



LUND UNIVERSITY

**Lund University students, Christianity and
Lund Cathedral**

Author: Ana Carolina Donetto de Lima

Master of Applied Cultural Analysis
Department of Arts and Cultural Sciences
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Supervisor
Jessica Enevold

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"I would say that it's easy to neglect religion in Sweden; it's something cultural (...). My parents didn't use to go to the church (...). Services are on Sundays mornings, so it's not good timing for students going to the church, I guess. You have no friends that go to church. At least in my circle of friends, I don't have anyone who continued being religious. (...) Many go to the church for certain events, for tradition; but not to worship God. They do it because their parents, their grandparents did go to the church." (Erik, unreligious)

Abstract

Lund Cathedral, founded in the beginning of the 12th century, is part of the history of Sweden, being visited by people of different cultural and religious backgrounds. Although its popularity among tourists, said institution is facing difficulties to attract young Swedes to their activities, among them, Swedish students of Lund University. The inspiration for this thesis came from my internship at the cathedral, performed last year.

Needless to say, a church willing to communicate with young Swedes, as it is the case, needs to gain a better understanding on the reasons why that target group behave in the ways they do. By acquiring such knowledge, stereotypes on how Swedish students of Lund University think of Christianity and the Cathedral, for instance, can more easily be surpassed. This is a case study of aforementioned religious institution, which will focus upon how the latter is perceived by that target group.

Different qualitative methods were used in the research process, which were mainly in-depth interviews and participant observations. Briefly said, the research concluded that the majority of the university students interviewed is not inclined to attend church activities because visiting the church has not been part of their upbringing and hence, going to the church is not seen a normal part of their weekly routines. Furthermore, it was stated that the academic environment does not encourage religiousness, especially when it comes to Christianity.

Keywords: Sweden; church attendance; Swedish Church, Christianity, religiosity; university students; student life.

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1. Introduction

1.1. Background/Defining problem area

If one attends the Sunday morning services at Lund Cathedral, it becomes evident that young attendees are outnumbered by elderly people. This observation made me curious to investigate why it is so, and therefore was what made me interested in the research topic already before starting my internship there. Later on, when in contact with church representatives, I came to know about the issue the Cathedral is facing, that of attracting Swedish young adults to the church activities. I realized therefore that I should also address this aspect in my research.

This paper is based upon data gathered from my internship at the Cathedral as previously mentioned, during my 2-month fieldwork, from the middle of April 2014 to the middle of June 2014. Given the impossibility of assessing a great number of students in a limited amount of time, I opted for having Swedish students at Lund University, aged between 20 and 30 years old, both self-defined religious and unreligious, as my target group. The reason why I chose that age group is because I wanted to focus on people my age, age group of interest for the church representatives.

It is worthwhile pointing out that I conducted 25 interviews, both in English and Swedish. The ones in Swedish, mentioned throughout the paper, were my own translation. If translated, the original ones will be provided as footnotes. For ethical reasons, the informants mentioned in the paper received other names.

Some of the interviewees were not only Swedish students who identified themselves as religious, being also active members of religious groups, such as Credo. Other informants were non-Swedish young adults, members of the board of other religious groups, such as Agape in Lund and KRISS. More information of aforementioned groups will be given later on, in the chapter addressing aforementioned organizations.

The majority of the informants I got when walking around the cafés, libraries at the campus of Lund University. Firstly I would explain that I was performing a research whose data I would use for my Master Thesis. Once explained the topic, I would ask if the person in question is Swedish, the age, and if he/she would be interested in contributing to my research. If everything matched, I would ask if he/she would be able to meet up another time for an in-depth interview. I explained how long it would take as well as the topics it would touch upon. It is worthwhile mentioning that I let the person chose the time and place that would suit him/her best.

Other informants I got via social media, or better Facebook, i.e., I contacted both internationals and Swedish students from Lund University, explained them the research topic. I asked if they wanted to take part in my research and if they could contact other Swedish university students, and let me know if they could become my informants as well. In a similar way, I explained the informants I got via internet about the in-depth interviews structure and was flexible enough to fit my schedule to theirs. In the interviews, I provided the informants with something to eat and drink and asked their permission to record the interviews.

When it comes to the in-depth interviews with the representative of Agape in Lund, it happened spontaneously. I was eating at the café situated at SOL building (at Lund university campus), when Mathias asked if he could seat next to me, since there were available chairs by my table. He started talking with me, asking about my studies, where I was from and so on,

and suddenly started telling me about the religious group he is member of, Agape in Lund. That was how I realized that he could become my informant, even though he was not Swedish. In my view, he could provide me with another perspective about the relation between Swedish students at Lund University and religion/Christianity. This was so since he and his group were also interviewing students at Lund University, performing activities with and for them. As I could see later on, my findings actually matched his, i.e., the answers I got from the students I interviewed were somehow similar to what he experienced in his interactions with his target group, which encompassed also Swedish university students.

It is worthwhile mentioning and indeed of crucial importance here to clarify that I let the informants define themselves what religion means for them and how they defined themselves in relation to religious affiliation. Therefore, when I write that an informant is religious, it is not me the one classifying them as such. It is of crucial importance here to state that I asked the informants about their relation to Christianity because this religion is straightly related to Lund cathedral. It is a Christian institution and therefore, it is important for its representatives to get acquainted to how the target group relate to that specific religion.

When it comes to the informants that are representatives of the cathedral, the majority of them were indications of my supervisor in the field, who here will be named John. He told me who were the ones working with activities aimed at young adults, and even took his time to introduce me to them, taking me to their offices before the meetings and explaining them that I was performing a research of interest for the cathedral.

It turned out that the representatives of the Cathedral I interviewed were in charge not only of the activities aimed at young adults and even younger people, but also of the religious services provided to the congregation in a greater extent. These informants were important since they provided me with a better understanding of the organization, such as the roles of its

employees, the activities offered, as well as the issues they are concerned about. This way, I became acquainted with how the organization works, and not less important, to how its employees relate to young adults, their perceptions over the latter.

It is important to say that I started the thesis with a quote of an interview with a Swedish student from Lund University since it refers to some important aspects of this research. As it will be analyzed later on, the great majority of the Swedish university students interviewed pointed out that going to the church was not part of their life when they were younger. They would go to the church in few occasions, when a given tradition would require church attendance, such as during Christmas or Easter; not having religious/Christians friends, relatives or partners is also taken as a reason why one does not feel inclined to going to the church. Additionally, student life, with parties, alcohol consumption and so on, as they reported, is usually regarded as being in contradiction to religious life; and many students tend to go for the first option.

It is important to emphasize that this paper is based from the data I extracted from my fieldwork, i.e., that argument of a specific group of Swedish students at Lund University will be analyzed. Nonetheless, such specificity does not prevent more general conclusions from being provided here. As it will be seen, there are recurrences, patterns which point to shared worldviews among students in that setting.

1.2. Terminology used in the paper

Terms such as "religious affiliation", "religious ritual" and "religiosity" appear in some of the interviews with the informants. It is worthwhile mentioning that I am providing some

definitions here, which does not mean that they are the only ones acceptable. As many of the terms related to religion, also these ones are fluid, being defined in varying ways. Firstly, "religious affiliations" will be addressed, followed by explanations on "religious rituals" and "religiosity".

"Religious affiliation" can imply that an individual is indeed member of a given religious institution, or even that the individual, although not a member, identifies him/herself with that institution. "Religious rituals" refer to religious practices that follow a given pattern, being its performance (either in the form of gestures or words pronounced) meaningful to its practitioners, being a way to show their reverence to the deity worshiped (Barkan, 2011)

When it comes to the term "religiosity", it is assumed to be a quite complex term, encompassing different dimensions: "Experimental religiosity" regards the centrality (or not) of religion (i.e., the role of religion) in people's life; "ritualistic religiosity" refers to the actual practice of religion, seen for instance in the form of church attendance, if one reads the Bible or other religious sources, and so on; "ideological religiosity" concerns one's belief in (or acceptance of) religious doctrines; "intellectual religiosity" refers to one's knowledge on the history of the religion they are affiliated to. And finally, "consequential religiosity" concerns how one's daily practices are influenced by their religious beliefs (Barkan, 2011). In the present study, what will be emphasized, based in the data from the interviews, are the dimensions of "experimental" and "ritualistic religiosities".

1.3. Aim/purpose/Question

The aim of this paper is to investigate the following:

1. How Swedish students of the Lund University, relate to the three different dimensions: Religion, Christianity and Lund Cathedral. Briefly said, Religion is related to formalized beliefs, in general; Christianity is one example of religion; whereas the Cathedral can be seen as the material aspect of Christianity. Although these three dimensions are related, they can also be seen differently, i.e., an individual may perceive one dimension positively, while the other two, negatively, for instance. It is interesting to investigate if how these dimensions are perceived by the students interviewed.
2. In what ways, according to the students interviewed, Lund cathedral could better reach/attract them.

1.4. Overview of the thesis structure

When it comes to the thesis structure, the 2nd chapter will start by providing the reader with an overview of the previous case studies on the role of religion in the lives of Swedish young adults, taken as informants in those studies. In the following chapter, it will be addressed the theoretical framework that influenced me in the fieldwork and when writing this paper. In the 4th chapter, I will touch upon the methodology used, providing an analysis of their applicability and limitations for my research. In other words, the reader will get

acquainted to why they were chosen, i.e., their importance for the research, but also, some obstacles faced when performing them. Besides, attention will be given to the in-depth interviews, given their great importance for this research.

The 5th chapter will address the empirical material. As the reader will see, the latter is divided in two subchapters, with the first one focusing upon the Cathedral of Lund and the second, upon the data extracted from the interviews with the university students.

In the first subchapter, it will be given an overview of the Lutheranism and its influence in Sweden in the present time, since it is the religious orientation of Lund Cathedral. The reader will get some the internal structure of that institution, seen, for instance, in the analysis of the roles of its employees I came into contact with in the fieldwork. In the second subchapter, it will be addressed some of the religious student organizations located in the city. Furthermore, it will be analyzed some aspects that influence the students in the way they perceive religion and in how they define themselves, as religious or not. There will also be analyzes on how the students interviewed perceive Lund cathedral and provided insights on how to improve the activities aimed at young adults.

The 6th chapter will be the conclusion, providing a summary of relevant aspects discussed on the paper. There will be some reflections regarding future researches on this topic, i.e., aspects that could be further explored in a future research.

2. Previous Studies on the relation between young adults and religion.

Mia Lövheim, professor of sociology of religion at the university of Uppsala, and Caroline Gustavsson, PhD at the institution for pedagogy and didactics at the University of Stockholm are two examples of academics interested in how young adults relate to religion, in Sweden.

Mia Lövheim is interested in analyzing the role religion plays in young adults' lives. She states that academic studies usually touch upon other aspects than their relation to religion, such as their concerns, their feelings of stress and so on. She claims that usually it is the case that young adults see religion as a choice, being a minority those who opt for becoming religious. According to her studies, even unreligious people may come to attend religious activities by their own choice, appointing their practice of *confirmation*, to be mentioned later on, as an example of that. Lövheim (2012) claims therefore that young adults, even if self-defined unreligious, may have some sort of relation with Christianity, since it is associated to the Swedish culture.

In one of her articles entitled "Religious socialization in a media age", she addresses how young adults come into contact with religion, in Sweden. Lövheim (2012) points out that nowadays, religion institutions and family no longer play a great role in transmitting religious knowledge, as it might have been the case in previous generations. Rather, it is more likely that it will happen via school or media. She claims that young people by discussing with others about religion, via internet, for instance, exchange their views over religious issues and in the same time, are influenced by others'. This way, people nowadays do not passively

interiorize religion but actually interpret religion and hence create new understandings of religion. Lövheim (2012) argues therefore that there should be more studies on these new ways of relating to religion. In her view, academic studies still tend to focus on "traditional agents of socialization" (Lövheim, 2012, p.155), that is to say, the role of church and family in the transmission of religious values.

Carolina Gustavsson, in her dissertation entitled "Existentiella Konfigurationer: Om hur förståelsen av livet tar gestalt i ett social sammanhang", within the field of religious education and publicized in 2013, focuses on how young adults relate to existential questions, such as how they perceive life and death, and even faith and religion. Gustavsson (2013) compares how unreligious and religious young adults relate to aforementioned questions. She argues that the feeling of "safety" and "unsafety" are straightly connected to how young people relate to existential questions, stating that such feelings are straightly connected to how those people relate to their families or friends. She claims that this research topic addressing that age group has not been explored by Academy. Gustavsson (2013) claims that her study can provide institutions that have activities aimed at young adults with a better understanding on the latter.

