted Score
First-generation	8	7.875
Second-generation	22	7.909
Third-generation	11	9.273
Fourth-generation (assumed)	4	6.750
Total ethnic respondents	45	8.202

\*High score indicates low educational level; low score indicates high educational level. Possible score range: 3-21.

respondents, and 11 third-generation respondents. Four respondents of Norwegian descent who did not indicate that either their parents or grandparents were of Norwegian descent were assumed to be fourth-generation (see Table 11).

### Educational Level

Calculation of mean scores for educational level by sample sub-groups placed the fourth-generation and exogamous groups in the highest level (lowest scores), followed by the first-, second-, and third-generation groups. Scores for the endogamous and non-ethnic groups, in which all the husbands were ethnic, placed these groups in the lowest level (see Tables 10 and 11).

### Social Class Level

Social class levels were assigned on the basis of weighted total scores for three status characteristics: occupation, education, and main source of family income. Although the respondents were women, status characteristics used were those of their husbands. The results of this procedure were that all respondents and their husbands were grouped in the three middle categories: upper-middle class, lower middle-class, and upper-lower class (see Table 12).



Table 12. Distribution of Respondents by Social Class Level for Weighted Totals of Three Status Characteristics.

Weighted Totals of Three Status Characteristics	Social Class Level*	Number of Respondents
12-17	Upper Class	0
18-30	Upper-Middle Class	14
31-49	Lower-Middle Class	31
50-68	Upper-Lower Class	18
69-84	Lower-Lower Class	0

\*Revised for Scandinavians (Warner, 1957, p. 194).

In the light of writings descriptive of Norwegians in America (Bjørk, 1958; Haugen, 1967), which have noted the lack of extremes of social class level, the distribution seems reasonable. However, there may have been room for error, with the social class placement scheme being based on only three status characteristics. Warner (1957) states that this procedure is permissible although most of his study was based on the use of at least four status characteristics.

Calculation of mean scores for social class levels by sample sub-groups placed the endogamous group in the highest level (lowest score), followed by the first- and second-generation, non-ethnic, endogamous, and third-generation groups (see Table 13).

Table 13. Social Class Level: Means Distributed by Generation, Endogamous, Exogamous, and Non-ethnic Status.

Sample Sub-groups and Total Sample	Number of Respondents*	Mean
Sub-groups		
First-generation	8	37.375
Second-generation	22	37.909
Third-generation	11	46.363
Endogamous	20	43.650
Exogamous	25	37.200
Non-ethnic	18	42.944
Total sample	63	40.888

\*Figures not vertically additive due to overlapping sub-group classifications.

### Travel to Norway

The question on travel to Norway yielded 15 affirmative replies from a possible 63. In the sample sub-groups, the first generation had the highest percentage of affirmative replies. The exogamous group was second, followed closely by the endogamous and second-generation groups. The third generation and non-ethnics had the lowest percentages of affirmative replies (see Table 14).

Table 14. Travel to Norway: Responses Distributed by Generation, Endogamous, Exogamous, and Non-ethnic Status.

Sample Sub-groups and Total Sample	Number of Respondents*	Responses*			
		Affirmative		Negative	
		No.	%	No.	%
Sub-groups					
First-generation	8	7	87.5	1	12.5
Second-generation	22	6	27.3	16	72.7
Third-generation	11	1	9.1	10	90.9
Endogamous	20	6	30.0	14	70.0
Exogamous	25	8	32.0	17	68.0
Non-ethnic	18	1	5.6	17	94.4
Total Sample	63	15	23.8	48	76.2

\*Figures not vertically additive due to overlapping sub-group classifications.

#### Communication with Relatives

The question on communication with relatives yielded 24 affirmative replies out of the possible 63. In the sample sub-groups, the first generation had the highest percentage of affirmative replies; the endogamous group was second, followed by the second-generation, exogamous, and third-generation groups. As could be expected, non-ethnics had the lowest percentage of affirmative replies (see Table 15).

Table 15. Communication with Relatives: Responses Distributed by Generation, Endogamous, Exogamous, and Non-ethnic Status.

Sample Sub-groups and Total Sample	Number of Respondents*	Responses*			
		Affirmative		Negative	
		No.	%	No.	%
Sub-groups					
First-generation	8	7	87.5	1	12.5
Second-generation	22	9	40.9	13	59.1
Third-generation	11	3	27.3	8	72.7
Endogamous	20	12	60.0	8	40.0
Exogamous	25	8	32.0	17	68.0
Non-ethnic	18	4	22.2	14	77.8
Total sample	63	24	38.0	39	62.0

\*Figures not vertically additive due to overlapping sub-group classifications.

### Ethnic Practices

The scores for ethnic practices were based on responses to questions on ten practices including choice of ethnic friends, church associations, and social organizations; ownership of ethnic periodicals, books, and music; observance of the national holiday, ethnic food customs, and ethnic holiday customs (Christmas and weddings); and use of possible ethnic symbols. The possible range of scores for each practice was from 0 to 5 points. The means were calculated for each practice. A low mean for a given practice indicates infrequent

or non-observance of the practice on the part of most respondents. The higher the mean, the more commonly observed the practice (see Table 16).

On comparing generations it was found that all of the ethnic practices except church association received their highest means in the first generation. The highest mean for church association was scored by the third generation. The sums of the means indicated the most ethnic responses overall to be in the first generation, with a decline in the second generation and a very slight increase in the third generation (see Table 16).

When the sample was separated by endogamy and exogamy, it was found that endogamous respondents scored the highest for most practices, excepting membership in an ethnic social organization, subscription to periodicals, and awareness of symbols. In the case of exogamous respondents, awareness of symbols was greater. Non-ethnics had relatively high scores for ownership of ethnic music. It is possible that this was a result of the activities of the male chorus of the Sons of Norway lodge, some of whose members no doubt have non-ethnic wives. Overall, endogamous respondents scored highest on ethnic practices, followed by exogamous respondents. Non-ethnics scored lowest, as could be expected.

Comparison of all groups within the total sample revealed the first generation as having the highest sum of means, followed by

Table 16. Means of Scores for Ethnic Practices, Distributed by Generation, Endogamous, Exogamous and Non-ethnic Status.

Sample Sub-groups and Total Sample	Number of Respondents*	Friends	Church Association	Social Organizations	Periodicals	Books	Music	17th of May	Food	Holiday Customs	Symbols	Sums of Means
<u>Sample Sub-groups</u>												
First-generation	8	3,125	2,750	2,125	2,000	3,500	2,625	3,125	4,000	1,625	1,250	27,750
Second-generation	22	2,727	3,000	1,773	0,000	1,500	1,590	1,864	2,636	0,727	0,499	17,409
Third-generation	11	2,727	3,545	1,909	0,000	1,363	1,091	2,727	2,818	1,273	0,727	18,909
Endogamous	20	4,000	4,300	2,500	0,350	1,950	2,000	3,000	3,300	1,100	0,550	24,400
Exogamous	25	1,600	2,160	1,320	0,360	1,840	1,440	1,840	2,640	1,000	0,840	15,960
Non-Ethnic	18	1,944	1,722	2,833	0,222	1,500	1,500	1,722	2,277	0,222	0,444	15,388
Total Sample	63	2,460	2,714	2,127	0,317	1,778	1,635	2,175	2,746	0,810	0,635	18,476

\*Figures not vertically additive due to overlapping sub-group classifications.

endogamous respondents. Ethnic practices which scored highest were serving of ethnic food, church association, and having close friends who are ethnic. Ethnic periodicals, symbols, and holiday customs scored lowest.

Items mentioned as possible ethnic symbols (other than national costume) were patterned sweaters, ski wear and equipment, jewelry, and Sons of Norway membership pins. The most frequently mentioned item was jewelry, particularly the silver filigree variety, which originated as peasant jewelry worn with the folk costume. The second most often indicated article was knit wear, especially sweaters.

### Ethnic Attitudes

The scores for ethnic attitudes were based on responses to one question on each of ten attitudes. These included attitudes toward working with, living near, and associating with fellow-ethnics; restricting the wearing of the folk costume to ethnics; marriage of children to ethnics; learning the language; preserving the heritage; visiting the mother country; and living in the mother country. The possible range of scores for each attitude was from 1 to 4 points. The mean score was calculated for each attitude. A low mean for a given attitude indicates that most respondents answered less ethnically. The higher the mean, the greater the acceptance of the more ethnic response and the easier it was for respondents to agree with

the more ethnic response.

The attitude which received the most ethnic response in each category of respondents including the non-ethnics, was the item on preserving the ethnic heritage (see Table 17). This suggests a contradiction, in terms of sentiment at least, of the widely-held belief that total assimilation is the goal of most Americans.

Attitude toward restricting the wearing of ethnic costume to ethnics and to marriage of their children to fellow ethnics received the least ethnic responses from all categories of respondents (see Table 17).

Among ethnic respondents there was greater variability in attitude toward restricting the wearing of costume to ethnics than to any other attitude question. More persons indicated strong negative and strong positive responses (see Table 18).

The figures indicate a decline in ethnic attitude toward costume in the second generation, followed by an increase in the third generation. A similar trend was noted in the means for attitudes toward living near ethnics, marriage of their children to ethnics, desirability of learning the language, and of preserving the ethnic heritage.

Means for attitudes toward visiting Norway and choosing it as an alternate homeland were higher in the second generation than in the third, and in the case of visiting Norway, higher even than in the first generation.



Table 17. Means of Scores for Ethnic Attitudes, Distributed by Generation, Endogamous, Exogamous, and Non-ethnic Status.

Sample Sub-groups and Total Sample	Number of Respondents*	Working with Ethnics	Living near Ethnics	Associating with Ethnics	Restricting Wearing of Ethnic Costume	Marriage of Children to Ethnics	Learning the Language	Preserving the Heritage	Visiting Norway	Living in Norway	Sums of Means
<u>Sample Sub-groups</u>											
First-generation	8	2.750	2.875	2.875	2.625	2.625	3.625	3.750	3.250	3.500	27.875
Second-generation	22	3.091	3.000	3.000	1.955	2.591	3.181	3.681	3.546	3.318	27.363
Third-generation	11	3.091	3.091	3.000	2.364	2.636	3.454	3.727	3.182	3.182	27.727
Endogamous	20	3.000	2.950	3.000	2.050	2.550	3.300	3.750	3.300	3.450	27.350
Exogamous	25	3.240	3.040	2.960	2.280	2.720	3.320	3.640	3.400	3.200	27.640
Non-Ethnic	18	2.833	2.944	3.000	2.167	2.388	3.111	3.722	2.833	2.722	25.833
Total Sample	63	3.016	2.984	2.984	2.175	2.571	3.254	3.698	3.206	3.143	27.031

\*Figures not vertically additive due to overlapping sub-group classifications.

Table 18. Attitude Toward Restricting the Wearing of National Costumes to Ethnics, Distributed by Generation.

