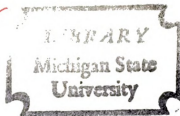


EXCHANGE NETWORKS AND STRATIFICATION
IN A DANISH FARMING VILLAGE

Dissertation for the Degree of Ph. D.
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY
KNUD LAURITS HANSEN


1976



This is to certify that the
thesis entitled
EXCHANGE NETWORKS AND STRATIFICATION
IN A DANISH FARMING VILLAGE

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Knud Laurits Hansen

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of the requirements for
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ABSTRACT

EXCHANGE NETWORKS AND STRATIFICATION
IN A DANISH FARMING VILLAGE

By

Knud Laurits Hansen

This study is an attempt to outline the influence of a changing social structure on exchange networks. The fieldsite for empirical work was a small, rural village, named Fynby, located on the coast of Fyn, Denmark. Fynby has existed as a village since 800 A.D., and characterized a traditional social structure with defined norms and expectations for nearly all social situations.

The author was reared in this village until early adolescence, and returned twenty two years later for a one year study, participating in local exchange systems and observing exchange phenomena in the community setting. On the basis of such observations and a series of pilot studies, a questionnaire was developed and administered to a 33% sample of village families. The questionnaire attempted to determine who exchanged what with whom.

Seven stratification criteria were tested to determine their influence on specific exchanges in Fynby. These were:

1. Gender
2. Kinship
3. Occupational Skill
4. Village Nativity
5. Neighborhood
6. Traditional Social Status
7. Economic Wealth

Four categories of exchange behaviors were developed on the basis of observation and pilot study results. These categories included:

1. Exchange of Skilled Services
2. Exchange of Food Commodities
3. Exchange of Visits
4. Exchange of Help

Gender influences all categories of exchange, effectively excluding women from nearly all of the exchanges studied, and limiting their role to those tasks directly involving home and children. Few village women have the power, skill, status, or economic wealth to control the distribution of valued services or commodities. As a group, women are marginal participants in the village exchange system, their participation determined by their husband's ability to participate in exchanges.

Kinship ties permit exchanges to occur where normally they are not possible; the food exchange is the only exchange almost exclusively limited to kin related individuals. Rules for or expectations for reciprocation are generally absent in those situations where one kin related exchange partner is not able to provide skilled services or valued commodities.

Skilled craftsmen are essentially the only segment of the village population that control the distribution of their services. Unskilled workers and professionals do not have the ability to control distribution of their services since their skills are generally not valued or in demand to the same extent craft skills are. Craftsmen express intolerance of those who cannot contribute craft skills, and limit their service exchanges to fellow craftsmen. Craft skills did not appear relevant for exchanges of help or visitation, though craftsmen tend to only help and visit other craftsmen.

With the advent of new settlers to Fynby, nativity functions to exclude large segments of the village population from exchanges studied. Nativity, as a factor for exclusion, is invoked when a villager has no knowledge of the other criteria used for stratification.

Neighborhood patterns are not immediately obvious today since new settlers have integrated all village neighborhoods.

Data, however, found neighborhood to influence exchanges within established networks whose members are predominantly village natives.

Economic wealth appears to automatically exclude families from the exchanges studied. Apparent wealth in families once active in established exchange networks are also excluded.

Structural changes, initiated by economic and political changes in Denmark, have removed village consensus on a traditional set of stratification dimensions. Fynby has become a village in name only, a collection of small groups bounded by specific and limited interaction, and economically attached to a developing and neighboring commercial center.

EXCHANGE NETWORKS AND STRATIFICATION
IN A DANISH FARMING VILLAGE

by

Knud Laurits Hansen

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Sociology

1976

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1976



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Mrs. Jette Brown assisted final completion of the project by securing typing help and arranging for the duplication of final copies of the dissertation. Without the help of these people, the project would not have been completed.

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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

This is a study of Fynby, a small village located on the island of Fyn, Denmark.¹ Fynby has existed for nearly 1200 years, and in those years developed a social structure with rigidly defined stratification criteria and expectations regarding appropriate behavior of villagers. Recent changes in the village altered this social structure. I am attempting to look at the influence of a changing social structure on the exchange behavior of Fynby villagers.

Jon Sundbo describes the traditional rural communities of Denmark as having roughly three social classes (Sundbo, p. 123). One of these consisted of landed elites and larger farmers, and was sharply ranked internally by size of land and farm holdings. Farm workers and industrial workers made up a second social class with those farm workers housed at the farm considered somewhat lower ranked than workers with homesteads in the village. The third social class consisted of the smaller independent owners of business concerns, and this class included teachers and office workers living

in the village.

Traditional Fynby had a stratification system that essentially "mapped - out" an individual's expected behavior in all conceivable social situations. Such a system had little room for mobility, and individuals born into a particular class remained in that class. Children were socialized by parents, peers, and schools to their positions in the village. In a sense, one's status and its concomitant set of role behaviors and expectations were continually validated by the village structure through the limited set of alternative roles available to villagers.

Basically, the following set of factors characterized the social structure of traditional Fynby:

1. A specified and limited set of social classes.
2. Explicitly defined norms and expectations for proper behavior.
3. A limited and nearly non-existent possibility for mobility.
4. Validation of defined norms and expectations by social institutions, community consensus, and daily experience.

In such a structure, social interaction is mapped by the structure, and "norms and expectations which together with tasks form the constituent parts of the roles in S (social structure) will tell the person what to do in most if not all social situations" (Anderson and Carlos, p. 5).

Traditional Fynby, however, has changed, and since the mid 1960s fulfills few of these conditions; there are now numerous expectations influencing each and all incidents of interaction.² Norms and expectations for proper role behavior have little of the former consensus that so characterized traditional villages. Social institutions are changing, local political control is now vested in a district government office, traditional craft skills are learned in centralized schools - not in the village, and schools have altered their curriculum to prepare children for further education. In summary, traditional norms and expectations are no longer reinforced by social institutions or a stable and agreed upon stratification system.

Fynby also experienced a population explosion, and since 1968 has more than doubled in size. New migrants arrived from all sections of Denmark, and not only populated the whole new region developed in the center of Fynby, but also integrated the old neighborhoods. Village natives are now the minority in Fynby. Relationships and patterns



of interaction developed over long periods of time in a small and stable community have been disrupted by such changes in the population. Interaction in such a changing system is a matter of the summated results of individual choice, and not the norms and expectations of the traditional structure.

Today, an individual's interaction (in the case of this study, interaction is limited to exchange behavior) is not necessarily mapped-out by the social structure. There is an element of freedom and choice available to an individual when relating to others from different social classes. For example, a professionally ranked person (such as a teacher) commands much respect and deference from non-professionals in social situations such as parties, feasts, or casual meetings, but a skilled craftsman commands higher rank in an exchange of services because he not only possesses valued skills, but he also has control over the distribution of these skills; in contrast, the teacher is obligated by the State to teach all children qualified for school attendance. There are now many options available for exchanges to precisely those social classes most constrained by the traditional structure.

There is a precedent for studying village structure through interaction.³ Studies on visiting, inter-marriage, and neighboring have illustrated the relationship of social



rank and interaction. Homans, in his review of the bank wiring room and the Norton gang study proposes a direct link between social rank and interaction (Homans, 1950). Whyte carefully documented the relationship of Doc, as leader, with his lieutenants, and with the gang members at large. Both of these studies proposed a relationship between rank and interaction.

Homans proposes several hypotheses in his discussion of rank differentiation and interaction (Homans, 1950). These hypotheses are most likely only functional in social systems where rank is determined by values and rank - differentiation criteria generally shared by the population; but they do not adequately account for social situations such as in Fynby where individual choice is not likely to be validated by prior experience, and an existing set of norms and expectations.

My study is essentially an exploration of what happens to exchange networks in situations where stratification criteria may vary, and where individuals are forced to rely on personal choice rather than an explicit and traditional set of norms and expectations in their exchange behavior.

Specific stratification criteria are established where possible for the village, and serve as independent variables influencing exchange behavior. These criteria are based upon field observations in Fynby, extended discussions



with villagers, and data results indicating consistent exclusion of groups within the village from network exchanges. Only criteria that are clearly definable, for which population characteristics permits classification of the sampled population, and which are defined to exist by students who have done field work in Danish villages are used (Svalastoga, 1959). These stratification criteria are:

1. Gender
2. Kinship
3. Occupational Skill
4. Village Nativity
5. Neighborhood
6. Social Status (deference)
7. Economic Status

These seven criteria are the most obvious and clearly function to influence exchange behavior.

Specific categories of exchange behaviors were developed through a pilot study emphasizing the range of exchanges made by villagers. These categories included:

1. Exchange of Skilled Services
2. Exchange of Food Commodities
3. Exchange of Help
4. Exchange of Visits

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Each of these four exchange categories are defined, and examples given in the questionnaire used for the final set of interviews. They are the dependent variables of the study.

Exchange of Skilled Services is defined as assistance provided by trained craftsmen to other craftsmen. A craftsman is one having completed a recognized apprenticeship in one of the craft skills, and can include carpentry, plumbing, heating and metal work, painting, masonry, and like skilled crafts.

Exchange of Food Commodities is limited to the pig exchange as data and observation in Fynby reveal this to be the only non-cash transaction of food in the village. Non-cash food exchanges are possible in economies where food products are locally produced. In situations where local control of food production is minimal, food exchanges, especially of the non-cash variety, are largely beyond the bounds of possibility. In Fynby, only pigs are locally produced in a quantity allowing personal exchange and local setting of prices, so this became the food exchange studied.

Exchange of Help is defined to include lending, borrowing, and the giving of a hand. Helping behavior has a specific place in the village culture.⁴ Citizenship and friendship are formed on the basis of trust, dependability, and availability to help when needed. Such helping behavior

has been structurally incorporated, and is known as the venne tjeneste (friend's favor) with specific rules and expectations for the proper giving of help - it is a ritual.

Exchange of Visits is the fourth exchange behavior studied. There are three major types of visitation in Fynby. The first consists of large group-sponsored feasts held in the village hall. The second type consists of family feasts for holidays, anniversaries, birthdays, weddings, and confirmations. The third is the evening coffee for friends and neighbors. Data for visitation deals with these evening coffee visits since these reflect personal choice for companionship and not the social and traditional obligations of family or group-sponsored feasts.

Data is presented on these four exchange categories. Data results concentrate on the range of services and commodities exchanged, the nature of the actual exchange behavior, and village participation in these exchanges. The discussion section describes the influence of each stratification criterion on the four categories of exchanges. The conclusion summarizes results and makes tentative predictions regarding the emerging structure as seen in the exchange patterns in Fynby.

This is not a theoretical or comparative study where the attempt is to explicate carefully developed hypotheses. It is rather an explorative study to develop and refine



the techniques of studying changing communities and their exchange networks; it sets the stage for future comparative work in Scandinavian and American villages. The task here is to not only find out something about structure and exchange in Fynby, but to determine the methods and instruments of research possible in the traditional village.

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CHAPTER II
FIELD SITE DESCRIPTION

Fynby is a small village of 155 households. It is surrounded by farms on all sides, and there is only one access route to a neighboring village. To the north of Fynby is the highway. Beyond the highway are the large fields of Minde Farm. Redoak Farm is to the west of Fynby, and is still the largest farm in the area. South of the village are small farms with fields stretching to the sea. There is little room for expansion here - the land is rich, well suited for farming, and privately owned. And finally, east of Fynby lies the village of Husby, connected by one road with a distance of less than a mile.

Fynby is located in Oakhill Kommune (municipality). This Kommune consists of eight sogne (parishes) first established some one thousand years ago when Christianity came to Denmark. The word sogn means to search, and indicates the collected property of all individuals who sought the same church for guidance. The same eight



sogne exist today, with Fynby being one of the eight original village sogne.

Weapons and tools have been located in the area, indicating habitation at least 10,000 years ago. The land was cleared and cultivation started nearly 5000 years ago. There are still several stone graves near Fynby dating from this period. Villages such as Husby were settled around 500 B.C., and are still located near their original sites. Fynby was first settled in the mid eight hundreds.

After the eleven hundreds, there was rule by the large landowners, among them being Redoak farm. Redoak still owns most of the land west of Fynby, but its influence on the daily life of the village is minimal.

A large elm and circle of boulders in the village center date from this early period. Public meetings were held here. Leaders would sit on the boulders to discuss community affairs, hear grievances, or pass new local ordinances.

In the early and mid eighteen hundreds much of the land and facilities in Fynby were sold to local inhabitants by Redoak Farm. The administration of the sogn was transferred with such sales, and in 1841 new local self-governing boards were established.

The sogn remained intact until 1970, when the national government consolidated Denmark's sogne into larger districts or kommune. Fynby and Husby were originally part of the same sogn, but in 1921 heated arguments in the sogn administration forced a separation of the two villages.

The arguments have long been forgotten, but the feelings of separation between the two villages still exist.

Eight neighboring sogne, including Fynby and Husby, were annexed. Oakhill Kommune became the new municipality, and the administrative center for this new kommune is located just east of Husby.

Hansen's grocery store marks the boundary between Fynby and Husby. Jette Brunn's farm then stretches from the store to the edge of the village. Once past her farm, the church and blacksmith shop at the village center is clearly visible. The size of the old village is immediately apparent, for there are less than a dozen houses from the edge of the village to the traditional center.

The church is still the pride of Fynby, though few today consider themselves active members of a church. Built in the eleven hundreds of granite boulders with walls nearly two feet thick, the church represents the village's historical place and development. The tower is attached to the north side, according to custom, and in the past also served as a storage shed for weapons. The baptismal fond, installed in the early thirteen hundreds, is made of granite and decorated with carved, waving vines, and the heads of men and double clovers. The pulpit is handcarved oak and installed in 1650. The organ is a recent acquisition - first installed in 1969.

Husby represents one form of village development



with housing located in two long rows on both sides of the main street. Prior to the 1700s, most farms were located within the village limits, and had long, narrow tracts of land projecting out from the main street. Today, the original sections of Husby are all located on the highway, and cover a section nearly 1.5 miles long.

Fynby represents another form of village development. There are three main streets which form an imperfect rectangle and a central commercial area near the crossing of these streets. Today, with the large demand for housing, the central area of the rectangle contains four new streets. This central area was farm land until the late sixties, but in 1973 the whole section was developed and Fynby doubled in size.

The village retains its traditional charm with stores and shops well integrated into housing sections. Less than 15 years ago Fynby contained a great number of business concerns; most of these are now gone. All new commercial and residential developments will have to occur in the industrial zone between Husby and Fynby.

In 1956 Fynby lost its railroad station and tracks. This land belongs to the kommune, and there are plans for a development of a green area with hiking and bicycle trails connecting several villages.

Fynby enjoyed prosperity from the mid-fifties until the end of the sixties. There was full employment and the villagers accumulated the luxuries already seen by the urban dwellers of Odense and København. It was also in this

decade that villagers could afford to build, and a series of new homes were constructed east of the church. By the seventies the continued demand for new housing forced a kommune purchase of farm land for development. From 1965 until 1970 an average of 6 houses were built each year, and by 1974 the development of the central village area was complete.

There are no plans for further developments and expansion of Fynby. The village is zoned rural and residential and the population should remain stable for the next decade.

There are development plans for areas between Fynby and Husby, and for Husby proper. These plans call for the development of Husby and Koldby as one community with a commercial center for the southern half of the kommune. Fynby, while less than a mile from Husby, will remain rural and residential. These plans call for the building of approximately 17 houses each year on a 50 hectare tract of land between Husby and Koldby. There are further plans for an industrial park on 22 hectares of land south of Husby and bordering Fynby.⁵

These plans represent the needs of a new and growing growing segment of settlers in the kommune. It is necessary to distinguish between native and immigrant inhabitants in my research data to fully understand this changing population. When presenting data on the population characteristics for Fynby, the following terms will be used:

1. Native Resident - one born in Fynby sogn.
2. Early Settler - one migrating to Fynby prior to 1965.
3. New Settler - one migrating to Fynby after 1965, and in most instances after 1970.

A division of the population by these three dates seem to most accurately reflect the Fynby population.

Fynby sogn is small. There are 426 adults in the sogn (1976). It should be noted that the sogn is an area larger than the village, and my sample area and field study site was the village, not the sogn as a whole.

Table 1: Adult population of Fynby Sogn for 1965 and 1975.*

Age	1965		1975	
	N	%	N	%
20-24	32	9	6	1
25-39	86	36	166	39
40-59	65	27	189	44
60-64	14	6	16	4
65+	55	22	49	12
Total	242		426	

* Figures include areas outside the sample area of Fynby, though still within the Sogn. All figures are derived from kommune records.

An inspection of migration patterns indicates significant changes in the village population. Prior to 1949, the majority of inhabitants were born either in the village or the surrounding areas of the sogn. Few were born in areas outside the sogn. By the early sixties there was increasing migration to Fynby from surrounding areas by settlers familiar with the village and village life. In the late sixties the first new houses were built on land east of the church. Lars Gersbo sold his land along with his farm and decided to commute to the factories for work. By the seventies, well over 65% of the settlers to Fynby were from outside the kommune - a virtual flood of outsiders by traditional standards.

Table 2: Number of Settlers Arriving Yearly to Fynby Village for the Years 1965 to 1975.*

Year	Number of Settlers	Year	Number of Settlers
1965	2	1970	13
1966	4	1971	9
1967	8	1972	25
1968	16	1973	27
1969	4	1974	18
		1975	8

* Figures tabulated from data provided by kommune authorities.

There are problems of adjustment for native villagers, and these problems are manifested in many ways, not the least of which is in exchange networks and communication patterns



within the village. There is feigned ignorance on the part of native villagers and early settlers regarding the new housing development and its residents. The development area is strange to them, and not really a part of Fynby as they know it and have come to accept it. Many simply said "I know none there" and refused further comment.

I took my grandmother, a sixth generation village native, on a drive to the new section of Fynby. Parked along the edge of the section, on a hill overlooking the village, and with the old church plainly visible, she asked me "Where are we?" This is less than a mile from her home. She is extreme in her ignorance of the new section of the village, but she is not alone.

Over 35% of the present population of Fynby is native to either the village, sogn, or kommune; 50% are settlers from outside the kommune; and 16% are settlers from other islands and areas of Denmark. This population should remain stable for some time since the migration has, to a large extent, stopped. There is little land available for further building in the village.

The 35% of the village population native to the sogn see their sogn as composed of two distinct groups of people: those having been there since youth, or having been born in the village, and those newly settled in the area. Natives tend to believe that most new settlers are alike, live in the new development, and share similar interests which are alien to traditional village life.

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I recorded data on the place of birth and present home address of heads of households in Fynby to test these perceptions. This gave me information on 155 houses in the village. Dividing the village into three sections - new, old, and bordering - I obtained the following data.

Table 3: Place of Birth and Home Location of Heads of Households in Fynby Village.

Place of Birth	New Section	Border Section	Old Section
Fynby Village	5	2	21
Oakhill Kommune	8	8	17
Fyn	18	14	36
Sjaelland	6	2	7
Jylland	2	3	6

It is not true that settlers are restricted to the new housing development section. In fact, they are distributed evenly in all sectors of the village, indicating use of factors other than home location for distinctions between native and non-native status. Home location is the most obvious factor because of the recency and the size of the housing development. However, the use of home location by the natives and earlier settlers as a source of discrimination is erroneous on their part.



When asked why people moved to Fynby, well over 50% of the earlier settlers and natives insisted the family was reason enough. Either they had relatives already living in Fynby, or one of the members of the couple interviewed was a Fynby native. The most common answer given by the native resident was "This is my birth place."

New settlers are less dependent upon family ties, and migrated because of available land and housing. Land alone is the greatest single attraction to new settlers.

Table 4: Reason for Moving to or Staying in Fynby Village, and Year of Migration to Village or Birth in Village.

Reason for Moving or Staying in Fynby	Year of Migration to Village or Birth in Village	
	1885-1964	1965-1975
Family	56%	18%
Land/House	13%	47%
Work	25%	6%
Other	6%	29%

Data tabulated from 52 families sampled.

The above data also indicates that work is of minimal importance as a factor for moving to Fynby for the new settlers. Only 6% of these new settlers listed work as a reason for moving. The natives and earlier settlers realize the social importance of work in the traditional community. For them, work is an integral part of their community relationships - not an isolated factor. The new settlers



see Fynby in a utilitarian fashion, it is a place to locate land and housing, but not necessarily a place for either work or extended family and social relationships.

Besides differences in motivations for moving to or staying in Fynby, there are also differences in educational levels and occupational skills. For all people in my sample who arrived or lived in Fynby prior to 1969, only three had more than the basic seven years of schooling. For those arriving after 1970, over 50% had more education. In fact, 40% had technical training and/or college type experience.

Such limited education in the natives and earlier settlers is one possible explanation for difficulties with data collection and interviews. The villagers are alienated by written requests or writing during the interview. There is an active suspicion of writing. Several subjects, honestly interested in assisting me with the pilot studies, could not get themselves to record their activities in even the simplest way possible.

Erna Jensen, an older lady and former owner of a stationary store in Fynby, provided me with nearly nine hours of detailed life history on tape. I left an activity sheet with her to complete on two specific days. She could not complete these sheets, and two months later finally acknowledged that "I am not much for writing."

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The borgmester indicated such problems also exist for office and staff. He instructs employees of the kommune to assist villagers in completing all forms and letters when necessary. The headmaster of an afterschool in Jylland also reported this hesitation to write and lack of reading skills to be the greatest problem for the Danish educational system. Reading and writing are not traditional modes of expression, and villages such as Fynby are experiencing much difficulty meeting the needs for this form of communication in the bureaucratic world.

The presence of the school appeared to be more symbolic in Fynby than anything else. These schools represent the autonomy and identity of the village, and they indicate control of parents over their children. As effective agents for change, the schools and teachers fail in most instances. Teachers are not insurgents in the traditional village, they are marginal residents collecting pay checks.

The obvious institutional function of the school is to educate children. To the village parent in Fynby, the schools are cherished as symbols of the activity of the village caring for its children.

New settlers to Fynby have educations sufficiently high to place barriers to communication with the native and earlier settler. Of all the college educated in Fynby

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only one was able to overcome local barriers to speak and deal openly with professionals. He accomplished this by building his own home, and actively seeking advice and assistance from the older craftsmen in the village.

Another difference between new settlers and the native and older residents is the place of employment. Nearly 60% of the population still work in the village. Another 18% work within the kommune, and the traditional pattern seems intact with more than 79% working within five miles of home.

This pattern is rapidly changing. Over half of the new settlers to Fynby now work outside both the village and the kommune. The new settlers are more mobile, they have a greater percentage of their friends outside the village, and they shop, visit, and do other activities outside the village.

The nature of work performed by villagers has also altered with the last group of settlers. For the first time there is a large category of professionals living in the village. These are teachers and graduate engineers who have decided to settle in Fynby.

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Table 5: Occupational Distribution and Year of Arrival or Birth of Fynby Villagers

Occupation	Year of Arrival or Birth					
	1915-1964		1965-1969		1970-1975	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Professional	0	0	0	0	13	19
Independent	11	19	2	8	0	0
Crafts/Skilled	9	16	9	36	23	33
Unskilled	37	65	14	56	33	48

Figures represent occupational classification of heads of households and were derived from data provided by kommune authorities.

The decrease in percentage of independents in Fynby is predominantly due to the lack of available land for farming and available business space for commercial endeavors. Both of these activities would take a great deal of capital, and it is unlikely that new settlers to Fynby would be able to accumulate such amounts. A second factor is zoning. The kommune administration has zoned Fynby rural and residential, so all business concerns have to locate either in Husby or the area between Fynby and Husby.

The increase in the percentage of skilled workers is due to the demands of several small shops and factories which have located in Oakhil Kommune. They are the producers of electronic equipment, farm machinery, and kitchen appliances. The number of unskilled workers in Fynby has decreased as there is not the demand for labor on the farms. The larger farms have mechanized and need



only one or two to run and adjust the equipment. The smaller farms are on the whole too small to support other than the immediate family.

The greatest change in the realm of occupational skills for Fynby is the entry of the female into the labor force. The new settlers mark the first group where the number of females reporting themselves to be employed outnumbers the number reporting themselves to be housewives. For the settlers arriving after 1970 only 37% of the females are listed as housewives. Over 68% of all females arriving in Fynby prior to 1970 list themselves as housewives. Along with being employed, there is also a significant number listing themselves as being in school and receiving training for employment (6%).

The females are entering the labor force at all levels. 12% are in professional and/or academic work, 10% in the crafts/skilled level, and 37% are in the unskilled levels. The geographic location of employment for these women is also greater than in any year prior to 1970. In fact, all but one female (out of 35 employed) of those migrating to Fynby or living in Fynby prior to 1970 worked in the village. After 1970 over 60% are working outside both Fynby and the kommune.

The nature of employment and place of employment for the new settlers in Fynby is not traditional. It is a response to technological changes in Denmark and the island. The

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working female of the last group of settlers is very visible to the village - she leaves each morning to go to work in another community, in many cases she works as a professional or skilled worker, she dresses differently, speaks differently, in many instances owns her own automobile, and she has other females in the village care for her children. To a great extent she is feared and envied by the traditional segments of the village.