In a similar way, in my research I addressed the questions of how young people relate to religion, i.e., how they define it and its importance in their lives. I also investigated how they were introduced to religion, coming to a similar conclusion than Lövheim (2012), that their families were not the ones transmitting religions values, in the majority of the cases. The question of young people's agency when it comes to choosing themselves their religion affiliation or not, and the opportunity to search for religion online also appeared in my case study.

The contribution of my case study is that by focusing upon Lund university students, I provide the reader with an understanding of how the academic environment may influence how they position themselves towards religion, and Christianity. It will be shown that "student life", the jokes one's classmate make towards Christians are partly the reasons why many may chose not to practice religion openly. On the other hand, it will also de shown an ambiguity in the behavior of the students interviewed, seen in their willingness to take part in activities held at Lund cathedral, even though they do not define themselves as Christians. This research is also useful since it provides the representatives of Lund cathedral with insights, based on the interviews with those students, on how to improve their activities aimed at that target group.

3. Theoretical Framework

Regarding the theoretical framework used for the present paper, it was mainly Michel de Certeau's "The Practice of Everyday Life" and Erving Goffman's "The Presentation of self in everyday life". Furthermore, I made use of Robert Willim's "Menuing" present in the book "Off the Edge: Experiments in Cultural Analysis". Aforementioned academics influenced me in the way I interpreted the data I gathered from my observations and interviews. In my study, Goffman and De Certeau is more applicable to the analysis on the student's behavior and statements on religious questions; whereas the concept of "menuing" is more related to the activities offered by the institution. Other topics require therefore other theories, which will be presented and discussed throughout the paper.

Erving Goffman's studies on interactionism symbolic, provides the understanding that through interpersonal interactions that occur on a daily basis, one can get to know about social values of a given society, or even more specifically, values of a parcel of the population. According to Goffman, norms of conduct whether consciously or not, say a lot about the values one attaches to. Goffman (1956) claims that "performance" is, in a sense 'socialized' (...) and modified to fit into the understanding and expectations of the society in which it is presented"(pp.22-23). This can be seen, for instance, in the way we greet one another when meeting by chance at the street, how we start a conversation, the topics we may not touch upon on a conversation with somebody we are not that close with, and so on. It can also be seen in this study case in how students interact with one another, the topics they tend to talk about, or even the topics avoided during their conversations, for instance.

When addressing the question of social interaction, Goffman makes use of vocabulary used in the theater setting, making use of terms such as “backstage” and “front stage”, “performance,” and “public”, to name a few examples. I had them in mind during the fieldwork and when analyzing the interviews. As it will be seen, the question of performance is of great importance for this case study.

As Goffman (1956) points out, we behave in accordance to how we want other people to perceive us. The fact that we all want to cause a good impression of ourselves is commonsense, but maybe not so many people resonate about it, as he does. This way, people do perform. For performance, Goffman understands as "(...) the activity of an individual which occurs during a period marked by his continuous presence before a particular set of observers and which has some influence on the observers."(Goffman, 1956, p.13) Now when they are no longer in the presence of the interlocutor, they have more room to be "themselves".

Accordingly, as Goffman points out that, at a theatrical representation, an actor performs a personage before the public, having the body language and the speech in accordance with what the personage requires; whereas, in the backstage, the actors can more freely be themselves, not having to act as the personage in question (Goffman, 1956, p.70) . Obviously, this is a metaphor, of somebody having a dual behavior, that of the personage, and his/her own as an individual. Nonetheless, it can also be understood that people can manipulate their behavior depending to whom they are talking to, and the context they are in.

The notion of "idealization" appointed by Goffman (1956, p. 23) points to the fact that people outline in their performance their positive qualities, or rather, the aspects that are socially accepted and admired; while occulting aspects that may be regarded negatively. However, an idealized performance does not entirely prevent one from acting

"inappropriately" (Goffman, 1956, p. 26). In this case study, the students interviewed talk about how, in their views, university students are expected to behave. This way, one can get an understanding on what is taken as "appropriate" and "inappropriate" practices in the academic environment.

Furthermore, Goffman classifies the individuals in two categories, either as "cynical" or "sincere", which are straightly connected to how people behave. The former implies that people can show an image of themselves that may contradict their beliefs; and concerning the latter, that people can also behave accordingly to their beliefs (Goffman, 1956, p.10). As an illustration, in this case study, a self-defined religious student may behave in a way that others will perceive him/her as an unreligious student, or even, he/she will behave in a way that others will identify him/her as a religious student.

Also interesting for this case study is the understanding that people may benefit from "communication techniques", which enable them to maintain the performance before others (Goffman, 1956, p.41). For instance, students that want to be perceived as unreligious students may argue that they would only be interested in attending the church if the activities did not touch upon religious questions. With this argument, they maintain their image as unreligious, or non-Christians.

Besides individual performances, Goffman outlines the interactional aspect that turns people into a team (Goffman, 1956, p. 64). The latter aspect, solely, does not imply that such coherent behavior will be achieved. In the light of this argument, if some of its members do not behave as expected, a good image of the team as a whole is unlikely to be achieved. This concept of "team" can be seen, in this case study, in the common image the church representatives transmitted when they talked, during the interviews, about the activities they

are in charge of. As it will be seen, they show themselves as an organization open to changes, hence adjusting their activities to the demands of their audiences.

De Certeau also addresses everyday practices in his studies, though from another perspective. He assumes that people living in the same society and therefore exposed to common social-cultural values/ practices can "use" (Certeau, 1984, p. 31) the latter in varying ways. De Certeau states that people may not necessarily reject social-cultural practices or values, but may have different understandings of when they are applicable. These various ways of relating to them is, however, not evident, as he points out (Certeau, 1984, p.32). In this case study, this "use" can be seen in how the students interviewed relate to the religious ceremonies. For instance, for the majority of them, the latter are associated to Swedish traditions and, this way, are to be attended in certain occasions. These students therefore make a different use of the ceremonies than other students that may see them as part of their religion, and hence, may attend them more regularly.

The concept of "tactics" presented by De Certeau, is relate to this notion of "use" and is therefore also applicable in this research. In his book, it is illustrated by how a city is actually "used" by it is inhabitants, with people moving throughout its streets in ways that cannot be predictable by those responsible for the city planning (De Certeau, 1984, p.35). He differentiates between "strategy" and "tactic", with the former being related to the work of city planners, whereas the tactics relates to the various ways people actually make use of the city. In other words, there are two sides here, on one hand, the city planning, and, on the other hand, how people experience the city in their everyday life. These concepts can, respectively, be related to the work of the cathedral representatives in planning the ceremonies, and so on; and how the students interviewed "use" the ceremonies, and cathedral. Here I mean the use they made out of that spatiality, the purposes they go there and what they do there.

Also interesting for this study, when addressing the church as a company, was the concept of "menu" (Willim, 2006, p.125). Willim claims that companies provide consumers with a "menu", a pre-established selection of products, or even activities. Consumers can therefore choose among the possibilities offered in the menu, although limiting, it also gives people the possibility to make combinations out of the alternatives available, more in accordance to their will. This way, in this study, it becomes clear that the cathedral has a range of activities that can be chosen upon by the audience. For instance, a young adult may attend the Sunday services and the gatherings promoted by aforementioned group KRISS, at the cathedral forum; or choose one of them, or even go for another activity provided, or not attend the church at all. There are possibilities available, therefore, but it is up to the person decides which one he/she will pick.

4. The methodology used

The methods that I used were participant observation, the so-called *jojo-fältarbetet*, to be explained later on, and the performance of in-depth interviews. The methodology literature used was the book *Etnologiskt fältarbetet*, by Lars Kaijser and Magnus Öhlander as my main source regarding methodology, since I found it very suitable for my research process; and part of literature on Anthropological studies that I used to base my analyzes on. In this chapter, I will start by addressing some aspects the practice of fieldwork in a broader extent; and in the meanwhile, I will touch upon my experiences in the field. Furthermore, I will analyze how the methodology was relevant in my own fieldwork.

4.1. Some reflections about the practice of the fieldwork

The so-called participant observation is regarded as an opportunity for researchers to get familiarized with other people's social-cultural values (Bowie, 2000, p. 5). This presupposes the performance of observations, the participation of the researcher in their activities (such as, religious rituals), although interfering as little as possible in them (Bowie, 2000, p. 5).

It is important to say that being in the field can and, in many cases, does affect the researchers themselves given their physical interactions and emotional involvement with the people under analysis. Whether in another society, or in his/her own, they may have their own values questioned and, even transformed. Furthermore, in the presence of religious practices

other than the researcher's, the latter may experience feelings, such as empathy, respect or, on the other hand, skepticism or even refutability; and how the researcher deals with these feelings vary from one person to another (Bowie, 2000, pp. 10-11). There was what I experienced myself. I feel belong-ness to the congregation when I perform them together with the congregation. I have a respect towards the ceremonies, which made me feel at times uncomfortable in being in the condition of an observer in that context. I wanted to sing the hymns, listen to the sermons, as I had always done. Nonetheless, I could no longer do that since now I had other purposes when attending those ceremonies

In the beginning, it seemed that my "religious side" would be an obstacle for me to perform a good research. . I felt that I was not being a proper religious person, since I was using those ceremonies for another purpose (for an academic one) than for worshipping God. Nonetheless, although I was conscious about my insider-ness condition, since I am a religious person myself, I did not reflect much about it in my notes, and decided, instead, to focus on other people's relation to religion.

I was affected by the field also in the sense that the way I perceived the cathedral, as a member of that congregation, changed throughout the fieldwork. Being in the field was problematic in the sense that I started experiencing one side of the church that I wasn't acquainted with: the church as a company, as previously mentioned. This was indeed the most difficult part of the research.

I performed so called "jojo-fältarbete" (Kaijser & Öhlander, 2011, p.45), going home after performing fieldwork to write/read, returning to the field whenever necessary. According to Kaijser and Öhlander (2011, p.71), it is important that the researcher is able to take distance from the fieldwork, when he/she acknowledges that the closeness with the field may influence negatively the research process.

It is claimed that researchers may share the religious beliefs with the people under study, and perhaps even advocate that the religious people in question are right in their ways of thinking (McCutcheon, 1999, p.187). It results in a problem for the research outcomes, since the researcher, in this case, may use his/her condition of researcher so as to promote, and persuade the readers to agree with a certain worldview, or practice. I was concerned about these issues and tried not to influence my informants and the writing of this paper by promoting a good picture of Christianity or Lund Cathedral.

One aspect I had in mind when conducting the research was whether I could be completely objective when analyzing the data provided by the fieldwork. Neutrality is important and indeed essential when writing an academic paper. It is assumed to give the researcher more room to revise their own perceptions about the phenomenon under analysis (McCutcheon, 1999, p. 246). However, one will always have a given perspective on something, even if one does not want to (McCutcheon, 1999, p.187). Therefore, it is important that the researcher position him/herself in the paper.

Also important here is the understanding that the researcher is the one analyzing what is being experienced in the field. As such, the researcher has to be aware of the fact that the research result is indeed his/her interpretation of a given reality (Bowie, 2000, p. 11). Accordingly, the findings are the aspects the researcher considered as useful, relevant for the research.

In a similar way, the information gathered is organized in a way to produce a narrative, the anthropological text. It relates to the so-called "process of anthropological production", which is an inherent and unavoidable part of the research. Moreover, since the final text may be aimed to a varying and heterogeneous audience; it requires the ability to produce a text

understandable/appropriate to both a broader and a more specific audience (Bowie, 2000, p.13), which implies that the paper will be consciously organized to meet this goal.

I made use of the literature here to sustain my argument that what I am presenting here is my perception of the data that I have gathered, and furthermore, the content of the paper reflexes what I find relevant to be touched upon here. Also the disposition of the text reflexes is part of my attempt to make it understandable for the reader.

4.2. The participant observations

Regarding the *participant observations*, since the beginning of my internship I tried to attend as many activities as possible, not only those directed to young people (teenagers, young adults) but also those aimed at the public in general. This way, I attended the Sunday services (starting at 11am) as well as the ones during weekdays (at 12am), activities such as the "Taizé", the "Sondagkvällen I kryptan", and a Confirmation ceremony. Furthermore I took part in meetings and even helped out the church during the Lundakarnevalen and Valborg.

When it comes to the internal meetings, they resemble regular religious ceremonies (as the Sunday services starting at 11 a.m.) being preceded by a religious ceremony, with hymns, and communion. Important is to say that this was the case when the meeting was solely attended by church workers.

Taizé originally refers to a French community, located in the region of Burgundy. Its foundation dates back to the 1940s, by Brother Roger Schütz, of Christian, and more precisely, protestant affiliation. The community has become famous, attracting annually

pilgrims of all over the world. It is claimed that young people started visiting the community in the 1960s, and are nowadays the majority of its visitors. There they take part in bible studies, prayers, meetings for young people, among other things (Larsson, 2003).