Generation	No. of Respondents	Pos. Response		Neg. Response	
		% Strong	% Weak	% Weak	% Strong
First	8	25.00	37.50	12.50	25.00
Second	22	18.18	18.18	4.54	59.10
Third	11	27.27	18.18	18.18	36.36

Attitude toward working with, living near, and associating with ethnics received their lowest responses from the first generation, perhaps reflecting the desire of many present-day immigrants to avoid a too deep involvement with the ethnic group, fearing it may inhibit the process of becoming established in the new country.

Overall, the sums of the means of the attitude questions indicated an almost steady level of ethnic attitudes through the first, second, and third generations. There was, however a slight drop in the second generation, followed by a slight increase in the third.

As stated previously, the item on attitude toward Norwegian descent was not included in the statistical analysis as it was not applicable to all respondents. However, when the results were later tabulated for the first, second, and third generations (N=41), the least ethnic response was found in the first generation, and the most ethnic response in the third. The means for the first, second, and third

generations were 3.500, 3.682, and 3.727 respectively.

### Distribution of Respondents by Ownership of Ethnic Articles

#### Owners of Ethnic Articles

In the total sample, 82.5% of the respondents owned some ethnic articles (see Table 19). In the first generation, 100% owned some ethnic articles. The second highest percentage of owners was in the exogamous group, which was followed closely by the endogamous group. The third generation and non-ethnics had the lowest percentage of ethnic article owners (see Table 19).

Table 19. Owners of Ethnic Articles, Distributed by Generation, Endogamous, Exogamous, and Non-ethnic Status.

Sample Sub-groups and Total Sample	Number of Respondents*	Ethnic Article Owners	
		No.	%
Sample Sub-groups			
First-generation	8	8	100.0
Second-generation	22	18	81.8
Third-generation	11	8	72.7
Endogamous	20	17	85.0
Exogamous	25	22	88.0
Non-ethnic	18	13	72.2
Total sample	63	52	82.5

\*Figures not vertically additive due to overlapping sub-group classifications.

When the percentages of owners in each sub-group and in the total sample were considered in relation to each category of article owned, it was found that the first generation had the highest mean (see Table 20). The average percentage of owners for each category of article was 66.7. Jewelry and sweaters were the most commonly owned articles, being listed by 100% of first-generation respondents. Cushion covers and eiderdowns were the least commonly owned, being listed by 25% of first-generation respondents.

The endogamous group had the second highest mean and was only slightly higher than the exogamous group in mean percentage of owners for each category of article (see Table 20). Jewelry and silver tableware were the most commonly owned articles for both groups. Cushion covers, eiderdowns, and clothing other than costumes and sweaters were the least commonly owned in the endogamous group; "other clothing" and eiderdowns were the least commonly owned in the exogamous group.

The second and third generations followed the endogamous and exogamous groups in mean percentages of owners for each type of article (see Table 20). As with the exogamous and endogamous groups, jewelry and silver tableware were the most commonly owned articles. In the second-generation group there was one category of article with no owners (other clothing); in the third generation there were no owners of other clothing, cushion covers, eiderdowns, and

Table 20. Percentage of Ethnic Article Owners, Distributed by Generation, Endogamous, Exogamous, and Non-ethnic Status, on Twelve Categories of Articles.

Article	Generation			Marital Status			Total Sample (N=63) %
	1 (N=8) %	2 (N=22) %	3 (N=11) %	Endogamous (N=20) %	Exogamous (N=25) %	Non-ethnic (N=18) %	
Jewelry	100.0	77.3	54.5	75.0	72.0	38.9	63.5
Costumes	75.0	27.3	19.1	40.0	32.0	33.3	34.9
Sweaters	100.0	18.2	19.1	50.0	32.0	16.7	33.3
Other clothing	50.0	-	-	5.0	8.0	5.6	6.4
Tapestries	75.0	31.8	27.3	25.0	48.0	11.1	31.2
Cushion covers	25.0	13.6	-	5.0	16.0	5.6	9.5
Table linens	87.5	50.0	36.4	55.0	44.0	11.1	38.1
Eiderdowns	25.0	4.5	-	5.0	8.0	-	4.8
Rose-painting	75.0	27.3	-	35.0	32.0	11.1	27.0
Silver tableware	62.5	63.6	45.5	60.0	52.0	27.8	47.6
Pewter	75.0	22.7	9.1	20.0	36.0	-	17.5
Dishes	50.0	50.0	36.4	55.0	32.0	22.2	36.5
MEAN	66.7	32.2	20.6	35.8	34.3	15.3	29.2

rose-painting.

The non-ethnic group had the lowest mean percentage of owners for each category of article (see Table 20). Jewelry was the most commonly owned article, and costumes second most commonly owned. The latter finding was no doubt due to the activities of the Sons of Norway lodge, costumes, including the male chorus jackets being used for special occasions. There were no owners of eiderdowns or pewter in the non-ethnic group.

In the total sample, there were more owners of jewelry than of any other article. Silver tableware had the second most owners, and eiderdowns the fewest owners.

#### Articles Used for Special Occasions

A number of articles were listed by respondents as being used for special occasions. Most frequently mentioned were costumes, followed by dishes, jewelry, silver tableware and table cloths (see Table 21).

One respondent, an elderly second-generation American of Swedish and Norwegian descent wrote:

We always wear our söljas [sic] and earrings to our Sons of Norway meetings, special programs, and 17th of May. We have had centennials [sic] and pioneer programs--and then I wear my pins and earrings--and display the table-cloths--as well as my Swedish pin and earrings. I have no costume (still wishing for one).

Table 21. Articles Used for Special Occasions.

Article	No. of Respondents Listing Each Item
Costume	10
Dishes	9
Jewelry	6
Silver tableware	6
Table cloths	4
Sweaters	1
Tableware	1
Runners	1
Wall hangings	1
Salad bowls	1
Baskets	1
Spinning wheels and wool cards	1
Waffle irons	1
Trunks	1

A second-generation American of Norwegian descent wrote:

I have a hand woven blanket that my great-great-great grandmother wove from yarn (she spun on a spinning wheel) from their own sheep. I am the sixth generation to use it but I haven't used it for a long time (since depression days). It must be 150 years old and I keep it in my cedar chest.

A third-generation American wrote, "The dishes I have are those of my grandmother so I use them at holiday time...as they are so beautiful."

### Articles Displayed in the Home

A wide variety of articles was listed as being displayed in the homes of respondents (see Table 22).

Table 22. Articles Displayed in the Home.

Article	No. of times mentioned
Rose-painted articles (bowls, boxes, trays, cups and saucers, bread boards)	12
Tapestries, wall hangings	11
Dishes	9
Table cloths and runners	7
Pewter (e. g. pitcher, candle sticks)	6
Pictures	4
Wooden plates	3
Vases	3
Wood carvings	2
Cushions	2
Silver	2
Spoons	2
Candy dishes	1

Items mentioned only once included: a spinning wheel, basket, trunk, rya rug, citizenship papers, an iron, a picture frame, candle holders, a flag, Viking ship, cups and saucers, a toy tea set, decorative wall plate, copper tea kettle, clock, butter press, salad bowls, a



silver tray, wooden key holder, plates, and decorative shoes.

### Methods of Obtaining Articles

Most of the articles owned were received as gifts, purchase being the second most common method and inheritance third. Self-made items were the least common, and referred almost entirely to folk costumes (see Table 23).

Table 23. Methods of Obtaining Ethnic Articles.

Method	No. of times Indicated
Gift	141
Inheritance	42
Purchase	51
Self-made	22

As stated previously it was originally hoped that a relationship could be discovered between the method of obtaining the articles and their value to their owners. This idea was abandoned for the purpose of scoring as too few persons had obtained articles by all four methods. A tabulation of results received, however incomplete, indicated that of the respondents who had obtained articles by more than one method, articles received by gift and inheritance were valued most highly. In cases where inheritance was one of the methods listed, articles

received by inheritance were the most valued by 12 of 19 persons. Five persons placed articles obtained as gifts first; one placed purchased articles first; and one, self-made articles.

### Weighted Scores for Ownership of Ethnic Articles

As stated earlier (p. 47-50), scores were assigned to ethnic articles owned according to the nature of the item and the quantity owned. These scores were weighted according to the article's frequency of use, display in the home, and use for special occasions. Analysis of the data was conducted on the basis of these weighted scores.

The highest mean weighted score for ownership of ethnic articles was found in the first generation. A steady decline followed in the second and third generations (see Table 24).

When the sample was considered according to endogamous, exogamous, and non-ethnic respondents, endogamous respondents had the highest mean, followed closely by exogamous respondents.

The lowest means were obtained by the third generation and non-ethnics, the latter obtaining the lowest mean.

It was of interest to note that the rank orders of sample subgroups were identical in both the means of weighted scores table and the percentage of ethnic article owners (see Tables 24 and 20). This suggests that the scoring method developed had little influence in

giving additional weight to certain articles. Perhaps the percentage of ethnic article owners figures would have been adequate for use in analysis of the data.

Table 24. Means of Weighted Scores for Ownership of Ethnic Articles.

Sample Sub-groups and Total Sample	Number of Respondents*	Mean	Standard Deviation
Sample Sub-groups			
First-generation	8	56.625	30.565
Second-generation	22	20.909	19.008
Third-generation	11	11.727	10.631
Endogamous	20	25.050	22.132
Exogamous	25	24.760	26.377
Non-ethnic	18	9.888	11.796
Total sample	63	20.603	22.456

\*Figures not vertically additive due to overlapping sub-group classifications.

### Analysis of Data

#### Relation Between Ethnic Practices and Ethnic Attitudes

It was hoped that on testing the data, a significant relation would be found between the scores for ethnic practices and attitudes, making possible their combination in a total ethnicity score. This result, however, did not occur. The coefficient of correlation

(.2097;  $df = 62$ ;  $p > .05$ ) did not indicate relation at the predetermined level of significance. Hence, the two scores were used separately in testing for relation with ethnic article ownership, as provided for in Hypotheses I and II.

#### Relations Between Ownership of Ethnic Articles and Variables Under Study

Ethnic Practices. (see Table 25). Scores for ethnic practices were obtained from respondents' replies to questions on ten practices. The possible range of scores was from 0 to 50 points. Scores for ethnic articles were assigned according to the number of articles owned, the frequency of their use, their use for special occasions, and their display in the home.

Within the sample sub-groups the highest mean score for ethnic practices was found in the first generation. There was a sharp drop in the score for the second generation, followed by a slight rise in the third.

A comparison of the endogamous, exogamous, and non-ethnic sub-groups showed the endogamous group to have scored highest for practices. The exogamous and non-ethnic sub-groups scored lower, and at almost the same level.

The mean scores for ownership of ethnic articles were highest in the first generation and showed a steady decline in the second and

Table 25. Ethnic Article Ownership and Ethnic Practices.