In contrast to the new settlers, the basic family structure of the traditional Fynby inhabitant is nuclear with ready access to an extended set of kinfolk. Affluence has separated the generations, and provided each generation with separate living quarters and separate homes. Sentiment and tradition has kept the families somewhat joined in the same village and sogn. Fyn is small enough to accomodate traditional family sentiments with modern individual requirements for independence and privacy.

The denseness of kinfolk breeds both familiarity and complexity in the social relationships of the village. The norms of social relations are often the result of a complicated set of kinship and social rules. The peculiar bigotries and eccentricities of traditional villages such as Fynby are most likely artifacts of the web of kinship relations and dependencies.

The male's role of provider retains primary importance in the traditional families of Fynby. For example,



Sofie Nielsen had an hospital examination for cancer since there is a history of cancer in her family. Her husband, a devoted worker and family provider, seldom misses work. The morning of the examination was not exception. He had gone to work, leaving Sofie to arrange for child care and transportation to the hospital.

Neither Sofie or her mother-in-law, who cared for the children, viewed Jens as being negligent of family responsibilities. He was doing what he had to, and he did not offer to take off work, or care for the children, or anything deviating from a normal work schedule. It is typical and receives support from both the nuclear and extended family members.

Erna Jensen, a neighbor to Sofie and Jens Nielsen, is a third generation village native who summarized the roles of men and women as follows:

I think she (the wife) should sew her children's clothes, and keep her house nice. She should welcome her husband with a little something delicious, and so on. That is what I think... it should be an old fashion family with a MOTHER.

When she goes at home, then the man should not have much to do there. That, I don't think is right. Whe he is out and earning the money, then she doesn't have more than she can manage at home. And then he has to do all the yard work, the man's work outside. But I don't think he shold have any woman's work when she does not work outside the home. Isn't that right? When he has to slave for money to bring home to the family, he has enough. So, she can care for the rest.

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For many women married to staunchly traditional men, there can be constant frustration. Margid Jørgensen is an example of the skilled woman who has been unable to induce her husband to share child responsibility. Mads, her husband, says, simply, "it is not my job." The children are Margid's responsibility, and he is the provider for all of them. Yet, Margid, besides caring for the children and the home, does all book keeping for Mads' garage - a task often taking five hours a day.

Margid once reported to me, nearly crying:

When I was little, why I could always go to my father at night. We would sit in the living room and my father would read a story to us all, mother would be sitting there too, knitting, or sewing, or something like that. Me and my brother would be there, playing, and always listening to my father as he would read. It was great.

Mads, when he comes in from the garage, he is tired, and then it is just 'arn't those kids in bed yet?' and he can never find it in himself to spend just half an hour with them. He should understand that that is all it takes. The strength from him to spend half an hour reading to the kids and showing them they are important too. But he never had that in him, and it shows.

Perhaps Margid has idealized her childhood. It is true that Margid was raised in the city and her father was unusually attentive to the children. Her mother has testified to that. At the present Margid is suffering because of lack of childhood and adolescent exposure to the extremes of the traditional village and the separation of tasks within the traditional family. She has left Mads



three times in the last year, yet does not have the courage to stay away. She feels she needs to stay for the children, and now says "What can I do?"

Children presently growing up in the village and in traditional homes will have a difficult time adjusting to changes. Margid's children, both boys, are already mimicking their father - "All you women think about is your woman's club." Jens Nielsen rewards his son with his laughter when he tells his sister she cannot help in the garden because that is man's work.

The attitudes of Fynby men are traditional turned self-righteous in the face of change. Men's work is important, women have to adjust their schedules to the men's and with the older traditional women there is no question about the rightness of this arrangement.

Niels Husman was having a late afternoon coffee when I came. I was invited to stay and we sat and talked for some time. Casually he said to his wife "I am going over to Ejvind Mikkelsen to help with the cement work. It should take nearly four hours." His wife complained about this since supper was nearly completed. Niels said nothing, and she finally said "I wish you would have said something earlier in the day." Niels said he had made a commitment to Ejvind, and there was nothing he could do. Niels left and the conversation ended. His wife made no further mention of the incident.

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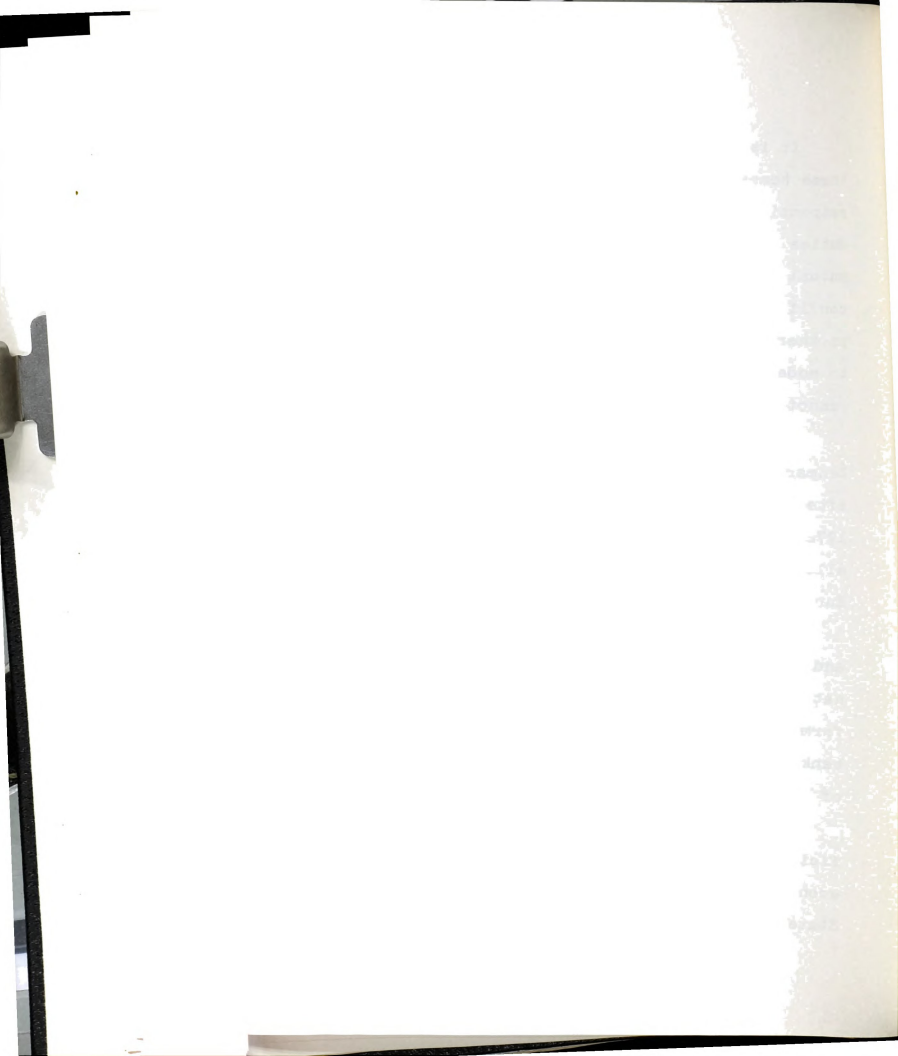
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It is somewhat different for the new settlers. In these homes most of the women have to work to share the responsibility for house payments. Children and household duties are shared by both adults, and there is greater mutual understanding between husband and wife. Family conflicts are mostly within those families where one partner has made the transition from traditional and rigid to modern and flexible role responsibilities, but the other cannot envision the changes necessary for such a transition.

Many of the structural changes in Fynby result from Denmark's increasing involvement in the European community after World War II. This involvement was reaffirmed by the 1972 vote to join the Common Market, and Denmark moved to align itself with a technologically advanced confederacy of European States.

The vote required standardization of economic policies and greater control of local community affairs by large national government bureaucracies. These controls came in the form of national food and agricultural organizations, national banks, and industrial associations assuring continued production of goods necessary for Common Market trade and consumption.

Integration, previously based on isolated, self-sufficient rural economies, became part of the single national economy with strong ties to the international scene. The State exerted control over local districts to insure the



existence, security and order of a large market and its continued functioning.

The traditional power structure within the community changed because the local bases for political and economic control had no say in large organizations with national and international interests. Along with new bases of economic and political power came development of new village structures, essentially independent of the traditional order of things. New occupations, new facilities, and new reward systems became part of the changing community structure.

Traditional social structure defines norms and expectations for nearly all social situations. People adhere to such norms because they functioned to insure mutual benefits for the participants, but what happens when disruptive forces, such as industrialization, nationalization of village economy, and district government offices, literally invade a community? If Blau is accurate in his analysis of social exchange we can expect a cessation of traditional exchanges as old norms are altered and expectations for returns based on old norms are not forthcoming (Blau, 1964, p.6).

Exchanges tend to become specific with such changes in the village structure; the currency for exchange is specified, and the duration of an exchange limited to specific transactions. For example, the Verdet of northern Norway permitted an exchange of an unspecified amount of meat and skin for assistance herding reindeer. There was no limit on

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the amount of herding performed, on the time given to the herding, or on the number of members from one family assisting. The exchange was traditional and was performed each year for many generations. Today, payment is made to each individual assisting at the time the assistance is given, payment is specified as to amount and nature of goods used for pay ahead of time, and the transaction is completed at the time of herding with no expectations for the following year.

Many exchanges in Fynby were also specific with the value of exchange content specified in monetary terms, and the duration of an exchange relationship limited to specific transactions. Nearly all exchanges outside the established exchange networks followed such a set of conditions.

Individuals make a commitment to a particular exchange, and not necessarily to a more permanent exchange network relationship. The decision as to which alternative is chosen is based on personal needs and not by rules of a traditional social structure since what constitutes benefits at one point in time might not constitute benefits at another in communities in transition. More likely than not, exchanges will not be made following the patterns of a traditional structure because of the dubious worth of such investments in a new economic and social structure.⁶



When speaking of the worth of exchanged objects, the reference is to some notions of currency of exchange based on a community set of norms and expectations. Worth, however, is also caught up in the social relationship of the actors involved with the exchange (Blau, p.95). Traditional communities undergoing rapid change find themselves faced with new roles and expectations, new institutions, and with individuals who have radically different personal goals and means of reaching these goals. Such individuals also bring new conceptions about the worth of exchange objects. These conceptions do not necessarily fit pre - existing norms and expectations, nor do traditional community members expect or receive traditionally valued exchanges with such new members.

To briefly summarize, when speaking about transactions in traditional communities we are focusing not only on the actual act of exchange, but also on conceptions of the valued objects for exchange, of the worth and investment rules for equating exchanges, and on community perception of rules for attaining benefits in exchanges. Rapid community change is disruptive, and the strategies once used for investment and exchange are no longer optimal for maximization of benefits. People will have to alter not only their conceptions of what the objects of exchange are, but also their personal goals and the means necessary to reach these goals. This calls for adaptive strategies



on the part of community inhabitants. Such adaptive strategies can be the development of new networks, new objects for exchange, and new rules for exchange.

Fynby was not isolated from such changes in the nation, and the first set of local changes came in the mid 1950s with the closing of the train station and later removal of the tracks. Two grocery stores also closed; the shoemaker died and was not replaced; the baker could not compete and sold his shop; and the tailor moved to a nearby city to work for a large clothing store. There were further changes in the 1960s with the bicycle mechanic announcing his retirement, and the death of both the village physician and veterinarian. Nearly half the farms were either sold, or else stopped production as smaller farms needed income from outside employment.

Surviving businesses are also seeing changes today. The automobile mechanic, carpenter, and blacksmith are all refusing further apprentices since they are too expensive to train. The dair will close by the summer of 1978 since it is too small and old to operate profitably. One of the two remaining stores will also close soon since it cannot compete with the supermarket in Koldby. And finally, the blacksmith shop, which has been the center of the village for over 400 years, is now located in a non-descript building in the industrial zone between Fynby and Husby. The old

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buildings are being torn down this year to accomodate a village parking lot for the hall patrons.

The village hall has represented the identity and unity of the village since it was built in 1919 with village donations and labor. It has housed all the village feasts, political meetings, club and organizations meetings, and endless family feasts. This hall is scheduled to be replaced by a large kommune hall in the late 1970s which is to be located in Husby, nearly three miles from Fynby.

The schools are to be replaced by a central school in Husby by 1980. Kommune authorities and planning bodies have already decided that it is too expensive to maintain a separate building for 115 students. The village sports field and club building are scheduled to move with the school, and thereby the place of active sport teams representing each village will be altered.

The village choir and drama clubs closed when the director became ill and could not lead them. Associations remaining in the village include the Sports Club, the Hunting Club, and the Housewives Association. There is a citizens action group which attracts nominal interest, but little participation.

Finally, the governing council of the village once included seven elected representatives, but this council is now defunct. Village consolidation with the Kommune now requires only one village representative to sit on the



Kommune Board along with 7 other representatives and a number of permanent government planning and economic experts. Essentially, political control of the village now effectively lies in a kommune body of elected representatives and permanent government members.

These changes have not been gradual; they have occurred in less than 20 years which is a short time considering the 1100 years of village history. The village could have managed to retain its traditional identity and perpetuate patterns of interaction functional in the past had its population remained constant. However, in 1968 the newly created kommune board, under advisement of a permanent planning committee, voted to permit building in the central region of Fynby. This region was part of a large farm lying fallow since the death of the farmer. This council decision, later opposed by the majority of villagers, initiated a large in - migration of settlers.

From 1968 until the summer of 1972, building permits were issued, and by 1975 the central region was completely inhabited. The village population doubled, and with the gradual influx of settlers since 1955, the village now consists of less than 35% native villagers.

Settlers are concentrated in the new section, but they are also evenly distributed in the original settlement areas. Younger natives have accepted such changes, but older natives resent the newcomers who have, by their sheer number, finished

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the transformation of Fynby from a village to a fringe area of Husby and Koldby.

With the removal of local stores and facilities, villagers find it necessary to drive to Husby, Koldby, or nearby cities to shop and work. Today, nearly all families own at least one automobile, and this has altered village interaction patterns immeasurably. The automobile is utilized for nearly all trips, and even visitation within the village borders seemingly requires its use. The automobile provides the opportunity to visit frequently in all areas of the island, and the result is a great deal of interaction with other villages and cities and with friends from all areas of the island.

Neighborhood and village interaction once centered around one's work, and since work was most likely in the village, there was time for talk and visitation during the day. Today, less than 20% reported visiting during shopping trips or work periods. The greatest exposure to one's neighbors is limited to Saturday mornings when everyone attends to one's garden chores.⁷

The effects of television cannot be neglected. It too has significantly altered interaction between villagers. Nearly all sets in Fynby are large, and most now are color sets with antennas designed to receive both Germany and Sweden. During our evening visits, the television set was inevitably on and all chairs arranged in a semi-circle so

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everyone could see. The formal coffee and cake served at the dining table, and followed by leisurely talk with cigars and wine is non-existent except with the older families. Even with these older families, care is given to insure that special programs and American serials (mostly westerns and police and medical melo-dramas) are seen on Friday and Saturday evenings. Silence is mandatory for such evenings since favorite shows are German and American, and require concentrated effort to read rapidly changing sub - titles.

Social networks in Fynby were structured by a limited set of social classes, namely the laborers, skilled craftsmen and farmers, and the landed elites and professionals. Neighborhoods helped isolate these classes by the homogeneous nature of their residents. Changes in the population and removal of most of the village stores eventually altered the neighborhoods so now members of several classes are found living next to each other. The old class system and neighborhood identity is not relevant to those who work outside Fynby, shop in Koldby, and depend on their automobiles to carry them to friends in other areas of the island.

Visitation data indicates that over 50% of reported visits are now made to people living outside Fynby; and for residents of the new section of Fynby, these visits approach 75% of all visits made by them. Only older natives and settlers arriving prior to 1925 limit their visitations to



the same neighborhoods or to other old neighborhoods.

Explicitly defined norms and expectations for proper behavior also structured social networks in old Fynby. Proper behavior included paying deference to the professionals and landed elites; it also included repaying visits regularly, setting a formal table and baking cakes and breads to serve guests, and to hold a set of feasts and parties at a great many events. Expectations were also to follow the family trade, to leave school after 7 years, and to freely spend time chatting and helping during the day. In brief, expectations for proper behavior included meeting numerous social obligations with a great deal of ceremony and time never possible today.

Most villagers simply cannot meet the extended social obligations once imposed by traditional norms and expectations. The days are filled with work away from Fynby, and the evenings with television, household duties, and friends from many areas of the island. There is no present consensus on what constitutes proper social behavior, nor is it likely such a consensus will be possible in the future given the heterogeneity of the present population.

Mobility from one social class to another in old Fynby was difficult. Access to material wealth or education and training was limited by one's family resources, and generally sons took on the work of their fathers. Such limitation

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of wealth together with the necessary language and behavior requirements for social interaction with one's betters prohibited mobility. Standing at the side of the road and bowing with one's hat removed at the passing of a large farmer, and the persistent use of the formal pronoun you (De) or third person when addressing such notables were behavior patterns ingrained from the earliest days, and assured that one would feel comfortable only with one's equals.

Today there are many social classes with a large and growing middle class encompassing both craftsmen and teachers. Mobility and resources for making a living outside the village has reduced the dependency of villagers on such a monied and educated few, and there are no benefits to paying deference to one's superiors.

To summarize: old Fynby consisted of a social structure that mapped the individual's activities and told him what to do in nearly all social situations. The social structure consisted of a specified set of norms and expectations for proper behavior, a limited and defined set of social classes; and validation of roles and role behavior came through daily experience, social institutions, and village consensus. Economic and political changes altered this village structure, and a great influx of new settlers with varying skills and occupations removed validation of the old structure by experience and consensus. Today, interaction in the form of social networks and exchanges are determined by individual



choice, and these choices are made on the basis of varying requirements for living in a non - traditional society.

The overall effect has been to severely limit or obviate traditional networks in favor of those that permit greater benefits in a new and emerging social structure. At the present time this new structure is still nascent, and a unified stratification system built on ability to provide valued commodities and services does not exist. The result is a multiplication of ranking dimensions, selectively applied depending on the nature of the interaction present.



CHAPTER III
METHODOLOGY

The village of Fynby was selected for a field site after nearly a month of visits to sites first chosen as study possibilities in an exploratory trip in 1973. These sites included villages on Jylland and Fyn, and were all fairly isolated and distant from major urban areas, but impossibly difficult to penetrate in the single year allotted for the project. Another difficulty was the still existing differences in dialects. Mastery of these dialects is necessary to understand subtle differences in expressions, and my lack of language skills immediately set me off as an outsider, making discussions and interviews difficult.

Towards the end of our first month in Denmark we visited relatives in the village of Fynby. To my surprise, the village had retained its isolation, and villagers present in 1956, when I left as a child, were still living there. My family history in the village and my father's status as the village blacksmith in the fourties and early fifties permitted rapid access to the older sections of the village. I decided to stay in Fynby and use the village as my test

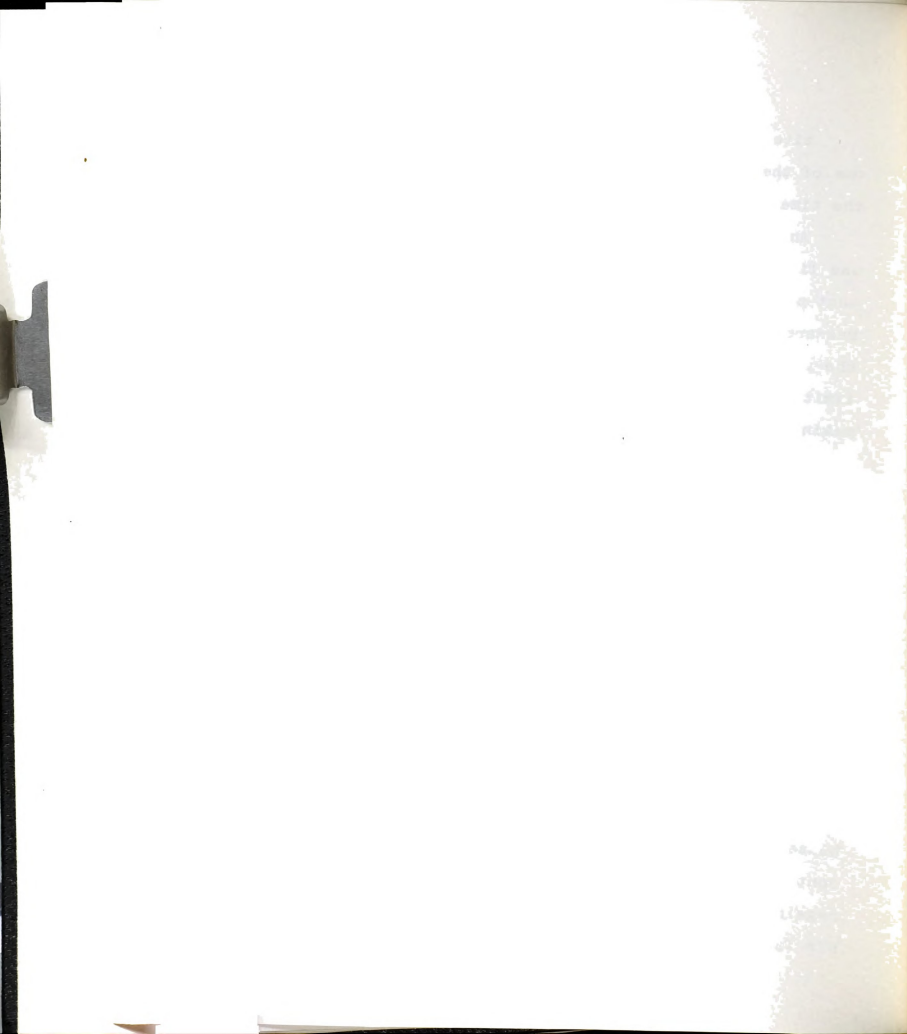


site , and within a few weeks I was once again Knud, one of the blacksmith boys. My dialect also returned and by the time interviews were given I was once again a native.

An intricate aspect of gaining access to the village was finding a place to live. This proved difficult since most places were either filled or too expensive for our research budget. There were three possible locations in the village, all too expensive. A friend knew about our limited finances and suggested we wait a few weeks until making a decision. He then contacted several families regarding our need for a place and our limited income. Eventually a retired couple offered their upstairs flat, located only five houses from the village center. We were charged considerably less than the going rate for such flats in Fynby.

We accepted the flat, and in a sense were obligated to accept since refusing such an obvious favor would be tantamount to an insult. The decision to rent proved fortunate since the couple had friends and family in all sections of Fynby, and the flat location offered the greatest social exposure possible. We stayed there for the full year.

The first three months after moving into Jens Jensen's house was spent acquainting ourselves with the village. I contacted the local auto mechanic to purchase an old car and regain friendship with him and his family. I had played at his father's bicycle shop as a child, and followed the

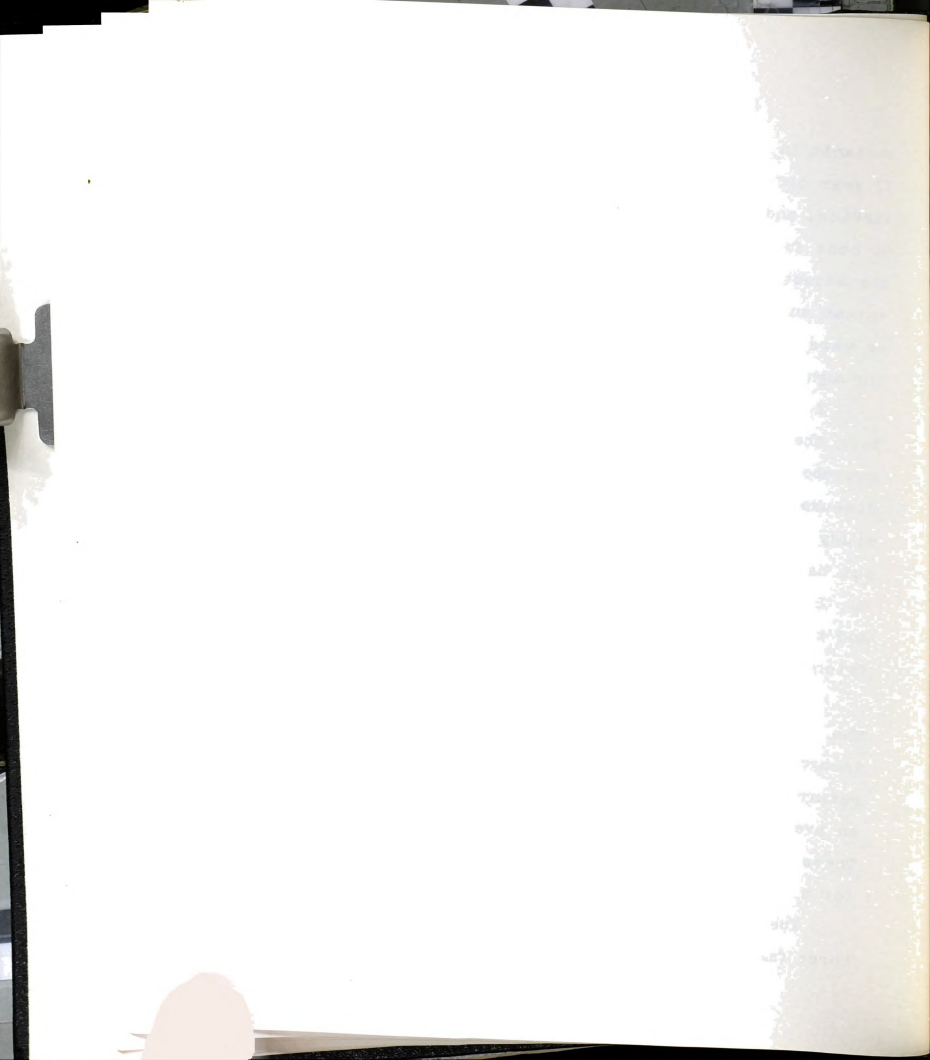


mechanic in school by one year. In two weeks he found a 12 year old English Ford good for another year of limited service, and he reciprocated the purchase by offering repairs at cost for the year we were in the village. We also walked the streets and greeted everyone with the local "dau", a slur spoken only in this area of the island. Within a few weeks we were old news, and people did not bother to stare at us through their windows.