The taizé ceremonies are taken as simpler rituals, with its repetitive sounds and moments of silence; with little use of written sources, such as the reading of biblical passages ("Ung I gudtjänst", 2006). According to the informant Ann, member of the cathedral, who also conducts the Taizé ceremonies, "when it comes to Taizé, it regards the celebration with simple forms of communions that are based upon songs, and silence and prayers." (Ann, member Lund cathedral, quote translated by the researcher).ⁱ

The "Sondagkväll I kryptan" is an activity held on Sunday evenings at the cathedral, more precisely at its crypt, that is not only a religious ceremony but also counts with the participation of guests that give seminars about varying topics not necessarily touching upon religious questions, such as intolerance, discrimination, and so on; the cathedral also receives choirs, people playing instruments. These are just a few examples of what one can expect from that ceremony, which are based in what I witnessed in the occasions I attended it.

When it comes to the religious ceremonies, I was interested in observing if there would be changes in the configuration of their audience, i.e., if there would be an increase in the numbers of young adults from one "Taizé" to another, for example. I did so in order to "make use" of the methodology named *aktivitetesbaserade observationer* (Kaijser & Öhlander, 2011, p.120), which refers to this ongoing participation in a given activity in order to analyze patterns/differences from an occasion to another. I recall some fieldwork notes:

Today I attended the ceremony (Taize) that took place at the crypt, which consisted of people singing short songs with repetitions, silent moments, prayers (performed by the priest) and in the end the communion (bread and wine). There were only a few attendants, we were 5 in altogether. Two girls were members of the group called KRIS, who I would meet afterwards. I

noticed that once again, there were not so many young people attending this ceremony. (Fieldwork notes from the 24th April, 2014)

In the evening, I attended the "Söndagskväll i kryptan", with the participation of the choir "Kören Svart på Vitt". Today the place was crowded, with many young adults (around 15 people, i.e., half of the attendees), which surprised me. Nonetheless, I soon realized that many of the seats were actually occupied by members of the choir. Anyways, the number of people my age was impressive compared to my previous experiences. The choir sang a variety of songs (in African dialect, in English and Swedish): Kuri mee (from Kongo), Så skimrande var aldrig havet (E. Taube), Kumbaya (trad. Afro Amerikansk), Nu har jag fått den jag vill ha (O Adolphson), Malizwe/Together (Trad. Sydafrika). This time we weren't making use of the Taizé song books. Instead we had papers similar to the ones used in the Sunday sermons. We got explanations about what the songs meant. Besides the choir, there were also communion and prayers. I was told that today was the last day of such activity. (Fieldwork notes from the 18th May, 2014)

The confirmation ceremony is a moment in which teenagers confirm before the congregation that they want to be committed to the religion and therefore live in accordance with the Christian values, i.e., to worship God, show respect for others, be generous and so on. Based on the interviews with the church representative Johan, these teenagers may not necessarily come from Christian families. They may have decided, for different reasons that they want to attend the confirmation ceremony. And in order to do so, they go through a preparation for that ceremony. More details on this preparation and the ceremony itself will be provided later on.

Briefly speaking, Valborg is an event that occurs annually, on the last day of April, being a celebration that spring has arrived. It is celebrated with a lot of drinking by students, at university cities, such as Lund, counting with the participation of students from Lund as well as from other cities. Last year, I helped the church representatives distribute maps with information on the park, and accompanied them, when they walked around the park to "control" if everything was going fine.

When it comes to Lundakarnevalen, it is a carnival that takes place in every four years, being arranged by Lund university students. It is also a big event, not only for

university students but for the population as a greater extent. During the carnival, my role was basically to accompany the priests when they were walking around in the area where the event was taking place. We had a nice time together, listened to concerts taking place in front of the main building of Lund University.

When talking to the priests, I was explained that their goal in participating in the Karneval and Valborg was "to be seen", to show that they (or Studentprästerna more specifically, which will be better addressed later on) "exist", and to provide assistance in case people needed ambulance or someone to talk to. The last aspect was evident in the green colored pullover we were all wearing, with the following logo: "The student priests: Someone to talk to about what is important for you."(Translation by the researcher)ⁱⁱ

4.3. Regarding the research material

It is argued that the researcher can benefit from materials from varying categories (Kaijser & Öhlander, 2011, p.18) and, accordingly I made use of materials, such as online and printed sources, notes from participant observations and transcribed interviews. Research material, as appointed by Kaijser and Öhlander (2011, p.59), also encompasses the descriptions of what the researcher encounter in the field during the research process.

According to the literature, materials such the ones aforementioned become sources once the researcher perceive and choose to use them as sources for his/her work. It is, in other words, the researcher who evaluates what will be taken as materials and it is related to the research questions he/she wants to answer (Kaijser & Öhlander, 2011, p.29). In this case

study, I prioritized some materials over others, for instance, extracting a lot of information from the interviews with the informants and my field notes.

In my research, the focus was upon the aspects of the life experiences of the students interviewed, which are more related to the research topic. I am conscious of the fact that there is not such a monolithic block called "Swedish youth". It is hence difficult to take them as representatives of an assumed Swedish youth; rather, it is more appropriate to take the informants as representatives of young Swedes with whom they share the age and life experiences. That is to say that by the patterns in the interviews, it is possible, as aforementioned, to draw conclusions that are applicable to other Swedish students at Lund University.

4.4. Ethics in the fieldwork and the in-depth interviews

Nothing was recorded without the informants' permission. Furthermore, in accordance to the literature (Kaijser & Öhlander, 2011, p.83), I tried to make the informants less recognizable as possible, by changing their names, and by providing few details about them. In this case, it was appointed if they defined themselves as unreligious or not, if they were students or representatives from the Cathedral. As previously mentioned, their names were changed.

Interesting here is the question of the loyalty of the researcher, which is related to the ethics. It is questioned to whom the researcher should be loyal to, or even if he/she does not have to be loyal to anyone (Kaijser and Öhlander, 2011, p.19). I felt that I should provide the cathedral with good insights, since being religious, I feel related to that cathedral.

On the other hand, I became aware in the fieldwork that more than loyalty, it was a question of having respect towards the worldviews of students and church representatives. As a researcher, I was supposed to be neutral, showing them my respect and by providing analyzes here that correspond to what I have been told in the field.

It is claimed that the researcher does not know beforehand the best ways to carry on the research. The former gets acquainted with possibilities and limitations in the research process by performing the fieldwork. Kaijser and Öhlander (2011, p.42) state that spontaneity on the part of the researcher is also an important aspect for the research process. Accordingly, I had the opportunity to perform an unplanned in-depth interview that turned to give me useful data, such as the one with the representatives of Agape in Lund. And furthermore, I attended activities; meetings that I did not know were taking place. It was my supervisor in the fieldwork, the church representative John, who told me about them.

Taking into account the appropriateness of having the internet as another source of information (Kaijser & Öhlander, 2011, pp. 11-12), via internet I could get more information about the cathedral, via academic papers so well as the institutions' website. Besides, through Facebook, I contacted potential informants, who even if they themselves would not become informants, would provide me the contact of people who could become interested in helping out.

I also interviewed members of the board of the religious groups CREDO, Agape in Lund and KRISS. Additionally, I interviewed church employees in charge of a variety of activities: from those directed to a broader public, such as school activities; to those more religious-oriented. In this case, I asked them mainly to 1) explain what their groups/movements were all about; and 2) to talk about the receptivity of young Swedes to

their activities. In the case of the church representatives, the interviews touched upon their roles in the church and the purposes with the activities, among other things.

Kaijser and Öhlander (2011, p.81) state that people's willingness to take part and contribute to the research is crucial; otherwise it becomes more difficult to carry on with the researcher. Accordingly, the researcher needs to be persuasive to get their interest for the research. The author states that a way to do so is by emphasizing that their participation is a way that people can "make their voices heard". In my case, I did not have difficulty to get informants; people were not reluctant, but rather interested in taking part in the research.

Kaijser & Öhlander (2011, p.89) calls for the importance of informing informants about the purpose and content of interviews. In the light of this argument, as aforementioned, potential informants got a clarification regarding the topics to be addressed in the interviews.

According to Kaijser and Öhlander (2011, p.93), more important than asking questions is to listen to the interviewee, depending on what the interviewee says, the interview goes to different directions. I took this argument into consideration, letting the interviewees partially conduct the interviews. That is to say that, depending on their answers, I would change the order of the questions or would even ask extra ones.

Regarding the structure of the interview, it started with broaden questions about their personal experiences towards religion, narrowing them down to questions regarding the cathedral specifically. It is taken as an opportunity for them to continue reasoning over the topics discussed. From my point of view, this structure was crucial for me to better understand how they experienced (or not) religion in their childhood and when they were teenagers, how they were introduced to religion, and so on.

Following the advice of Kaijser and Öhlander (2011, p.102), interviewees were given the possibility to add more comments in case they felt like doing so. By the end of the interview, they were asked if they would like to add something and even asked for their feedback (Kaijser & Öhlander, 2011, p.102).

The environment where the interviews took place was suitable (relaxing, we met mainly in cafés) and I tried to turn the interviews into conversations. This way, I did not look at my questions all the time, rather, memorized the main ones and interacted with the informants.

I asked them beforehand if I could record the interviews, since I did not want to miss any information. And gladly, they all agreed on that. All the interviews were recorded, which gave me the possibility to fully readdress them later on. According to the literature (Kaijser & Öhlander, 2011, p.107), besides this aspect, by recording it, one does not have to divide his/her attention into listening the informant and writing what is being said, as it would be the case otherwise.

I realize, however, that I should have made notes about the physical setting where the in-depth interviews took place, and should have given more attention to individual acts, bodily performances of the interviewees (Tjora: 2006, 432; O'Toole: 2008, 616). This way, I would have been able to provide data on the way the informants were 'responding' to the interview situation, if they were showing themselves comfortable about being interviewed in a public place, for instance.

I opted for performing individual in-depth interviews firstly because I wanted to prevent the respondents from being influenced by other people, which could be happen in case I performed a group interview. Secondly, I wanted that they all could have enough room and feel comfortable to talk and resonate about the topics touched upon. I did so, even though

the literature points that focus groups may generate more qualitative data in a 'short period of time' if compared to the performance of individual interviews (Fallon, 2002, p. 196).

5. The empirical material

The empirical chapter consists of two subchapters, with the first one addressing Lund cathedral and related questions. In this section, the reader will get an overview not only of the activities promoted by said cathedral, but also a briefly overview of Lutheranism in the Swedish context, since is the religious branch of that institution.

In the second subchapter, the students' overviews will be addressed. In this section it will be touched upon some of the topics mentioned by the informants that, according to them, influence the way they perceive Lund cathedral and Christianity, or even religion, in a greater extent. It will also be mentioned aspects coming from the interviews with church representatives and students members of religious groups, which may sustain or contradict the arguments of the Lund students interviewed.

5.1. The Church of Sweden and Lund Cathedral

Lund Cathedral is straightly related to the Church of Sweden, being therefore important to provide some understanding of the influence of the latter in the contemporary society. Afterward, it will be provided an overview, based on interviews with representatives of the cathedral, of their roles in said cathedral.

Nowadays, Lutheranism is practiced not only in Europe but also in other continents such as Africa, Asia, North-America and South-America, counting with more than 60 million adherents, value estimated by the so-called "Lutheran World Federation". In Europe, more

specifically, Lutheranism predominates in Germany, and has also great influence in Scandinavia, being the official religion in Sweden, Denmark, Norway and Iceland. (Religion Facts, n.d., para. 7)

When it comes to Sweden, it is estimated that by the beginning of this century, approximately 80% of the Swedes were members of the Church of Sweden, being therefore Lutherans. Nonetheless, nowadays, there has been a decline in the numbers of its members, and its attendees. In accordance to previous researches, only a few parcel of the population attends the church regularly, around 8% of the Swedes (Eriksson, 2008, p. 175). In the same vein, only a parcel of its congregation takes part in the churchly elections. It is argued that electors vote mainly because it is a way to “practice” democracy, rather than because of their strong willingness to somehow contribute with the path being taken by the Church they belong to (Eriksson, 2008, p. 174).

Therefore, Church attendance is decreasing, and it is not only attendance by the younger generations, but also by those who are officially members of the Church of Sweden, and as such were supposed to be more involved in the institution, by taking part in religious activities and also by contributing to the decision making process.

The Church of Sweden is connected to the Swedish history, being regarded as the "National Church" until the beginning of this century and still counting with a parcel of the Swedish population as its members. It is claimed that although the church is no longer associated to the State, the government has agreed that the Church has the right to be present throughout the country (Eriksson, 2008).