Sample sub-groups and Total sample	Number of Respondents <sup>a</sup>	Ethnic Article Ownership		Ethnic Practices		Degrees of Freedom	Coefficient of Correlation
		Mean Score	Standard Deviation	Mean Score	Standard Deviation		
<u>Sample sub-groups</u>							
First-generation	8	56.625	30.565	27.750	8.892	7	.4363
Second-generation	22	20.909	19.008	17.409	7.968	21	.5642**
Third-generation	11	11.727	10.631	18.909	12.012	10	.6309*
Endogamous	20	25.050	22.132	24.400	7.479	19	.4539*
Exogamous	25	24.760	26.377	15.960	10.056	24	.7246**
Non-Ethnic	18	9.888	11.796	15.388	8.132	17	.5977**
Total Sample	63	20.603	22.456	18.476	9.542	62	.5928**

<sup>a</sup> Figures not vertically additive due to overlapping sub-group classifications.

\*p < .05

\*\*p < .01

third generations. Scores for the endogamous and exogamous groups were almost identical, and were considerably higher than for the non-ethnics.

When the test for relation was applied to the total sample it was found that there was a significant relation between ethnic article ownership and ethnic practices. (Coefficient of correlation = .5928;  $df = 62$ ;  $p < .01$ ).

Ethnic Attitudes (see Table 26). Scores for ethnic attitudes were obtained from respondents' replies to one question on each of ten attitudes. The possible range of scores for each attitude was from 1 to 4 points, with a possible total score range of from 10 to 40.

The scores for ethnic attitudes remained fairly constant compared to scores for practices and article ownership. The first generation scored highest, and the non-ethnics lowest. Considering the generation groups only, there was a slight decline in score in the second generation, followed by a slight rise in the third generation.

The exogamous group scored higher than did the endogamous group, both scoring above the mean for the total sample.

The mean scores for ownership of ethnic articles were highest in the first generation and showed a steady decline through the second and third generations. Scores for the endogamous and exogamous groups were almost identical, and were considerably higher than for the non-ethnics.

Table 26. Ethnic Article Ownership and Ethnic Attitudes.

Sample Sub-groups and Total Sample	Number of Respondents <sup>a</sup>	Ethnic Article Ownership		Ethnic Attitudes		Degrees of Freedom	Coefficient of Correlation
		Mean Score	Standard Deviation	Mean Score	Standard Deviation		
<u>Sample Sub-groups</u>							
First-generation	8	56.625	30.565	27.875	2.900	7	.4167
Second-generation	22	20.909	19.008	27.364	2.631	21	-.1636
Third-generation	11	11.727	10.631	27.727	2.687	10	-.2164
Endogamous	20	25.050	22.132	27.350	2.346	19	.1598
Exogamous	25	24.760	26.377	27.640	2.464	24	-.1869
Non-Ethnic	18	9.888	11.796	25.833	2.684	17	.1461
Total Sample	63	20.603	22.456	27.032	2.571	62	.1479

<sup>a</sup> Figures not vertically additive due to overlapping sub-group classifications.

When the test for relation was applied to the total sample it was found that there was no significant relation between ethnic article ownership and ethnic attitudes as measured in this study. (Coefficient of correlation = .1479;  $df = 62$ ;  $p > .05$ ).

Generation. Respondents were classified according to generation in the following manner: Classification as first generation was made if the respondent indicated birth in Norway. If she was not Norwegian-born but indicated that either or both of her parents were, she was classified as second generation. If neither she nor either of her parents were Norwegian-born but any or all of her grandparents were, she was classified as third generation.

The means of weighted scores for ownership of ethnic articles were 56.625 for the first generation and 20.909 for the second generation (see Table 24). The standard deviations were 30.565 and 19.008 respectively. When the test for relation was applied, it was found that there was significantly greater ownership of ethnic articles in the first generation (Behrens-Fisher test;  $t' = 3.10$ ;  $df = V = 9$ ;  $p < .05$ ).

The means of weighted scores for ownership of ethnic articles were 20.909 for the second generation and 11.727 for the third generation (see Table 24). The standard deviations were 19.008 and 10.631 respectively. Observation of the means showed that there was no relation in the predicted direction. Ownership of ethnic articles was not greater in the third generation than in the second.



Travel to the Mother Country (see Table 27). Respondents were classified as having traveled to the mother country by an affirmative reply to this item on the questionnaire.

Within the sample sub-groups the highest mean score was found in the first generation; the lowest in the non-ethnic group.

A comparison of generations showed a steady decline in means through the second and third generations.

The endogamous and exogamous groups' scores were almost identical, the exogamous scores being slightly higher.

When the test for relation was applied to the total sample it was found that there was a significant relation in the predicted direction between ethnic article ownership and travel to the mother country. (Coefficient of correlation = .6155;  $df = 62$ ;  $p < .01$ ). Ethnic article ownership was significantly greater for persons who had visited the mother country than for persons who had not visited it.

Communication with Relatives (see Table 28). Respondents were classified as having communication with relatives in the mother country by an affirmative reply to this item on the questionnaire.

Within the sample sub-groups the highest mean score was found in the first generation and the second highest in the endogamous group. The lowest mean was in the non-ethnic group.

A comparison of the generations showed a steady decline in means through the second and third generations.

Table 27. Ethnic Article Ownership and Travel to the Mother Country.

Sample Sub-groups and Total Sample	Number of Respondents <sup>a</sup>	Ethnic Article Ownership		Travel to Mother Country		Degrees of Freedom	Coefficient of Correlation
		Mean Score	Standard Deviation	Mean Score	Standard Deviation		
<u>Sample Sub-groups</u>							
First-generation	8	56.625	30.565	.875	.354	7	.1503
Second-generation	22	20.909	19.008	.273	.456	21	.5360**
Third-generation	11	11.727	10.631	.091	.302	10	.4140
Endogamous	20	25.050	22.132	.300	.470	19	.6307**
Exogamous	25	24.760	26.377	.320	.476	24	.5305**
Non-Ethnic	18	9.888	11.796	.056	.236	17	.7216**
Total Sample	63	20.603	22.456	.238	.429	62	.6155**

<sup>a</sup> Figures not vertically additive due to overlapping sub-group classifications.

\* p < .05

\*\*p < .01

Table 28. Ethnic Article Ownership and Communication with Relatives.

Sample Sub-groups and Total Sample	Number of Respondents <sup>a</sup>	Ethnic Article Ownership		Communication with Relatives		Degrees of Freedom	Coefficient of Correlation
		Mean Score	Standard Deviation	Mean Score	Standard Deviation		
<u>Sample Sub-groups</u>							
First-generation	8	56.625	30.565	.875	.354	7	-.4147
Second-generation	22	20.909	19.008	.409	.503	21	.4520*
Third-generation	11	11.727	10.631	.273	.467	10	.7615**
Endogamous	20	25.050	22.132	.600	.503	19	.5554**
Exogamous	25	24.760	26.377	.320	.476	24	.4310
Non-Ethnic	18	9.888	11.796	.222	.428	17	-.0647
Total Sample	63	20.603	22.456	.381	.490	62	.4189**

<sup>a</sup> Figures not vertically additive due to overlapping sub-group classifications.

\*p < .05

\*\*p < .01

The endogamous group mean was almost double that of the exogamous group.

When the test for relation was applied to the total sample, it was found that there was a significant relation in the predicted direction between ethnic article ownership and communication with relatives in the mother country. (Coefficient of correlation = .4189;  $df = 62$ ;  $p < .01$ ). Ethnic article ownership was significantly greater for persons in communication with relatives in the mother country than for persons not in communication.

Endogamy and Exogamy. Respondents were classified as endogamous by indicating that they were married to persons of Norwegian descent. They were classified as exogamous by indicating marriage to persons of non-Norwegian descent.

The means of weighted scores for ownership of ethnic articles were 25.050 for endogamous respondents and 24.760 for exogamous respondents (see Table 24). The standard deviations were 22.132 and 26.377 respectively. When the test for relation was applied, it was found that there was no relation in the predicted direction. (Behrens-Fisher test;  $t' = .0593$ ;  $df = V = 42.99$ ; not significant). Ownership of ethnic articles was not significantly greater for endogamous respondents than among exogamous respondents.

Educational Level (see Table 29). Respondents were classified by educational level according to their placement on an adaptation of

Table 29. Ethnic Article Ownership and Educational Level.

Sample Sub-groups and Total Sample	Number of Respondents <sup>a</sup>	Ethnic Article Ownership		Educational Level		Degrees of Freedom	Coefficient of Correlation
		Mean Score	Standard Deviation	Mean Score	Standard Deviation		
<u>Sample Sub-groups</u>							
First-generation	8	56.625	30.565	7.875	5.540	7	-.2761
Second-generation	22	20.909	19.008	7.909	3.279	21	.1266
Third-generation	11	11.727	10.631	9.273	3.663	10	-.2598
Endogamous	20	25.050	22.132	9.600	4.198	19	.2222
Exogamous	25	24.760	26.377	6.960	3.089	24	-.4097*
Non-Ethnic	18	9.888	11.796	9.667	3.925	17	.1426
Total Sample	63	20.603	22.456	8.571	3.880	62	-.1080

<sup>a</sup> Figures not vertically additive due to overlapping sub-group classifications.

\*p < .05

Warner's (1957) seven point scale, the highest score indicating lowest educational level and the lowest score indicating the highest educational level. Under this system, a negative correlation would indicate a negative relation between low educational level and high ethnic article ownership, and a positive relation between high educational level and high ethnic article ownership.

The exogamous group had the lowest mean score, denoting highest educational level. The non-ethnic, endogamous, and third-generation groups had the lowest educational levels.

When the test for relation was applied, no significant relation was found between ethnic article ownership and educational level. (Coefficient of correlation =  $-.1080$ ;  $df = 62$ ; not significant). Ethnic article ownership was not negatively related to high educational level.

Social Class Level (see Table 30). Respondents were scored for social class level by summing the weighted scores of three status characteristics: occupation, education, and main source of family income. Under the system used, high scores indicate low social class levels, and low scores indicate high social class levels. A negative correlation would reflect a negative relation between low social class level and high ethnic article ownership, and a positive relation between high social class level and high ethnic article ownership.

The third generation had the highest mean score for social class level, denoting lowest social class level. Exogamous respondents had

Table 30. Ethnic Article Ownership and Social Class Level.

Sample Sub-groups and Total Sample	Number of Respondents <sup>a</sup>	Ethnic Article Ownership		Social Class Level		Degrees of Freedom	Coefficient of Correlation
		Mean Score	Standard Deviation	Mean Score	Standard Deviation		
<u>Sample Sub-groups</u>							
First-generation	8	56.625	30.565	37.375	9.606	7	-.0427
Second-generation	22	20.909	19.008	37.909	11.148	21	.1572
Third-generation	11	11.727	10.631	46.363	11.543	10	-.2223
Endogamous	20	25.050	22.132	43.650	12.136	19	.0725
Exogamous	25	24.760	26.377	37.200	10.000	24	-.2175
Non-Ethnic	18	9.888	11.796	42.944	12.973	17	.0084
Total Sample	63	20.603	22.456	40.888	11.798	62	-.0925

<sup>a</sup> Figures not vertically additive due to overlapping sub-group classifications.

the lowest mean score, denoting highest social class level.