I proceeded to contact fifteen families distributed in both the old and new sections of the village. These families remembered me as a child, and we spent several afternoons discussing old times before I told them about my project to study the village. They understood nothing about exchange, but had much to say about village history and friendship. So, I set up specific interview times with these families, and taped discussions on village history and conceptions of friendship.

The tapes from these interviews were transcribed, and the terminology for friendship and exchange recorded and incorporated into the first draft of a questionnaire. I returned to these families with the questionnaire, and spent an average of two hours with each going through the questions. These sessions were also taped, and later transcribed and used for a revision of this first draft.

The second version of the questionnaire was tested on three families who had by this time become friends, and who



were anxious to help. Final corrections were made based on sessions with these families, and a third questionnaire draft was completed. I was nearly ready for the actual sampling.

This development of a questionnaire took nearly two months of repeated interviews and discussions, and I did not begin actual interviews with the final questionnaire until our fifth month in the village. By this time everyone knew about my activities, and the type of questions asked.

The first ten sample families were selected from my final sample pool with the help of close friends who judged these families most likely to be patient and open to all types of questions and possible repeated sessions. This selection of families was made so I would feel free to return if last minute changes were made on the questionnaire.

The village has existed for over 1100 years, and the language and behavior of exchange and friendship developed during this time is peculiar to the village. A village located less than three miles from Fynby requires questions and terminology quite different from those developed for Fynby. The successive drafts of the questionnaire was an attempt to eventually approximate local conceptions of exchange without imposing alien terms onto the interview subjects.

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As it turned out, I did have to make a final change in the instructions and sequence of presentation of questions. The fourth and final draft concentrated first on personal history, and only gradually entered the realm of exchange and exchange networks. This last version presented no problems, and it was duplicated in a sufficient quantity to complete the sample. All sessions were taped and later transcribed onto the actual questionnaire. Translation of results from Danish to English did not occur until after data analysis.

The bulk of the sample interviews were made between the beginning of March and the end of June. July was used for obtaining details and missed questions, and August for interviews with village and district authorities. Had I initiated my study with interviews of officials it is doubtful that ready access to the village would have been possible despite my status as a native - son. The villagers are suspicious of authority, and would feel I was spying for the kommune authorities. The borgmester, towards the end of August, confided that he and others had known about my research since we first arrived, but had left me on my own, fearing any interference or obvious contact with me would disrupt the study. They were familiar with the suspicions of the villagers, and themselves had many problems of communication with the villages in the kommune.



The first three months were also used to test other research instruments. I designed a time study similar to one used by the Institute of Public Affairs at Dalhousie University in Halifax. This required villagers to record their contacts with others and the nature of these contacts on four randomly selected days of the month.

Form for (date)

WITH WHOM DID YOU HAVE CONTACT?	WHAT DID YOU DO?	COMMENTS
Example: Knud Hansen	Had lunch at Husby Inn.	Knud offered to pay.

I distributed nearly twenty such forms to selected families in the village, and only four were returned on time, two were returned three months late as reciprocation for favors owed, and none were completed in the requested manner and on the four designated dates. Erna Jensen, after nearly six months, confided that she was not much for writing, and she thought this the case for nearly all villagers. Erna felt comfortable telling me this only after repeated discussions totalling nearly 20 hours.

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A second factor interfering with completion of these forms was the lengthy, though very basic instructions for the forms. I gave verbal instructions to each family and also illustrated the completion of the forms with the example and others typed above, and finally attached a written set of instructions. These written instructions were in "correct", non-dialect Danish. While none appeared insulted by such instructions, they certainly were suspicious. I feel the formality of the instructions frightened people who associate such writing styles with political authority.

If such a time study of activities is to be completed in traditional villages, it has to be oral.

Aversion to all types of writing is a serious handicap to research in the villages. As soon as I produced paper and pencil to record interviews, subjects would visibly tense and answer questions with simple and non-informative responses. Even the presence of the formal and written questionnaire interfered with the interviews; and I found it necessary to memorize all questions and come prepared only with a tape recorder. Subjects were especially hesitant to report on their exchanges of illegal or black commodities and services if my written recordings of these proved obvious. It was my experience with the tape recorder during the pilot stage of the project that convinced me taping would be the only means of systematically recording data.



A third set of instruments were developed during the early months of the project. This was a series of 26 photographs showing all homes within the sample area of the village. These photographs were 8 by 10 black and white prints, coded by area and street location. Subjects were asked to identify homes and villagers living in the homes, and then asked what types of interaction they had with these families. Fifteen subjects were given this instrument, and it proved most informative. Subjects averaged over three hours to complete the series, and gave so much information that 30 pages of transcripts were produced for each session.

A dramatic observation here was the refusal of nearly all natives to the village to identify homes in the new section of Fynby. They looked at the photograph, commented on the changes occurring in the whole village, and then quickly and definitively placed the photograph on the stack of those already completed. They literally dismissed the existence of the new sections and tolerated little probing of their feelings towards the new section and settlers.

I found the photographic instrument to be effective, and had there been more time would have continued its use. The wealth of information given by subjects could never be duplicated by standard format questionnaires. The test, however, is nearly impossible to control during the actual interview, and information gained is difficult to standardize and analyze in a project limited by time.



A second problem also presented itself with the photographic instrument. Subjects felt they had participated in the project when finished with the photographs, and it was difficult to schedule other sessions for the exchange data questionnaire. My questionnaire often required two sessions for completion, and three sessions would be nearly impossible to schedule. Because of this, I decided to discontinue the use of the photographs, saving them for a possible return to the village.

The final set of interviews consisted of an interview on life history and attitudes of the sample population and selected others who were particularly informative on the village history. A second set of interviews consisted of sessions with the exchange questionnaire. All interviews were oral and taped, at no time during the final interviews were discussions recorded by paper and pencil. Questionnaire results were transcribed onto the questionnaires in Danish, with translation to English being done only at the time of results presentation in the following sections. Translation of summarized results, after analysis, is less likely to include translation errors, and appears to be the most accurate for presentation of results for those students who are bilingual.



The questionnaire consisted of questions in the following areas:

- I. Personal data
- II. Food Purchases
 - A. Produce - including eggs, vegetables, bread, milk, cheese, meat, and poultry.
 - B. Pig Slaughter
 1. Where and how pig purchased
 2. Where and how pig slaughtered.
- III. Household Commodities
 - A. Where and How obtained
 - B. Special Arrangements - including illegal purchases and trade.
- IV. Borrowing and Lending
 - A. Listing and description of items borrowed and lent - including such articles as lawnmowers, garden tools, tractor, hand tools, and other items
 - B. Listing of borrowers
 - C. Listing of lenders
 - D. Expectations for reciprocation of all items listed in A
- V. Helping
 - A. Listing of helping activities - including harvesting feeding, garden work, driving, butchering, house repairs, shopping, cooking, child care, and other helping activities.



- B. Listing of Help received
- C. Expectations and methods for reciprocation of help received
- D. Listing of potential help givers and receivers
- VI. Visitation
 - A. Expectations regarding announcement of one's visit
 - B. Expectations regarding return visits
 - C. Listing of other visited - including frequency, home location, and occupation of those visited
- VII. Group Membership
 - A. Listing of group affiliations
 - B. Frequency and content of group activities
- VIII. Attitudes regarding public welfare and private help giving
 - A. Attitudes regarding families on public welfare
 - B. Attitudes regarding ability to help self
 - C. Listing of others from whom financial help is expected

Sections VII and VIII are relevant to present planning concerns of kommune authorities. These questions were, in part, constructed with the help of kommune officials from other islands, and a report on the results for these questions is promised to Oakhill kommune. Kommune officials in Oakhill kommune were appreciative of their



inclusion and in turn helped with the assembling of data on general Fynby population characteristics.

The final sample was random, and consisted of 33% of the village population. A large areal photograph of the village was divided into sub - sections, and a sample drawn from each section assured adequate representation of all sections of the village.

The final sample consisted of 73 households, and of this group, 10 refused interviews, 8 were limited to interviews regarding personal life histories and more general topics relevant to the village, and two families were not interviewed because of death and illness during the year. Final exchange data is based on analysis of completed questionnaires for 53 families consisting of 102 individuals and 190 interview sessions of 2 hours each.

Participant observation was an intricate aspect of data collection in Fynby. My methods of recording observations and conversatins evolved from the first casual and embarrassingly aimless notes to a system of recording using two sets of notes. One set accurately recorded conversations and observations during the day, and the second set recorded summaries of the day's events plus thoughts regarding my personal feelings during fieldwork.

Immediate recordings of conversations or complex

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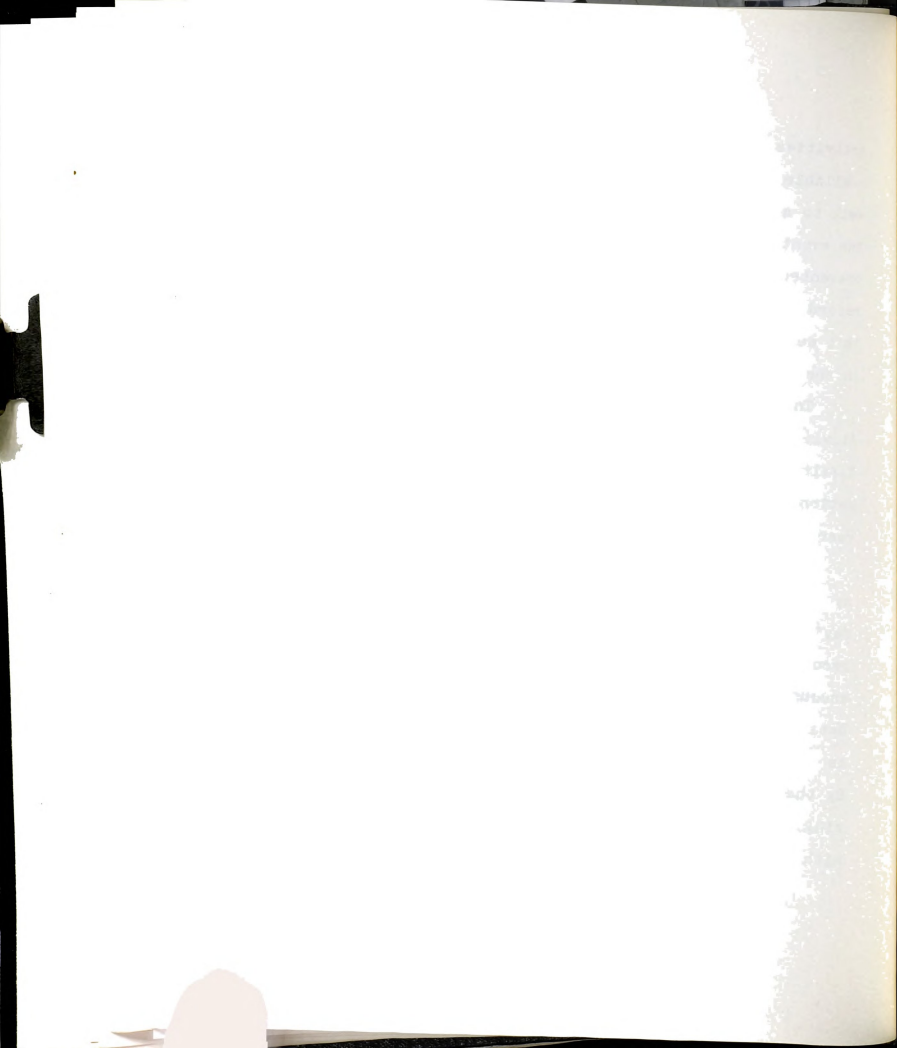
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activities of villagers necessitated a small and readily available notebook. I made it a practice to either drive or walk to a secluded area after each interview or contact to record the events. Such immediacy kept my memory fresh and prevented new experiences from interfering with accurate record keeping. At parties or other social events I left several times during the evening, often finding myself in the kitchen or bathroom writing notes.

This system of continually writing notes developed slowly. It was not until nearly six months into the study I felt myself competent to accurately record long conversations or exchange activities. However, by the end of the year I could record very long conversations verbatim.

I also spent at least an hour each evening reviewing my daily notes, and typing reflections and summaries of the day's events. These evening notes were my opportunity to record the emotional and subjective aspects of my field work encounters and proved valuable during the later analysis of data. I did not permit such subjectivity in my small notebooks as these reflected only actual events or conversations. By the end of the year in Fynby I had over 1000 pages of single spaced typed notes, and a dozen or so books filled with notes taken during the day.



CHAPTER IV
DATA RESULTS

A. SERVICE EXCHANGES

Service exchange is assistance provided by trained craftsmen to other craftsmen. A craftsman is one having completed a recognized apprenticeship in one of the crafts. The service exchange involves skills not generally available in the village, and is normally paid for by a reciprocal service.

The service exchange serves to unite the traditional and conservative elements of the village, and is a visible contrast to new and urban exchanges - it has become an act of defiance of state control and power. Much of what can be classified as service exchange is illegal: villagers avoid the various state and local taxes by not recording these exchanges. The illegal aspect of the exchange will be discussed in the section on sorte penge (black money). The service exchange is a symbol of village unity, traditional values, and local independence for its participants.

There are two basic variations of the service exchange. The first is a series of exchanges between a set of



craftsmen who form a permanent and established network. The second variation of the service exchange is between craftsmen who are not members of a permanent and socially recognized exchange network. Unskilled members or exchange partners are found in both variations, but they are unusual exceptions and receive unequal treatment from regular exchange members.

Payment for services provided is different between these two types of service exchange networks. Generally, a permanent network of craftsmen exchange services only, with no thought of other forms of payment. The partners in the temporary or ad hoc service exchange networks can 1) pay in exchanged services, 2) pay in cash, or 3) pay in a combination of cash and services, the amount of which is determined by the provider of service. The latter combination of cash and service is usually an invitation by the provider of services for further exchanges, though this is not always true.

Each of the variations of service exchanges and methods of reciprocity will be discussed, and examples given for each. I have used Jens Nielsen and his regular service exchange network as an example throughout the section. Jens is a skilled blacksmith and representative of many of the traditional craftsmen in the village.



I. Varieties of Observed Service Exchanges

Most service exchanges are initiated over beer or coffee. The individual needing assistance casually lets it be known he needs assistance, or that he will be doing a particular job that falls within the realm of a potential service exchange. The exchange partner then offers his help at the earliest possible time. This pattern was so set between Jens Nielsen and Svend Lauritsen, that after witnessing several such communications I could both predict and time the steps Svend would take to ask Jens for help.

The calculations for exchanges offered and received can be complicated and is based on a combination of time and value of services, past debts owed, and future favors needed. I am sure Jens would not jump to Svend's aid so rapidly if it were not that Svend had access to needed oil tanks, plumbing pipes, and kitchen appliances. There are cash payments made to service exchange partners, but only if the partnership is not established and permanent, or if the job is too large and extensive to be reasonably repaid by return services.

A. Examples of Exchanges between Temporary (ad hoc) Service Exchange Partners

A carpenter from Kroby village approached Jens Nielsen through his girlfriend, who rents from one of Jens'



distant relatives, to install a furnace and bathroom plumbing in a home he was building. Jens' normal charge for such a major job is around 800 Kroner for labor plus needed parts. Jens completed the job and charged the carpenter 450 Kroner. The carpenter realized he was left owing Jens - a sign that Jens would come to him for help in the future.

Three months later, Jens obtained lumber for a new kitchen ceiling, and called the Kroby carpenter to install it. The carpenter came on a Sunday and completed the ceiling that same day with the help of one of his assistants. The charge would normally be 400 Kroner, but he charged 50 Kroner and his previous debt of 350 Kroner to Jens was paid.

A payment of cash was made, and the exchange of services between the two completed. The cash payment was also an indication that the exchange partnership was terminated since no one was left owing.

B. Examples of Exchanges Between Established Service Exchange Partners

Expectations are higher and more demanding for members of an established service exchange network. I recorded the following service exchanges between Jens Nielsen and Svend Lauritsen, a skilled mechanic running his own appliance store and repair service, in a one week period. The frequency



and nature of their tasks is representative of most of the village service exchange networks, and indicates that not all exchanges between established service exchange network members are of a skilled variety.

Saturday: Jens Nielsen spent three hours helping Svend Lauritsen dig down to his sewer pipes and clear a blockage. Svend had carefully, yet casually, dropped the hint Friday evening that he would be digging this Saturday morning.

Sunday: Svend came and helped Jens dig up his lawn, working four hours in the morning and eating lunch with those of us helping Jens. Jens had apparently told Svend about the lawn job while helping him dig the day before.

Monday: Svend received help converting his car to the use of gas. Jens is an excellent blacksmith and the job required some very skillful welding. The job was not completed that day.

Thursday: Jens received a call from Svend, who was at a restaurant some distance away installing commercial diswashing machines. He needed Jens' help and welding machine. Jens worked with Svend from 5 pm to nearly midnight, and came home drunk.

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Saturday: Svend came early in the morning and again helped dig the lawn for Jens. This time staying until the job was completed at 3 pm. In the evening Jens completed the job on Svend's automobile.

There were no discussions here concerning money payments. It was obvious that they took turns, or nearly so, helping each other, and the frequency of helping here is not unusual. Jens was left in the position of having provided the greater service during the week, a favored position requiring further services from the exchange partner, in this case Svend.

Jens and Svend, being members of the same established service exchange network are obligated to help each other. The relationship between these two men is contractual and represents relationships between craftsmen of equal status. Membership implies a contractual relationship where one helps the other in a variety of tasks, of which the exchange of skilled services comprises only a small segment of their exchanges. The contract agreements are symmetrical since the obligation to help is equally valid for all established members.

C. Examples of Infrequent Exchanges with Regular Service Exchange Network Members

Not all network ties are as active as Jens' and Svend's.



There are many permanent service exchange networks which are only active a few times a year. These exchanges require greater attention to negotiations regarding the details of repayment. It did not appear that services were left owing for any length of time (such as between Jens and Svend).

Mads Petersen is now a journeyman shoemaker, and completed his second apprenticeship with an orthopedic shoe maker. A pair of wooden shoes from Mads can cost well over 100 Kroner. Sofie, Jens' wife, needed a pair of shoes specially carved with one heel slightly higher than the other, and Mads did this at no cost to Jens or Sofie.

Three days later, he came to Jens and reported his furnace tank needed repairs. Jens spent nearly four hours doing some fine welding to seal the leaks in the old tank, and replacing the insulation around the tank. This was nearly the equivalent time spent by Mads carving the special shoes, and so the service exchange was complete: a service had been reciprocated with another equivalent service.

Despite the fact that Mads is now a shoemaker, he will still do masonry work (his first trade). Jens had obtained a set of new tiles for his kitchen walls and asked Mads to install them. Mads did so, taking nearly seven hours to complete the task.

Several months earlier Mads had completed a driveway to his home, and had been wanting an iron lamp for this



driveway. He now had the opportunity to request such a lamp since Jens owed him for the tile setting. Jens made the lamp two days after the tiles were set, and it took nearly the same time as the tile job.

When I asked Jens if the lamp constituted payment for the job of setting the tiles, he would not deny it. Yet, neither could he say it was a direct payment. It represented one of a series of exchanges that he and Mads had done for some time, and he did not want to look at it in terms of payments.

The service exchanges made with Mads constitute only skilled work, i.e., repayment is made in services rather than cash, and is begun soon after the original service is provided. Then, nearly six months might elapse before the opportunity presents itself for such exchanges again. I know that Mads had wanted the lamp for nearly half a year, but had waited until he had the chance to do an equivalent task for Jens.

Sometimes service exchanges can be very large, and still not require money as payment. Mads Jørgensen, a very distant kinsman of both Mads Petersen and Jens Nielsen, is also a member of the service exchange network used as an example. Mads Jørgensen completed building his garage in 1970. He needed a large and efficient furnace to handle



the constant openings of the ports as cars were moved in and out. Jens did this job, but very wisely did not request a money payment for his labor. Mads Jørgensen did pay for the parts and equipment used. If Mads Jørgensen was left in the position of owing Jens for such services, Jens would have a ready source for future assistance. The owed partner in a service exchange is in the position to bargain for greater benefits and services.

Mads Jørgensen, as payment, offered Jens the use of his shop and tools on Sundays and Saturday afternoons when the shop is normally closed. This is a valuable offer to Jens as his then 7 year old Volkswagen needed repairs. So, for the past five years, with Mads' consent, Jens has worked on his own car in the shop with Mads' tools and parts obtained through the shop at wholesale prices.

Mike Loukinen, in his study of Finntown, Michigan, found similar arrangements between exchange partners. There, individuals would pay cash for the cost of parts, but beer, fish, produce or help for the labor involved in the exchange. In Fynby this is the accepted procedure, and little negotiation, if any, is required with respect to such parts as Jens used when building the heating system for Mads Jørgensen. It was assumed from the beginning that Mads would provide the necessary parts for Jens to do his work. However, if Mads Jørgensen had not been a regular member of the permanent service exchange network, Mads would

then have to pay cash for such a large service.

II. Community Rules for Service Exchanges

There exists a number of established craftsmen within Fynby. These craftsmen supply the village with their services, and it is recognized that the village has an obligation to "support its own." A service exchange is prohibited to the extent it jeopardizes or interferes with the right-to-business of the craftsmen.

To exemplify community regulations of the service exchange, let me again use Jens Nielsen. Jens is free to engage in service exchanges outside the village. He is very active in the kommune, and has a wide range of service networks with fellow craftsmen. He would not, however, consider such exchanges within the village as such exchanges would violate the rights-to-business of other craftsmen, such as Bernt Madsen, the formal village blacksmith.

Jens did violate these rights of Bernt's two years ago. He installed both a furnace and plumbing in a small auto repair shop in the industrial zone between Fynby and Husby. The shop owner is son of a Fynby native, and can trace his family back several generations in the sogn. There was no particular friendship between Jens and this mechanic, though the mechanic's father was a drinking partner of Jens' father. Jens felt obligated to provide his services because of the mechanic's nativity to the sogn.

and his father's drinking relationship with Jens' father. Also, Jens was not about to let such an opportunity for possible future help escape.

Bernt Madsen immediately let it be known that he thought Jens unfair to do such business in the village, as the business rightfully belonged to him. Jens has not completed such an exchange again, and he gave a wry smile when we talked about it, implying that he had known it was wrong from the beginning. It was a calculated risk by Jens, one that he would not likely make again considering the reaction to such an exchange by Bernt.

When Jens installed Mads Jørgensen's furnace the situation was different. Jens and Mads had been close friends since childhood. Bernt Madsen did not object here as he would not have gotten community sympathy for such objections. The community would view Bernt's objections in this case as interference in the dealings of known friends. So, while the community limits the service exchange activities within the village, dealings between close and established friends and kin relations are free of constraints.

There are no such constraints on service exchanges outside the village limits. All craftsmen are quite busy in service exchange networks in other areas of the kommune and island. But within the village, service exchanges are permitted only between establishe friends and relatives.



It is because of such constraints that most service exchange networks are of limited size. Permanent networks seldom have more than five or six members. Helping networks such as those for the venne tjeneste, borrowing, and other exchanges have considerably larger memberships. These helping networks are also more subject to change and variation than service exchange networks.

III. Black Exchanges

Service exchanges can also be illegal when they avoid the large sales tax on all objects and services sold. Such illegal exchanges are common, nearly everyone in the village participates in such exchanges, and many times the added dimension of illegality serve to symbolize friendship and trust.

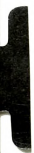
Actual transactions of "illegal" articles and services are subject to great secrecy. I obtained no information from anyone in the interview context, and it was only when I came as a visitor on a social or friendship basis that villagers would tell me about these black exchanges. The villagers term these exchanges sorte penge, which means black money, or economic benefits without paying the taxes due.