It is assumed that the Church of Sweden had priority over other religious branches when it comes to the time conceded for the broadcasting of religious programs in radio and TV until the middle of the 20th century. It means that other institutionalized religious, as well

as emerging religious movements did not have as much room to spread their values, as the Swedish Church did by then (Eriksson, 2008).

It is worthwhile mentioning that the Church of Sweden was separated from the State in 2000. With the secularization of Sweden, it seems that religion, or more precisely, Christianity became less practiced, seen in the decreasing numbers of church attendants. As aforementioned previously, secularization refers to an assumed decrease of religious influence in society, in a broader extent. Gerle (2007, p.10) argues that with secularization, religion is expected to be less influent in the public realm, when it comes to political decisions, for instance, becoming more a matter of one's private life.

Theories that defend such argument are not uncontested, though. It is claimed that religion has not completely lost its influence, still having "a significant role" not only in the private but also in the public sphere of people's life. Accordingly, it is assumed that religion can find its ways to "survive" in the contemporary world (Lövheim, 2004, p. 26).

When it comes to how the Church is "arranged", the Church of Sweden is led by those who were chosen by the congregation via the elections. Another part of its "personnel", encompass individuals such as the priests and deacons, who were not elected, but are assumed to have the necessary skills to perform their tasks.

The priests work so that people get acquainted with the gospel, and additionally, are in charge of performing the sacraments. It is worthwhile mentioning that the priests perform not only the baptism of adults but also children, and it is through baptism that one becomes a member of the Church of Sweden (Eriksson, 2008).

The interviews I performed with the representatives of the Cathedral of Lund showed me the complexity of being a priest at Lund Cathedral, more specifically. The church

representative John informed me that besides being a priest, he is in charge of communicating with student representatives and help students in needy. John and the informant Ann, to be addressed soon, are members of the group Studentprästerna. He talked about his roles and his group, as following:

(...) my job is divided: 50% is aimed at working with students, and 50% is aimed at ministering in English. So, that means that I work a lot with international students and I have holy communion services every Sunday at 5 o'clock in the cathedral (...). Student chaplaincy is aimed at the university; it's a way to make the church known at the university and among the students. As I see it, our purpose is to have 2 different sights. One is to be there for students when they need somebody to talk when they are into trouble, or when life is hard; also we are there for people who work at the university, if somebody dies suddenly, we get called into crisis management and things like that. So that's one side. The other side is networking at the university, and that is to show the church presence in the university world and to students. So, that means that we spend a lot of time contacting student organizations and university leaders (...), and the purpose with that is to get them to see us as a natural partner; but we also we are there for students who have a faith. So we are here to help them finding different activities, communities where they can take part in, and live their faith here. (John, member of Lund Cathedral)

The informant Ann also works for establishing bonds/contact with Lund university students and its student representatives. As previously mentioned she is in charge of the Taizé ceremonies and also preaches on Sunday mornings. In her words, "I work with students at the university (...) my work when it comes to the university students is to be listen to them and be available when they want feel the need to talk." (Ann, member of Lund Cathedral, quote translated by the researcher).ⁱⁱⁱ

In a similar way, the church representative Johan has different tasks. Besides preaching, he works in the preparation of teenagers, in their 14 or 15 years old, for the confirmation ceremony. According to him, this preparation is an opportunity for the teenagers to get a better understanding of Christianity/Lutheranism, to later on, decide whether they want or not to continue attending the Cathedral. More detailed analyzes of this preparation

will be given in the chapter on the services provided by the Cathedral. In Johan's words, his roles are,

My tasks here (...) they look like usual tasks for priests, which encompass performing baptisms, services, etc. And in the majority of the cases, I work with young people [getting prepared for the] confirmation and other young adults. The latter are those who attend the eighteenth class, those who are 14, 15 years old. Besides, I have every week, for instance, a bible group. I meet for two hours some young people, we read the bible, we talk about the bible, and we do other things. And this is my primary work. (Johan, member of Lund Cathedral, quote translated by the researcher)^{iv}

Aforementioned quotes provide illustration of activities that are planned, organized by the employees of the cathedral. This can be seen in the light of the literature, as strategies. The concepts of "strategy" provided by De Certeau, (1984, p.35) are applicable here. One can think of strategy, in the planning of services. For instance, they can plan the content of the sermons or decide what hymns are going to be sung, and so on. Nonetheless, it is impossible to know beforehand whether every attendee will sing the hymns entirely, stand up or keep silent when required, at the Taizé ceremony, for instance. The same applies for the moments when the sermons are not taking place, the church cannot foretell how people will behave when inside the church; this shows that people act in tactical ways.

De Certeau also provides the concept of "tactics", which is also applicable here, referring to these practices that cannot be predicted by those in charge of the strategic decisions. As an illustration, it can be seen in how those teenagers behave during the activities arranged by the informant Johan. Tactics will be addressed again when I talk about how the Lund university students interviewed relate to the cathedral.

As it come be noticed, the priests are involved in different activities, performing different tasks at the cathedral. They are priests, but they also assume different roles, which

has not necessarily to do with the performance of religious ceremonies. They have common roles, as priests and while members of the same group (in the case of John and Ann) but tasks of their own, such as Johan and the preparation of the teenagers for the confirmation ceremony. The latter, specifically, can be referred to the concept of backstage and front stage provided by Goffman (1956). The congregation does not “see” the preparation taking place; but rather, the final product, the performance that had been rehearsed, and is show without mistakes, on the day of the ceremony. The front stage is therefore the final product being presented for the public; whereas back stage, is the preparation process, that took place out of the eyesight of the public.

This aspect, i.e., the different roles they perform, is one of the elements that let me to think of the cathedral as a company. It is worthwhile mentioning that I will use the term “company” based on the book “Managing the church?”, where it is argued that the church can be seen as a company. This topic will be better explored in the following chapter.

5.1.1. The Church as a company

Church as a "company" became even more evident for me when I took part in a meeting held in one room at the cathedral itself, not at the Cathedral's forum, situated quite near the Cathedral. The issue here was to experience a drastic change in the environment when I was on my way to the meeting place. With its modern looking area, with its small rooms similar to offices, its small kitchen, the Church out of sudden became "unfamiliar" to me. Furthermore, also the topics addressed at the meeting, such as working schedule, and so on, made me realize that the church also to deal with such aspects, so common in working environments.

It is worthwhile stating that the concept of back stage, used by Goffman (1956), is applicable here for two reasons. Firstly, that area is inaccessible to the public, and secondly, for the fact that it is where part of their meetings takes place. During the meetings, it is discussed details of the performance of religious ceremonies and of the arrangement of the physical space where they take place, that is to say, the area frequented by the congregation.

As it will be shown, in many aspects the Cathedral resembles a secular institution, regarding the way the work is structured and that decisions are made, or even by the fact that the Church also provides services aimed at given target groups, being important to adequate/adjust the services to the demands of the latter.

Regarding the decision-making, within the Church, decisions are not made exclusively by those in the higher positions, rather they require the participation of its members; mirroring the so-called flexible companies, based in teamwork (Evans & Percy, 2000, p.29). In similarity to secular companies, even within religious institutions there are divergences among its members; concerning, for instance, ideas on how to better perform a given task (Evans & Percy, 2000, p.36); being necessary to reach compromises so that a common decision can be taken (Jones & Zeitlin, 2008, p.12). I did not witness any divergence in the meetings I attended. Nonetheless, it was clear that all the topics touched upon were being discussed and decisions were being made collectively. In one of the meetings, for instance, it was being discussed if they people could be begging in the environs of the cathedral. Besides, they also discussed how the church could help the beggars in Lund.

In another meeting, which had the participation of three student representatives of LTH, it was discussed the arrangements of events, such as the one entitled Sommaravslutning I Lunds Domkyrka med Sång av nationskörerna. The meeting was not held at the cathedral but at AF Borgen, building located in the campus of Lund University. In that occasion,

Church representatives and student representatives reached a compromise on how the ceremony would look like. This way, it was decided that the religious parts of the ceremony would be reduced, being kept only a few Psalms and prayers.

It is interesting to quote here part of my interview with the informant John, where he tells that he feels that it is difficult to communicate with student representatives, since that they seem to have a fear that the Cathedral will do missionary work in the campus whenever opportunity the cathedral representatives get involve in some activities within the university environment. According to him, the university representatives seem to more open to cooperate with the Cathedral.

When we deal with university there is a greater acceptance, they have more adult view I guess. They trust us to differentiate between being missionaries and being priests that help people. So, the university can see that we are not doing missionary work there. They can see that we are providing a service that is good for the university. But student organizations, they often are young people, they don't know very much about religion or faith. What they know, they have read in papers or seen in TV and they think that all religious people are sort of fanatics. I think it's their view. They see people (right-wing Christians) standing on TV with bibles, shouting and things like that. They are filled with prejudice. Then it's harder for us to get in touch with them because first we have to show them that we are actually normal persons, and that they don't have to be afraid of us. So, it's a long process to reach out student organizations; and it is a problem because when there is something bad that happens in the nations, or something; when somebody commits suicide or when there is an accident; they need our expertise when it comes to that. But we noticed that they have started to hesitate calling us because they don't trust us to be able to not do missionary work. We would never think about doing that in that situation. They seem not to be able to grasp that we can separate between different sides.(John, member of the Lund Cathedral)

John's statement can be related to Goffman's discussion about symbolisms. According to Goffman (1956, p.15), people have an understanding on how they are supposed to interact with other people. Our acts, facial expression and body gestures as for instance, symbolizes something, transmitting information on the individual in question. In the same applies to one's

appearance, that is to say, the clothes one wears, one's age and gender (Goffman, 1956, p.14). In a similar way, young adults by being adults were perceived by the informant as not open to Christianity. On the other hand, as reported by John, priests by wearing the religious clothes also symbolize something to students. In his view, they may "scare" university students and even be associated to "missioners" and "fanatics", which make the latter, react by distancing themselves from the former.

The church, such as other institutions, has its "goals" for the long-term and search for the best ways (the means) to actualize, or accomplish, such goals. And similarly to existing institutions, the church is interested in improving their activities. The Church may not have "entrepreneurs", "managers" in the same way that profit/business-oriented institutions have. However, it is reasonable to claim that the Church do have a parcel of its church members/employees in charge of working on similar issues, such as to communicate with people to try to bring them to visit or even attend the Cathedral regularly.

Abovementioned aspect became evident for me when I participated in an internal meeting at the Cathedral's forum. In that occasion, one of the employees of the Church, responsible of the Church's Facebook group was reporting the comments and how many likes the photos posted had received. He mentioned that it was interesting that the Cathedral was gaining the attention of people residing far away from Lund and even from non-Christians. On the other hand, he showed his concern that they should find a way to attract those living nearby Lund, so they could actually come to attend it. He asked the people taking part in the meeting to share the photos posted in their Facebook pages so they could get more visibility among people living in Lund and in its surroundings.

5.1.2. And the Church changes...New demands, new services.

The Church is assumed to be related to the three temporalities, the past, present, and future, by respectively, reverencing and preaching on the Scriptures, and engaging with its members; addressing contemporary issues in the present time (Evans & Percy, 2000, p.112) and aiming at improving social conditions. Accordingly, it is claimed that the Church cannot only be anchored in the past, but that it manages to address the demands of the "new generations of believers" (Evans & Percy, 2000, p. 178). It is claimed that change occurs when there is a dialogue between the parts interested in the changes, where diverging opinions are indeed listened to and taken into account (Evans & Percy, 2000, p. 187).

It is therefore argued indeed that the Church cannot be static, but rather, has to be capable of adapting to the present society (Evans & Percy, 2000, pp. 174-175). Accordingly, it is also important that organizations are able to perform changes in their performances if necessary. As Evans and Percy (2000) point out "organizations must have built into them the management of change. Organized abandonment of all that is held dear is essential if a company is to cope with the rapid changes of the knowledge-based world." (pp. 40-41)

The same reasoning was presented by the interviewees, be they Swedish students, unreligious or not, or members of previously mentioned student religious groups. As an illustration, Paula, member of KRISS, raised the question of the extent the Church should change, pointing out that whatever changes made will not please everybody to the same extent. Therefore, although she herself tries to improve the activities provided by KRISS, she questions if making "changes" is the right way to go.

I took one course about the Swedish Church (...) there are two ways to look at the church, one is called "service perspective", in the most extreme form you see the church as an organization, not as a community. (...) If people say that they would like to have lectures, fika here, this we should do because people would have a good image of the church. (...) It's the church that gets to know what people want and act from that. At the same time, we have the "community perspective" (...) it means that you can change the services a bit, but they would still have sermons, bible readings, prayers. (...) I think that even if they had services with electronic music, not all the young people would think "church is nice". I think culture has change so much that it's hard to attract young people, the church should accept that and recognize that it's a small group that attend the church and build something nice out of it. (...) So, there is always the question about how much you should adapt to what people want and how much you should keep. (Paula, religious, member of KRISS)

Paula's arguments go in accordance with the literature, which points out that, metaphorically speaking, it is argued that the Church is simultaneously "composition" and "improvisation"; similarly to a symphony, it has its "orchestrated repetition", while being more innovative, less traditional in other aspects. The Church should manage to keep tradition, while being transformative (Evans & Percy, 2000, pp. 175-176).