When the test for relation was applied, no significant relation was found between ethnic article ownership and social class level. (Coefficient of correlation =  $-.0925$ ;  $df = 62$ ; not significant). Ethnic article ownership was not negatively related to high social class level.



## CHAPTER V

## CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION

The conclusions presented deal with hypotheses drawn in the early stages of the study. These hypotheses dealt with predicted relations between ownership of ethnic articles and ethnicity as expressed by ethnic practices and attitudes, and between ownership of ethnic articles and generation in America (first as compared to second and second as compared to third), travel to the mother country, marital status (endogamy as compared to exogamy), educational level, and social class level. Significant relations were found to obtain in the cases of ethnicity as expressed by ethnic practices; generation in America (first as compared to second); travel to the mother country; and communication with relatives (see Table 31).

Table 31. Summary of Relations between Ethnic Article Ownership and Variables Under Study.

Variable	Simple correlation coefficient	Behrens-Fisher t' value
Ethnicity as expressed by ethnic practices	.5928**	-
Ethnicity as expressed by ethnic attitudes	.1479	-
Generation: first/second	-	3.10*
Generation: second/third	-	1.779
Travel to the mother country	.6155**	-
Communication with relatives	.4189**	-
Endogamy/exogamy	-	.0593
Educational level	-.1080	-
Social class level	-.0925	-

\*p < .05

\*\*p < .01

Hypotheses, Conclusions, and Discussion Directed  
to Each of the Hypotheses

Hypothesis I

Ownership of ethnic articles will be related to degree of ethnicity as expressed by ethnic practices.

The null hypothesis is rejected. (Coefficient of correlation = .5928;  $df = 62$ ;  $p < .01$ ). The alternative hypothesis is supported.

Conclusions re Hypothesis I. This hypothesis predicted a relation between ownership of ethnic articles and ethnicity as expressed by ethnic practices. The test for simple correlation was applied and the predicted relation was found to obtain at the predetermined level of significance. The hypothesis is supported.

Discussion re Hypothesis I. Although the material side of ethnic cultures in America has been largely ignored in ethnic studies, investigation of this facet should prove useful as the objects of which any material culture consists are recognized as important props in the expressive equipment of an individual or group (Ruesch and Kees, 1956; Goffman, 1959). Such props aid in conveying clues to others regarding the individual's social identity or reference group, thus facilitating appropriate social interaction. It follows then, that persons desiring to express and maintain ties with a particular group will choose objects such as clothing, household textiles, and various other

decorative and useful items to provide the appropriate clues. In terms of the hypothesis, persons who already express ethnicity, or ethnic group consciousness through practices common to the heritage, should also, then, be in possession of the material objects which aid in this expression. As predicted in this study, a significant relation was found between such ethnic article ownership and ethnicity as expressed by ethnic practices.

### Hypothesis II

Ownership of ethnic articles will be related to degree of ethnicity as expressed by ethnic attitudes.

The null hypothesis is not rejected. (Coefficient of correlation = .1479;  $df = 62$ ; not significant).

Conclusions re Hypothesis II. This hypothesis predicted a relation between ownership of ethnic articles and ethnicity as expressed by ethnic attitudes. The test for simple correlation was applied and no relation was found to obtain at the predetermined level of significance. Thus, the hypothesis is not supported.

Discussion re Hypothesis II. As reported earlier, it was expected that the correlation between ethnic practices and ethnic attitudes would be found strong enough to permit combining the two scores for a total ethnicity score. This result, however, did not obtain. No significant relation was found between ethnic practices and attitudes as

measured in this study. Furthermore, the testing of Hypothesis II did not show a significant relation between ethnic attitudes and ownership of ethnic articles. Two possible explanations for this result are:

1. Questionnaire items designed to measure attitudes were not adequate for the purpose.

2. Ethnic attitudes do in fact remain relatively constant (see Table 17) while ethnic practices and ownership of articles decline markedly after the first generation (see Tables 16 and 24). This relative constancy of attitudes points to a maintenance, on the level of sentiment if not of material expression, of the ethnic group as a positive reference group. Where attitudes are concerned, the host society and ethnic group could well be mutually sustaining reference groups. This could allow the thoroughly outwardly-assimilated person to state, "I am American" in one breath, and, "I am Norwegian" in the next, with no conflict. As Fishman (1966, p. 31) states:

...third and subsequent generations frequently continue to think of themselves partially in ethnic terms and frequently maintain positive attitudes and interests with respect to the heritage of their grandparents....

### Hypothesis III

The first generation will show greater ownership of ethnic articles than will the second generation.

The null hypothesis is rejected. (Behrens-Fisher test;  $t' = 3.10$ ;  $df = V = 9$ ;  $.02 \leq p < .01$ ). The directional alternative hypothesis is supported.

Conclusions re Hypothesis III. This hypothesis predicted greater ownership of ethnic articles in the first generation than in the second. The Behrens-Fisher test was applied and the predicted relation was found to obtain at the predetermined level of significance. Hence, the hypothesis is supported.

Discussion re Hypothesis III. If, as found in the test for Hypothesis I, ethnic article ownership is related to ethnicity as expressed by ethnic practices, the results for Hypothesis III partially concur with Hansen's (1938) theory concerning the second generation. Hansen predicted a complete rejection of anything ethnic in the second generation, whereas the results of this study show only a decline in ownership of artifacts (as well as a decline in ethnic practices).

In terms of reference group theory this decline after the first generation points to the displacement of the ethnic group in favor of the host society as the positive reference group. Stronger evidence for this displacement was found in the cases of practices and ownership of artifacts than in the case of attitudes, attitudes appearing to remain relatively constant, as reported under the discussion of Hypothesis II.

#### Hypothesis IV

The third generation will show greater ownership of ethnic articles than will the second generation.

The null hypothesis cannot be rejected in favor of the alternative directional hypothesis. Moreover, the direction of the relation was contrary to that predicted. (Behrens-Fisher test;  $t' = 1.779$ ;  $df = V = 30.45$ ).

Conclusions re Hypothesis IV. This hypothesis predicted greater ownership of ethnic articles in the third generation than in the second. Contrary to prediction, second-generation respondents scored higher on ownership of ethnic articles than did third-generation respondents. Application of the Behrens-Fisher test revealed the direction of the relation to be contrary to that predicted. No relation was found to obtain at the predetermined level of significance in the predicted direction. Hence, the hypothesis is not supported.

Discussion re Hypothesis IV. Hansen's (1938) theory of third-generation interest predicts a return to some form of ethnicity in the third generation. By contrast, Nahirny and Fishman (1965) consider the second generation to be more involved with ethnicity than the third. The differences found in magnitude of ethnic article ownership in the second and third generations in this study do not support Hansen's theory or the hypothesis under discussion. Rather, they suggest a

tendency toward support of Nahirny and Fishman's view that the second generation is more involved with ethnicity than is the third generation. As was the case with the differences in ethnic article ownership between the first and second generations, the results point to continued displacement of the ethnic group as the positive reference group, although in the present case the relation was not significant.

The possibility must not be overlooked that the procedure used to determine second- and third-generation status may be open to question, and that a re-evaluation of the method could result in a significant difference in the findings.

#### Hypothesis V

Persons who have traveled to the mother country will own more ethnic articles than will persons who have not visited it.

The null hypothesis is rejected. (Coefficient of correlation = .6155;  $df = 62$ ;  $p < .01$ ). The directional alternative hypothesis is supported.

Conclusions re Hypothesis V. This hypothesis predicted that persons who have traveled to the mother country will own more ethnic articles than will persons who have not visited it. The test for simple correlation was applied and the predicted relation was found to obtain at the predetermined level of significance. Hence, the hypothesis is supported.

Discussion re Hypothesis V. Although no literature cited discussed the effect of travel to the mother country on ethnicity, the researcher considered this to be an important consideration; one which could have considerable influence on the future of ethnic America.

In the days of mass migration it was rare that immigrants or their descendants were able to visit the mother country. Today, however, with improved possibilities for and ease of travel, such a journey is the goal of many. The strong relation ( $p < .01$ ) found between travel to the mother country and ownership of ethnic articles suggests that the cause of ethnicity is well served by such travel, and that as a result the ethnic group still serves as a positive reference group for some, perhaps occasionally to the exclusion of the host society, but more probably, in the researcher's opinion, in a mutually sustaining situation with the host society, each reference group coming to the fore as occasion dictates.

#### Hypothesis VI

Persons who have relatives in the mother country with whom they communicate will own more ethnic articles than will persons without such relatives.

The null hypothesis is rejected. (Coefficient of correlation = .4189;  $df = 62$ ;  $p < .01$ ). The directional alternative hypothesis



is supported.

Conclusions re Hypothesis VI. This hypothesis predicted that persons who have relatives in the mother country with whom they communicate will own more ethnic articles than will persons without such relatives. The test for simple correlation was applied and the predicted relation was found to obtain at the predetermined level of significance. Hence, the hypothesis is <sup>supported.</sup> ~~confirmed.~~

Discussion re Hypothesis VI. The same generalizations can be applied to the relation of communication with relatives and ownership of ethnic articles (and thus ethnicity) as to the relation of travel to the mother country and ownership of ethnic articles. No literature was found which discussed the influence of communication with relatives, but it was thought by the researcher to be an important factor with today's improved communications systems and freedom from military conflict in Europe.

The strong relation ( $p < .01$ ) found between communication with relatives and ownership of ethnic articles suggests the influence of personal contacts, especially family ties, in maintaining ethnicity and the ethnic group as a positive reference group. Here again, as with the influence of travel, the two reference groups (the ethnic group and the host society) are possibly mutually sustaining.

### Hypothesis VII

Ownership of ethnic articles will be greater among persons who are endogamous than among those who are exogamous.

The null hypothesis cannot be rejected in favor of the alternative directional hypothesis. (Behrens-Fisher test;  $t' = .0593$ ;  $df = V = 42.99$ ; not significant).

Conclusions re Hypothesis VII. This hypothesis predicted higher ownership of ethnic articles among endogamous persons than among exogamous persons. The Behrens-Fisher test was applied. No relation was found to obtain at the predetermined level of significance. Hence the hypothesis is not supported.

Discussion re Hypothesis VII. Handlin (1961) and Shibutani and Kwan (1965) described persons of mixed antecedents as likely to be strongly oriented away from the ethnic group. It was thought by this investigator that such a rejection might also be the case, to a degree at least, with respondents in this study who have married outside their ethnic group, and that this rejection, or negative reference group effect would be reflected in fewer ethnic articles owned than would be the case in endogamous unions. This difference did not occur. The lack of significant difference in ethnic article ownership found between the two groups suggests the importance of the woman as the transmitter of culture and tradition to her family regardless of whether that culture is shared by her husband. This effect can also be clearly seen in the

non-ethnic wives' lower scores for ethnic practices and ethnic article ownership (see Tables 16 and 24). The fact that the husband is a member of the ethnic group does not seem to have as strong an effect on the ethnic content of the family culture as when the wife is a member of the ethnic group.