Black service exchanges are often hidden between legal dealings, thereby becoming an added and personal symbol of trust between exchange partners. For example, Jens Nielsen ordered a complete set of windows and a considerable



amount of insulation from a neighbor who is a carpenter. Records indicated Jens paid full price for the windows, insulation, and the labor for installing the windows. This was taxable at a 18% rate. As far as authorities were concerned, Jens installed the insulation himself. In reality, the carpenter had one of his apprentices blow the insulation into Jens' house during the apprentice's free time. The apprentice had free use of the carpenter's machines, and charged only half the normal labor charge. Jens saved a considerable sum in this exchange, and the carpenter fulfilled his obligations to Jens since Jens had previously installed plumbing and heating equipment in the carpenter's shop.

These illegal or black exchanges are frequent and involve established network partners where one of the partners is in the position to offer articles or services at wholesale or reduced prices, and on a non-taxed basis. The obligations between network partners are such that black exchanges are expected where possible, and the potential buyer of such black articles generally has an idea of what he wants and how much it will cost before he approaches the supplier of the articles. The supplier is under equal obligations to provide such favors if the buyer is an established network partner.



B. FOOD EXCHANGES

Non-cash food exchanges are possible in economies where food products are locally produced. Mass production, distribution, and packaging does not permit local control of the trade or exchange of food products since merchants dealing with mass-distributed foods are subject to price settings and distribution controls of large organizations. In such situations where local control of food values is minimal, food exchanges, especially of the non-cash variety, are largely prohibited.

Fynby is a village in transition. Many of the products on dealers' shelves are mass-produced and mass-distributed. The labels of Delmonte, Crest, Protein 21, and many others are not alien to the villagers. The merchant acts as a local distributor for these products with limited freedom to alter prices.

There are also locally - produced goods on the shelves such as meats, vegetables, poultry, and flour. These products are not subject to the same regulations as are mass - produced goods. Locally - produced goods are subject to local conditions, local costs of production, and



the local merchants' demands for profit. It is with these locally - produced foods that both cash and non-cash transactions are possible in the village.

It should be noted that the acts of purchasing any of the national and international mass - produced goods also constitute exchange. They are what will later be termed cash-for-food variations of food exchanges. They will not be of central interest in this thesis as they reflect national and international concerns rather than the economic and social conditions peculiar to the village.

I. Which Foods are Used for Food Exchanges?

When asked "Where do you obtain your food?" over 80% of the sample interviewed reported dealing exclusively with village sources. Less than 14% reported dealing in the shops of two cities each about 15 km from Fynby. This indicates local control of food distribution and a good probability for locally - developed and locally - controlled food exchanges.

The above answers did not reflect my own observations in the village, and a second set of questions were developed. These questions explored the sources of specific foods such as eggs, milk, cheese, and other dairy products, meats, vegetables, poultry, and other food products. The answers to these questions produced surprisingly different results.



Here, less than 38% of the sample interviewed reported dealing exclusively with village sources of food.

The first question received responses indicating individual intent to express the ideals of the village and village identity to the larger world. Many subjects answered this question defensively, as if the question itself implied their less-than-full support of the village and its citizens. Such feelings were expressed in many contexts by nearly all of the older settlers and natives of the village. In the food context, people repeatedly said, "We shop in Fynby; we have to support our own." Yet, actual shopping behavior does not reflect such feelings.

Table 6: Sources of Specific Foods*for Fynby Villagers Arriving in 1969 and Prior, and in 1970 and After.

Reported Source Of Foods	Arriving 1969 & Prior		Arriving 1970 & After		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Fynby	96	37	37	39	133	37
Husby/Koldby	21	8	5	5	26	7
Other in Kommune	38	15	5	5	43	12
Nearby Cities	10	4	14	15	24	7
Self Produced	47	18	6	6	53	15
Private Sources**	46	18	22	23	68	19
Other Sources	1	0	7	7	8	2

* Specific Foods include eggs, cheese, milk, bread, vegetables, poultry, and meats. A sample of 52 families were asked for specific sources of these foods, resulting in a listing of 355 total combined food items distributed according to reported sources.

** Private Sources are those sources other than retail dealers.



The above results indicate a surprising variety of food sources for both natives and settlers. Major differences between these two groups are found in the levels of self-production of foods, and number of foods purchased in the cities. Food items of settlers arriving in 1970 and after are nearly four times as likely to be obtained in the city as those for the older residents. Older residents and those native to Fynby are three times as likely to produce their own food.

Eggs remain one of the few foods generally available in the village. Over 65% of the villagers reported obtaining their eggs from private sources in the village. Nearly 16% owned their own chickens and relied on these to supply their eggs. Less than 12% of the villagers purchased their eggs from stores.

Meats are a second category of foods available in Fynby. Beef is not available from private sources, it is expensive, and few have it as a regular food. The pig is the main provider of meat to the villagers.

Table 7: Sources of Pigs for Slaughtering

Source of Pig	N	%
Farmer in Fynby	10	19
Friend in Fynby	10	19
Butcher in Fynby	5	10
Butcher in Husby	3	6
Nearby Cities	1	2
Freezer Company	3	6
Self-raised	10	19
Other Sources	1	2
Do not slaughter	9	17
Total	52	



Other foods, such as milk and dairy products, are exclusively obtained from village merchants. There are only three dairy farmers remaining in the immediate area, and these farmers do not provide milk to local villagers. Only two families were known to obtain milk directly from one of these farmers. Breads and vegetables are also obtained from the merchants. Over 75% of those arriving in the village prior to 1970, and over 96% of those arriving after 1970 purchase their breads. Vegetables are largely grown for personal consumption, not exchange. The villagers are not large consumers of vegetables, and what is eaten can easily be grown in the garden.

The above data and personal observations in the village indicates that the pig exchange is the only non-cash transaction within a regular network system.

II. Who Exchanges Foods?

Obtaining information on participation in food exchange networks is very difficult. Villagers are reluctant to report actual transactions during interviews, and it takes very little prying to end an interview. Such hesitation is due to the illegal nature of the pig exchange. Pigs used for exchanges are not registered with tax authorities by the farmers. The income derived from such exchanges is not taxed.



As a consequence of such fears, only 10 families volunteered information about any kind of non-cash exchanges during the interviews. Of the 42 families who slaughter, 28 reported paying cash for thier pigs, and 4 families refused to reveal how they obtained their pigs.

Table 8: Source of Pigs for Slaughter for Alleged Cash-paying Villagers

Source of Pig	N	%
Fynby Farmer	8	29
Friend	5	18
Fynby Butcher	4	13
Husby Butcher	2	7
Nearby Cities	1	4
Freezer Company	3	11
Family	5	18
Total	28	

It is not likely that these 28 subjects were entirely honest or accurate during the interview. In fact, 18 of these supposedly cash - paying families obtained their pigs from sources where the potential for non -cash arrangements is high. A review of field notes for the year found discrepancies between the above interview reports and later observations or discussions with the villagers. Many villagers contradicted earlier reports once they found I could be trusted to keep their arrangements secret. Examples of such contradictions are:



1. Mads Jørgensen, mechanic, claimed to pay cash for his pig when asked during the interview. While drunk on Christmas Day, however, he amused his neighbors by telling how he and his wife "sneaked" their slaughtered pig home from one of the farmers in their automobile late one evening to prevent detection by the authorities.

2. Ruth Sørensen claimed to pay slaughterhouse prices to her son-in-law. Two months after the interview, over a cup of coffee, she reported how she and her son had a story planned in the event they would be stopped by the police on the way home with their slaughtered pig. If she really did pay slaughterhouse prices to her son-in-law, it would be legal, and no story for the police would be necessary.

3. Ove Larsen, village painter, also claimed to buy pigs from local merchants, but adding that "If I were offered a pig, I would not say no." Later I discovered that his grandparents own a rather large farm, and family obligations most likely rewarded Ove with a seasonal pig for slaughtering.

4. Torben Laursen's wife claimed they purchased their pigs from a butcher in a neighboring village. Later, while talking with her husband, I found he obtained pigs from farmers for whom he delivered animals to slaughtering houses. He was not aware of what his wife



had reported during the original interview.

As a consequence of such discrepancies between the interview reports and observations in the village, the final determination of who participates in food exchanges is based on personal observation and participation in such exchanges.

III. How does the Food Exchange Function?

The nature of the food exchange is dependent upon the objects of exchange and the participants in the exchange network. There are basically four variations in the village food exchange networks, and these are:

1. Cash Exchanged for Food
2. Food Exchanged for Food
3. Services Exchanged for Food
4. Non-food Objects Exchanged for Food

Each of these variations has rules for exchange, sets of accepted exchange currencies with which to evaluate the trading value of exchange objects, and varying sets of exchange network members.

The cash exchanged for food variation involves merchants, and private food producers, and their cash paying customers. Data indicates this to be the most common of the village food exchanges.

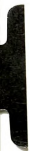


Table 9: Methods of Food Procurement

Reported Methods of Procurement	N	%
Cash Payments	268	75.7
Trade of non-food object for food	2	.5
Trade of Services for food*	1	.3
Free from family	19	5.4
Cash payments to family	8	2.3
Share of expenses**	2	.5
Other***	54	15.3

* This category is low because of 1) exclusion of the pig exchange from this data, and 2) doubtful honesty of subjects during interview.

** Share of expenses category consists of individuals sharing costs of feeding poultry or pigs for slaughter.

*** Other category consists of individuals raising their own foods, including both vegetable and animal.

The above data on methods of food procurement indicates less than 22% of the food procurements to be on a non-cash basis. Since this data does not include the pig exchange, the figure of 78% for cash payments can be trusted to be fairly accurate. As a check, the reported sources for the above foods were also recorded. If there is a similarly high percentage of foods obtained from merchants where only cash payments are possible, then the above figures can be considered accurate.



Table 10: Source of Foods Procured by Cash-Payment

Reported Source	N	%
Merchants in Fynby	135	38.1
Merchants in Husby/Koldby	65	18.6
Merchants in near cities	24	6.8
Private food producers	69	19.6
Self - produced	52	14.7
Other	8	2.2

Foods included in this table are: eggs, cheese, milk, bread, vegetables, poultry, and non-pork meats. A sample of 52 families were asked about the specific sources for these foods and for which they paid cash. The resulting total was 353 total combined sources for specific food items.

Merchants accounted for nearly 65% of the food sources of the villagers. This figure is 10% less than the 75% reported cash payments for foods. Actual cash payments for foods other than pigs for slaughter most likely accounts for at least 65% and up to 75% of the foods consumed in the village.

There is no historical data allowing comparisons of present cash for food exchange norms with earlier food exchange norms. Discussions with older residents of the village place cash payments for most foods as early as the mid to early 1800s. Two day diaries, one from 1930 and one from 1865, both detail cash payments for food. Erna Jensen's family store in the village records cash payments of nearly all foods except meat, poultry, eggs, milk, and cheese since the mid 1800s.



The trend is towards cash payments for all foods except the pig for slaughter. The pig exchange, while continuing, is seeing severe limitations on acceptable participants in non - cash exchange networks. Remaining village farmers are now reserving non - registered pigs for their kin and close friends only. Aksel Kristiansen reported that when he moved to the village in 1970 he was not able to locate a farmer willing to exchange pigs for either services or wholesale price payments. He found it necessary to befriend the village butcher, who also is a settler to the village, to obtain pigs and other meats on a non - cash basis.

The food exchanged for food variation is very limited. Few residents, other than local farmers, have facilities to produce foods. New homes are built in zoned districts and exclude possibilities for raising animals. Many settlers and village residents do not have time to develop gardens sufficiently large to handle family needs and food exchange requirements.

Food for food exchanges which do survive are between the small farms, and generally involve exchanges of pigs for cattle, poultry, grain, or help during the planting and harvesting. The arrangements for such exchanges grow out of general helping relationships and are informal, lacking clear definitions of trading value of exchange objects. Real market values are not attached to these exchange



foods since the exchange fits into a larger helping network.

Farmers and villagers who engage in the food for food exchange are secretive about these arrangements since many of the exchanges are illegal. The food for food exchanges of the small farmers will be discussed in the context of the venne tjeneste (friend's favor) since the objective of such exchanges is not solely food procurement.

The third variation involves services exchanged for food, the most frequent food exchange in the village. This exchange has four sub-variations based on level of skill and payment for service determination. These sub - variations are:

1. Skilled services with pre - determined value of the exchange objects.
2. Skilled services with the value of the exchange objects determined by the food - provider.
3. Non - skilled services with pre - determined value of the exchange objects.
4. Non - skilled services with value of the exchange objects determined by the food - provider.

The first sub - variation is an exchange of skilled work for food, with the value of the work performed and the value of the food (in nearly all cases meat) being determined by the retail market value of each. Because



of the specialized nature of the work performed and the infrequent demand for such work by any one food-provider, these exchanges are generally ad hoc in nature. The exchange is terminated upon completion of the work, and carries no obligation for similar exchanges in the future.

Erik Rasksten, the village electrician, reported several instances of such exchanges. The first interview did not provide accurate information of his exchanges, since he reported paying cash for his meat (which is technically correct). Much later, when Erik realized my nativity to the village he noted several debts owed my father (22 years earlier), he relaxed and gave me more information about his food exchanges. Exact details of these exchanges with surrounding farmers were never given; these details I learned from the farmers.

Erik's skill as an electrician has been used by villagers modernizing their farms. Such modernization includes new wiring and installation of complicated milking machines. Erik completes such work and then approaches the farmer with an alternative to cash payments, usually a pig which Erik has slaughtered by his neighbor, the butcher of Fynby.

Erik hesitated reporting any details of such non - cash exchanges as they are without the benefits of records. In this manner, both the 18% sales tax and the year - end income tax on the exchange income are avoided.

Mads Jørgensen, Fynby's mechanic, and Jensen, the carpenter, are both involved with such food exchanges. Jensen would not discuss these exchanges at all, though a local farmer reported details of one exchange with Jensen. Bernt Madsen, the blacksmith, does not participate in such food exchanges since his father - in - law owns a farm in another village and supplies Bernt with a pig twice a year. Bernt's absence from such village exchanges jeopardizes his acceptance by the villagers (especially since he is not a native), and many criticize him for being interested only in money.

The second sub-variation is an exchange of skilled work for food, with both the value of the work performed and the value of the food determined by the food - provider.

Niels Husman helps exemplify this exchange. A local farmer, he needed considerable cement work done on his 400 year old barn. His son Mads, a former mason, performed the work in his spare time, and did not request payment from his father despite the nearly 40 hours of work. Niels offered Mads a slaughtered pig nearly two months later and Mads accepted. Mads did not question his payment as it was adequate in the eyes of his father.

This sub - variation of the food exchange does not occur frequently. In most instances children and other



kinfold either pay for their pig at the wholesale price or else receive it free. Nearly 5.5% of food procured was reported freely obtained from the family, and 2.3% to be on a cash basis. Given the legal difficulties possible for giving information on such exchanges, I would again assume the percentages to be a good deal higher.

Sub - variation three is an exchange of non-skilled work for food, with the value of the work performed and the value of the food pre - determined by the market price of both.

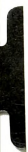
Torben Laursen provides a good example of this sub-variation. Torben, who drives a large truck for several slaughtering firms, picks up both cattle and pigs at various farms on the island, and delivers them to the cities for slaughtering. His wife claimed they they purchased all of their foods from a butcher in Vesterby, a neighboring village. Some time later, Torben confirmed that he obtains at least one pig yearly from a farmer in the kommune by delivering a few loads of animals free of charge. The value of the pig is set at the slaughterhouse price, and the value of Torben's delivery service is determined by his normal per pig charge. Since the arrangement is unrecorded, the pig is obtained without the 18% sales tax. The farmer does not record the income and does not pay income tax on the exchange.



The fourth sub - variation is an exchange of non - skilled work for food, with the value of work performed and the value of food determined by the food provider. The unskilled individual offers his services, which at times are considerable, with no clear prior arrangements for payment by the food provider. It is considered presumptuous and rude to ask for a clear understanding of the payment for services provided - something akin to demanding pay before doing the work. The food provider determines the rate of exchange. If the payment is considered unsuitable by the unskilled worker, he looks for other exchange sources rather than demanding higher payment.

This sub - variation is the most common of the non - cash food exchanges, though it will diminish in frequency and prominence as settlers further populate the villages and small farmers sell their land. The exchange appears only where the potential for friendship and physical labor is possible. Those farms with mechanized feeding, milking, seeding, and harvesting procedures do not need help from unskilled villagers, and do not wish to engage in non - cash food exchanges.

Aksel Kristiansen, a new settler to the village having no options for non - cash food exchanges with small farmers, provides an example of this sub - variation despite his status as settler. Aksel slowly initiated small exchanges with the village butcher, himself a new settler, and with



time developed a friendship relationship. Most exchanges were performed ad hoc when help was needed by the butcher, and were exchanged for smaller cuts of meat or poultry. After nearly two years, Aksel began helping on a regular basis and the exchanges increased in value. Aksel now receives nearly all of his meats from the butcher in exchange for help with slaughtering and delivering of meat to the kommune customers.

The village postman, a native to the area, has a similar arrangement with Jette Brunn. For well over a decade he has helped seed and harvest Brunn's 5 hectares of grain. They have developed a close friendship and the terms of the exchange are not discussed. When the Brunns slaughter, they always include a pig (or lamb) for the postman as his due for the summer's help.



C. HELPING BEHAVIOR

Helping behavior has a specific place in the village culture. Citizenship and friendship are formed on the basis of trust, dependability, and availability to help when needed. Such helping behavior has been structurally incorporated, and is known as the friend's help (venne tjeneste) with specific rules and expectations for each stage of such exchanges of help - it is a ritual.

Many villagers bitterly report that the tjeneste is a thing of the past. Few, if any, according to these critical villagers, have the time or inclination to help others. A review of these critical villagers indicates them to be members of groups excluded from presently existing helping networks in the village. They are the aged, single women (ie., unmarried, divorced, or widowed), proprietors and managers, and others locally perceived as privileged.

The following data indicates that these critical villagers are, to some extent, accurate in their perceptions. The form of the venne tjeneste, and of helping behavior in general, is changing. Helping behaviors are not, as they perhaps were in the past, a general and frequent aspect of village life.⁸

I. Helping Activities in the Village

The final questionnaire, given to a sample of 52 Fynby families, contained 15 distinct categories of helping behavior. These categories were developed in a pilot study which consisted of a series of interviews and a first draft questionnaire given ten families in the village. The discussions on help and helping behavior were recorded and categorized. Representative categories of helping were then developed and retested by further discussions with villagers. The final list of helping categories was developed from this second set of discussions.

Helping Behavior in the Form of Borrowing and Lending of Items

1. Lawnmower
2. Garden tools and utensils
3. Roto tiller and/or tractor
4. Automobile
5. Hand and work shop tools
6. Other items borrowed or lent (ladders, cooking utensils, phone, etc)

Helping Behavior in the Form of Assistance Given or Received

1. Harvesting and planting
2. Feeding of animals
3. Garden work
4. Driving
- 5.. Slaughtering
6. Rcpairs to house
7. Shopping
8. Cooking
9. Child care
10. Other help given or received

These categories also served as a context for questions relating to expectatons for reciprocation of help given or received. The original pilot study indicated much confusion by villagers with questions relating to reciprocity and help, but after giving the above context of fifteen helping and borrowing/lending situations, only two out of fiftythree sampled families required further explanations. Questions on the final questionnaire were understood by the sample subjects.

The discussions during the pilot study were animated and filled with personal observations. Nearly everyone felt Fynby to be ideal for its expression of traditional helpfulness. There appeared to be few restrictions on who could or would ask for help from anyone in the village.

The question, "Is it in order to ask someone in the village for a tjeneste (help) if you have not done him a tjeneste first?" attempted to obtain specific information on whom villagers felt they could ask for help. Over 56% of the sampled families answered they could go to anyone in the village and expect assistance. Seven families (13.8%) said that whom they ask for help depends upon the extent to which they know them.

Subjects were also asked whom they would not go to for help in the village, and only three families were able to give direct replies. These replies indicated rejections of help due to personal grudges against specific families in Fynby.

Table 11: Number of People Reporting Willingness to Ask for Help from Others in the Village.

Expressed Willingness to Ask for Help	N	%
Yes, very willing	29	56.9
It depends	7	13.7
No, not willing	11	21.6
Do not know	1	1.9
Other	3	5.9

Results support the impressions received in the initial interviews of the pilot study. Villagers express great freedom to ask for help from most others in the village, and few have any restrictions on whom they would go to for help. Yet, when results are analyzed for actual helping incidents reported for each of the 15 helping categories listed above, most villagers do not ask others for help. Expressions of traditional ideals are not reflected in day - to - day activities of villagers.

Table 12: Help Categories and Reported Incidents of Help Received.

Category of Help Received	Reported Source of Help		
	No help received	Help from family	Help from friends
	N	N	N
Feeding of Animals	46	1	3
Garden Work	44	3	3
Driving	35	8	7
Slaughtering	31	9	10
Repairs to House	36	5	9
Shopping	33	5	12
Cooking	48	1	1
Child Care	49	-	1
Totals	322	32	46
Percentage of Total	80.5	8.0	11.5



The above data indicates that over 80% of 400 possible helping situations for the entire sample involved no acutal help from others; most people felt they could or should perform these activities by themselves.

"No, that is something I manage by myself."

"I take care of my own children!"

"If we can manage it, we do it ourselves."

"We have been offered help, but we would rather do it ourselves."

"...we run around together, we have painted the house and tarred the foundation, and then we get a beer and schnapps for lunch, and then the evening meal; then, that one is paid, and we have a good day together."

The average number of "no help received" responses for each family was nearly 6 out of a total of 8. That is, less than 25% of the sampled families reported using help from others when performing these activities.

In those situations where help was reported, subjects were encouraged to discuss the nature of their arrangements for returning or repaying the help received. The majority of subjects had no specific expectations to reciprocate for help received (just a thank you for payment). Over 27% of reported help received were listed as part of



established network arrangements between the help giver and help receiver. There are indications that the established network route for receiving and giving help is diminishing, and in the future will not be the guranteed source ready help it has been in the past.

Table 13: Reported Type of Arrangement for Reciprocation of Help Received

Type of Arrangement	N	%
Cash payments	4	4.5
Established arrangement for mutual help	24	27.3
Help received without expectation to reciprocate	47	53.4
Illegal (black) exchange of help	13	14.8

Borrowing as a helping activity gave results similar to those reported above for the specific help categories. Only 30% out of 245 possible borrowing situations involved actual borrowing behavior, and over 70% of the listed situations were reported as not involving actual borrowing.

The category of "no borrowing reported" is by far the largest with an average of 3.5 items not borrowed at any time for each family. Only 1.5 items were reported to have ever been borrowed for each family. Again, earlier discussions during the pilot study gave the impression of free and frequent borrowing of items by nearly everyone.

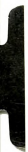


Table 14: Reported Events* of Borrowing or not Borrowing

Reported Borrowing Behavior	N	%
No borrowing reported	172	70.2
Borrowing from family	16	6.5
Borrowing from friends	57	23.3
Total	245	

* Five potential borrowing situations were presented to subjects, including lawnmower, garden tools, roto tiller/tractor, auto., and hand tools. Each subject was asked "Have you, at any time, borrowed._____?"

Total number of possible borrowing events is equal to five items for each family times a sample of 49 families.

Table 15: Number of Items Listed as not Borrowed at any time

Number of Items Listed	N	%
One item	1	2.0
Two items	13	26.5
Three items	7	14.3
Four items	16	32.7
Five items	12	24.5

There was no significant difference in the average number of items borrowed at any time when recorded by year of arrival or birth in the village. Older settlers and natives had a slightly higher average number of items not borrowed, which is also contrary to expectations given during the early interviews and discussions of the pilot study.



Table 16: Average Number of Items not Borrowed per Family and Year of Arrival in Village

Year of Arrival	Average Number of Items not Borrowed	
	N	Average
1970 - 1974	14	3.1
1960 - 1969	7	3.3
1950 - 1959	9	3.9
1885 - 1949	19	3.7

Lending as a type of helping behavior reflected similar trends as borrowing. The average number of items not available for lending at any time was 3.69 out of 5 possible items for each family. Both settlers and natives to the village have similar high averages for items not lent at any time.

Both borrowing and lending behavior data resembled helping data (for the 15 categories of help) with equally low percentages of help given or received through established arrangements between families. Over 27% of listed help categories involving actual help were part of established network activities. The results of the borrowing/lending data were almost exactly the same at 27.3%. The above data on helping behavior given or received through established arrangements represents percentages of help actually given or received. If we were to calculate the



percentage of established arrangements for help of the total number of possible helping events, then the percentages for help through established networks would be 6% for the help categories and 6.5% for the borrowing/lending categories.

If personal accounts given by older citizens in the village and data for helping behavior for natives of the village are accurate, then we can conclude that the established network route for helping is indeed diminishing.