The interviews with some of the church employees to be shown soon provide an overview of what kind of services they offer to the public, and not only that; it shows a church that is aware of the fact that adjustments in the activities should be made, depending on the audience in question.

Here follows some examples of activities performed at the Church's forum, such as the one aimed at schools and the other, aimed at konfirmanderna, i.e., the teenagers getting prepared for the Confirmation ceremony. Worthwhile is to mention that took part in the activities, and even attend the confirmation ceremony, to be described later on.

The term "team" (Goffman, 1956, p.50) implies that different individuals, members of the same organization, for instance, will behave coherently so that a coherent, appropriate impression of their team or organization, as a whole, can be sustained. Accordingly, independently of who the employee was, they had a common argument, which, in its turn

points towards to the image of a church that is open to reach compromises, welcome to new ideas, changes.

The informant Cecilia, mainly in charge of conducting activities aimed at school students of varying ages, from small children to teenagers. Cecilia talks about her roles as a church representative as well as gives an overview of the activities that have been offered at the forum.

My task is to be teacher for the congregation, and I've worked with young adults, *konfirmanderna*, and other different things. In the year 2012, I came to Lund Cathedral so as to work with activities aimed at schools in a project whose goal was to develop a program, possibilities for groups to come to Lund cathedral and experience the cathedral. During 1, 5 years, I worked with testing pedagogic programs aimed at preschools and young people up to high school (...). We have a program for preschools which is offered throughout the year. [It may address] narratives related to Christmas, Easter, and we have also worked with pictures. When it comes to little older [children], from 6 to 16 years old, we have everything from mathematics to history and religion. (Cecilia, member of Lund Cathedral, quote translated by the researcher)^v

The fact that the activities do not always touch upon religious issues is indeed a clear sign that the Cathedral takes into account who the audience is and prepare the activities in accordance to the needs of the latter. In the following quote, Cecilia give an overview of how the cathedral communicates with schools so as to let them acquainted with the activities being offered at the forum at the moment.

Many come here because it is a big place which soon it will become a 900 year-old cathedral. When one study about the city are, it is usually during the third or fourth school year, the student usually attends a school trip and visit important places and the cathedral is one of these places (...). We have a webpage where we present the programs we offer, the activities related (...) We also send emails to schools to show them that we are here, that there are opportunities to book lections and experience the cathedral. We also have schools teachers who have been here before, so we send them emails to say: now it is time to book activities, welcome, now there are these activities being offered (...). We work in this way to receive those who want to come here, those who usually come here. However, we also want to inform those who do not know, that they can come here. I usually say that it is knowledge, and it is for free. There are many schools nowadays that have economic issues, and it

would become problematic to have to pay fee for each student.(Cecilia, member of Lund Cathedral, quote translated by the researcher)^{vi}

Interestingly, when asked in what occasions they have attended the Cathedral, some of the students mentioned that they had taken part in similar activities when they were younger. Erik, Simón and Chris reported going there with their schools, and the latter recalled that the activity attended was not religious oriented.

I've been there many times. It's a beautiful place! And I've been there with school since I'm from here [Lund]. I had to go because it's not only a religious place but also something cultural. (Erik, unreligious)

When you are young you always go there with school, you go there to see the watch as well. The cathedral is a symbol of Lund, it is a nice church (...). (Simón, unreligious)

I've been there to visit, during high school. We took a look at the church and talked about it, from a historical perspective, not in religious terms (...). (Chris, unreligious)

It was when they took us on a school trip when I was 7 years old. By that time I thought it was huge, basically because I was half of the size I am today. I have seen it since I moved to Lund, but I haven't actually attend it. (Hakim, age, religious)

According to the informant Cecilia, schools can be interesting in getting the students to hear about moral values, such as people's equal value, or even discuss issues such as bullying. She mentioned that in the activities I participated, aimed at small children, the focus was upon human relations. Nonetheless, it can also happen that schools want to know more about Christianity, as she points out:

When you participated in the activity, we followed a program where we worked with more than just human relations, [we also talked about] democratic rights (...). Now, if the schools are interested in knowing what Christian faith is all about, so [the activities] will address the building of the cathedra, symbols (...). I can't say that 'all Christians think in a certain way' (...). I try to transmit an image of what it means to be Christian for me. I hope that the

students can get a better understanding of what it means to have a faith, since we live in a very unreligious society, in Sweden. (Cecilia, member of Church Cathedral, quote translated by the researcher)^{vii}

It is worthwhile describing part of the activities (aimed at school children) I attended, since they will provide the reader with additional information on the latter, details that the interviews cannot provide. According to my field notes from 9th May, 2014, in the first activity, the teenagers were asked to play two different games, where they had to express their opinion about, among others, the meaning of friendship, how one could become friends with somebody again after a fight; and about school: what was places in the school they liked/disliked. They were shown a video about bullying, where a girl was "invisible" to other students (didn't interact with them), and afterwards became visible when other students sat by her side during lunch time)

In the next activity, there was a similar activity. Nonetheless, the video was about competitiveness. It was a short film clip (cartoon) where two animals were comparing themselves in terms of who could run faster, jump higher and so on. In the end, a bird came and stated that neither of them could fly as the bird. The moral message transmitted by the cartoon (and explained more clearly by the church representative) was that everybody is good at something, in one way. Similarly to the previous activity, the children were asked to sum up the video and resonate about it.

The informant Johan made me acquainted with his work with the teenagers getting prepared for the confirmation ceremony. He argues that it is important that the activities are regarded as enjoyable, and therefore be adjusted to the "demands" of that target group, therefore his concern of making use of contemporaneous non-religious music during the activities. This reasoning goes in accordance with the argument that activities which focus on an young audience, should be adjusted, so that they can better relate to the messages

transmitted in that context. This seems to have been a concern on the part of the Church in previous projects (Ung I gudtjänst. Projekt I Lunds stift, p. 3). In Johan's words,

I need to 'meet' them and listen to them, to what they think of, to what they believe (...) [it cannot be] that I have a truth and throw it on them; I have to say instead: "This is my truth, what do you think [of it]? And this way, we start thinking together. This is really important. (...) What is really important is that we say who we are, that we are a church; that we are a Christian church, we talk about the bible, we talk about prayers (...). Another thing that we can add here is that one has to know how to talk about Christian faith. As an illustration, I work a lot with music, modern music, as you noticed, and this is not weird, since Jesus did likewise. When Jesus talked with the disciples, he also made use of parables, metaphors. (Johan, member of Lund Cathedral, quote translated by the researcher)^{viii}

As an illustration, konfirmanderna could choose an unreligious song that was played by them in the confirmation ceremony I attended. The priest pointed out the importance of letting them prepare themselves part of the confirmation ceremony, and therefore, of showing them that he (the priest) trusted their capacity to do something good.

I think that the song they sung was Coldplay's 'Fix You', and I remember that that presentation (when they talked about 'Wi-Fi Jesus'), it was they themselves who created it. We did like this: We have 17 minutes to do something on Christian faith. What do you want to do? So, they started thinking over it. And I think that "Wi-Fi Jesus was genial, [it was genial] to use a modern picture to talk about Easter. "Wi-Fi" means invisible network at home which makes it possible to make a communication with the computer and the network. (...) Jesus (...) he is a network that communicates with God, which [makes a connection] between God and human beings. (...) It was important that it was them themselves preparing it as they wanted. [It is important] that say that I trust them. They develop as believers; they develop as human beings when I say: 'I know that you can, I trust you.' This way, something happens. That was what happened. They interpreted Easter by making use of the Wi-Fi network. (Johan, member of Lund Cathedral, quote translated by the researcher)^{ix}

After addressing the preparations for the ceremony, the back stage, it is interested to provide an overview to the front stage, i.e., of the performance presented to the congregation. Based upon the field notes from 11th May, 2014, the cathedral was crowded on that day, since it was taking place the confirmation ceremony. This situation can be related to the fact that, as the informant Johan mentioned, Confirmation is still considered part of the Swedish

traditions. Many young people go through that ceremony annually throughout the country, around 35.000, according to him.

The teenagers were playing instruments and in a certain moment of the ceremony, they themselves act (as if in a theater) making an analogy between Jesus Christ and internet. The teenagers were brought before the congregation and received a prayer. Similarly to the Sunday morning sermon, there was the reading of biblical passages (Psalm 7), religious songs, preaching, the credo, the Holy Communion (with bread and wine being shared and so on) and final blessing.

The informant Ann mentioned that it feels that there are many activities outside the church for young adults, which makes it harder for the cathedral to attract the attention of young people and bring them to the church. According to her, a way to try to bring young people to the Church is by distributing free tickets to movies and inviting people to discussions over them.

We experience also as student priests, that we have much to compete with. It is difficult (...) with all the activities that are available nowadays for students, to have something that can in fact attract [them] and find a formula (...). We found it with movies, by showing nice movies (at Kino) [a cinema in Lund] for students, for free, but still, unreligious movies which arouse existential questions. (Ann, member of Lund Cathedral, quote translated by the researcher)^x

To sum up, it is a cathedral that seems to be open for changes, seen in the selections made in terms of the topics addressed during the activities to school children or even in the arrangement of movie nights for students, where the topics discussed are not necessarily religious. Furthermore, it may also be seen in the opportunity given for the teenagers to give their own “touch” to the confirmation ceremony, giving room for young adults to contribute with the activities, by choosing what song they want to play in the ceremony, or how much

religious passages and songs the ceremony could have (as in the case of the ceremony discussed with student representatives).

5.2. Lund University students

5.2.1. Religious student organizations in Lund

In similarity to the representatives of Lund Cathedral, there are religious student organizations concerned with making university students more familiar with Christianity. The present chapter aims therefore to provide a brief overview of the student religious associations, located in Lund, which I came to be in contact with during the fieldwork. This way, it will be addressed Credo, Agape in Lund and KRISS.

Credo does not only work in Lund, but also in other cities, being indeed a part of a bigger, more encompassing organization called Credo Sverige. According to their website, their target groups are students from upper secondary schools and universities. Their aim is to discuss "existential life issues", thought to be experienced by many students, and furthermore, make university more open to religiosity, where religious students may feel more comfortable in practicing their religiosity, in talking about religion, for instance (Credo Lund, Credo i Lund, n.d., para.1-3). Credo is said to be an open organization, which means that it also welcomes students from faith other than Christianity, or more specifically, Catholicism. Furthermore, they promote gatherings among Christian students from different churches. In their meetings, which usually occur on Tuesdays, there are not only moments when they pray

and discuss religious questions, but also the Swedish fika (Credo Lund, Tisdagssamlingar n.d., para.1).

Carol is a Swedish student of Lund university, and therefore, had a double role here, being my informant providing information on CREDO, as well as my informant as a self-defined religious student, thus also contributing to this research as such. Her comments will therefore reappear later on in this section.

During our interview, Carol talked about their aims as being to provide activities to university students within the academic environment, activities that can be taken as enjoyable by the participants. The topics addressed are, according to her, of general interest for students, and there is the concern, on the part of Credo, about making people who are not members of the group, feel comfortable and welcomed to join the activities.

I'm at the board of CREDO, which is a religious group for students. It's a Christian student organization that wants to bring questions to campus, and get people engaged. So we try to have evenings where we take speeches that talk about subjects that are affecting us, like meaning of life, whether it's like Science or Religion. I think it's important to go and meet people where they are; we are all at the university. (...) When a non-Christian goes there they may feel "outside", we may mention verses from the bible, which they are not acquainted with. So, I feel that it's important to create a chill environment, to be open to those people who have other world views. (Carol, religious, member of Credo)

In a similar way, KRISS in Lund addresses not only Christian students but also non-Christians willing to know more about Christianity (KRISS Kristna Studentrörelsen I Sverige, n.d, para. 1). It is a local organization, a branch of KRISS in the national level (Christian Student Movement in Sweden), and furthermore, part of an international movement called WSCF (World Student Christian Federation.) (KRISS Kristna Studentrörelsen I Sverige, Stockholms-KRISS, n.d, para. 1). The meetings, that encompass conversations, guests' talks and fika, are held on Thursdays at the forum, after the taizé ceremony (KRISS Kristna Studentrörelsen I Sverige, KRISS i Lund, n.d., para.1).