### Hypothesis VIII

Ownership of ethnic articles will be negatively related to high educational level of husband.

The null hypothesis cannot be rejected in favor of the directional alternative hypothesis. (Coefficient of correlation =  $-.1080^*$ ;  $df = 62$ ; not significant).

Conclusions re Hypothesis VIII. This hypothesis predicted a negative relation between ownership of ethnic articles and high educational level of husband. The test for simple correlation was applied. No relation was found to obtain at the predetermined level of significance in the predicted direction. Hence, the hypothesis is not supported.

Discussion re Hypothesis VIII. Education is often considered to be a strong anti-ethnic influence, as can be seen in the comments of Severeid (1947), Gordon (1964), and Cinel (1969). If this be the

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\*See page 86 for explanation of negative coefficient of correlation.

case, it could be expected that expressions of identification with the ethnic group as a positive reference group would diminish with increasing education. Using ownership of ethnic articles as a gauge of ethnicity, this relation was not found to obtain. Possible explanations of this result are:

1. Inaccuracies in the interpretation by the researcher of educational levels as stated on respondents' questionnaires.

2. Scoring education by the husbands' rather than the wives' stated educational levels, according to Warner, Meeker, and Eells (1957). It was found that the husbands' educational attainments did not exactly parallel the wives' (see Table 8), and that the wives' ethnic backgrounds had a stronger influence on ownership of ethnic articles than did the husbands' backgrounds. Therefore, it might have proven worthwhile to investigate the possible relation of wives' rather than husbands' educational levels and ownership of ethnic articles.

3. The advantage of a more adequate money supply which can accompany high educational levels. It may be possible that for some ethnic groups further investigation could reveal a significant positive relation between ethnic article ownership and high educational levels.

4. The possibility that it can no longer be taken for granted that persons of a particular ethnic background desire to escape from it. It may be, then, that persons of high educational levels are able, by virtue of the degree of security provided by education, to indulge their

desire for identification with a positive reference group such as the ethnic group, and to collect its material symbols.

### Hypothesis IX

Ownership of ethnic articles will be negatively related to high social class.

The null hypothesis cannot be rejected in favor of the directional alternative hypothesis. (Coefficient of correlation =  $-.0925^*$ ;  $df = 62$ ; not significant).

Conclusions re Hypothesis IX. This hypothesis predicted a negative relation between ownership of ethnic articles and high social class. The test for simple correlation was applied. No relation was found to obtain at the predetermined level of significance in the predicted direction. Hence, the hypothesis is not supported.

Discussion re Hypothesis IX. The same expectations were held for the relation of ethnic article ownership with high social class as with high educational level. Social class, like education, is one of those factors which it is thought may increase as ethnicity, particularly that of a cultural minority group, decreases. Using ownership of ethnic articles as a reflection of ethnicity, this negative relation, as in the case of education, was not evident. Possible explanations of

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\*See page 86 for explanation of negative coefficient of correlation.

this result are:

1. Inaccuracies in the interpretation by the researcher of factors making up the social class placement scheme.
2. Inadequate information obtained for a reliable social class placement scheme, the scheme being based on only three status characteristics - occupation, education, and source of income.
3. As in the case of Hypothesis VIII, the possibility that persons of a particular ethnic background may no longer wish to escape from it. It may be that the increase in social class level as the individual and his descendants become established may contribute to the freedom and security to indulge in ethnic pursuits. Nagata (1969) suggested this effect in connection with achievement of economic security, one of the factors contributing to social class level. Two sets of cultural norms may coexist, asserting themselves alternately in the appropriate context. In reference group theory, this suggests that the ethnic group and the larger society could coexist as mutually sustaining positive reference groups.

### General Discussion

Since the relations studied have already been discussed under the appropriate hypotheses, this discussion will be confined to possible interpretations of the findings as a whole.

It must be pointed out that the measures used in the study were

of an untested nature, and that therefore work to establish their reliability and validity should be done to substantiate the findings of this and future studies.

As most of the writings on ethnicity have traditionally predicted its demise, it comes as a shock to many that ethnicity seems alive and well today, indeed even experiencing a revival, if the current attention being paid it in the media can be relied upon as a barometer.

In the present study, with ethnic articles as the gauge of ethnicity, it appears to the researcher that there are several forces at work. One is the gradual displacement of the ethnic group by the larger society as the positive reference group as the number of generations in America increases. The other is the strengthening of ethnicity as a result of improved communication and travel opportunities. These opportunities may also be adding to the life-span of ethnic fraternal organizations, which may attract new members by offering reduced fares on charter flights to the homeland. For those taking advantage of these and other opportunities to indulge their interest in and identification with the ethnic group, the ethnic group and the host society may serve as mutually sustaining reference groups, alternately asserting themselves as opportunity, mood, or occasion dictates.

Another development which may or may not have a lasting influence is that for some ethnic groups at least, it is no longer considered

so un-American to be ethnic. At the present time, the philosophy of the young is to "do your own thing," often ethnically. The expressive spheres of fashion, foods, and furnishings are favorite vehicles. Of course, it is not known if this will result in a greater consciousness and appreciation of one's own group only, or in a wider appreciation of a variety of groups. Judging by opinions expressed in this study by non-ethnic respondents in regard to preservation of ethnic heritage, it may be that the preservation of all heritages is becoming an American value.

The fact that attitudes as measured in this study were not significantly related to practices or to ethnic article ownership as expected, presents an interesting problem. Did the finding result from inadequacy of the measure, or peculiarity of the sample; or does it support Fishman's (1966) observation that ethnic attitudes and practices are not necessarily related? Further investigation is needed to ascertain whether the finding would be substantiated in the study of a different group.

Another unexpected finding was the lack of negative relation between ethnic article ownership and both high educational level and high social class. Further study with the same or another group to investigate whether there is indeed a significant relation, either positive or negative, could be of value.

In summary, taking into account the possible inadequacies of



the measures developed, the possible peculiarities of the sample studied, and the limited sample size, it appears that ownership and use of ethnic clothing, textiles, and household objects show some relation to expression of ethnicity. Unexpected findings such as the lack of significant relation between ethnic article ownership and ethnic attitudes, educational level, and social class level suggest the need for further study, as well as the possibility that neither ethnicity nor ownership and use of the material artifacts is the simplistic, all-or-none affair each is often considered to be.

## CHAPTER VI

## RECOMMENDATIONS

Uses of the Present Study

The study of the material artifacts of ethnic cultures in America other than those of the native Indians is an almost untouched field. Those interested in the study of such artifacts and their significance as expressions of the culture may find this study of value as a basis for further research.

Those involved in education may find the study helpful in understanding students of various backgrounds, and may thereby be enabled to encourage them to appreciate and express their ethnic heritages.

Those interested in their own ethnic heritage may find the literature cited, hypotheses posed, and conclusions drawn, aids to understanding their own ethnicity.

Recommendations for Improvement of the Present Study

In addition to work on establishing the reliability and validity of the measures developed, the value of the findings would be enhanced by collection of additional data (such as house type and dwelling area) to improve the reliability of the social class placement scheme; a careful re-evaluation of the method used to determine second- and

third-generation status; collection of data to determine the generation in America of the husband as well as of the wife; consideration of additional variables such as the possible relations to ethnic article ownership and ethnicity of age of respondents, having ethnically mixed antecedents, and being childless; inclusion of larger sub-groups within the sample, especially in the first generation; and inclusion of questionnaire items designed to elicit respondents' subjective feelings about the articles owned.

#### Recommendations for Further Study

Further study could include, in addition to the improvements suggested for this study, inclusion of unmarried respondents in the sample. It is possible that with the greater mobility and opportunity for pursuit of personal interests single status affords, single women might score significantly higher on ownership of ethnic articles, as could married women who are childless. The researcher has observed instances of both such cases.

Relations which obtained in the study might be altered or reinforced by a similar study on the same ethnic group in a different geographical area, either rural or urban. Comparison might be made between results obtained in areas of Norwegian-American ethnic dispersal such as Oregon, and results obtained in areas of ethnic concentration such as Brooklyn, Seattle, or cities in Minnesota,

Wisconsin, and the Dakotas.

Since until recently American immigrants and their descendants have been encouraged and expected to shed their ethnic heritages, it could prove interesting to carry out a similar study in a country such as Canada, where total assimilation has not been the averred goal.

Americans of north European stock are generally considered to have already assimilated to the point of ethnic invisibility in comparison with Americans of other ethnic stock. A study with a group which by virtue of race, religion, or some other facet of ethnicity has remained more visible and culturally intact could add considerably to the findings here presented.

Finally, an investigation into the exact nature of the ethnic articles themselves could contribute valuable information. The field of costume seems to be particularly rich, both from an artistic and historic point of view. If it is true that ethnic groups and ethnicity are slowly disappearing, this information should be gathered before it is too late. If they continue to thrive, such information could help all Americans to appreciate and understand each other.

## CHAPTER VII

## SUMMARY

Origin and Statement of the Problem

At the present time a great deal of interest is being manifested in things ethnic. Ethnic folk fashions are the rage of the young, ethnic foods the delight of the gourmet, and ethnic studies the concern of sociologists. Such studies had been long abandoned, ethnic groups and their cultures having been doomed to the melting pot by the prophets of assimilation.

The present writer has observed that very little attention has been paid to the material artifacts connected with ethnic cultures in America, except for the suggestion that they are permanently discarded as soon as possible. With the revival of interest in ethnicity, it was thought that a study of a particular ethnic group and its material artifacts, specifically clothing, textiles, and certain household objects would be of value.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of the study was to investigate possible relations between Norwegian-American ethnicity and ownership of ethnic articles, specifically clothing, textiles, and certain household objects;

and to discover some of the conditions under which such articles are owned.

Two hypotheses were drawn predicting relation between ethnic article ownership and ethnicity as expressed by:

1. ethnic practices, and
2. ethnic attitudes

Five hypotheses were drawn predicting higher ethnic article ownership by:

1. the first generation over the second generation.
2. the third generation over the second generation.
3. persons who have traveled to the mother country over persons who have not visited it;
4. persons who have relatives in the mother country with whom they communicate over persons without such relatives; and
5. endogamous persons over exogamous persons.

Two hypotheses were drawn predicting negative relations between ethnic article ownership and:

1. high educational level of husband, and
2. high social class level.

### Procedure

The measures of ethnicity and ethnic article ownership were developed for the study. The measure of social class placement was

adapted from that of Warner, Meeker, and Eells (1957). These measures were incorporated into the questionnaire developed for the study and mailed to 162 married women who were of Norwegian descent or whose husbands were of Norwegian descent. This procedure resulted in a sample of 63 respondents.

#### Findings: Relations between Ownership of Ethnic Articles and Variables Under Study

All the hypotheses dealt with ethnic article ownership and one other variable. These variables and findings were:

##### Ethnicity as Expressed by Ethnic Practices

A significant relation was found between ethnic article ownership and ethnicity as expressed by ethnic practices.