To summarize: data indicates that helping activity does occur in the village, but less frequently than expected. Only 19.5% of a possible 400 helping situations for 51 families actually involved the giving of help by someone, and of this 19.5%, 27% involved established network activity. Borrowing activities showed similar results with 29.8% of 245 possible borrowing situations actually involving the act of borrowing, and lending with 23.3% of 246 possible lending situations. Less than 6% of the total possible helping situations involved established arrangements for giving or receiving help.

II. Discussion of the Help Exchange in Fynby

In view of the expressions of traditional helpfulness

of villagers given during the pilot study discussions, data results in the above sections show a surprising paucity of helping activities in Fynby. Traditional ideals emphasize free and generous giving of help to fellow villagers, and by village accounts such help was the norm as recently as the middle fifties. Social changes due to the large migrations of settlers to the village, the diminishing number of established networks, and changes in the life style have altered the dynamics of the help exchange. Past traditional requirements for village solidarity and present economic pressures for individual independence often conflict, producing resentment since villagers cannot always meet the demands of both. The following is an attempt to explore such changes through a discussion of help exchange as seen by the villagers in Fynby.

A look at some of the terms and phrases normally used in helping situations indicates the extent to which reciprocity influences help exchange dynamics.

"When we both say thank you, it is then paid."

"The one favor is the other worth."

"It is a gesture."

"We like to reciprocate and not be in a position of owing anyone."

"It is reciprocal."



These terms exemplify a continuing concern with reciprocation. Villagers expect that once a gesture of help has been given, it is followed by a continued giving and receiving of help. "It has to start somewhere" the saying goes as natives try to explain their motivation for offering assistance to new settlers. When the new settlers do not reciprocate, there are hurt feelings; and the failure to continue the exchange is taken as a personal affront and rejection of traditional village life.

The feelings of obligation to reciprocate are so imperative that the giver of help must minimize the value of his own efforts. For example, a reply of "You're welcome." by a help giver to a "Thank you." given by a help receiver incites great feelings of obligation and debt in the help receiver, and is considered impolite. The correct, and expected, response to a thank you is "it was so little" (det er saa lidt).⁹

The felt need to reciprocate is not based on generosity or good will, but rather a fear of being in debt to others, since such debts cannot readily be repaid if one carries on most of one's daily activities away from the village. Poul Jensen summarized these feelings and fears well in his interview when he said "No, I don't think that (payment) is anything we think about; but, it also follows that we would very much like to reciprocate so we are not left



feeling grateful to anyone." Poul describes reciprocation as a removal of feelings of obligation, not as payment for services received.¹⁰

The result of such feelings is usually a series of help exchanges in an attempt to balance perceived debts and remove feelings of obligation. Such a series of exchanges often generates feelings of resentment since many do not have the time for such exchanges. Erik Ulrich, in his interview, expressed the goal of such exchanges by saying, "When we both say thank you, then it is paid." He meant that if we, as exchange partners, had both given and received equally, then nothing would be left owing. We could then relax since we both would be in the position of freely offering help without feelings of obligation in the future.

It is difficult to regulate mutual feelings of obligations to the point where a continual balance is perceived by both the giver and receiver of help. Continual fear of obligations make such a balance difficult to achieve. The result of such difficulties is to overcompensate when reciprocating help received.

There are numerous examples of overcompensation and manipulation of exchanges by one or both partners to avoid feelings of obligation. Jens Nielsen, for example, is so zealous in his helping behavior that he often does much

more than requested, making the recipient of his help visibly uncomfortable. Jens' regular network partners laugh and say "You're crazy Jens!" but others plead with him to stop or rest. It is a way for Jens to demonstrate his traditional image of the helpful Fynby citizen, and at the same time to control his exchanges and avoid feelings of obligation to others.

Jens is aware of what he is doing, and privately keeps careful account of who owes him return favors. When Jens asks someone for assistance, he is aware of the debts they owe him; and in those situations where people excuse themselves or refuse to help, Jens shows great anger, privately complaining about the times he has helped them without asking for return favors. Jens, for example, complained bitterly about Thorvald's absence from the lawn digging job while we had lunch. Such complaints were not heard from Jens when others in the village talked to Jens about his lawn and the difficult time he must have had to dig up such a large lawn.

Jens creates obligations to help in others by his over-compensating behavior. He makes sure that he is owed help so he can request help in future situations where such help is needed. When Jens cannot collect help from others who owe him help, he complains privately since public complaints would be the equivalent of redefining his network relationship with the negligent help giver. A redefinition



of a helping relationship can be potentially disruptive to an established exchange network, requiring realignment by all network members. For example, when Thorvald Andersen was publically criticized by Jens for failing to help when asked, other members of the exchange network aligned themselves with Jens. The result was a final exclusion of Thorvald from exchanges with all the network members.

The above discussion of the fear of obligation to others is reflected in answers given by sample subjects to two questions. The first question is "If someone helps you, do they then expect something in return?" The second question, asked directly after the first, is "If you helped someone do you then expect their help in return?" The answers to these questions were surprisingly different.

Table 17: Return Expectations for Help Given or Help Received

If someone helps you, do they then expect something in return?	If you helped someone do you then expect their help in return?			
	Yes	No	Depends	Don't Know
Y				
Yes	13	1	0	0
No	17	4	3	0
Depends	3	1	0	1
Don't Know	6	1	1	0

Total number of answers to each question are:

If someone helps you....			If you help someone....		
	N	%		N	%
Yes	14	27	Yes	39	76
No	24	47	No	7	14
Depends	5	10	Depends	4	8
Don't Know	8	16	Don't Know	1	2

Only 27% of the subjects felt something was expected of them in return for help received, and over 47% claimed no such expectations. For help given, the answers were quite different. Over 75% of the subjects expected reciprocation for help they had given to others. Of these subjects who expect reciprocation for help given, over 44% also answered that they themselves felt no obligation to reciprocate for help received.

Examples of answers given to these two questions are:

- | | |
|--|--|
| If someone helps you, do they then expect something in return? | If someone helps you, do you then expect their help in return? |
| 1. No, I've never observed that. | Yes. |
| 2. No, it is usually with a beer when we are done. | Yes. |
| 3. No, not of those we have anything to do with. | Yes, that is the way we have it, <u>we</u> have it. |



4. Not of those we get together Yes.
with.

It is obvious that more careful study of the help exchange is needed; the discussion of the dynamics of exchange only partly explains the above results. Observations and questionnaires alone cannot hope to accurately portray these exchange dynamics. It is also difficult to manage such questions in Fynby since questions dealing with motivations for exchange will be answered by the villagers with traditional messages and ideals. Any further probing for motivations are met with suspicion and impatience, and seriously jeopardize further field work in the village. Prolonged participation and observation appears to be the best approach.¹¹



D. VISITATION

There are three major types of visitation in the village. The first consists of large group-sponsored feasts held in the village hall or sports clubhouse. The second type consists of family "get-togethers" and feasts for holidays such as Christmas, Easter, New Years, and for anniversaries, birthdays, weddings, and confirmations. The third is the evening coffee for friends and neighbors, often held without prior planning. These evening coffees represent the majority of visits between friends.

In the past many feasts were sponsored by families during major events such as weddings, round figure birthdays, confirmations, anniversaries, harvesting, and slaughtering. These feasts were well attended and frequent. Today, family sponsored feasts involve only family and the closest friends of the family because of the expense of food and drink. They are still held in the hall, but families only rent one or two rooms adjacent to the main hall; and they prepare their own food in the hall kitchen.

The remaining large feasts are group - sponsored, and there are charges for admission, food, and drink. Admission is general with only an invitation from a regular member required. The feasts are well attended, and have become

general village feasts despite their original purpose of obtaining funds and members for the organization.

The evening coffee is, by far, the major type of visitation in the village. These visits are informal, most of the time on an ad hoc basis, and involve little preparation other than the making of coffee and cheese sandwiches. In nearly all the evening coffees we attended the television set proved to be the center of entertainment and conversation. Coffee was served in the living room, and we sat in chairs conspicuously placed around the television set. Conversation was minimal, generally timed with breaks in the programs.

Older community members retain some of the past formality, and always have a cake standing ready for such evening coffees. For these villagers such visits are meant to be conversational and coffee is served in the dining room with a formally set table. We later retire to the living room with cigar and wine, and spend several hours in conversation. The television set is turned on only for special programs.

Data for visitation deals with these evening coffee visits since these visits reflect personal choice for companionship more than the family feasts and group - sponsored events. Through such visitation data it is possible to determine specific groups and sub - groups within the

village, and the pattern of visitation reflects dynamics similar to other types of exchanges.

I. Visitation Data

Subjects were first asked with whom they get together for evening visits. Tabulation of answers indicated the average number of families visited by sample subjects to be 5.67, with no significant difference between the various neighborhoods in the village. Two small sub - sections however, did have higher averages. These were New Street east with an average of 7.67 families visited, and Mill Street north with 6.80.

When looking at home residence of those families visited, nearly 60% of all visits by residents of the new central section of Fynby (including the streets of South Street, East Street, and West Street) are made with people living outside the village. This is somewhat higher than the near 50% of such visits outside Fynby for the old section residents, and reflects less isolation from other villages and kommunes for residents of the new central section.

New district residents also visit nearly all sections within the village, whereas residents of the older sections exclude new sections from their visiting. This trend is reflected in other exchange data also, and can clearly be seen in the relative percentage of visiting networks recorded

for residents visiting others on the same street or in the same section of the village.

Table 18: Home Location of Families Visited and Families Who Visit

Home Location of Visiting	Home Location of Families Visited			
	Same Street	Old Section*	New Section**	Outside Fynby
Old Section				
New Street	26(17)	42(28)	2(1)	56(37)
Mill Street	17(10)	44(26)	2(1)	54(32)
Green Street	13(5)	38(15)	5(2)	57(23)
New Section				
South Street	11(3)	11(3)	15(4)	74(20)
East Street	7(3)	30(13)	7(3)	63(27)
West Street	0(0)	38(6)	6(1)	56(9)

Figures within parentheses indicate actual number of visits recorded for subjects of specific streets within the village.

* Figures include visits to same streets for old section residents.

** Figures include visits to same streets for new section residents.

Residents of the old sections of Fynby have consistently higher percentages of families visited who are located either on the same street or in the same section of the village. The older sections also have a very low percentage of families visited living in the new section. The residents of the new section have greater variety of home location of families visited, with visiting networks located in all sections of the village. However, new section residents



also have higher percentages of visits made to old section residents than to residents of their own sections of the village. Some of these results are explainable through an analysis of the population characteristics of each section of the village.

There are some differences in population characteristics of these village neighborhoods. While new settlers are distributed throughout the village, older settlers and natives are concentrated in the old sections of the village. To see if such population differences influenced data results on home location of families visited, results were analyzed by year of arrival or birth in the village of the sample subjects.

Table 19: Home Location of Families Visited and Year of Arrival or Birth in Village of Families Visiting

Year of Arrival or Birth in Fynby	Home Location of Families Visited			
	Outside Village	Areas in Village*	Old Section	New Section
1970 - 1975	65(44)	6(4)	21(14)	8(6)
1955 - 1969	51(38)	11(8)	32(24)	7(5)
1925 - 1954	45(25)	20(11)	33(19)	2(1)
1885 - 1924	48(38)	14(11)	38(31)	0(0)

Figures within parentheses indicate actual number of visits recorded for subjects of specific years of arrival or birth.

* Figures in this column represent visits to families not included within the village limits, though located within the Fynby sogn limit. This area consists predominantly of natives and old settlers who farm the surrounding village and sogn.

The above data, recorded by year of arrival or birth in the village, indicates that the longer an individual or family has lived in the village, the fewer visits made to the new section of the village. No one settling in 1924 or before list any visits to families in the new section.¹²

Village differences are also reflected in frequency of visitation. The average number of monthly visits made to new sections of the village is 5.60, while it is nearly 7.00 to the old section. These averages are based on a total of 266 listed visitation networks for which frequency of visitation was obtainable. Older village settlers and natives have more visits per month with a greater number of families than new settlers, and such a pattern is reflected in some of the comments made by villagers during discussions of visitation.

Comments by new section residents

1. ...but we have so much to do that we do not need to visit anyone...
2. I don't like to go out so much, we become too hurried.
3. We don't visit anyone, for we don't have time for that....

Comments by old section residents

1. If anyone of the neighbors come by, then we say, 'wouldn't you like a cup of coffee, or a Sunday's brunch...'

2. We get together mostly for a cup of coffee...
3. Mostly for coffee since we don't have to prepare so much (for coffee visits)...

Differences in visiting data also appeared when the data was organized by type of employment for both subjects (those visiting) and those visited. Here, several employment groups are noticeably different. For example, over 80% of the families visited by teachers are also teachers, while less than 8% of families visited by teachers are skilled workers, and less than 4% are unskilled workers. Obviously, this is a two - way discrimination, for only the independents of the village (managers, small business owners, and farmers) list 2% of the families they visit to be teachers.

Unskilled workers are similarly isolated in the sense that they list nearly 40% of families visited as also being unskilled workers.

Table 20: Employment of Head of Household of Families Visiting and Families Visited

Employment of those Visiting	Employment of those Visited			
	Self-Employed	Skilled	Unskilled	Professional
Self-employed	15(7)	26(12)	32(15)	4(2)
Skilled	8 (4)	28(15)	26(14)	2(1)
Unskilled	7 (8)	16(19)	39(45)	1(1)
Professional	0 (0)	9(2)	4(1)	83(19)

Figures within parentheses indicate actual number of visits recorded for subjects of specific employment group. Visitation to kinfolk was uniformly high for all groups but the professional, with figures being: self employed, 23(11); skilled, 36(19); unskilled, 37(43); and professionals, 4(1).

A comparison made of the above visiting networks with helping networks indicate little overlap in network membership. Less than 10% of visiting networks are also listed by sample subjects as being helping networks, and data is consistently low for all village neighborhoods and employment groups of the village.

Table 21: Percentage of Networks Listed for both Visiting and Helping Networks

Percentage of dual membership networks	N	%
0 - 05	25	49
5 - 10	1	2
11 - 15	5	10
16 - 20	10	20
21 - 25	4	8
26 - 30	1	2
31 - 35	4	8
36 +	1	2

Questions were also asked regarding the necessity of notifying one's intent to visit. Nearly 55% of the sample indicated it was not necessary to call or let others know about an intended visit. Nearly 31% reported it depends upon circumstances of the intended visit, and 14% reported it to be always necessary to announce an intended visit.

New settlers are the most informal with none claiming it necessary to call prior to visiting. Older settlers and natives are divided on the issue, with most saying that it depends upon circumstances such as the distance between

the visitor and the visited. If the distance is great, then it is necessary to call to insure the intended host's presence at home. Other reasons include visits of more than a few hours duration, and visits involving preparations by the host for eating (other than the normal coffee and cake).¹³

Table 22: Notification of Intended Visit and Year of Arrival or Birth in Village

Year of Arrival or Birth	Type of Notification Necessary			
	None Necessary	It Depends*	Always Necessary	Total
1970 - 1975	86(12)	14(2)	0(0)	14
1955 - 1969	54(7)	31(4)	15(2)	13
1925 - 1954	50(6)	42(5)	8(1)	12
1885 - 1924	25(3)	42(5)	32(4)	12
Total	55(28)	31(16)	14(7)	51

* Notification of intent to visit is dependent upon circumstances of visit. The most frequently quoted of which are 1) distance to host, 2) duration of visit, and 3) necessary meal preparation by host. Figures within parentheses indicate actual number of reported answers for each group of subjects arriving or born in specific years. Total sample was 51 families (33% of village population).

Villagers were also asked if they expected their hosts to return their visits, or if some other means of reciprocating visits was considered. Here, results indicated fewer hesitations and greater certainty about expected and proper behavior.

Older settlers and natives again had greater percentages

expecting a return visit for each visit made. New settlers are divided, with 21% saying yes, 36% saying no, and 21% saying the rules were not specific, but a balance is attempted.

Table 23: Return Visit Expectations by Year of Arrival or Birth in Village

Year of Arrival or Birth	Expectations for Return Visit			
	Expected	It Depends *	None Expected	Rules Unclear
1970 - 1975	21(3)	21(3)	36(5)	21(3)
1955 - 1969	31(4)	0(0)	62(8)	8(1)
1925 - 1954	25(3)	0(0)	74(8)	1(1)
1885 - 1924	42(5)	17(2)	17(2)	25(3)
Total	29(15)	10(5)	45(23)	16(8)

Figures within parentheses indicate actual number reporting expectations for return visits for subjects arriving or born in the village in specified years.

* Return visits for each visit made are generally not expected for informal coffees during either mornings or evenings; nor are there expectations for casual "falling - in" types of visits.

To briefly summarize the above visitation data, it is found that:

- 1) Older sections of the village have a higher average number of families visited than new sections of the village, though the difference is not great.
- 2) Nearly 65% of all visits made by residents of the new central district are made to areas outside the village, whereas the older sections list less than 55% of their visits to areas outside the village.



- 3) Residents of the new central district visit residents in all areas of Fynby, but residents of the older sections exclude new sections of the village from their visits.
- 4) The longer an individual has lived in the village, the fewer visits made to residents of the new central area of the village.
- 5) Teachers and other professionals exclude non - teachers and other non - professionals from their visits, and villagers who are not teachers and professionals exclude teachers and professionals from their visits.
- 6) There is little overlap (less than 10%) of visiting networks with other types of exchange networks.
- 7) Over 55% of the villagers feel it is not necessary to announce their visits, though 32% of the older settlers and natives feel it is absolutely necessary.
- 8) Nearly 42% of natives and older settlers expect visits to be reciprocated, but new settlers are divided, with only 21% saying reciprocity is necessary for each visit.

II. Village Feasts

The data presented in section I was based on evening visits for coffee and cake. These visits are traditional, have remained popular, and are subject to individual sentiments and choice. Social gatherings such as confirmations, weddings, baptisms, funerals, and anniversaries

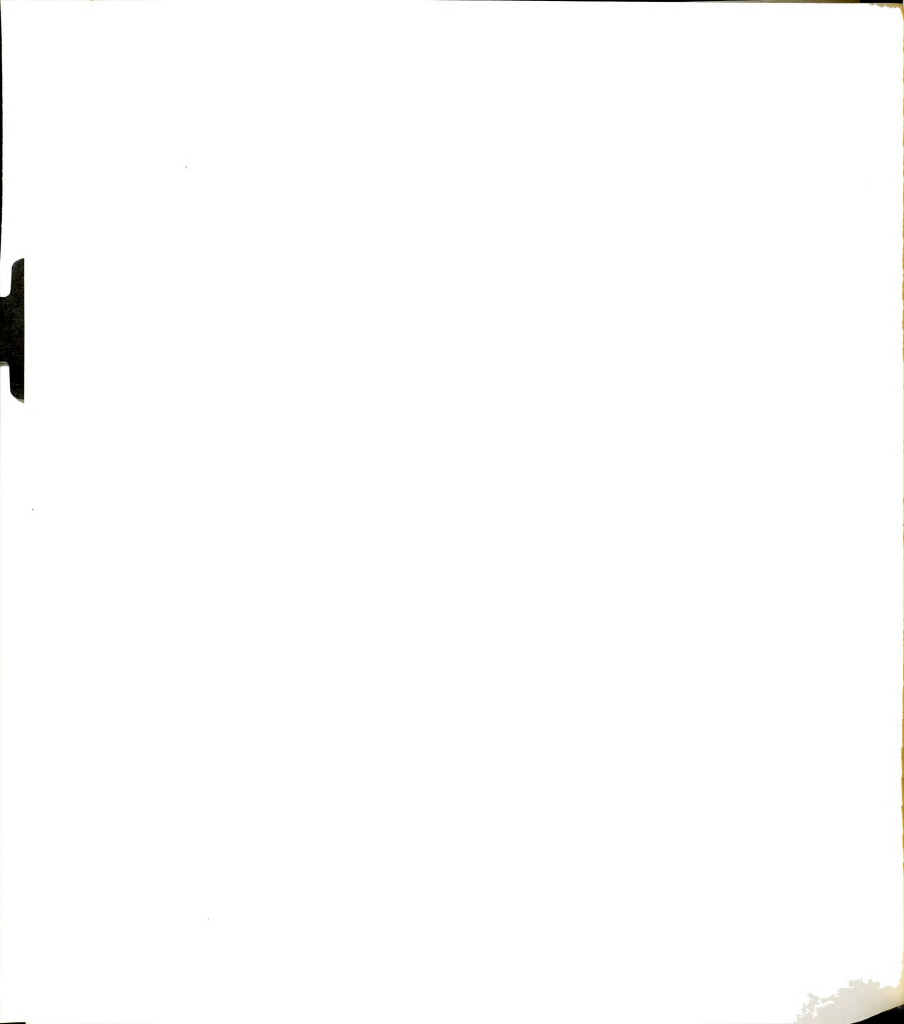


are now basically limited to family and close friends because of the expense of food and drink. Group - sponsored feasts remain the only representative of the traditional and large village feasts that were so popular in the past; and while these feasts are open only to members and their guests, they generally involve the majority of the village residents.

Group sponsored feasts are held for the purpose of raising funds for local organizations and their activities. The groups or organizations which presently sponsor yearly feasts in the village are, the sports club, the hunting club, the village citizens committee (open to all villagers), the house keeping club (also called the house mothers club), and the school.

The feasts are all similar, and the evening's events of one feast duplicates the events of all others. The description of the events at the sports club feast given below serves as a representative sample of all these feasts.

We were invited to the sports club feast by Svend Lauritsen, a passive member; and while we were his guests, we had to pay for admission, food, and drink. Jens and Sofie Nielsen were also invited, as were the postman and his wife. The feast began at 7 p.m., but Sofie had gone to the hall to secure a good table by the entertainment before 6:30 p.m. Seating had been arranged by Svend and Jens, and the spouses were separated.



The president of the club introduced himself and the board members at 7:15 p.m., welcomed the members and their guests, and gave an account of the year's activities and the purpose of the feast. It was the same speech given at nearly a dozen previous feasts, and concluded with "Let us eat and enjoy the evening."

The hall staff carried large trays of open faced sandwiches to each table (couples had previously ordered their portions through the regular members). Svend placed the first order for Schnapps and beer, and gave a cheer to begin the evening. The dinner hour consisted of continual rounds of such cheers and increasingly ribald joking.

Towards the end of the dinner hour, large facsimiles of paper money with party drinking songs printed on the sides were passed out to the guests. These songs were laed by the club president, and at the end of each verse general cheers with beer and schnapps rang through the hall.

Entertainment begins after the coffee and cake with a harmonica player warming the audience to jokes and cheers of schnapps. Tables are pushed to the side of the hall and dancing begins, lasting until the early morning hours.

There are also a series of predictable family holidays and feasts, including confirmations, weddings, funerals, baptisms, anniversaries, round birthdays, Christmas, and New Years. In the past these were large feasts attended

by friends in the village. Today they are limited to family and close friends, and this change of attendance for these feasts also indicates a changing function of the feasts. In the past, the feasts served as symbols of village unity and friendship with one's neighbors and work companions. Today, they are symbolic of family unity.

Some family events such as confirmations, weddings, anniversaries, and round birthdays also have open - house periods during the day, and prior to the actual feast in the hall in the evening. Here people come with cards and congratulations, though most now send their cards or have their children carry the cards to the celebrants. At several open house events I observed, it was only close friends and extended family that attended, and those invited for the evening dinner did not show up until late in the day.

As an example of an earlier tradition, let me describe a wedding feast in 1922. This was the pattern of attendance and feasting events until the mid fifties. The description was given by Anna Nielsen during an interview and was taped.

We were married the year Laurits was 25. That was, of course, in 1920 when I was 23. My father had our house built by then, and we had cleared the furniture out of the rooms downstairs. People were invited for the noon meal, we were 75 and we sat in the living rooms and bed rooms.

At 2 pm, we were to be married in the church, and there was an old musician from the old house up on Mill Street. He went ahead of the procession and played a horn

all the way from the house and up to the church...

After the church we went home for the evening meal, and afterwards we all danced in the hall (across the street). We rented the hall only, not the kitchen since people could walk over here for whatever they wanted.

Yes, it was such fun, such fun. We all marched, just so, up to the church; all of us did that because they were of course all invited to the wedding. They came from Vesterby and Kilnby, and all around.

And then they got 'night food.' Yes, they were fed three times...there were two large tables set together so that they made one wide table filled with flowers, and all that food (one calf and a pig were slaughtered for the wedding).

And then we had the cook from Green Street, but she wasn't completely trustworthy. I think a couple of roasts went with her home...

There was more life then.

These large family feasts are now unusual. By far, the norm for the village is informal coffee visits during the eveing, and the early morning coffee hour between women of the village.

The morning coffee hours are usually held after the children are in school and before they come home for lunch. They are one of the few chances available for women to communicate with other women in the village. Evening coffee visits are generally not planned, and often involve a walk around the village and then a "falling in" with a



known family. Children are often sent scouting after dinner for suitable places for coffee. The arrangements are informal, and villagers take great care to either "fall in" or else announce their coming in a manner precluding any possibility of the host going through a great deal of preparations for the evening.