One of the representatives of KRISS, Paula, Dutch student at Lund University, pointed out their difficulty to attract more members. She mentioned that they invested in activities, such as lectures, seminars which counted with the participation of representatives of other religions, such as Buddhism, which were thought to attract more audience. In general terms, she mentioned that the gatherings promoted are mainly attended by students of Theology. In a similar vein, other activities held at the cathedral, such as the Taizé ceremony tend to be attended by the same kind of people, members of KRISS, or religious students who already attend the Sunday services, reality that I experienced during the participant observations.

It's really hard to attract people to KRISS. It's not part of the Swedish Church, of the English congregation or anything. (...) I think we have a lot of competition, which is the wrong word, from CREDO, which a big, more conservative Christian group in Lund. (...) and it's difficult to know what we are aiming for. Do we want to be a group organizing open lectures, nights with guests? That's what we have done, we invite interesting guests and we hope that these guests will attract more people. So, once we have a Buddhist and twenty people came, but they were mainly Buddhists. (...) I think most people are looking for a community, but in Thursday night it's more like (...) people only come when they are interested. So, it's not really working. (...) We are so few and we have to be there every week, every first Thursday night you have to be there to prepare "fika" and nobody shows up, you get a bit disappointed. (...) I have to invite people: Do you want to come? And then they might come (...), there are usually many theology students coming here, people who will become priests. (...) There are so many activities for young people. (Paula, religious, member of KRISS)

She mentioned the existence of other religious oriented groups, such as Agape in Lund, which can be taken as a concurrence to her group. She was acquaintance with the goals of said group, however claimed not to be sure if they could indeed attract unreligious people to their activities.

There is one group called "Agape", they come from the USA and they try to convert people here. (...) that's a group that has been here in Lund since September, they're "movement", and they are not a church. They want to make sure that young people get to know about Jesus. They have a nice community (...) I don't know how effective they are, I think that they attract people who are already religious. So find people who don't attend the church and make them come for some activity, that's hard. (Paula, religious, member of KRISS)

When it comes to Agape in Lund, mentioned by Paula, it is a local representative of Agape Sverige, previously called "Sweden for Christ" (SVERIGE FÖR KRISTUS), whose aim is to convert people to Christianity, through the missionary works of its members. It is assumed that since 2005 students have been engaged in spreading Christianity within the University of Uppsala. The organization has its local representations (such as Agape in Lund), and works in cooperation with local churches and their congregations (Agape Sverige, Agape Sverige handlar om evangelization, n.d, para. 1).

As aforementioned, I had the opportunity to interview one of the representatives of "Agape in Lund". The informant claimed that the group aim at making people (whether unreligious or not) more familiar with Christianity, with the message from the Bible. He stated that they work mainly in the Lund University campuses, promoting activities aimed at university students, arguments that go in accordance with Paula's. The organization is growing, and he hopes that it will continue attracting more people in the incoming years.

The name of the organization is "Agape in Lund" and our vision is that we want to inspire students to investigate who Jesus Christ is and if you don't know who he is, if you don't have any background in Christianity (...) we want to inspire them to investigate the person in the message of Jesus Christ and we also want to inspire those who already are Christians to go deeper in their relationship with God and we do that, we create relationships with students. We are on campus every week, we meet students, we get to know them, we build relationships with them; we invite them to learn more about Jesus together (...). We do a lot of things on campuses. It's cool to see the organization growing. We have been here for 8 months now and I think we already have a leadership team for the next year of students, that's pretty exiting (...). And we have just been meeting more and more people; I think we have a lot of fun together (...). (Mathias, member of Agape in Lund)

To sum up, the representatives of Lund cathedral and the ones of aforementioned have an aspect in common: they are all interested in bringing more young adults, among them, Lund university students, to their activities. Similarly to Lund cathedral, those organizations,

invest in different activities in their attempts to make their organizations more attractive to young people.

5.2.2. Religion defined by the students interviewed

In the light of the literature, people consume products or even why not terms, notions, concepts and so on, by making one's own understandings of them. This aspect becomes evident in this research, when the students provide us with their own, particular definitions of "religion", differently from how academics, producers of knowledge, would define it. As De Certeau (1984) puts it, "The imposed knowledge and symbolisms become objects manipulated by practitioners who have not produced them."(pp. 32-33)

It is worthwhile mentioning that "unreligious" and "religious" are two categories that are straightly connect to one's understanding of what being religion or unreligious imply. Such understandings are influenced by the environment they are in, and also by the individuals' understandings/experiences of what it means to be religion. As it becomes noticeable in the interviews, for many of the students, being religious is straightly connected to having faith in a deity. Being religious is also associated to the practice of religion on a regular basis. Many of them mentioned, therefore, that they are not religious in the sense that they do not believe in God or go to the church every Sunday.

Self-defined unreligious people commented on aspects that, according to their view, turn religion into something simultaneously positive and negative. Religious is associated to "congregation", i.e., people sharing the same believes; taking part in social (beneficial) activities, such as charity. Some claimed that religion can provide people with strength when facing difficulties, giving them hope that things will get better. Others, on the other hand,

related religion to control, norms to be followed, wars, stated that religion is difficult to be believed in, or proved, and even contradictory.

I think religion is both something positive and negative. The positive thing is that you meet other people and maybe share the same interests and, in many cases, you do good stuff and help people. However, like in Politics, it can be something bad if you are too radical. (Simón, unreligious)

I have no connections to religion; but when I think of this for others, I think that it's about war, it's about creating wars.(Fanny, unreligious)

(...) religion is a way to try to find another solution to your problems, to your way of being. In this case, religion can be holy stone people carry. It's something that makes people feel better in some way.(Chris, unreligious)

It's a psychological disorder, plus some people use their psychological disorder as power. As a kid, I could already see the contradiction in it. Let's take Jesus (...) a deity (...) whatever you call it somehow impregnates a woman without her knowledge. (...) I open the bible; I'm going to give it a try. In the beginning there was Jesus (...), a family tree. He is son of Joseph, in the next page he's son of a Virgin (...). If you take God as an almighty entity, who can see the future (...) everything happens in accordance to his will; then we have our own will (...). If everything happens according to his will, then we are just all puppets, we are nothing. There is contradiction in saying that we have a will, that we are responsible for ourselves, and that everything happens according to his will. So, from the beginning I couldn't believe in this kind of stuff. (Sam, unreligious)

The relation between Science and religion is interesting since it is straightly connected to how the students interviewed defined themselves in terms of religion affiliation. Self-defined unreligious students pointed out that the very fact that they believe in Science makes them define themselves as unreligious. Even self-defined religious students stated that many people in Sweden tend to see Science and Religion as in opposite sides. As an illustration, as Johannes pointed out that "(...) you have a lot of prejudices against church: You can't be a Christian because Christians don't believe in Science, and that every religion is unscientific, a lot of people think that science and religion exclude each other. Then, students will always choose science." (Johannes, religious)

This is accordance with the literature, which states that the Science and religion tend to be regarded as essentially exclusive, or better, "mutually antagonistic" (Esler, 1998, p.43). There is an interesting aspect here, their belief in Science, is argued by many informants as the reason why they are not believers. It seems that the first kind of believe, is taken as positive by the informants, whereas the second one, can be regarded as something positive and negative simultaneously, entirely positive or entirely negative. While there is a shared view that Science is positive, there are divergences concerning the belief in religious terms.

The quotes displayed here are just some of the various definitions I got from my informants. I selected these quotes because they encompass aspects recurrent in the answers. Clearly the students identify both negative and positive sides in religion, to a greater extent. As it will be shown in the following chapters, perceiving religion positively or negatively is not enough to make the students interviewed willing to becoming religious or not, or Christians more specifically.

The environment informants live in also influence their choices. This way, other aspects pointed by the informants to be taken into account, to be analyzed in the following chapters, are the academic environment, one's family background, the availability of other religions and religious movements to choose upon, not to mention the possibility of not affiliating oneself to any religion.

5.2.3. Being a Christian student at Lund University.

Some of the informants stated that the academic environment may not encourage university students to be Christians, which, according to the students interviewed, has to do

with behaving as Christians are thought to behave. There was a general view that being a Christian student implies attending the services on Sunday mornings and praying regularly.

There seems to be a common understanding among the Lund university students interviewed, that in order to be a social student, one has to engage in the student life and not be a religious person. "Social student" can therefore be taken as a symbol (Goffman, 1956) here, which as such, is meaningful and requires a given behavior. The latter can be seen in the consumption of alcohol and attendance of parties, at nations, for instance

I think there are a lot of false believes that they think that churches are boring and that there they will find boring people condemning others, saying that you cannot drink or have sex before marriage. I do go to nations, drink alcohol, and people ask me: "Aren't you Christian?" and then I explain that it's possible to drink alcohol and be a Christian at the same time. So, it's more likely that people are surprise; it's not a prejudice in the negative way. They are surprise that I exist. (Carol, religious, member of Credo)

Of course there are Christian students very active in student life, but it may be difficult to speak freely in nations if one is Christians. I suppose that Christians probably don't hang out in certain contexts because there is alcohol. I'm sure that many people feel the way that they lose something by being Christians. I actually know someone who stopped being Christian when he became a student. (Jennifer, unreligious)

According to them, Christian students tend to face jokes at university. The students interviewed gave me the reason why it happens, in their view. This way, some of the students interviewed, as evident in the following quotes, stated that in Sweden it is more acceptable to make jokes about Christianity than other religions, because Christianity, in their view, is part of the Swedish history/and tradition. Therefore, it is as if people were making jokes about themselves.

Definitely, the prejudices are mostly directed to Christians, because it's not really allowed to make fun of religion, because it's something serious. I think it's ok to joke with Christianity, because you should be allowed to make joke about everything. (...) But Islam is not really tolerant to make jokes on their behalf. So, I think people are very careful not to joke about Islam. (...) maybe Jehovah's witnesses have more jokes than Christians. I don't know why it's so ok to mess with the Christian church, maybe because only a few people are

Christians. Maybe it's because it's our cultural heritage, so it's as if we were making fun on our behalf. It seems that other religions are more accepted by students, that people are more curious about Buddhism and Hinduism. (Johannes, religious)

By the interview with the church representative John, it seems that the representatives of Lund Cathedral are acquainted with this "preference" on the part of some Lund university students for other religions, unrelated to Christianity. Therefore, in their attempts to better reach students within the campuses of Lund University, he and the other representatives are willing to cooperate with representatives of other religious orientations. This can be, according to John, a way to make the Church better accepted in that academic environment.

Yes, I think that they are more curious about Buddhism, Hinduism and don't perceive that as a threat. But Christianity is the main religion here in Sweden. So I think that they are worried that Christianity will be more representative within the university. So, I think that they see Christianity as a threat, which is strange because I cannot really see how they are reasoning behind that. What we are trying to do now is to get together, (...) an organization where all religions are working together and say "we represent the religious people here in Lund, we work together and it's not a problem for us. Then, we can approach the university and say that "there is a place for religion in Lund and at the university". You cannot push us out from these places because there are quite many of us with faith and we shouldn't be discriminated against. So, we are trying to get the Muslims, the Jews, Buddhist s and whatever religion, to get together and form a council to talk to the university, to the students. (John, member of Lund Cathedral)

It is true and even commonsense to say that people have the capacity to think and rethink about social-cultural values, acting in accordance with them or not. It is also reasonable to say that individuals may change his/her views towards religion throughout his/her life (Lövheim, 2004, p.33). As an illustration, an unreligious person can become religious at a point of his/her lifetime, or even a religious person may lose his/her faith, becoming unreligious.

Nonetheless, it is appropriate to say that one's perspective over a given issue, or in this case, over religion, is to a great extent "culturally conditioned" (Ward, 2005, p.161). So, depending on the context, one religion (or religiosity) can be preferred to another one, or having no religion at all may be preferable.

The individual is still influenced a lot but his/her environment. Some of the students mentioned that religion is something "social", to be practiced therefore in company of others. Therefore, if one has religious friends, or even unreligious friends that attend the church at times, it is more likely that he/she will attend the church. Sally, self-defined unreligious, recalls going to the church with friends when she was younger.