##### Ethnicity as Expressed by Ethnic Attitudes

No significant relation was found between ethnic article ownership and ethnicity as expressed by ethnic attitudes.

##### Generation

It was found that as predicted there was significantly greater ethnic article ownership in the first generation than in the second.

There was not greater ownership in the third generation than in

the second. The relation was in the opposite direction to that predicted.

#### Travel to the Mother Country

A significant relation was found between ethnic article ownership and travel to the mother country.

#### Communication with Relatives

A significant relation was found between ethnic article ownership and communication with relatives in the mother country.

#### Endogamy and Exogamy

Contrary to prediction, no significantly greater ethnic article ownership was found with endogamous respondents than with exogamous respondents.

#### Educational Level

Contrary to prediction, low ethnic article ownership was not found in conjunction with high educational level of husband.

#### Social Class Level

As for education, and contrary to prediction, persons with high social class level did not score significantly lower on ethnic article



ownership than did persons with low social class level.

### Conclusions

In the analysis of the data it was found that of the nine hypotheses drawn, four were supported and five were not supported.

The four hypotheses which were supported are as follows:

1. Hypothesis I. Ownership and ethnic articles was found to be significantly related to ethnicity as expressed by ethnic practices.
2. Hypothesis III. The first generation showed significantly greater ownership of ethnic articles than did the second generation.
3. Hypothesis V. Subjects who had traveled to the mother country owned more ethnic articles than did those who had not visited it.
4. Hypothesis VI. Persons who had relatives in the mother country with whom they communicated owned more ethnic articles than did persons without such relatives.

The five hypotheses which were not supported are as follows:

1. Hypothesis II. Ownership of ethnic articles was not related to ethnicity as expressed by ethnic attitudes.
2. Hypothesis IV. The third generation did not show greater ownership of ethnic articles than did the second generation.

There was a trend toward greater ownership in the second generation.

3. Hypothesis VII. Ownership of ethnic articles was not significantly greater among endogamous persons than among exogamous persons.
4. Hypothesis VIII. Ownership of ethnic articles was not negatively related to high educational level of husband.
5. Hypothesis IX. Ownership of ethnic articles was not negatively related to high social class level.

#### Discussion and Recommendations

Results of the study indicate the need for additional study of the possible factors contributing to ethnicity and its expression, as well as a need for establishing the validity and reliability of instruments for its measurement.

Analysis of relations found to obtain suggest the usefulness of material artifact ownership as one measure of ethnicity. The use of this measure has resulted in the tentative conclusion that the ethnic group in this sample is, on the level of ethnic practices and ethnic article ownership, being supplanted as the positive reference group of individuals as generation in America increases. On the level of attitudes, or sentiment, and with the influence of modern communications systems, the ethnic group appears to be part of a mutually

sustaining reference group relationship with the larger society.

These conclusions, along with the unexpected results regarding endogamy-exogamy, educational level, and social class level suggest the complex nature of ethnicity and the need for further study.

It is suggested that further study include the consideration of additional variables, the use of a different population, and a detailed examination of the nature of the ethnic articles themselves from the historic and artistic points of view.

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## APPENDICES



EXHIBITS



Figure 1. Ensemble fashioned after male folk costume, worn by members of male chorus, "The Norsemen."



Figure 2. Silver brooch with design reminiscent of rose-painting motifs.

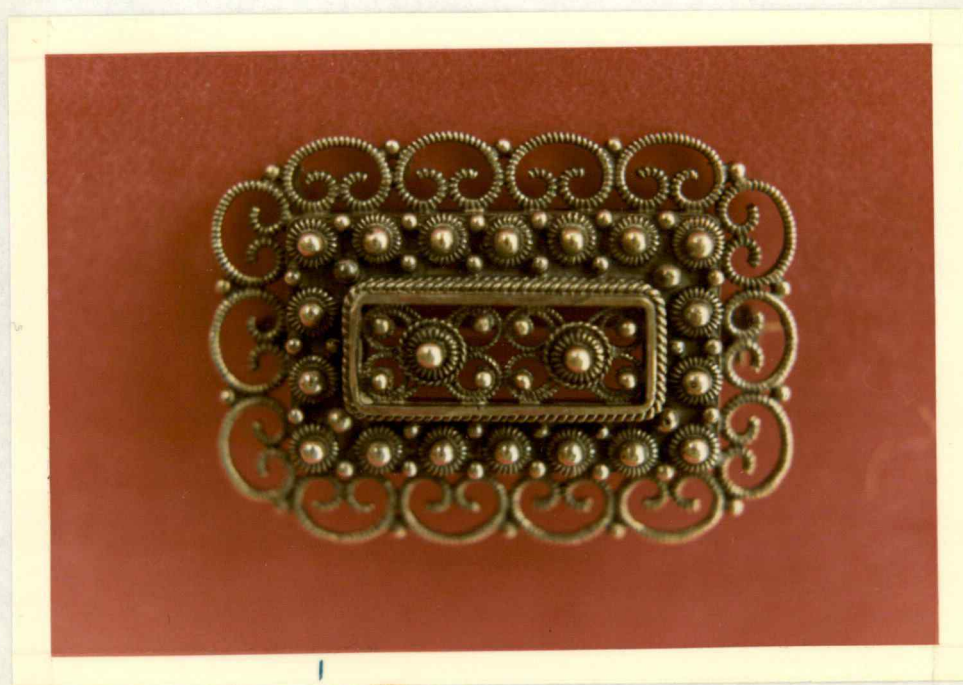


Figure 3. Silver brooch with design reminiscent of Viking motifs.





Figure 4. Sølje (silver-gilt brooch worn with folk costumes).



Figure 5. Folk costume from the Hardanger district of Norway. The costume shown consists of a white blouse and apron with Hardanger embroidery, a sølje, a black skirt, a red bodice with beaded plastron, and a beaded belt.





Figure 6. Hand-knit patterned sweater with pewter buttons.



Figure 7. Snow or after-ski boots in brown fur with felt trim, fashioned after the Lapp designs of Northern Norway.





Figure 8. Hand-woven wall hanging or runner of the aakle type.



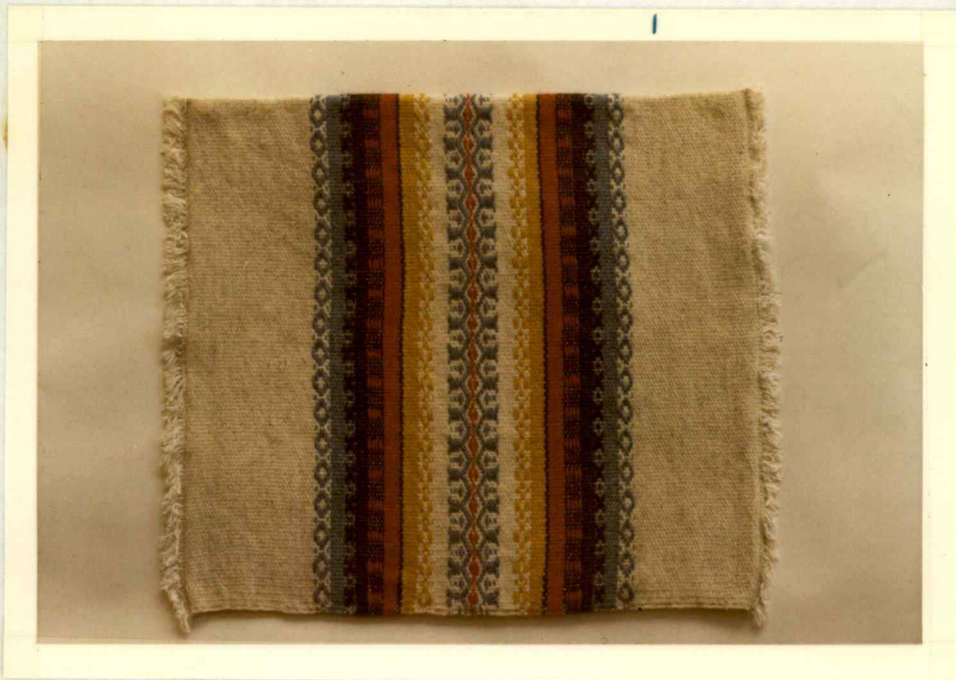


Figure 9. Hand-woven cushion cover.

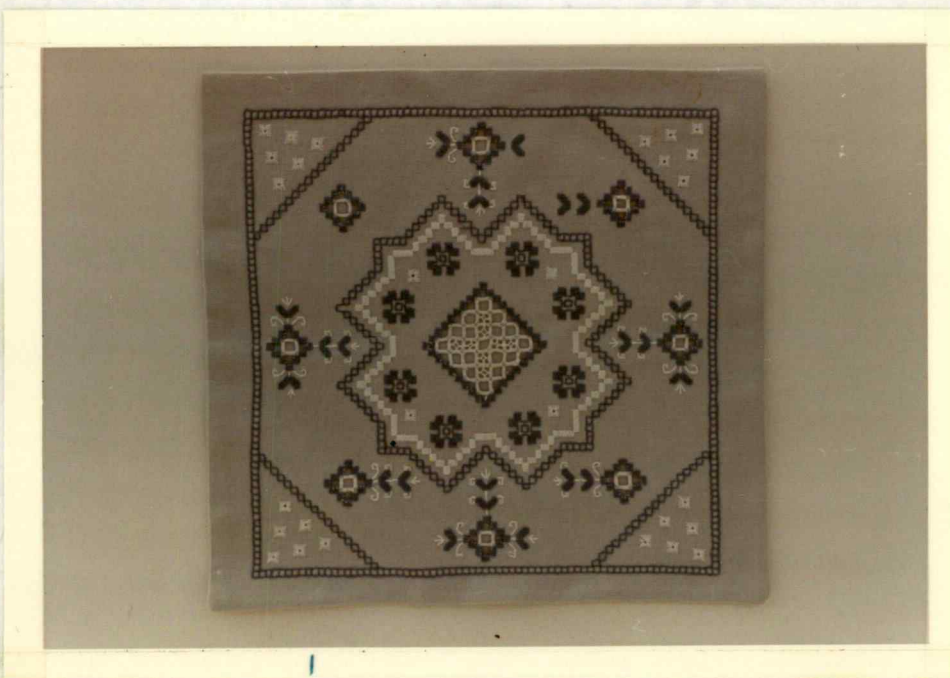


Figure 10. Hardanger-embroidered cushion cover.