CHAPTER V
DISCUSSION

Data results indicated that partners in specific exchanges varied. Less than 10% of the various exchange networks studied for any one individual had members who participated in more than one type of exchange with that individual. Data also indicated specific groups of villagers were excluded from exchanges of services and commodities. These groups included women, the unskilled, new settlers, and professionals living in the village.

It was proposed that such variations in network participation is due to selectively applied rank differentiation criteria. High rank is attributed to those who command social deference or who have access to valued services and commodities. Those villagers who have a high social or economic status are not necessarily ranked high by village craftsmen in an exchange context, and thereby are excluded from many village exchanges. It is a rational system of ranking based on ability to provide scarce resources. Traditional structure does not function to direct network exchange participation since those groups traditionally ranked high no longer control the

distribution of valued services and commodities. Exchange network affiliations are now a matter of personal choice.

The exclusiveness of service exchanges suggests a developing, high ranked group consisting of skilled craftsmen; but this could be a function of immediate changes in Fynby, and not necessarily a permanent change in the social structure. Data results indicated great variation in exchange network participation with few rules for exclusion other than inability to provide rather specific services and commodities. Such variation suggests a nascent structure, still in the process of change.

The field site description and the conclusion outline the structural changes in Fynby since 1950. Extreme as these changes have been, they are still very recent in Fynby's 1100 year history, and there are no indications the village has reached stability. In fact, the Kommune urban planning committee plans for expansion of the village by allowing new settlers in the late 1970s, concentrating existing industry in Husby, paving a new expressway south of Fynby, and removing the village school and sports facilities and the village hall to Koldby.

The present study describes existing exchange networks and the possible rank differentiation criteria influencing network participation. The following sections of the discussion outlines each rank dimension listed in the introduction, and then traces the influence of these dimensions

on exchange of services and valued commodities. Hopefully present data will provide a foundation for further work in Fynby or similar villages, and provide a comparison between two points in time. Only such a comparison can give valid information on the relationship of emerging social structure and network exchange, and provide a basis for theory building.

A. GENDER AND EXCHANGE

Women, as a group, have a special position in village relationships which emphasizes exclusion from the types of exchanges studied, and relative restriction to roles of childcare and housekeeping. It is a traditional position, and is displayed in the autographs of Ella Rasmussen, written nearly a century ago:

A good humor
 a loyal soul,
 Combined in a loyal woman
 is the greatest treasure
 On this Earth.

Henrik Hansen, Fynby,
 den 3/1/95

Love your husband and
 darn his socks,
 (and you will) wander on red roses.

Aleksandra Jeppesen, Fynby,
 den 25/12/94

When once in your days
You are a cheerful wife and happy...

Kristian Jeppesen, Fynby,
den 24/4/96

The mother is depicted as the prime protector of sacred and innocent children: "Mother Dear! Be with me, guard me when I sleep; you will not forsake me, I can trust in you," and "In no places are the roses so red, and the thorns so small, and the down so soft, as there where the child's innocence rests." (both autographs dated 1896)

Until the 1950s girls aged 12 and older were indentured to hard task masters. Anna Nielsen, in the late 1800s, was indentured for nearly four years to local farmers where she was required to learn the woman's tasks. She received two Sunday afternoons off a month, and a wage of \$10.00 yearly, which was paid to her parents.

Girls also had small books for written evaluations of their services at each place of indentureship. A bad evaluation guaranteed return to her parents, and a stigma as lazy and a poor subject for marriage. Loss of the book was an offense punishable by imprisonment and a diet of bread and water.

Sofie Nielsen is now 29 years old and wants to work. She has been unable to find the cooperation and support necessary for her to escape the role described above. I

witnessed an argument between Sofie and her parents and husband which revealed many of the values that function to keep women in a subservient and home - centered position. The family and I had been discussing the unemployment problems on the island, and Sofie's father contended that jobs were available in factories, but people were too lazy today to work at these jobs. Sofie replied that she did not blame them since such work was boring and involved doing the same thing over and over again. "It's much like being a housewife," she added after a few seconds thought. This comment immediately brought a chorus of protest from her parents and husband.

The main points to the argument are as follows:

Frida, Sofie's mother, vehemently rejected Sofie's ideas; she viewed them as an attack on the wife's role, on her role. "I've done many chores in my day, and let me tell you, being at home is an opportunity for self - development that adds life to the family."

Egon, Sofie's father, looking out the window, added, "I've always held that a woman's place is in the home."

Jens, Sofie's husband, said nothing and was visibly nervous since he had been through this many times before. He sat and chewed on his cigar, and pointedly stared at the group's reflection in the window.

Sofie, still brave, said, "there is no self - development in cooking, cleaning, and being stuck in the house. It is isolation."

Frida, momentarily taken back by Sofie's persistence, agreed, but suggested that Sofie could do something while the children were in school.

Sofie, getting more emotional, "it's not enough; I need more for self - fulfillment. I wanted that vacation... but Jens always tells me to earn for it by washing steps, and then he won't let me work when it comes to it."

Jens, nervously laughing, protested, "Can't you take a bit of joking?"

Frida, still angry at the attack on motherhood, saw her chance, and said, "There is no substitute for a mother, when you have small children in the home you should be a mother to them."

Sofie countered, "They could depend on the father too if he was around."

Jens said nothing; he lit his pipe slowly and continued staring at the window.

Egon came to his wife's support and said, "Most women, if they got a taste of working, would soon head for home. They just can't take it."



Sofie, returning to her original point, said, "I would head for home too if I had to take a shit job."

Egon became angry, and shouted, "I've had those in my life."

Sofie began crying and had no further arguments with the family. She could not argue against the call for motherhood. Jens was visibly nervous and finally joked, "Well, then I'll buy a farm and you can be fulfilled tending cows." Everyone laughed and Sofie went to the kitchen to prepare more coffee.

It was obvious Jens felt sorry for Sofie, but he did not know or comprehend her conflict, and could only suggest tending cows - the traditional job for girls indentured to farms - as the final blow.

The limited participation of women in the exchanges studied is clear in the data. In all interviews, no women were listed as active participants, nor were they full fledged and accepted members of established male exchange networks. As a group, women are excluded from direct dealings in exchanges of all types, and are seen as participants only to the extent their husbands are active participants. The autographs of Ella Rasmussen, written nearly a century ago, and Sofie's inability to argue her desire to work indicates the continuing marginal position



of women in village exchanges.

A. Service Exchanges and Gender

The low esteem given women in exchanges is obvious in service exchanges. Women simply do not participate directly in service exchanges. The most obvious explanation for their exclusion is the lack of women with craft skills; there are no women with craft skills in Fynby. Skilled women are trained for tasks such as office work and most of the professional helping careers, but they are not trained in traditional craft skills. This is partly historical, but certainly also a function of present stratification in these villages.

During my stay in Fynby, and from what I recall as a child, I learned of no women members of service exchange networks. It is, as Mads Jørgensen would say, "not their job." All contracts and arrangements are made between men, women do not interfere or interest themselves in actual exchange arrangements. They are supportive in other ways, and thus the women make it a point to see the wives of their husband's contacts, and accordingly restrict contacts that might offend or restrict the husband's network potential. When Jens became irritated with me for failing to help him with his lawn one saturday, Sofie made a point of letting my wife know about it. Later in the year Jens believed I

purposely avoided helping in several tasks, and Sofie immediately stopped active contact with my wife for several weeks.

The male dominance in the service exchange networks is so pervasive that when it was time for Irene Lauritsen to have her kitchen appliances replaced, she had no active involvement in the selection and purchase of the new appliances. This was left to her husband. He would make the necessary contacts and obtain the appliances at cost. As a result, she obtained appliances that she disliked and continually complained about to her friends.

Single women living in the village are also excluded from direct dealings with the service exchange networks. Erna Jensen was required to pay in full for her furnace work as well as for installation of new windows and kitchen appliances. Although she is a native of the village, and a close friend of village craftsmen, her lack of marketable skills excludes her from service exchange networks. It is doubtful that the men would even consider dealings with women such as Erna. A woman only benefits from the service exchanges because of her status as wife of a service exchange network member.

B. Black Exchanges and Gender

Gender is also a factor limiting access to black exchanges. Women as a group are excluded from black exchanges in the village, and when they are permitted to participate, they are then unequal partners accepted by virtue of their husband's membership in an established network.

Irene Lauritsen provides an example of a woman who occasionally participates in black exchanges. The wife of one of Jens' network partners, she owns a beautyshop in the new section of the village. Once a month Irene gives Jens a haircut during the evening when the shop is closed. As payment for the haircut, Jens brings along four bottles of beer for Irene's husband and himself. Irene does not receive direct payment for her services; instead, that goes to her husband, and while the exchange of beer for the haircut is technically a black exchange, Jens views it as a favor that is due to him as a regular network member. Irene not only could not refuse the haircut without endangering her husband's membership in the network, it is doubtful that she resents the fact that her husband, rather than she, receives payment.

C. Gender and Pig Exchange

The first and most obvious limiting factor to participation in the pig exchange is gender. The producers of pigs available for non - cash food exchanges are local farmers, and it is not likely that Fynby women would be in the position to initiate a pig exchange. The situation is similar to the service exchange, in that there is little that women could offer in exchange which would be of value to the farmer.

While women have full and sole responsibility for food preparations and shopping, the slaughter is performed on a day when the husband is home, with the whole family participating in the day - long event. The men do the basic cutting, wrapping, and freezing. Women do all preparations involving cooking and making of sausage and liver paste.

Children carry pieces of meat from the slaughtering area to the kitchen, and receive pieces of the slaughtered pig to play with - the bladder is rolled in salt for elasticity, inflated, and then used for a game of soccer.

Poul Jensen is typical in making arrangements for a pig. He contacts his wife's father, who owns a farm, and the details of "cost" and slaughtering logistics is arranged between the two. Anne, his wife, would not consider interfering with such arrangements between her husband and father.

D. Summary on Gender and Exchange

Women are generally not influential in exchanges of the type studied, but this is not to say that women have no means of interaction or exchange. For example, there is active visitation between women during the morning hours when the children are in school. These coffee visits are regular and provide one of the few regular sources for communication between women.

It is interesting to note that participation in these coffee visits are generally limited to wives of the men's established exchange networks. Sofie Nielsen, for example, has coffee nearly each morning with different wives of Jens' exchange network, and only two women are not wives of Jens' friends. These two are fellow members of the Housewives' Association in the village, and many times use the coffee hours to carry on association business.

The coffee visits are times for conversation and gossip on village affairs, but they also serve as a means of communication between the men. Wives often use these hours to relay messages given by husbands before going to work, and in fact, many times make it a point to see women because of messages given by the husbands. In a sense, even the coffee visits become tools and extensions of the men's exchange networks.

I observed none of the helping behaviors between women that are common for men. Women did their own cooking, baking and housework. When asked about child care, the most common response was, "I care for my own!" The overall impression I received of Fynby women is one of competition with other women, and relative social isolation.

General visitation during the evenings and attendance at feasts are limited to the husband's exchange partners, and his determination of proper times for visitation.

There are few areas of responsibility held solely by women. Their basic responsibilities revolve around food preparation, housekeeping, and child care. Any attempt to deviate from this role is reprimanded, either harshly and physically, or by whining and cajoling. Jens, for example, would complain loudly if his supper was not warm and ready when he returned from work. If Sofie had a justified reason for not being at home during supper time, he would not eat, and then later call that fact to her attention.

Women are without power in the village; they have little determination over the events of their lives. Whatever power enjoyed is through the manipulation of their husbands by emphasis on their importance for the home. Irene would often say to Svend, "What would you and the children do without a mother in the house?" When Svend, by his actions, cast serious doubt about her necessity to him and the children, Irene responded by first threatening



and then attempting to commit suicide.

As a criteria for differentiation, gender is most effective. It effectively excludes women from nearly all of the exchanges studied, and limits their role to those tasks directly involving home and children. To most men, it is inconceivable that women would have any of the factors necessary for social exchanges, and today, they don't. Few women have the power, skill, social status, or economic status to command the distribution of valued commodities and services. As a group, women are only marginal participants in village exchanges, their participation determined by their husband's ability to participate in exchanges.

B. KINSHIP AND EXCHANGE

Kinship is another criterion for rank differentiation, though one that is losing its relevance in view of the large segment of new settlers in the village. Prior to 1968, Fynby consisted of less than 300 adults. Most of these were natives to the village, and represented many generations of families native to Fynby. With a village population so small, and with the limited mobility of its inhabitants, most villagers were related to a few core families. These families became important in the village exchanges by influencing alignments of individuals through marriage and control of village produced commodities. Relationships became a complicated function of traditional values and kinship obligations. Kinfolk had high expectations for mutual help and economic support as witnessed by the continuing parceling of family land holdings to children, and the inheritance of occupations and family business concerns. Today, kinship is still important to traditional families who are natives to the village.

New settlers do not make the distinctions between family and non - family relationships in their exchanges to the same extent as natives, nor do they express such obligations to support extended family members. For example,

when subjects were asked why they moved to or remained in Fynby, well over 50% of the natives insisted that family ties were reason enough. New settlers, however, migrated because of availability of land and housing, with land being the greatest single attraction. Less than 18% of new settlers listed family proximity as a motivation for moving to Fynby.

This emphasis on kinship obligations and devotion by natives makes it difficult for recent settlers to penetrate various types of established exchange networks. For natives to the village, existing and established networks for exchange have existed for many years (many are passed on from generation to generation) and exist because of a combination of skilled individuals within the family who have access to valued commodities and services, and a continuing feeling of family obligation.

A. Kinship and the Pig Exchange

Kinship is important for the pig exchange. While only 9.6% of all foods listed in the questionnaire came from family members, over 24% of pigs used for slaughtering were obtained from family. Families on farms (all natives) generally raise one or two pigs from each litter for such exchanges with kinship related families, and these are not registered with authorities.



Without kinship to farmers, it can be difficult to gain access to such exchanges. Most settlers arriving prior to 1969 and native residents obtain meat through kin-related networks. New settlers and residents without nearby kin relied on special arrangements with others or larger farmers in neighboring districts.

Of those listing non - cash food exchanges in the village, only one family settled there after 1970, and this family has an especially large set of kinfol in Husby with whom they actively exchange their services for food. This family is the exception to the new settlers in Fynby. In most cases, new settlers are excluded from such pig exchanges based on kinship ties.

Viggo Mortensen, a new settler, makes arrangements with a fellow teacher to share the expense of raising a pig. They purchase two eight week old pigs from a farmer at retail prices, making the purchase and arrangement legal. Such arrangements are on the basis of friendship and mutual interest. They are replicas of traditional exchanges without the obligations of kinship, and they are generally by those villagers who are excluded from the traditional pig exchange networks. They are also legal since taxes are paid on the original purchase.

B. Kinship and Service Exchanges

Service exchanges, by definition, depend on access to valued commodities and skilled services by the exchange partners in such a manner that formal records and taxes can be avoided. Kinship influences such exchanges only by making them available to kinfolk where one of the kin related exchange partners does not have the skill or access to valued commodities by which to reciprocate. In these situations, the exchanges symbolize the importance of family ties and family dependability to help when necessary.

Many service exchanges, and certainly all black exchanges, are subject to great secrecy since they are illegal. This makes systematic observation and questioning nearly impossible. In fact, many villagers simply refused to answer questions or to discuss topics related to such illegal exchanges. Other villagers stated that such exchanges are a thing of the past, and are not possible today. These answers are obviously false.

Erik Hansen, a local teacher who is excluded from such exchanges, states that everyone engages in black exchanges, but everyone does not deal with everyone else. Excluded are nearly all women, and those individuals who do not have access to valued commodities or skilled services.

Kinship functions to gain access to such exchanges for individuals not normally eligible for participation. Holger Jakobsen, for example, is an unskilled laborer whose daughter is married to a blacksmith. Holger would not normally



command the resources to obtain heating and plumbing services, but his kin ties with his son-in-law won him access to a completely new kitchen, bathroom, and furnace at cost. He supplied the parts, and his son-in-law supplied the skilled labor to install the appliances.

Such exchanges are common in the village; their occurrence is also common knowledge, but none will acknowledge them. My own observations found them to exist for all families befriended during the year and willing to discuss the topic.

Based on these observations, tentative rules for exchange and kinship can be spelled out; but again, these have to be verified by further work in the village.

In situations such as the above example where one of the kin related partners is unskilled and does not have access to valued commodities, the expectations for reciprocation are generally nonexistent. Where both kin-related partners skilled, or have access to valued commodities, then some standards for the value of the exchanged commodities or services exist. These values are not as firm or conclusive as those for non-related exchange partners. For example, Mads Pedersen, the mason, provided a new cement floor for two stalls for his father's barn, and he also made extensive repairs on the tile roof of the barn. Mads received a pig in exchange for his services. The value of Mads' work was based on Mads' cost of providing materials, and his father's cost of raising the pig to slaughtering size.



Kinship does not appear to obviate record keeping where exchange partners are skilled. There is a balance kept, but the anxieties normally produced during such exchanges are absent, and the payments are not so time bound or immediate.

Kinship ties permit service exchanges to occur where normally they are not possible. Rules for or expectations for reciprocation are generally absent in those situations where one kin related partner is not able to provide skilled services or valued commodities. In exchanges where all partners are skilled or have access to valued commodities, reciprocation is expected and the value of exchanged commodities is determined by the wholesale cost of the commodities. Reciprocation does not have to be immediate, and is generally relaxed and anxiety free.

Kinship gains an individual access to all types of exchanges, but the pig-exchange is the only exchange that is almost exclusively limited to kin related individuals. This is in part due to ownership of remaining farms by fourth and fifth generation natives to the village who make "black" pigs available only to their kin living in the village. All villagers can obtain pigs from these farmers, but non-kin are required to pay full retail prices for such pigs.



C. SKILL AND EXCHANGE

Traditional villages such as Fynby were small, generally consisting of less than 300 adults. In such small villages it was possible to identify individuals by their occupation since many occupations were passed on from father to son: the carpenter became Leif Tømer, the electrician Erik elektriker, and the blacksmith Jens smed. These labels were symbols of an achieved rank and commanded respect and deference by those not having such status. The limited size of the villages and the limited number of skilled positions available in the villages made such systems of designating relative status functional. Each villager knew where he fit into the village stratification system, and the benefits and responsibilities due to one's position. It was a closed and largely unchanging system with very limited potential for individual mobility.

Today, villages are larger; Fynby has doubled in size and there are now many blacksmiths, carpenters, electricians, and other craftsmen living in the village. The old order of ranking individuals by occupational title is no longer feasible. The occupational title designation remains the exclusive property of those villagers who have carried on their trades in the village for many years, and in most cases for several generations.

Craftsmen still rank high in the village, but the designation of rank has changed from one of occupation to one of skill. Today, it is one's craft skills, not one's occupation that gains access to specific types of exchanges and exchange networks.

Skilled craftsmen are essentially the only segment of the population that have control over the distribution of their services. Unskilled workers do not have the ability to control distribution of their services since their skills are generally not valued or in demand to the same extent that craft skills are. Professionals, such as teachers and higher level office workers, likewise do not have the power to control the distribution of their services.

What has happened is the development of a social class strictly bounded by skill, and expressed intolerance of those who cannot contribute such craft skills. Jens, for example, does not befriend individuals from whom he cannot expect to receive valued services, and since valued services are defined by Jens to be craftsman's skills, he limits his interaction to fellow craftsmen.

When visiting non - skilled families, usually at the behest of his wife, he sits glum and silent, usually staring at the television set. He gives only partial attention to the evening's conversations. When visiting members of his exchange network, however, he becomes animated, and he and his friends spend many hours discussing shop.

The attitudes motivating such behaviors became clear during several of the social lessons I received by the village craftsmen. Svend Lauritsen, throughout the year, chasticed me because I did not have an identifiable skill, and he made it clear that what I was doing had no social value. He acknowledged my education by saying, "Knud, why don't you become an accountant and do the taxes for people. Here is something useful." If I did not have a recognized craft skill, I served no useful function according to Svend.

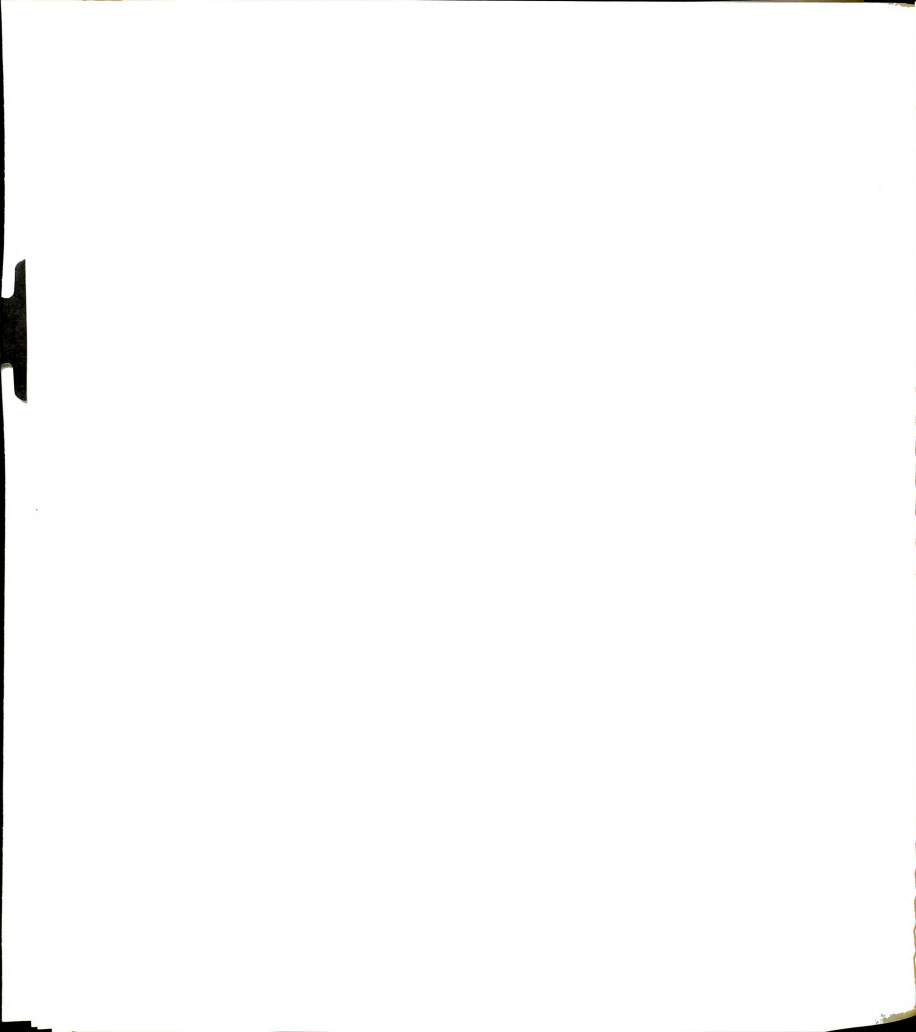
Jens also gave me lessons on what it took to be useful and a valued member of his (and mine) exchange network. My field notes for one such occasion provides an example of his feelings for those who "cannot" work.

Field Notes, 5-16-75

... we then talked about the land next to Jens' garden. It had belonged to Bernt Madsen, but now belonged to the kommune. Jens thought the kommune was going to make the lot into a municipal parking lot, and wanted to remove some old oil barrels he had standing on the lot. These barrels were heavy and I offered to help.

He smiled and said, "No Knud, I better get someone used to working, someone who has work clothes."

"I have work clothes Jens" I said.



He smiled again, and said, "I'm going to ask Svend Lauritsen, he's used to working."

I wish I had my tape recorder there to record the wonderfully subtle and indirect way he was giving me messages. I cannot mistake the messages, and the whole afternoon was insulting - the words themselves, the way they were spoken, were biting. Yet, his body was relaxed, leaning on the hoe, as he stood talking. He was not threatenng. He was giving me the same smiles as always.

His feelings on my capacity to work are settled, and there are no arguments to the contrary I can use to convince him otherwise. It is fact to Jens, I cannot work by his standards.

I was fortunate to be a member of a native and high ranked crafts family since such an acknowledgement of my different skills would normally mean total exclusion from the exchange network. They expected I had the family skills, but they were disappointed. It is a matter of status discrimination on their part for I have helped and performed skillful work with metal, including welding that I thought matched Jens' in skill.

It appears that Jens (and by implication his network partners) had been giving me a status based on a combination of my family history (nativity), my father's skilled trade, and my ability to provide services when asked. Since not all



exchanges between skilled craftsmen are skilled services, and I had not provided real evidence of a craft skill, the network members had assumed I had a traditional skill. That is, I was on probation until enough evidence had been collected regarding my usefulness to the established network.

Just prior to Jens' rejection of my offer to help, he had seen me with several college instructors from Koldby. After that, he and his wife Sofie expressed great interest in exactly the nature of my skills, and what I was doing in Fynby. I explained carefully again about my project, and it reinforced Jens' new notions of my status in the village. The consequent comments by Jens (quoted above) made it clear he was seeing me as a teacher of sorts, and I could not expect the same status I had previously enjoyed. This was despite the fact that I had displayed the blacksmith skills with which he and his network partners were familiar.