Going to church is a social thing; it is something one does together with his/her friends or family (...). When I was in high school, I had a friend who usually would go to religious services and would play [an instrument] and sing. And none of us were religious by any means, it was more to make each other company, we enjoyed being together. And I think that it plays a role to have friends and family who go to the church. (Sally, unreligious, quote translated by the researcher)^{xi}

In the same vein, it was stated that if one hangs out with religious students it is possible that the person will be influenced by the group and turn religious as well. Nonetheless, as appointed by the informants, it is usually the other way around, with unreligious students questioning why one became religious. This situation, according to the interviewees, does not encourage one to consider being religious at all. Jennifer, for instance, points out that

(...) many people who are Christians wouldn't be outspoken about being religious. It is common, I guess, that if you're religious, then you'll practice religion at home, and not show it to your classmates. It's better this way, I guess, 'cause you can avoid the jokes. But of course it always depends on which group you are in. If all your friends are religious, it's ok to show your religiosity. It can also happen, of course that an unreligious person becomes religion. And again, it'd be something really good if you're in a group where everybody is religious, then everybody would be happy. However, if it's the other way around, if they are not religious, they may not understand why one

turned religious, and maybe bother the person until she/he stops being religious. (Jennifer, unreligious)

Jennifer is just one of the students that mentioned that, in order to avoid jokes and so on, it is better to keep one's religiosity for oneself. It is an interesting aspect since it points to the fact that people do perform. For performance, Goffman understands as being related to how people behave in front of others. In his words, the term refers to "(...) the activity of an individual which occurs during a period marked by his continuous presence before a particular set of observers and which has some influence on the observers." (Goffman, 1956, p.13)

Now when they are no longer in the presence of the interlocutor, they have more room to be "themselves". The notion that performances do not prevent that one behaves "inappropriately" (Goffman, 1956, p. 26) is also applicable here. It is seen in the aforementioned dual relation of some students to Christianity, with the student experiencing that religion as something positive, but since it may be "inappropriate" to be Christian in the academic environment, one practice it without the knowledge of their classmates.

In a similar way, the question of showing oneself as religious or not can be seen in the light of Goffman (1956)'s understandings of a cynical and a sincere behavior. A "cynical" person, as appointed by Goffman (1956, p.10), could be taken as those individuals that even though religious may "perform" so that other students will take them for unreligious. A "sincere" student, on the other hand, could be the one that can indeed be perceived by other students as a religious person.

Goffman (1956, p.12) states that it can also be the case that the individual, who initially is "cynical" eventually becomes "sincere" or vice versa, which could be the case, for instance, of a religious student, acting as he/she was unreligious, becoming eventually

unreligious. In the case of this case study, based on the interviews, it is not possible to see this transformation, but still, it is interesting to point out this aspect.

Furthermore, Jennifer's argument also points to different "tactics" on the part of the students, regarding their "use" of their religion, in that environment. That is to say, students may either talk about their religion affiliations openly, or not. Such uses can be seen, for instance, in how evident they make their religiousness to their classmates.

To sum up, the academic environment is regarded as unfriendly to Christianity. It is necessary that students willing not to become subject of jokes find ways to make their religious affiliation less visible to their classmates. This is done by assuming a given performance, showing oneself as unreligious while practicing religion in their private lives is one of the appointed possibilities.

5.2.4. Following in the parents' footsteps

Besides the university environment which, according to the majority of the students interviewed, is not favorable to Christianity, other aspects contribute to their choice not to attend the church. One of these aspects, which are going to be analyzed in this chapter, is their upbringing and hence, the influence of the religiousness or not of their parents.

The majority of them argued that the way they relate to religion mirrors the way the previous generations in their families has related to it. The following interviews of self-defined unreligious students show this correlation between their own religious affiliations and that of their families.

As it is evident, their parents did not attend the church on regular basis, going there when there was a wedding to attend, or during religious holidays. The students state that it is easier to become religious if ones family is already religious. The majority of the unreligious informants claimed that they think they would have become religious if they had been raised in a religious family. In the same way, religious informants claimed that they are religious mainly because their family is religious.

My parents, I don't know if they have gone to the church one single time, unless it was a wedding, funeral or christening. Even though there are many churches, it's not that natural to go to churches.(Klara, unreligious)

I think that you're influenced by parents and that's natural for you, that when you grow up you trust what your parents are saying and so. So, I think that people who grow up in a religious home will probably become religious, at least up to a certain point when you start thinking by yourself and then you can test it and see if it's just what your parents are saying; or if there is truth behind it. (Carol, religious, member of CREDO)

I think people become religious for different reasons. For me, personally, it has something to do with my family background (...). (Maria, religious)

In many cases, as appointed by the interviewees, their parents did not even talk about other religion at home. In the majority of the cases, the introduction to religion happened through school or even the media. The majority of the self-defined religious students, on the other hand, were introduced to religion both at home and at school.

Therefore, the fact that they do not define themselves as Christians or do not attend the Church is in no way an attempt to go against the religiousness of their parents and grandparents. It is quite the opposite, if they are not Christians is because, in their views, they have not received a religious upbringing.

As many of the students appointed, their parents though not religious practitioners would take them to church mainly during Christmas, Easter, or to take part in activities held at the church, since it was regarded to be part of their tradition to do so. John goes beyond that

and stated that it is common in Sweden that the previous generations were not raised in a religious environment either. In his words,

(...) most people weren't raised in a religion family. It is because now we have a situation: we have parents that have been secular for a long time. So they weren't raised as Christians, they didn't get much information at school. So they don't really know what Christianity is all about (...). (John, member of Lund Cathedral)

To sum up, it seems to be the case that the students interviewed maintained some practices of the previous generations. The majority of the students that reported not going regularly to the church when younger are the ones who mentioned not feeling a necessity to do that nowadays. On the contrary, those who frequented the church more often, continue attending it more regularly, perceiving it as more than a place one goes to only a few occasions.

5.2.5. Lund university students provide us with ideas on how to make the cathedral more attractive to young people.

Referring again to the three dimensions mentioned in the beginning of this paper, it is noticeable that the students interviewed perceive them separately. That is to say, the building of the cathedral is not necessarily associated to religion or Christianity. The building itself was associated to history, for instance, and the same applies to the inner part of the building, associated to adjectives, such as peaceful, respect, and so on. This way, it is not contradictory to go to the church if one is not affiliated to Christianity. This way, it is not a contradiction that self-defined students stated that they could attend the cathedral in the future, under some conditions.

Accordingly, the students interviewed appointed that they may go to the cathedral for a purpose other than the religious one, for instance, to show the Cathedral to a friend or when they need a peaceful environment, as reported in some of the interviews. Their practices can be taken as of a tactical kind since they make their own use of that spatiality. Obviously, everyday practices can also be planned to a certain extent. Here for instance, the students may plan to visit the church on a given day and not do that spontaneously. But still, they are not “using” the cathedral for a religious purpose.

In the same vein, the self-defined unreligious students made different "uses" (Certeau, 1984, p. 31) of Christianity from those who identified themselves as Christians. As an illustration, it can be pointed out that fact that while the former, may see Christianity as a part of the Swedish tradition, going to the church mainly when tradition requires it; whereas the latter relate perceive Christianity as their faith, and requiring practices, such as church attendance and prayers, for instance.

When it comes to how the students interviewed perceive Lund cathedral, it is possible to say that the majority of them have a positive impression of the building itself and having experienced good feelings when being inside the church, which makes them consider going to the cathedral more often in the future, as aforementioned.

Some of them mentioned that they feel respect for the building itself (for its history), and for those who go to the church for a religious purpose. In general, the informants emphasized the physical aspect of the building, taking it as majestic, and referred to the importance of the Church for the city of Lund. They referred to a peaceful atmosphere inside the church. Interestingly, an informant mentioned that a positive aspect is that the Church, although a touristic attraction did not turn into something commercial, but managed to keep itself as a church.

It's something that should be kept and it's very important to keep it because of the cultural inheritance and I think that it's beautiful and I think it's very important to have old, marks of History left behind and to keep them. And I also think that it should continue being a church for Christians, but the most important thing is just to keep it. (Lars, religious)

I feel very calm inside, peaceful. But at the same time I get that sort of thinking of "why do people come here?", because I don't believe in God myself and I cannot understand why people go there and believe in something that may not exist. (...). I respect people who go there for other purposes than me, but personally, I feel the history in the building, the darkness and the medieval times (...). I have this feeling that it's a very important place for some people, so I get some feeling of respect. (Jennifer, unreligious)

There is also a genuine feeling of church. We have been to church, there they have this thing that you can put coins and get things out of that, they have it everywhere inside the church. It was very "tasteless" and very "commercial", and you had to walk out again, you had no time in the church. It's not the same here, where you have your own time; you are not forced (...). They still run it as a place to pray, even though there are so many tourists there. I think it's nice that they are trying to keep it. (Erik, unreligious)

As previously mentioned, by the interviews with church representatives, it becomes evident that they are willing to receive in their activities, students that are not necessarily Christians. I recall the movie discussion activity mentioned by the informant Ann, which is aimed at young adults in general.

Based on that, it was appropriate to ask also self-defined unreligious students how the cathedral could become more attractive for them, since they are among the cathedral's target group. The students provided insights, which may help the Cathedral consider new possibilities, and perhaps even be the key to bring more young adults to that institution

The majority of the unreligious informants claimed that they would feel more willingness to attend activities if they were non-religious oriented, such as concerts, seminars. Some of them mentioned that the Church could make a "better use" of the surrounding areas, performing activities also in its environs.

I don't know.... perhaps if they had comfortable benches and then you could go there for the quietness (...) Perhaps singing, but then again, I wouldn't want to

sing religious songs. Or maybe they could have activities outside the church, so that the people who usually sit there to take some sun could participate. (Erik, unreligious)

More concerts, definitely. It's awesome acoustics and a very beautiful place (...) I guess I would go there more often if they had more concerts. That would be cool. (Agnes, unreligious)

Some students also touched upon the religious ceremonies performed at the cathedral, stating that they should somehow be restructured, if they were to attract more university students, or young adults to a broader extent. Klara, self-defined unreligious, claimed that religious ceremonies are not attractive to young people, since they tend to be too traditional, that is to say, having old songs and sermons that do not really mean much to young people. Therefore, she experienced as something positive the fact that once, when she attended the cathedral with a friend, the sermon was about something closer to her life experiences.

I somehow think that the church ceremonies are always very similar (...) They have been pretty much the same way for the past hundreds of years, so is that the kind of ceremony that a young person wants to go to? Or could it be another kind of ceremony that would be more suitable for young people? Because when you think about it, even though the songs sung are really nice (since they are part of our culture, tradition), most of them are really old songs and maybe don't tell that much about our lives now. (...) But one day I went there with a friend and I can say I liked the sermon! It was about consumerism, so I found it very nice that the topic was close to my 'world'. (Klara, unreligious)

Religious informants claimed that the activities held at the church should be aimed at a more general people; sharing the idea that the church should invest in seminars. Some of them also pointed that the church should be more visible at the University, promoting free activities (which students could choose to attend or not). They claimed that the Cathedral should invest in cooperation with other religions, and even be more active, taking part in protests, for example.

I would appreciate it if the Church took the initiative, and (of course at the initiative must come from other religious organizations too), to collaborate across religious borders and [in] social activities for young people (...). The Church does a real job in many ways (they help the refugees, for example), but

the priests could go to the square and speak at demonstrations, for example. (...) and then talk not only for Christians, but talk to everyone. The church becomes more attractive to me if these issues are discussed, not if they make new concerts. I think it's the wrong way to go, to get people there using something that doesn't have to do with the church. (...) I think that's wrong. I think it is better to believe in what's there and work with it. (..) Today people don't take the church seriously because you think it is just a place for a concert. I personally won't be more attracted to go to church in that way, if these things are prioritized. (...) the church becomes something poor in content. You can get people to go there again, but how can you affect their lives [positively]? A concert will not bring much (...). (Jakob, religious, translation by the researcher).^{xii}

The cathedral has already showed that it is willing to offer activities that are not necessarily religious oriented, such as by promoting movie discussions, as previously mentioned in the interview with the informant Ann. Therefore, investing in the activities advised by the students would not be a drastic change in the kind of activities already offered. This would just amplify the number of non-religious activities held at the institution. Such activities could bring more Lund university students to the cathedral. Uncertain, however, is whether they would translate in more attendance of young people at the church on a regular basis.

The church is investigating different ways to reach people, especially young adults, in a context of decreasing church attendance. The students interviewed provided some tips on how making the cathedral more attractive to them. Interestingly, both self-defined religious and unreligious students showed their openness to talk about this topic and their willingness to take part in forthcoming activities held at the cathedral.

6. Conclusion

6.1. Recapitulating the main findings

The methods learned from Cultural Analysis were helpful in my research in many ways. Interviews, participant observations, printed and online material became important and complementary sources of information (Kaijser & Öhlander, 2011, p. 18), being fundamental for me to get a solid basis for the analyses presented here.

Analyses of the interviews show that the informants perceive religion, in a broad extent, in different ways. The self-defined religious students stated that religion have positive and negative sides. It can help one in difficult moments, for instance, by providing him/her force to better cope with them. On the other hand, it was also mentioned that religion used for political reasons, being used to legitimate wars, and so on.

It was a shared argument among the students and representatives of Lund Cathedral that it is likely that a religious student has had a religious upbringing. By the interviews, it became evident that not only the students but even their parents, in the majority of the cases, did not have religion, in general, or Christianity as an important part of their lives. The introduction to religion occurred, in most of the cases, via school, and the media.