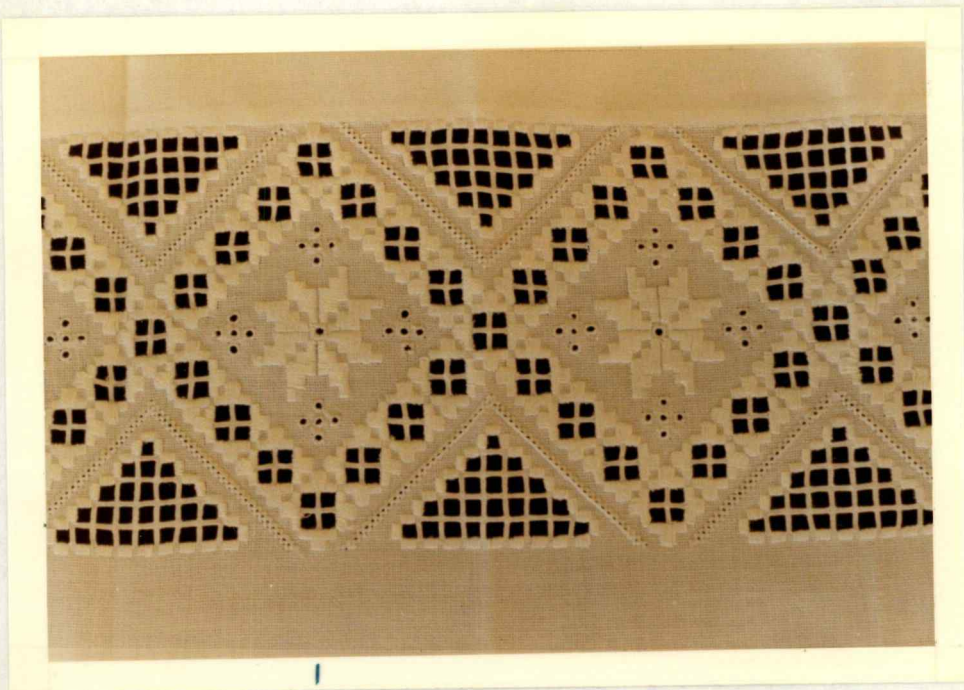


Figure 11. Hardanger embroidery, used on table linens, cushion covers, and costume blouses and aprons.





Figure 12. Rose-painted wooden bowl.



Figure 13. Rose-painted fireplace bellows.

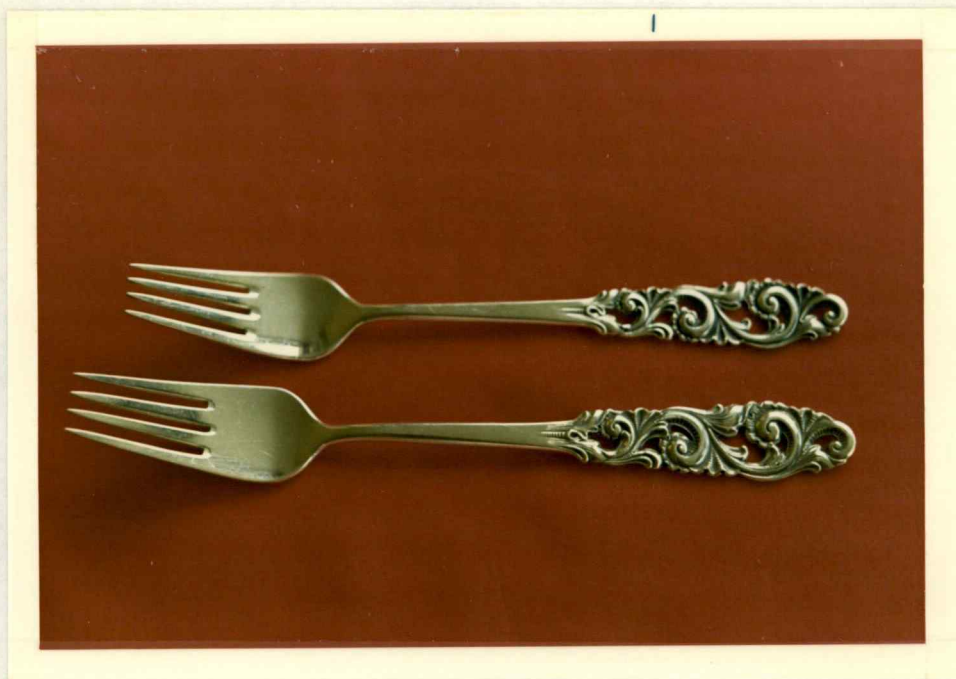


Figure 14. Silver forks with handle design reminiscent of rose-painting motifs.

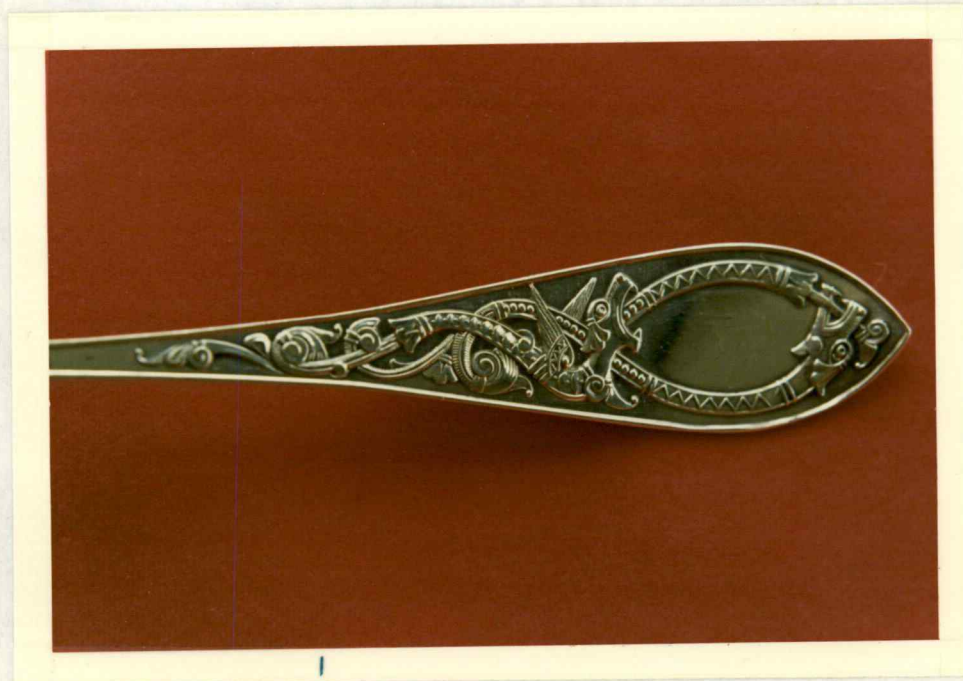


Figure 15. Handle of silver ladle with traditional Viking dragon's head motif.





Figure 16. Decorative object of pewter, fashioned after the traditional Viking ship design.



Figure 17. Contemporary flameware plate.



Figure 18. Souvenir plate from the city of Bergen.

APPENDIX I  
COVER LETTER FOR FIRST MAILING

June 5, 1970

Dear

The enclosed questionnaire is part of a study on the culture of persons of Norwegian descent living in North America. I am doing this study as part of the requirements for completion of a Master of Science degree in Clothing and Textiles at Oregon State University.

The information requested is of several types: information on items of Norwegian clothing, textiles, and certain household objects which you might own and use; information on customs and opinions, and certain general personal information necessary for interpretation of the data.

Your assistance in contributing to the study would be greatly appreciated. All information received will be confidential.

For any questions which require written answers, please feel free to answer in Norwegian if you prefer.

It would be appreciated if you could complete and return the questionnaire by June 20th. A self-addressed, stamped envelope has been provided.

Thank you very much for your cooperation.

Very sincerely,

Mary Ann Jacobsen

Ruth E. Gates, Advisor



APPENDIX II  
COVER LETTER FOR SECOND MAILING

July 3, 1970

Dear

The enclosed questionnaire is part of a study on the culture of persons of Norwegian descent living in North America. The study is being done as one of the requirements for completion of a Master of Science degree in Clothing and Textiles at Oregon State University.

The information requested is of several types: information on items of Norwegian clothing, textiles, and household objects you might own and use; information on customs and opinions, and certain general information necessary for interpretation of the data.

If you are of Norwegian descent or if you are a non-Norwegian whose husband is of Norwegian descent, your assistance in contributing to the study would be greatly appreciated. All information received will be confidential.

For any questions which require written answers, please feel free to answer in Norwegian if you prefer.

It would be appreciated if you could complete and return the questionnaire by July 20th. A self-addressed, stamped envelope has been provided.

Thank you very much for your cooperation.

Very sincerely,

Mary Ann Jacobsen

Ruth E. Gates, Advisor

APPENDIX III  
REMINDER MAILINGS

## Reminder Postcard for First Mailing

CTRA, OSU,  
Corvallis, Or. 97331  
June 26, 1970

Dear

Just a reminder about the questionnaire which was mailed to you earlier this month. If you have not already completed and returned it, I would be most grateful if you could do so.

I should like to emphasize that the study is not limited to women of Norwegian descent, but includes non-Norwegian women who are married to men of Norwegian descent.

Sincerely,

## Reminder Postcard for Second Mailing

School of Home Economics,  
Oregon State University  
Corvallis, Oregon 97331  
July 17, 1970

Dear

Just a reminder about the questionnaire which was mailed to you earlier this month. If you have not already completed and returned it, I would be most grateful if you could do so.

Your answers are important and I want to be sure that they are included in the final results of this study.

Thank you for your help.

APPENDIX IV  
QUESTIONNAIRE MAILED TO SAMPLE

## QUESTIONNAIRE

Please answer each of the following questions by placing a check (✓) in the appropriate space or writing a brief answer where necessary:

11. Age:

- \_\_\_\_\_ (1) Under 21  
 \_\_\_\_\_ (2) 21-35  
 \_\_\_\_\_ (3) 36-50  
 \_\_\_\_\_ (4) 51-65  
 \_\_\_\_\_ (5) Over 65

12. Occupation:

13. Husband's occupation during his working years:

14 & 15. Education:

- | <u>Self</u> | <u>Husband</u> |  |
|-------------|----------------|--|
| _____       | _____          | (1) Professional or graduate school                        |
| _____       | _____          | (2) College or post-high school training<br>(1 to 4 years) |
| _____       | _____          | (3) High school graduate (12 years school)                 |
| _____       | _____          | (4) 1 to 3 years high school (9 to 11 years<br>school)     |
| _____       | _____          | (5) Grammar school (finished 8th grade)                    |
| _____       | _____          | (6) 4 to 7 years school                                    |
| _____       | _____          | (7) 0 to 3 years school                                    |

16. Main source of family income: (If retired, please check source of income before retirement).

- \_\_\_\_\_ (1) Inherited  
 \_\_\_\_\_ (2) Savings, investment, interest  
 \_\_\_\_\_ (3) Profits, fees (private business, farming, etc.)  
 \_\_\_\_\_ (4) Salary (regular income on a monthly or yearly basis)

- \_\_\_\_\_ (5) Wages (determined by an hourly rate)
- \_\_\_\_\_ (6) Private relief
- \_\_\_\_\_ (7) Public relief

17. Is your husband of Norwegian descent?

- \_\_\_\_\_ (1) No
- \_\_\_\_\_ (2) Yes

18-25. Are you of Norwegian descent?