There was no rejection of me, they would not do that since I was still a native - son, but their exchanges with me changed. From then on, help with menial tasks was appreciated, and never refused; I received the same beers, lunches, and ribald jokes as before my status change. The group began to approach me with requests for typing, writing and composing letters to officials, and acting as mediator between them and government officials, and I became the teacher-son-of-the-blacksmith at parties given by the network members. I received exchanges of free car repairs,



appliance maintenance, meat, and many other services for help given to the group. It was, considering their changed perceptions of my status in Fynby, a smooth transition from probationary and somewhat equal partnership to a marginal, but still involved, exchange partner.

A. Skill and Service Exchanges

The most obvious requirement for participation in a service exchange is skill. The participant should be an apprenticed worker or journeyman in a craft, and publically recognized as such. Manual laborers do participate; but the exchange is unequal, and the laborer pays more for participation (in the form of time and physical exertion) than his trained counterpart.

A good example of the unequal position of manual laborers in service exchange is Thorvald Anderson. Thorvald is a Fynby native. He is now thirty years old, and completed the seventh grade in school. He did not acquire a craft skill. Thorvald is well - liked, and until recently a member of an active and established service exchange network. For several years Thorvald would be out helping others at least three to four times weekly. He would help Jens dig his garden in the spring and fall, plant in the late spring, and do other general labor around Jens' house. In return, Jens installed a furnace and all the plumbing in the house Thorvald was building. Without Jens and his skills, Thorvald would never

be able to afford his home. The unequal partnership has been used as a lever by the skilled members of the network for more services from Thorvald than at times seemed warranted and fair.

Thorvald became involved with a woman and her two children while I was in Fynby. The woman and her children moved into Thorvald's new house, and as a result his free time as a bachelor became somewhat restricted. Because of her complaints about his continual absence from home, he refused to help Jens and others of the network several times in one month. This was enough for censure, and a few weeks after that, he was excluded from the exchange network by both Jens and Svend Lauritsen with many complaints about his irresponsibility.

Such refusals would not normally be grounds for exclusion. Participating craftsmen do this quite often. Craftsmen are polite and considerate of each other, see their time as valuable, and make great attempts to not infringe or make unreasonable demands on each other's time and skill.

In fact, it is skill and fear of infringement on that skill that keeps many of the service exchanges operational. I noted that all of the home workshops of craftsmen in the village reflected their particular crafts. Jens' home workshop was a duplicate of the one he had at his place of work. The same pattern existed for all of the craftsmen in the village.



When I asked Jens why he did not have tools to do repair work on his car, he said it was not necessary. I also asked why he did not do some of the light carpentry or masonry work in the home as he was capable of doing it with little effort on his part. Jens responded that that would be an insult to his friends who did such work, meaning those with whom he regularly participated in service exchanges. "If Mads should come and see I had finished the tiles in the kitchen without calling him for help, he would think I was mad at him." Jens explained that Mads expected to do such jobs; they always do such jobs for each other. If Mads needed some welding or plumbing completed, he would always come to Jens.

If one has exchange partners with specific skills, it is expected that one does not do such jobs without consulting or asking the partner.

Demonstrated skill is necessary for continual participation in a service exchange network. Having an accepted skill is bargaining power in the network, and the skilled individual has a say as to when and how he will provide his services, and to whom he will provide it.

B. Skill and the Pig Exchange

A craft skill is also an important factor determining participation in pig exchanges, and provides the only

exception to kinship as a means of gaining access to pig exchanges.

Verner Eriksen provides a typical example of a village craftsman gaining access to such exchanges. He is a mechanic in a shop in Husby and regularly repairs the cars and tractors of a village farmer after the shop's normal closing hours. The farmer is given a bill for Verner's services, and the amount of meat used as payment is determined by the sholesale slaughterhouse price of the meat - the amount the farmer receives when he sells his pigs to slaughtering firms. The exchange between Verner and the farmer is not recorded, and there is an 18% savings realized in the form of non - paid taxes which is shared equally by Verner and the farmer.

These exchanges are in some cases ad hoc transactions, the product of circumstance and exposure to potential networks while performing one's trade. Because of the temporary nature of such exchanges, the exchange partners rely on existing market values of their respective products. The craftsman receives the equivalent of his normal fee, and the provider of the pig receives the equivalent of the going price of the pig. There is little if any bargaining or negotiations during the exchange, and if the arrangements are not satisfactory, there are no obligations for future exchanges.

D. NATIVITY AND EXCHANGE

Native status has always been important in structuring interaction in these villages, but it is only with the recent advent of new settlers that it functions to separate large groups within the village. Nativity is especially important to those villagers who view the new wave of migration to Fynby with alarm, and fear the invasion of so many unknown people. Nativity, as a dimension for rank differentiation is invoked when a villager has no knowledge of the other criteria used for ranking each other.

Nativity reflects known social standing and long - term friendship with villagers. A native is one you can trust. For example, when Anna Nielsen purchased her color television, she had to purchase it from "Radio" Hansen. Hansen was born in Fynby, thus "we have to support our own." New settlers, lacking the nativity status cannot expect membership in local service exchange networks.

Another example of the importance of nativity is Mads Petersen who was the mason in Fynby until a back injury. Mads is the preferred choice for any type of masonry work, although there are three other masons in the village. While these three masons are active in their trade, they are new settlers, and none are known to be members of permanent service exchange networks. Mads is the "village" mason,

and he is the one people will contact for masonry work. In fact, it is mandatory for Jens and others of the same exchange network to go to Mads; going elsewhere would disrupt the network, and reallignment of partners would then be necessary.

Peter Johansen, a retired farmer, waited nearly eight months to build his home so he could engage Mads to do the brick laying. It was with Peter's home that Mads injured himself and then changed crafts. There were other masons available, but Johansen wanted Mads since Mads was of Fynby. Johansen could give no other reason for his choice than, "Why, Mads is a good bricklayer, he was born here."

A. Nativity and Black Exchanges

Many of the new settlers find it impossible to engage in black exchanges with villagers who are natives or who have lived in the village for many years. Aksel Kristiansen, for example, found it necessary to build a friendship and later an exchange relationship with the village butcher (himself a settler and excluded from many exchange networks) to obtain meat illegally.

Because of such isolation, new villagers who actively try to engage in black exchanges among themselves are, to some extent, only partially successful. Many new settlers



obtain meat through family and kin who have farms; others obtain free pigs from family members, and then raise them with the help of several other settlers by sharing the cost of the feeding. Another type of exchange among new settlers is the sale of articles at a discount to friends. For example, many work for business concerns in a nearby city, where wholesale plans are possible for employees. These employees purchase articles needed by friends from their employers, and then sell them at cost.

As can be seen, the above exchanges by new settlers are not entirely illegal, and do not qualify as black exchanges though they are modelled after the black exchange. Basically, it is those skilled craftsmen having network affiliations with others in the village who possess access to illegal or black exchanges of services or valued commodities. New settlers who are skilled can and do engage in black exchanges, but their participation in such exchanges in the village and with established networks is minimal. In general, black exchanges within the village are not possible for new settlers unless they possess kinship ties or a craft skill.

B. Nativity and Helping Behavior

The study defined helping behavior to include acts of giving a hand, borrowing, and lending. Specific categories of these activities were developed and tested. Nativity

does not appear to influence who helps whom; restrictions on helping behavior comes in the form of neighborhood separation. There were differences, however, in the relative number of established helping networks existing between natives and settlers. These results were:

Table 24: Year of Arrival or Birth in Fynby and Number of Established Helping - Networks

Year of Arrival or Birth	Number of Established Networks Reported					Total
	0	1	2	3	4	
1970 - 1975	5(36)	3(21)	2(14)	4(29)	0(0)	14
1950 - 1969	4(27)	5(33)	4(27)	1(7)	1(7)	15
1885 - 1949	2(9)	5(23)	8(36)	6(27)	1(5)	22

* Numbers in parentheses indicate percentage of total subjects for specific years of arrival or birth in Fynby.

The average number of networks for new settlers is 1.36, for those settling between 1950 and 1969 it is 1.33, and for those settling prior to 1949, it is 1.95. The differences between the two group of later settlers are not significant, and a correlation between specific year of arrival and number of networks reported is less than .05. The greater average number of networks for the natives is significant, and indicates the persistence of established networks for those villagers raised in the traditional system and still remaining in the system. Data on service and food exchanges indicated how difficult it is for

settlers to establish such network relationships in villages such as Fynby.

These results indicate greater established relationships for helping among natives; and since neighborhood is an influencing factor, the relationships for helping are greater among natives who are also neighbors. Such a trend is most likely due to greater proximity over longer periods of time, and there are indications that settlers are also becoming greater help givers and receivers to each other. Settlers, however, will most likely not equal natives in frequency of helping activities in the future since most settlers work outside the village. Working outside the village involves greater time away from neighbors and fewer opportunities for helping. Settlers also do not have a common history and have fewer things in common than natives since many come from greatly varying regions in Denmark.

To summarize: settlers are not as active in helping activities as natives; and while such helping activity will undoubtedly increase in the future, it is unlikely to approximate the frequency of helping activities of natives.



C. Nativity and Visiting

Visitation data reflects informal evening visits for coffee and cake since such visits appear to be the norm. Nativity influences visitation in much the same manner it influences helping behavior; natives appear to visit more frequently than settlers. There was no real difference in location of those visited by natives and settlers, though no one settled prior to 1925 listed any visits to families in the new section. This pattern is most likely due to age differences since those settling prior to 1925 are by now aged and have established relationships with others of their age.

Nativity also appeared to influence expectations of return visits and of notifying one's intended hosts of visits. New settlers are the most informal with none claiming it necessary to call prior to visiting. Older settlers and village natives were divided on the issue, saying it depends on such circumstances as distance to intended hosts, duration of visit, and visits involving preparations of food by the hosts. These differences were not apparent when data was computed by age of subjects.

It is apparent that natives have established specific norms for visitation that prescribe the nature of visits made. Natives are more formal, wanting the conditions of the visit clear prior to actually visiting.



These differences between natives and settlers do not influence who visits whom. There are age differences, with visits commonly made to one's age cohorts, but such differences do not reflect differences in nativity status. Visitation is influenced predominantly by the factors of skill, neighborhood, and kinship, and not nativity.

E. NEIGHBORHOOD AND EXCHANGE

My earliest memories of life in Fynby is filled with fears of specific sections of the village. I was raised in the New Street area by the blacksmith shop, and knew the area intimately. By age 9 I had seen all of the village, but still feared going to both the southern and northern areas of Fynby. We, as a family, never associated with families from these areas; the people living on Mill Street were strangers consisting of the veterinarian, physician, windmill owner, and a collection of unskilled laborers working the farms north of Fynby.

Such neighborhood patterns are not immediately obvious today for there are visitations and interaction between villagers of various areas. The stores have closed or moved to different village sections, and villagers have to go to other sections to shop. Children are more mobile since the village now has only one school, and the children freely

go to homes of friends in other sections. However, I still felt some of the old neighborhood influences during interview discussions about exchange, and tried to analyze data from the neighborhood perspective to see if such differences still influences interaction.

A. Neighborhood and Helping Behavior

The establishment of helping networks is influenced by neighborhood location. The results are significant, and a correlation based on actual street location of subjects requesting help with individuals giving help was .42. Two old sections of the village, consisting of areas located on New Street and Mill Street, are the most active. The new central section of the village also has a high level of helping networks, whereas the border areas are surprisingly inactive.

Over 51% of the reported requests for help through established networks were initiated by people living in the old section of the village, and over 66% of the reported givers of help were also located in the old section. Indeed, 35 (41%) out of a total of 81 reported helping incidents through established networks in the village were between individuals both living in the old sections. The neighborhood distribution of network activity is due to 1) long standing and active network activity between residents of New Street east (most of whom are natives), 2) kinship

ties between several families of New Street east and New Street west, and 3) a distinctly isolated and long standing network activity of the isolated residents of Mill Street north (all of these settled in the fifties).

An interesting observation is that the residents of the new central section account for nearly 45% of reported requests for help in the questionnaire sample. This same section accounted for less than 16% of the reported help given in the same set of helping incidents. When a resident of the new section goes for help, it is to the old section 42% of the time, and to the border area 32% of the time. Observation and data results indicate these requests for help by the new section residents are not reciprocated. The residents living in the old section only go to the new section 5% of the time, and to the border section 12% of the time.

What is apparent here is a difference of perceptions. New section residents reported many established networks from the old and border areas of the village. Residents of the old and border areas do not report established networks from the new section. The discrepancy is obvious during social events in the village - few border and old area residents are present at such social events in the new section. The result is a diminution of established networks in these areas since new area residents are not fulfilling

established obligations for such network activity by inviting old area residents to their social events.

To summarize: neighborhood location is a major factor influencing the establishment of helping networks between families. Length of residency does not appear to be an influencing factor for such network establishment, though the special status of village nativity increases the chances for network membership.

B. Neighborhood and Service Exchanges

Data indicates that service exchanges (including the black exchange) occur predominantly within defined neighborhoods, though specific individuals do act as mediators between various neighborhoods of the village. For example, the neighborhood of Mill Street north contains the following eight families:

1. Erik Rasksten, electrician
2. Bent Larsen, painter
3. Jørn Olsen, laborer and small farmer
4. Niels Larsen, windmill owner
5. Edna Jensen, retired widow
6. Lars Olsen, laborer and former baker
7. Anna Ulrich, nurse's aid
8. Anna Rasmussen, retired widow

Families 1, 2, 3, 4, and 6 are frequent exchange

partners, though Jørn Olsen and Niels Larsen are becoming marginal members due to Jørn's lack of skills and Niels' accumulation of wealth. I interviewed all of the families in these exchange networks, and found that only one reported exchanges outside the neighborhood. Families 5, 7, and 8 were not involved with any exchanges since they did not have many of the access factors discussed in the result section (they were women without husbands).

Mill Street north is an isolated sub - section of the northern end of the village, and the exchanges that occur there are restricted to those neighbors residing in the immediate area.

The above neighborhood pattern is also observed within the sections of New Street in the old sections of Fynby. In each of the two sections of New Street, there were one or two families bridging neighborhood boundaries.

Neighborhood boundaries are clear in an example of a black exchange between Mads Petersen (of New Street) and an electrician from another village. Mads, at the time he was building an addition to his home, needed an electrician to do the wiring. Erik Rasksten, an electrician of Mill Street north, was not consulted. Mads did not feel he could engage in a black exchange with Erik, and said, "it is not something I would ask Erik to do." Several other families in this area reported it necessary to pay Erik in full for his services despite the fact that Erik does involve himself

with black exchanges within his own section of the village and with residents from other villages. Mads, and others in his area, make arrangements for black exchanges with electricians and other craftsmen from other villages.

F. ECONOMIC WEALTH AND SOCIAL DEFERENCE AND EXCHANGE

The above five dimensions of differentiation criteria limit exchanges to individuals or groups sharing these criteria. It is a complicated system, further complicated by two additional dimensions of economic power and social deference. I did not systematically collect data on these two ranking dimensions; but observations in the village certainly allow for summary statements regarding their functioning to further limit the potential exchange partners available to individuals living in Fynby.

People having such characteristics as wealth, titles, land, or professional skills receive deference from villagers. These are not discrete variables easily measured or cumulated to give single scores for status, nor are they all present in those commanding deference in the village. They are, however, present in some combination and serve to isolate specific segments of the population.



Teachers and professionals living in the village constitute the largest group of individuals receiving respect and deference from villagers. Large landowners and those with inherited titles and wealth are not normally in contact with villagers and really represent a different social world that is not directly relevant to village life.

Anna Nielsen provides an example of varying actions and attitudes regarding these elite groups. When younger, Anna handled all book keeping for her husband's blacksmith shop. She sent bills to customers and dealt with them when they came to pay. One of their major customers was a count who had business with the shop several times weekly, and usually paid for these services four times yearly. When the count came to pay, he was ushered into the formal office where her husband, freshly washed and clothed, handled the business personally. Wine and fine cigars were reserved for the count, and all comments directed to the count were preceded with formal titles and appropriate bows.

Anna relayed stories of the count and his visits to the shop with awe, and her eyes glowed with the excitement of the memories. Today, the count's son has no such contact with the village; he is only seen driving from his farm to the city in his black Mercedes.

Such respect is still present, though the awe and



ceremony is gone. Groups formerly commanding respect have become isolated, never developing the criteria (skill, kinship, etc) and attitudes necessary for successful interaction with villagers; and, in fact, many do not have the desire to interact directly with villagers.

Teachers constitute the largest of the elite groups living in the village. They are isolated from village exchanges despite their residence in the village since interaction between these teachers and villagers is limited to school affairs during the school hours.

The result of such isolation is often resentment by both the teachers and the villagers. The teachers resent villagers, especially craft skilled villagers, because they are excluded from the benefits these skilled individuals can offer. A secretary at the Universitet af Odense, whose husband earns over 200,000 Kroner yearly, complained bitterly about the inequity of the social system in the villages: "These damn craftsmen have cars, color television sets, and large new homes which are well furnished. We have to struggle on with our old television set and our ten year old car. Do you think we could ever get black money (meaning services and commodities)? No, you can be sure we are charged full prices." Villagers resented this family in return because of their free summers and their cottage, and their varying hours of work at the school. "If they want more, they

can work for it like the rest of us." was the typical comment regarding this family.

Economic wealth is another rank difference criteria in the village, and nearly always excludes individuals from village exchanges. When Lars Holdsted became manager of the large laundry in Fynby, he lost his friends and old exchange network. "They won't deal with me because I wear a suit and tie, and now drive a Volvo. If I go around the street in work clothes and wooden shoes they are angry, and believe I am pretending to be like them. There is no way I can win. Let me tell you Knud, if you finally get it so you have a little money, you will soon find how lonely it can be here." Lars was at a loss, he did not know how to overcome his isolated position in the village. Four years ago, he tried by running for the village council, but was soundly defeated with less than 5% of the vote. The janitor at the Kommune office won by a wide margin.

This second group of economically well - off included at least half a dozen isolated village families. All of these families were excluded from exchange of services and commodities, and were required to pay full retail price for all commodities purchased in the village. Non - cash exchanges are impossible for these families.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

Exchanges in Fynby are influenced by no less than seven dimensions of stratification. There is no apparent consensus on any set of dimensions to give Fynby a sense of community, neighborhoods a sense of identity, and individuals a sense of belonging. In reality, Fynby is a village in name only, a collection of small groups bounded by specific and limited interaction.

Neighborhoods are at once sources of cohesiveness and isolation. Neighborhoods afford greater contacts and opportunity for developing like attitudes and values, but they also divide the village into groups that become partly self - sufficient and independent from other village neighborhoods. Neighborhoods increase the range and frequency of interaction with those in proximity, but in Fynby did not really preclude interaction with other, non-neighbor villagers. Some interaction, in the form of skilled services or special articles not available in one's own neighborhood, was necessarily found in other neighborhoods since craftsmen and stores were not confined to one neighborhood.



Neighborhood boundaries served to limit interaction in the form of visitation and helping to those living close by.

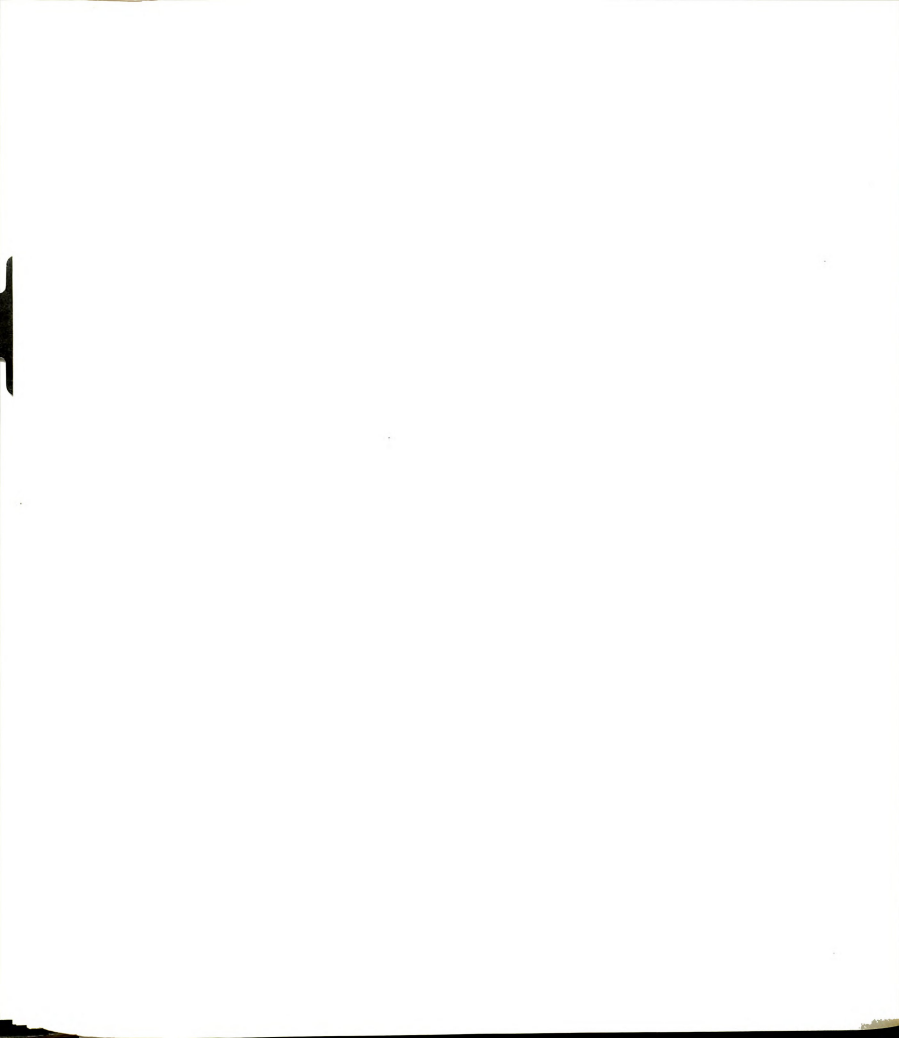
Historically, Fynby has had four distinct neighborhoods.

These were:

1. The region on Mill Street extending north from what is now Southstreet.
2. The central region including New Street and the southern end of Mill Street.
3. Red Oak Street
4. High Birch - a set of houses extending southwest of Fynby and physically isolated from the village by a small farm.

Neighborhood location is one criteria for ranking individuals and families. It is an old and traditional division of the village population and has existed for as long as the oldest members of the village can recall. The neighborhood criteria influences most of the helping behaviors by limiting the number of others an individual will ask for help to those living in his immediate neighborhood.

Mill Street north is the most obvious of these isolated neighborhoods. The families of this section pride themselves on their close - knit relationships and believe the ready and willing help given here is non - existent in the rest of the village. "Let them take care

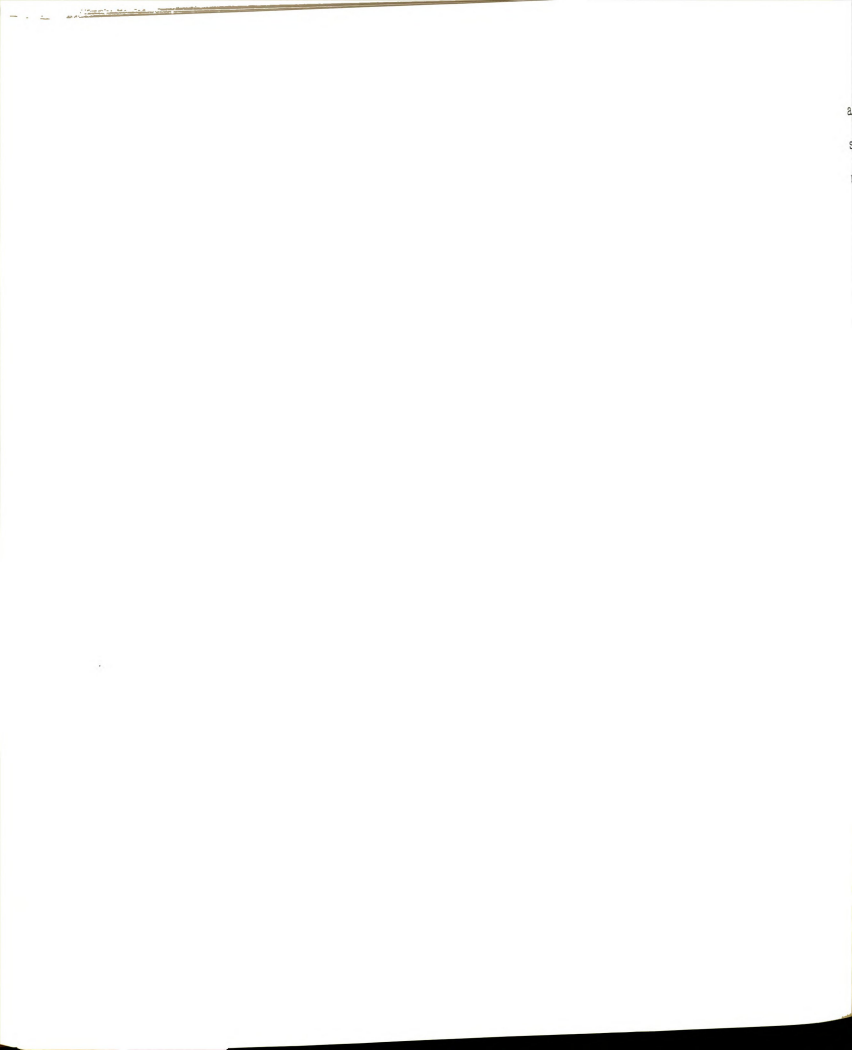


of themselves down there (in the village)" Lars Olsen would say each time we talked. The village, of course, is not so different; people do help each other in their own neighborhoods.