The students, in their majority, perceive the church mainly as a place one goes to during Easter and Christmas, for instance. Religion is straightly related to tradition, and as such, it is reasonable to infer that the participation in religious rituals, ceremonies does not necessarily imply one's affiliation to that religion. Actually, there is not only their perception, it also has to do with the fact that when they were children and adolescents, they would be

brought to the church in those occasions, which points towards a continuation of the practices of their parents.

Furthermore, as it became evident, attending the Church or not, is indeed not a result solely of their individual choices, or maintenance of the behavior of their parents. The university environment may pressure them not to be religious or not to be Christians, more specifically. As previously mentioned, Christian students tend to be object to jokes, which happens with less frequency when one is affiliated to another religion, such as Buddhism or Islam. Furthermore, the "student life" is taken as incompatible with "religious life", it is therefore a choice to make, and many students tend to prioritize the first one.

When it comes to how the students perceive the cathedral, it is mainly a place where they go to if they want to "rest" or to gather their own thoughts. It is a place they show to their relatives and friends who come for a visit, since it is taken as of historical and cultural relevance. This were just some of the findings, but enough to show that the students, whether self-defined religions or not, they do have a positive image of Lund Cathedral.

6.2. Applicability

As discussed throughout the paper, Lund Cathedral, in similarity to a company, offers different activities aiming at a diverse audience. This case study provides a better understanding of what Lund University students find positive and negative about the cathedral, with the former outnumbering the latter.

Based on the information gathered from the interviews, many of the suggestions for future activities to be held at the cathedral are actually to bring back activities already provided in the past, such as concerts. Other recommendations are the performance of seminars, debates, not limited to religious questions. These are feasible ideas that can be implemented without restructuring the way that the cathedral works. Rather, it requires that the cathedral continue being open to offer activities not necessarily religious oriented.

6.3. Indications of further research needs

As aforementioned, this research focused on gaining an understanding on how Swedish university students from Lund University relate to religion, or more specifically, Christianity and Lund Cathedral. Certainly, a comparative study would provide us with interesting data and with a broader understanding of how it is to be a religious/Christian student in the academic context.

It would be interesting therefore to perform a similar research in another university city, such as Uppsala to investigate similar questions. Also there are student life and religion perceived as contradictory? Are Christians students subject to jokes at Uppsala University as well?

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Appendix A

Questions from the in-depth interviews with Swedish university students:

- 1) What is religion for you?
- 2) How were you introduced to religion?
- 3) Do you consider yourself a religious person?
- 4) If so, do you come from a religious family? Are your parents religious?
- 5) How were you introduced to religion?
- 6) In your opinion, what can explain nowadays' decreasing church attendance by young people?
- 7) Is there any social pressure for a student not to be religious?
- 8) Have you ever been to the cathedral? If so, in what occasions?
- 9) What words come to your mind when you think of the cathedral?
- 10) How could the church become more attractive for you?

Appendix B

Questions from the interviews with young adults, members of religious oriented groups

Interview with Paula, student who is a member of KRISS:

- 1) I would like you to talk briefly about your role in the church.
- 2) Those who attend the KRISS activities, do they come from religious families?
- 3) In what ways could the church attract more people in your opinion?

Interview with Mathias, representative of "Agape in Lund":

- 1) I would like you to talk a bit about your organization.
- 2) And how about the students who join your organization, are they mostly Christian students?

Appendix C

Interviews with members/employees of the Church:

Interview with Johan, informant who works with Konfirmanderna:

1) I would like you to talk a bit about your role in the church and for how long you've been working here.

2) So would you say that the majority of konfirmanderna were raised in the church, they've been attending the church since they were children?

3) But do these teenagers usually come from a religious family or have you met teenagers, whose parents belong to other religions and it was the teenagers' choice to attend the Swedish Church?

6) I attended the Confirmation ceremony and I remember the analogy (metaphor) with "Jesus wi-fi". Can you explain this a bit? Moreover, there was a song they sang but I cannot remember its title. I could recognize it, though. I remember it is a famous song. So what song was it?

7) You said something about how many teenagers take part in this ceremony annually, do you remember how many exactly?

Part of the interview with the informant Ann:

1) I would like you to talk about your role in the church and for how long you've been working here.

2) I have been attending the Taizé service. I would like you to explain a bit why the church got interest in this kind of service. Was it a way to try to attract more young people by offering an "alternative" activity? And when did the church start having this kind of activity?

Interview with the informant John:

1) I would like you to talk a bit about your role in the church and for how long you've been working here.

2) I would like you to talk a bit about "Studentprästerna".

3) And do you think that students have more prejudice towards Christianity specifically?

4) In your opinion, why may students not be religious nowadays?

Part of the interview with the informant Cecilia:

1) I would like you to talk a bit about your role at this church and for how long you've been working here.

2) Actually I was going to ask you about these things, because I noticed that when we had that activity for schools, you were talking about the meanings of friendship, other things that were unrelated to religion. So I was going to ask you if you also talk about religion when the activities are directed to schools, or only about more general things related to the everyday experiences of school children.

3) But how is it, is it the church that presents its projects to schools? I mean, how do schools get informed about these activities performed here? Is it an interest on the part of schools to come here?

4) I was just going to ask if you ever experienced some kind of prejudice on the part of students (towards religion) during these activities. Do you notice any kind of prejudice?

Footnote

ⁱ Vad gäller Taizé, det är firandet med enkla former av gemenskap som bygger på sånger, och som bygger på tystnad och bön. (Ann, member of Lund Cathedral)

ⁱⁱ Studentprästerna. Någon att prata med om det som är viktigt för dig.

ⁱⁱⁱ Jag arbetar med studenter (...) vad gäller studenter vid universitetet (...) att vara en samtalspartner och tillgänglig till samtal (...). (Ann, member of Lund cathedral)

^{iv} (...) mina uppgifter här... de ser ut som vanliga prästs uppgifter, som handlar om dop och begravningar, gudtjänster, samtal och etc. (...) framför allt så jobbar jag med konfirmanderna och ungdomar. Konfirmander är de som går i artonde klass, de som är 14, 15 år gammal(...) Och sedan har jag varje vecka, till exempel, en bibel grupp. Jag träffar två timmar en del ungdomar, vi läser bibel, vi pratar om bibel (...) och sedan har vi andra saker omkring. Och den är egentligen min primära uppgift, att jobba med konfirmander, ungdomar (...). Det finns många skolgrupper som kommer hit, lite yngre grupper.(Johan, member of Lund Cathedral)

^v Min uppgift är att vara lärare för församlingen (...) och jag har jobbat med ungdomar, barn, konfirmander och många olika saker. Åren 2012 kom jag till Lunds domkyrka för att jobba med skolverksamheten i projekten som handlade om att utveckla program, möjligheter för grupper att komma till Lunds Domkyrka och uppleva Domkyrka. Så under ett och havt års tid, så jobbade jag med att tänka ut och att prova på pedagogiska program för förskolor och ungdomar upp till gymnasiet (...). För förskolorna har vi dels några program som ligger på under hela året. (...) berättelser om jul, påsken och har vi också jobbat med bilder. När det gäller de som är lite äldre (...) så har vi allt från matte till historia och religion (...).(Cecilia, member of the Lund Cathedral)

^{vi} Många kommer hit för att den här är en stor plats som är snart en 900 gammal kyrka. När man läsa närområden, det gör man under årskurs 3, årskurs 4, så gör man ofta en skolresa och besöker viktiga platser och då ingå ofta domkyrkan i denna. Vi har en hemsida, där vi presenterar de här programmen, verksamheter. (...) Vi skickar mail till alla enskilda skolor för att visa att det här finns, att man kan boka lektioner och upplever Lundsdomkyrkan. Sedan har vi också lärare som tidigare har varit här på besök (...) vi har fått ett email, så har vi skickat till dem: nu är det dags att boka, välkomna, nu finns det här och här (...) Vi jobbar på detta sätt för att

ta emot de som vill komma, de som brukar komma. Men också för att informera dem som inte vet att man kan komma hit. Jag brukar säga att (...) stor kunskap (...) det är gratis (...), för många skolor har ont om pengar idag och då blir det problematiskt att betala avgift för varje elev. (Cecilia, member of Lund Cathedral)

^{vii} När du var med, så hade vi vetenskapsprogram, men vi jobbade mycket mer om just de mänskliga relationerna. (...) Alla människors lika värde, demokratiska rättigheter, (...). Sedan är det så att när de bokar, när de vill veta vad kristen tro är, så handlar det att prata dels om kyrkobyggnaden, symboler, (...) men jag försöker säga att det är vad jag tänkar, jag får inte säga att "alla vi som är kristna tycker såhär." (...) jag försöker förmedla en bild vad det är för mig att vara kristen, och jag hoppas att eleverna får en större förståelse av vad det är att vara troende, för att vi lever ett väldigt religionslöst samhälle i Sverige (...).(Cecilia, member of Lund Cathedral)

^{viii} (...) jag behöver "möta" dem och lyssna på dem, på vad de tänkar, på vad de tror; (...) jag säger: "det här är min sanning, vad tycker du?" Och så börjar man fundera tillsammans. Det är jätteviktigt. (...) det som är viktigt är det att vi tydligt säga vad vi är, att vi är en kyrka, att vi är en kristen kyrka, (...) vi sysslar med bibel, vi sysslar med bön (...). Annan sak som man kan lägga till att man måste också jobba med hur man talar om Kristen tro. Till exempel, har vi jobbat mycket med musik, modern musik, som du har märkt och det är inte konstigt eftersom Jesus gjort likadant, när Han talade med lärjungar, också då gjorde han liknelser.(Johan, member of Lund Cathedral)

^{ix} Jag tror att låten som de sjöng sist var Coldplays "Fix You" och jag kommer ihåg att den där redovisningen (när de gjorde "wifi Jesus".) Det var de som hade gjort det. Vi gjorde såhär: Vi har ugenfär 17 minuter på oss att göra någonting om Kristen tro. Vad vill ni göra? Och så började de fundera. Och jag tycker att "wi-fi Jesus" redovisningen var genialiskt (...) att använda en modern bild för att tala om Påsken. "Wi-fi" betyder osynliga nätverk som gör att man kan kommunicera dator med nätverket. Om jag tänker vad Jesus är (...) han är det osynliga nätverket som möjliggör kommunikation mellan Gud och människan (...). Det viktiga är att det var de som gjort det, som sagt. (...) att jag säga till dem: "Jag litar på er". På detta sätt, växer de på sin tro, växer de som människor när jag säga: "jag vet att du kan, Jag litar på dig". Och då händer någonting. Så var det som hände. De tolkade Påsken med hjälpen av trådlös nätverket". (...) (Johan, member of the Cathedral of Lund)

^x Vi upplever också som studenterpräster att vi har väldigt mycket att konkurrera med. Det är svårt att (...) genom alla de aktiviteter som finns där för studenter idag, att ha någonting som verkligen attraherar dem och

hittar formulär. (...) vi har hittat det med film, vi distribuera biljetter till bra filmer (på Kino) för studenter... de är ju gratis (...), det handlar om icke-religiösa filmer som väcker existentiella frågor.(Ann, member of Lund Cathedral)

^{xi} (...) att gå till kyrkan är också en social grej, det är något man gör tillsammans med sina vänner eller sin familj. (...) När jag gick in gymnasium hade jag en kompis som brukade gå till gudtjänster, spela och sjunga. Och inga av oss var troende eller religiös på något sätt, utan det var mer en gemenskaps grej, vi hade det trevligt ihop. Och jag tror att det spelar en verklig stor roll om man har vänner och familj som går i kyrkan.(Sally, unreligious)

^{xii} Jag skulle uppskatta om kyrkan tog initiativ och (det är klart at initiativ måste komma från andra religiösa organizationer också), till att sammarbeta över religions gränser (...) Kyrkan gör ett riktigt bra arbete på många sätt (de hjälper flyktingat exempelvis), men prästerna kunde gå på torget och tala på demonstrationer (...) och på så sätt prata inte bara för kristna utan för alla människor. Kyrkan blir mer attraktiv för mig om dessa frågor diskuteras, inte om de gör nya konserter. Jag tror att det är fel väg att gå, att få människor dit genom att använda någonting som inte har med kyrkan att göra. Jag tror att det är bättre att tro på vad som finns där och jobbar med det. (..) man tar inte kyrka på allvar om man tänker att den är bara en plats för konserter. Jag personligen blir inte mer attraherad av att gå till kyrkan på det sättet. (...) om dessa saker prioriteras, så blir kyrkan någonting fattigt på innehåll. Man kan få folk att gå dit en gång, men hur kan man påverka deras liv? En konsert kommer inte att ge mycket (...). (Jakob, religious)