- \_\_\_\_\_ (1) No (If no, go on to question 28)
- \_\_\_\_\_ (2) Yes

If you are of Norwegian descent, please check each person listed below who was born in Norway:

- \_\_\_\_\_ (1) Self
- \_\_\_\_\_ (2) Father
- \_\_\_\_\_ (3) Mother
- \_\_\_\_\_ (4) Father's father
- \_\_\_\_\_ (5) Father's mother
- \_\_\_\_\_ (6) Mother's father
- \_\_\_\_\_ (7) Mother's mother

26. Age at which you left Norway (if Norwegian-born):

- \_\_\_\_\_ (1) Under 5 years old
- \_\_\_\_\_ (2) 5-10 years old
- \_\_\_\_\_ (3) 11-17 years old
- \_\_\_\_\_ (4) 18-25 years old
- \_\_\_\_\_ (5) Over 25 years old

27. Number of years since you left Norway (if Norwegian-born):

- \_\_\_\_\_ (1) Under 10 years ago
- \_\_\_\_\_ (2) 10-20 years ago
- \_\_\_\_\_ (3) Over 20 years ago

28. Do you live in a community or part of a large city in which most people are of Norwegian descent?

\_\_\_\_\_ (1) No

\_\_\_\_\_ (2) Yes

29. Are any of your immediate neighbors of Norwegian descent?

\_\_\_\_\_ (1) No

\_\_\_\_\_ (2) Yes

30. Have you ever traveled from America to Norway?

\_\_\_\_\_ (1) No

\_\_\_\_\_ (2) Yes

31. Do you or your husband have relatives in Norway with whom you keep in touch?

\_\_\_\_\_ (1) No

\_\_\_\_\_ (2) Yes

32. Are your closest friends of Norwegian descent?

\_\_\_\_\_ (1) No

\_\_\_\_\_ (2) Yes

33. Are you associated with or a member of the Lutheran Church?

\_\_\_\_\_ (1) No

\_\_\_\_\_ (2) Yes

If yes, are you active in its activities?

\_\_\_\_\_ (1) No

\_\_\_\_\_ (2) Yes

34. Do you or your husband belong to any Norwegian or Norwegian-American organizations?

\_\_\_\_\_ (1) No

\_\_\_\_\_ (2) Yes

If yes, please list these organizations:

\_\_\_\_\_ (1)  
\_\_\_\_\_ (2)  
\_\_\_\_\_ (3)



35. Does your household subscribe to any Norwegian or Norwegian-American newspapers or magazines?

\_\_\_\_\_ (1) No

\_\_\_\_\_ (2) Yes

If yes, please list these newspapers or magazines:

\_\_\_\_\_ (1)

\_\_\_\_\_ (2)

\_\_\_\_\_ (3)

\_\_\_\_\_ (4)

36. Do you have in your home any books about Norway, Norwegians, Norwegian Americans, or books written by Norwegians or Norwegian Americans?

\_\_\_\_\_ (1) None (If none, go on to question 38)

\_\_\_\_\_ (2) A few

\_\_\_\_\_ (3) Many

37. If you do own such books, how did you obtain most of them? (Check (1), (2), or (3)).

\_\_\_\_\_ (1) Inherited

\_\_\_\_\_ (2) Gifts

\_\_\_\_\_ (3) Purchases

38. Do you have in your home any recordings or sheet music of Norwegian music?

\_\_\_\_\_ (1) None (If none, go on to question 41)

\_\_\_\_\_ (2) A few

\_\_\_\_\_ (3) Many

39. If you do have any Norwegian music, how often do you play it?

\_\_\_\_\_ (1) Never

\_\_\_\_\_ (2) Occasionally

\_\_\_\_\_ (3) Often

40. How did you obtain most of this music? (Check (1) or (2)).

\_\_\_\_\_ (1) Gifts

\_\_\_\_\_ (2) Purchases

41. Do you take part in any observance of the 17th of May?

\_\_\_\_\_ (1) No

\_\_\_\_\_ (2) Yes

If yes, please describe what usually takes place:

42. What is your opinion of Norwegian food?

\_\_\_\_\_ (1) Have not tasted it

\_\_\_\_\_ (2) Do not like it

\_\_\_\_\_ (3) Am neutral to it (can take it or leave it)

\_\_\_\_\_ (4) Like some of it

\_\_\_\_\_ (5) Like it very much

43. How often do you serve Norwegian food in your home?

\_\_\_\_\_ (1) Never

\_\_\_\_\_ (2) Once a year

\_\_\_\_\_ (3) Once a month

\_\_\_\_\_ (4) Once a week

\_\_\_\_\_ (5) Nearly every day

44. Does your or your husband's Norwegian background have any influence on how you celebrate special occasions such as Christmas or weddings?

\_\_\_\_\_ (1) No

\_\_\_\_\_ (2) Yes

If yes, please describe how your celebrations differ from the usual American customs:

(1) Christmas:

## (2) Weddings:

45. Some ethnic groups have symbols which they can wear or which are associated with them, for example the Irish shamrock, the Scottish tartan, and the Canadian maple leaf. Do you think there are any items (symbols or articles of clothing) other than national costume by which a person can identify another of Norwegian descent?

\_\_\_\_\_ (1) No (If no, go on to question 48)

\_\_\_\_\_ (2) Yes

46. If yes, do you wear such articles yourself?

\_\_\_\_\_ (1) Never

\_\_\_\_\_ (2) Occasionally

\_\_\_\_\_ (3) Often

47. Please <sup>list</sup> ~~least~~ any examples of such articles you can name:

---

For each of the following sets of statements, please check the one which most closely expresses your opinion:

48. \_\_\_\_\_ (1) If I had a choice, I would prefer a job in which I could work with people of Norwegian descent.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (2) I would like to work with people of Norwegian descent, but I enjoy other kinds of people also.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (3) I would not especially enjoy working with people of Norwegian descent.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (4) I would not like to work with people of Norwegian descent.
49. \_\_\_\_\_ (1) I prefer to live near people of Norwegian descent.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (2) I like to live near people of Norwegian descent, but I enjoy living near other kinds of people also.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (3) I do not especially enjoy living near people of Norwegian descent.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (4) I do not like to live near people of Norwegian descent.

50. \_\_\_\_\_ (1) I prefer to associate with people of Norwegian descent.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (2) I like to associate with people of Norwegian descent, but enjoy other kinds of people also.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (3) I do not especially enjoy associating with people of Norwegian descent.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (4) I do not like to associate with people of Norwegian descent.
51. \_\_\_\_\_ (1) Norwegian costumes should be worn only by persons of Norwegian descent.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (2) It's acceptable to me for a non-Norwegian woman to wear a costume if she is married to a Norwegian.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (3) If any non-Norwegian woman wants to wear a Norwegian costume, I wouldn't really mind.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (4) It's quite acceptable to me for any non-Norwegian woman to wear a Norwegian costume if she wants to.
52. \_\_\_\_\_ (1) I would prefer that my children marry someone of Norwegian descent.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (2) I would be pleased if my children married someone of Norwegian descent, but it isn't really important.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (3) It makes no difference to me whether or not my children marry someone of Norwegian descent.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (4) I would not want my children to marry someone of Norwegian descent.
53. \_\_\_\_\_ (1) I am proud to be able to tell people that I am of Norwegian descent.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (2) I am happy to be of Norwegian descent, but I do not attach much importance to it.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (3) I am hesitant to tell anyone that I am of Norwegian descent.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (4) I do not want anyone to know that I am of Norwegian descent.

54. \_\_\_\_\_ (1) Norwegian Americans should learn the Norwegian language and teach it to their children.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (2) It's a good idea for Norwegian Americans to learn a little of the Norwegian language and teach it to their children, but it isn't really important.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (3) It is of little value for Norwegian Americans to learn Norwegian and teach it to their children.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (4) It is a complete waste of time for Norwegian Americans and their children to learn Norwegian.
55. \_\_\_\_\_ (1) Norwegian Americans should preserve all possible knowledge about their Norwegian background and should teach their children to appreciate it.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (2) It's a good idea to be aware of one's Norwegian background, but it isn't really important.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (3) It's not a good idea to preserve knowledge about one's Norwegian background.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (4) Norwegian Americans should forget about their Norwegian background as quickly as possible and become completely Americanized.
56. \_\_\_\_\_ (1) I would rather visit Norway than any other country.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (2) I would like to visit Norway, but am just as interested in visiting some other countries.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (3) I would like to visit Norway, but am more interested in visiting other countries.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (4) I have no desire to visit Norway.
57. If I were to live in a European country
- \_\_\_\_\_ (1) I would choose Norway.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (2) I would seriously consider Norway as well as some other countries.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (3) I would prefer a country other than Norway.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (4) I would not choose Norway.

58. In the spaces below, please write the number of Norwegian articles you own and check (✓) how often you use them:

Articles	Number	How Often Used			
		Never	Occasion- ally	Often	All the time
Jewelry					
National costumes					
Hand-knit sweaters					
Other clothing					
Hand-woven tapestries, wall hangings					
Cushion covers					
Table cloths, napkins, placemats, runners					
Eiderdowns (" <u>dyner</u> ")					
Rose-painted articles					
Silver tableware (forks, knives, spoons)					
Pewter articles					
Dishes					

59. Do you use any of your Norwegian articles mainly for special occasions?

\_\_\_\_\_ (1) No

\_\_\_\_\_ (2) Yes

If yes, which do you use for special occasions? (Please list):

60. In the spaces below, please check (✓) how you obtained most of the Norwegian articles you own in each category:

	Gifts	Inherited	Purchases	Self-made
Jewelry				
National costumes				
Hand-knit sweaters				
Other clothing				
Hand-woven tapestries, wall hangings				
Cushion covers				
Table clothes, napkins, placemats, runners				
Eiderdowns ("dyner")				
Rose-painted articles				
Silver tableware (forks, knives, spoons)				
Pewter articles				
Dishes				

61. Generally speaking, the Norwegian articles I value the most are those I obtained

\_\_\_\_\_ (1) as gifts  
 \_\_\_\_\_ (2) by inheritance  
 \_\_\_\_\_ (3) by purchase  
 \_\_\_\_\_ (4) by making them myself

(Please rate in order from 1 (most valued) to 4 (least valued)).

62. Are any of the Norwegian articles you own displayed in your home?

\_\_\_\_\_ (1) No  
 \_\_\_\_\_ (2) Yes

If yes, which do you have displayed? (Please list):

63. In order to make the results of the study as valid as possible, it is hoped that the questionnaire can be completed also by a number of married women who are not associated with Sons of Norway. If you have such relatives or friends who might be willing to complete a questionnaire, please list their names and addresses below, and indicate their relationship to you:

- (1) Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_  
Relationship to you \_\_\_\_\_
- (2) Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_  
Relationship to you \_\_\_\_\_
- (3) Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_  
Relationship to you \_\_\_\_\_
- (4) Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_  
Relationship to you \_\_\_\_\_
- (5) Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_  
Relationship to you \_\_\_\_\_