The photographic presentation (see methods section) was the most dramatic expression of neighborhood isolation. Older settlers and natives from all neighborhoods refused to comment or recognize the homes in the new central section. Anna Nielsen's comments on the photographs of the new section were, "This is mystical. Where are these photographs from?" and "That is the church (in the background), but what are these houses (new homes)?"

Neighborhood location also influence service and black exchanges. People from one section do not normally have the opportunity for such exchanges with other sections, and many would not consider approaching villagers from other sections for such exchanges. Mads Petersen, for example, is an "old section" resident who contacted an electrician from another village for a non - cash exchange rather than approach the electrician living in the Mill Street north section. Neighborhood location, however, do not influence exchanges between established networks other than making access to these exchanges more difficult for new and potential member living in the new sections of Fynby.

Within these neighborhoods are other ranking criteria which further limit social interaction. These criteria



are gender, skill, nativity, economic status, and social status. As noted above, women are presently excluded from nearly all exchanges of services or valued commodities. They represent an isolated segment of the population whose interaction is determined by the friendship and exchange relationships of their husbands. Only wives of male exchange partners appeared to have exchange relationships with each other in the form of morning coffee visits. Exceptions are based on kinship, childhood friendship, and common membership in the Housewives Association, but these exceptions are few.

Nativity also influences social interaction within the neighborhoods. Population data indicate new settlers are concentrated in the new sections of Fynby, but they are also evenly distributed in the old sections of the village. In the old section of New Street, for example, are two families who settled in 1973. None of the older settlers or natives in this section listed any type of exchange with these two families other than a friendly greeting on the street. Because of the number of new settlers in Fynby, the cohesiveness of the neighborhood sections is rapidly disappearing, and there are no real alternative forms of interaction acceptable to the older settlers and natives.

Economic wealth appears to automatically exclude families from exchanges and each neighborhood has families isolated

because of apparent wealth. In many cases these families were at one time acceptable and enjoyed active interaction with their neighbors.

Skill, or lack of skill, can also influence exchange behaviors within the neighborhood. With the rise of the social standing of the skilled craftsmen comes a tendency to concentrate their exchanges with other craftsmen. Unskilled laborers and professionals living in the neighborhood are excluded from most exchanges with craftsmen except helping behavior. These unskilled families do not appear to compensate for their social isolation by increasing their interaction with other unskilled families. Typically, interaction for these families becomes limited to kinfolk living in other sections and villages, and their immediate neighbors.

Finally, professionals such as teachers, engineers, and higher level government workers are excluded from neighborhood exchanges. They are respected and given deference in most social situations, but they are also seen as different and not expected to participate in village affairs. These families inherited their social status from the "old" stratification system, and find no real possibilities for gaining access to present village exchanges and exchange networks. They have nothing of value to offer villagers though many make attempts to initiate exchanges of services and commodities.

It appears that Fynby is a village of disassociated

neighborhoods and these neighborhoods are themselves disintegrating. There are so many criteria for differentiation with no consensus on any one set of differentiation dimensions to give individuals a sense of belonging, or neighborhoods a sense of identity.

APPENDIX A
SAMPLE QUESTIONNAIRES

I. EXCHANGE NETWORK QUESTIONS

1. Navn
(name)
2. Fødested Man: Woman:
(birthplace)
3. Aar født Man: Woman:
(year of birth)
4. Uddannelse Man: Woman:
(education)
5. Hvor arbejder du nu? Man: Woman:
(Where are you now working?)
6. Hvad aar blev i gift?
(What year were you married?)
7. Hvor kom du fra den gang i blev gift? Man: Woman:
(Where did you come from at the time of marriage?)
8. Hvad bestilte dine forældre? Man: Woman:
(What did your parents do?)
9. Hvor bor jeres forældre nu? Man: Woman:
(Where do your parents live now?)
10. Hvor bor jeres børn nu? Hvad bestiller de?
(Where are your children now living? What do they do?)
11. Hvad aar flyttede i til Fynby?
(What year did you move to Fynby?)
12. Hvorfor flyttede i til Fynby?
(Why did you move to Fynby?)
13. Var det vanskelig at faa mennesker at kende, den gang
i flyttede til Fynby?
(Was it difficult to get to know people at the time
you moved to Fynby?)

14. Er der nogen i har kun begyndt at besøge i de sidste par aar? Hvem?
(Is there anyone you have just begun visiting in the last couple of years? Who?)
15. Besøger du nogen, naar du gaar ud og handler? Hvem?
(Do you visit anyone when you go shopping? Who?)
16. Hvor køber du... Hvordan betalt? Kommentar
(Do you buy...) (How do you pay?) (Comments)
- aeg (eggs)
grønsager (vegetables)
brød (bread)
maelk (milk)
ost (cheese)
kød (meat)
kylling (chicken - here meaning poultry)
andet (other)
17. Har i gris slagted? Hvor køber i grisen?
(Do you have a pig slaughtered? Where do you buy the pig?)
18. Hvem slagter den for jer?
(Who butchers it for you?)
19. Paa hvilken maade betaler i for grisen?
(In which manner do you pay for the pig?)
20. Beholder i alt kødet selv, eller deler i med nogen? Hvem?
(Do you keep all the meat, or do you share with anyone? Who?)
21. Har i nogen gange købt noget for huset, igennem en ven eller arbejds plads? Hvar var det?
(Have you ever purchased anything for the house through a friend or place of work? What was that?)
22. Hvis det var igennem en ven eller arbejds plads, var det saa mulig at købe det 'billig'?
(If it was through a friend or work place, was it then possible to purchase it wholesale?)
23. Hvis nogen hjælper jer med at købe 'billig', venter han saa noget fra jer for den hjælp?
(If someone helped you with the purchase, does he then expect anything from you for that help?)

24. Er det mulig at købe andre ting, saadan som vaerktoøj, paa den samme maade?
(Is it possible to buy other things, such as tools, in the same manner?)
25. Har i købt saadan ting? Hvad var det? Hvem hjalp jer med det?
(Have you purchased such things? What were they? Who helped you with this purchase?)
26. Har i nogen gange laant? Fra Hvem? Laaner De saa noget fra jer? Hvad? Venter De betaling for denne laan?
(Have you ever borrowed? From whom? Do they then borrow from you? What? Do they expect payment for the loan?)

Plaeneklipper (lawn mower)
Redskab til haven (utensils for the garden?)
traktor (tractor)
Bil (automobile)
Vaerktoøj (tools)
Andet? (other?)

27. Hvis du laaner noget ud, venter du saa noget til gengæld for det laan?
(If you lend something, do you then expect reciprocation for that loan?)
28. Har i nogen gange faaet hjælp med... Fra hvem? Hvordan sagde i tak for hjælp?
(Have you ever received help with.... From whom? How did you say thank you for this help?)
- Høste (harvest)
Foder dyrne (feeding of livestock)
Have arbejde (garden work)
Kørsel (driving)
slagtning (slaughtering)
Reparation paa huset (repairs to the house)
Indkøb (shopping)
Madlavning (food preparation/cooking)
Børne pleje (child care/baby sitting)
Andet (other)
29. Hvis nogen hjælper jer, venter De saa noget for den hjælp?
(If anyone helps you, do they expect something for that help?)

30. Hvis du hjalp nogen, venter du saa at du kan spørge dem om hjælp naar du mangler det?
(If you helped someone, do you expect you can ask them for help when you need it?)
31. Er det i orden at spørge om hjælp fra nogen, hvis du ikke har gjort dem en tjeneste først?
(Is it in order to ask for help from someone, if you have not done them a favor first?)
32. Er der nogen her i Fynby som du kunne altid spørge om hjælp?
(Hvem?)
(Is there anyone here in Fynby that you could always ask for help? Who?)
33. Er det alle i Fynby, som du kunne spørge om hjælp? Hvem ikke?
(Is it everyone in Fynby you can ask for help? Who could you not ask for help?)
34. Holder i avis eller blad med nogen andre? Hvem er det?
(Do you subscribe to a paper or magazine with someone? Who is that?)
35. Har i gjort det i lang tid?
(Have you done that for a long time?)
36. Mener i at vi skal helst ringe først, før vi besøger nogen?
(Do you feel we should call before we visit someone?)
37. I hvilken tilfaelde kan vi besøge uden at ringe først?
(In which circumstances can we visit without first calling?)
38. Hvis i besøger nogen, venter i saa at de skal komme naeste gang til jer? Hvorfor er det?
(If you visit someone, do you then expect that they should visit you the next time? Why is that?)
39. Hvem plejer i at besøge? Hvor bor de? Hvor ofte?
(Who do you normally visit? Where do they live? How often do you visit them?)
40. Hvilken klubber, grupper, eller foreninger tilhører I?
(Which clubs, groups, or associations do you belong to?)

41. Kender i nogen der arbejder i kommune bestyrelsen?
Hvem er det?
(Do you know anyone that works in the kommune council?
Who is that?)
42. Har i nogen gange snakket med dem om et problem her i
byen? Hvad var det?
(Have you ever talked with them about a problem here in
the village? What was that?)
43. Hvad møde har i gaaet til over i Kommune Kontoret?
Hvorfor gik I?
(Have you ever attended a meeting at the kommune office?
Why did you go?)
44. Hvad synes I om den offentlige hjælp nogen mennesker faar?
(What do you feel about the public assistance some people
receive?)
45. Er der andre maader mennesker kunne klare det uden saadan
hejlp? Hvordan?
(Are there other ways people could handle it without such
help? How is that?)
46. Har den offentlige hjælp, som vi kan faa nu, gjort naaget
til den maade mennesker hjalp hinanden førhen?
(Has that public assistance, as we can now receive, done
anything to the way people used to help each other?)
47. Hvis I manglede hjælp, ville i saa gaa til andre end
Kommune Kontoret? Hvem ville I saa gaa til?
(If you needed help, would you go to someone other than
the kommune office? If so, to whome would you go?)

II. TIME UTILIZATION AND DAILY CONTACT FORMS

EN UNDERSØGELSE AF FORANDRINGERNE I LOKALSAMFUNDET

Forord

Vi har alle oplevet, at der er sket mange forandringer omkring os i de sidste 10 aar. Nye huse er blevet bygget, velstanden er øget og flere og flere mennesker har fundet det nødvendigt at ændre og tilpasse deres daglige aktiviteter til disse nye vilkaar.

Denne undersøgelse har til formaal at undersøge de forandringer, der er forgaaet i Fynby, for om muligt at kunne paavise nogle virkninger af disse.

Det er mit haab, at studier af den art kan hjaelpe andre til at forstaa, hvad udviklingen over en aarraekke har betydet for smaa lokal samfund.

Metoden bestaar kort sagt i at spørge folk paa egen hvad de fortager sig dagen igennem, hvad de laver, hvem de arbejder sammen med osv.

Det er derfor jeg venligst anmoder Dem om at medvirke - bl. a. ved at udfylde vedlagte skema nogle gange om ugen. Deres svar vil blive behandlet absolut fortroligt, igen uden mig vil komme til at behandle skemaerne. Jeg er interesseret i lokal

samfundets aktiviteter og de menneskelige kontakter - ikke i de enkelte personers forhold

Instruktion til Skemaet

De vil kunne se, at jeg helt enkelt spørger: Hvem Kom De i kontakte med i løbet af dagen? Hvad foretog De dem? Dernaest er der tilføjet et omraade for kommentarer. Dette bl. a. for at faa oplysninger om kontakte og aktiviteten der oplevedes som udsaedvanlig eller forskellig fra det daglige.

Skulle der paa baggrund af denne indledende frklaring vaere brug for yderligere forklaring og hjaelp staar jeg til raadighed.

Idet jeg paa forhaand takker for Deres velvilje, forbliver jeg:

Med venlig hilsen

Knud Laurits Hansen

Skema for (Date)

Hvem kom De i kontakt
med?

Hvad foretog De
dem?

Kommentar.

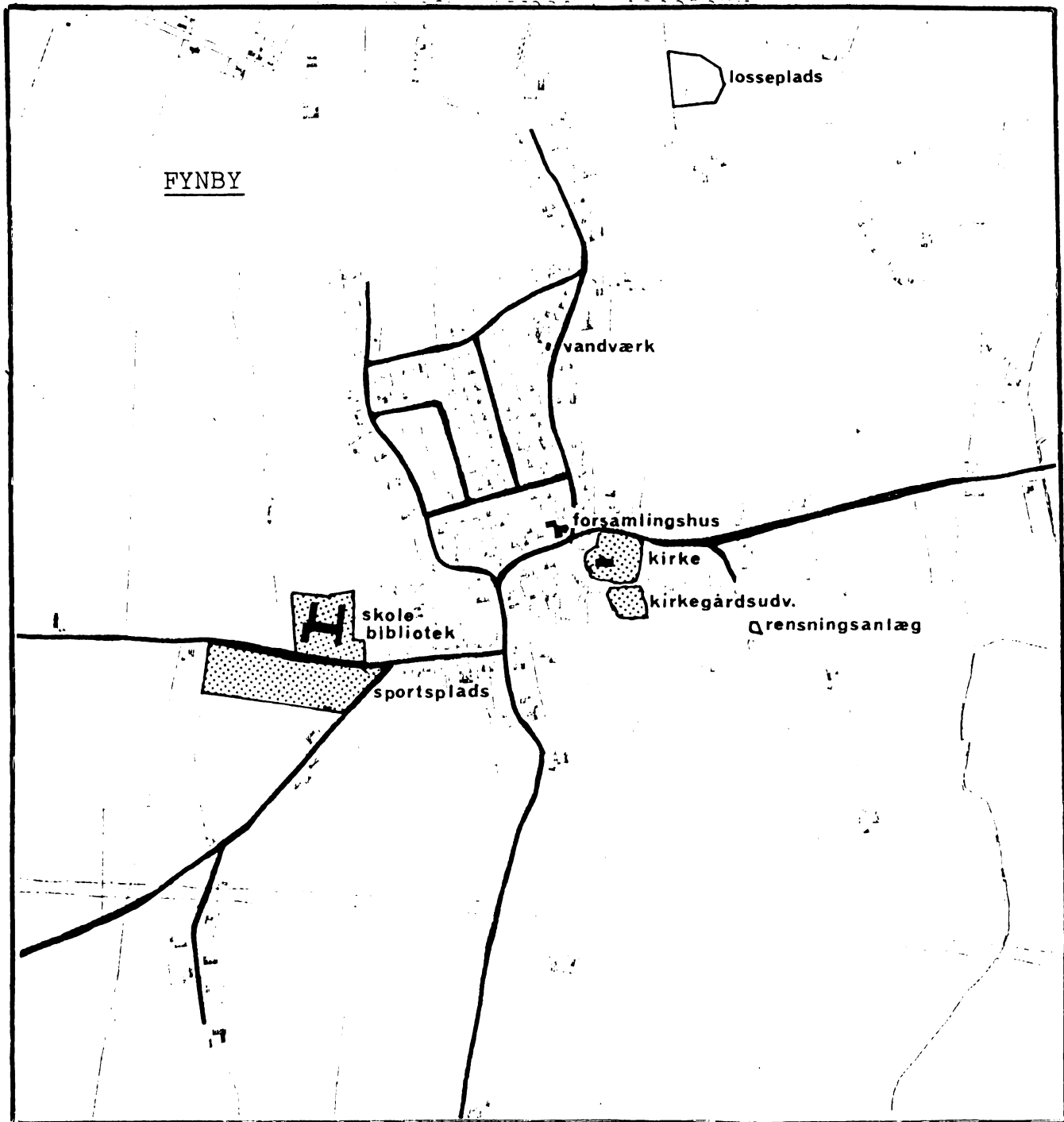
With whom did you
come in contact?

What did you do?

Comments.

APPENDIX B
VILLAGE MAPS

MAP I. FYNBY AND ITS PUBLIC FACILITIES

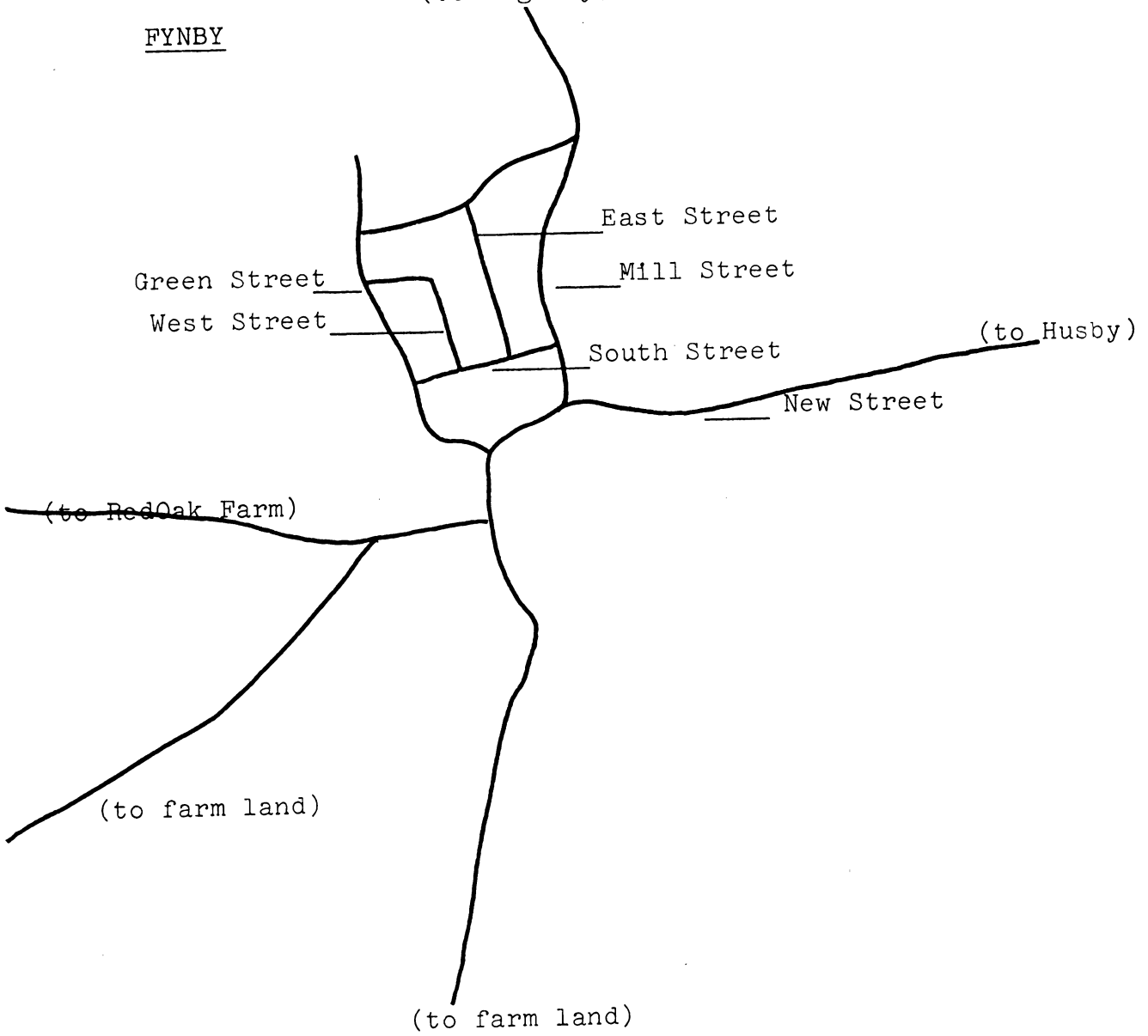


Skole/bibliotek = school and library
 Sportsplads = sports field
 Rensningsanlaeg = pollution plant
 Kirkegaards udv. = church and cemetary
 Forsamlingshus = hall
 Vandvaerk = waterworks
 losseplads = dumping grounds

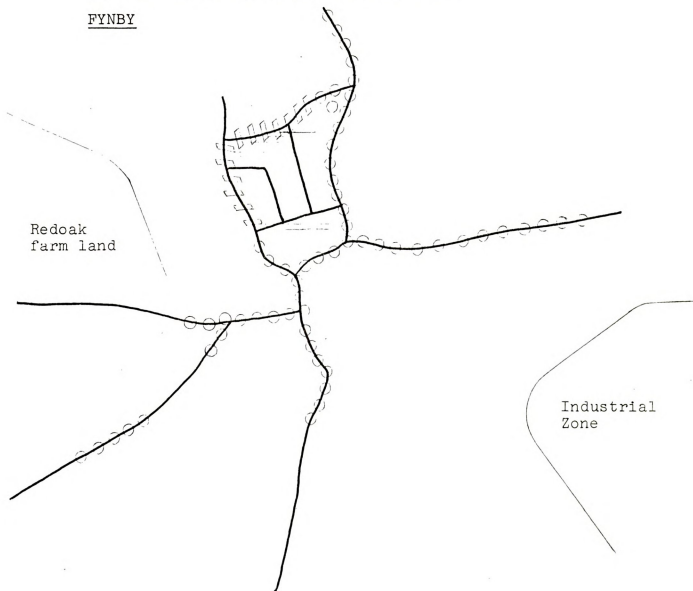
MAP II. STREETS OF FYNBY

(to highway)

FYNBY



MAP III. RESIDENTIAL SECTIONS OF FYNBY

FYNBY

- = Old Section
/// = Border Section
==== = New Section

APPENDIX C

FOOTNOTES

1. The names of all individuals and villages are fictitious since many of the exchanges studied are illegal. Revelation of real names would subject many of the villagers to possible scrutiny of kommune authorities.

2. The traditional village structure of Fynby has altered due to 1) the influx of a new population now accounting for nearly 65% of the village population, and 2) the introduction of numerous unfamiliar occupations into the old village stratification system. The result is an emergence of a new structure characterized by a multiplicity of sources for stratification.

My own observations in the village indicated the presence of several status differentiated groups. The most obvious of these is the independent owners of business concerns. These owners are a group somewhat separated from the normal day-to-day village interaction, and do not seem particularly interested in joining or participating in either casual interaction or exchanges of commodities other than the sale of their goods. Such an exclusion of independent owners of business is based on the apparent economic wealth of these owners, and an inability of the owners to provide goods or services valued in village exchanges.

A second division, nearly as obvious as the first, exists between journeymen craftsmen and unskilled workers. There are few exchanges between these two groups, and exceptions are based on kinship ties.

There is also a status difference between new settlers and village natives (natives include those who have lived in the village for many years). This difference was dramatically revealed in the native residents' refusal to comment or identify pictures of homes located in the new central section of Fynby.

Besides the above four status differentiated groups, there are also status differences between villages and other villages and kommunes. Fynby villagers, for example, are often heard making derogatory comments regarding the neighboring village of Husby. Husby villagers are seen as cold and unfriendly, and not willing to extend common courtesies such as saying hello in the street, or giving a hand when needed. My own

experiences in Husby does not bear out such criticism by Fynby residents, though the feelings of Fynby residents certainly structures and limits the nature of their interaction with residents of other villages.

Finally, I observed differentiation of villagers employed by civil service offices in the kommune. The exclusion of these employees are heightened by their inadvertent involvement with land zoning, increased taxes, and requirements for complete records on economic transactions. Only old-time residents who now work for the kommune, and who are in a position to act as mediators between the kommune and the villagers are considered members in good standing of the community. Other government employees working in the Kommune offices stand apart as a group, finding most exchanges within Fynby closed to them. Villagers feel they cannot trust these employees to keep their exchange activities secret from the kommune authorities.

3. The complex stratification system developing in Fynby is unwieldy to many methods of study. Scales for self-rating or rating of neighbors have to include the specific context or situation for each label or class used to effectively represent the nature of village stratification. There are also problems with the methods employed in questioning respondents, with villager's readiness to answer and give desired information, and with the scoring of answers in self-rating approaches. It is doubtful, for example, that Fynby residents would even answer such questions.

Systems for determining status position such as devised by Warner and Hollingshead are not really suitable for these villages since the criteria for using a specific rank is dependent upon the type of social interaction present (Warner, 1949; Hollingshead, 1958). Ranking by measurement of occupational prestige, for example, depends upon respondents' knowledge of the occupations rated, the meaning of specific job titles to the respondent, and the particular hierarchy of values held by each respondent. The complexity of the stratification system, and the variability of application of rank criteria in Fynby makes these methods impractical.

Similar difficulties are present if we use the various "models" of stratification in the study of Fynby,

models such as the Caste, Estate, and Class Model, the Egalitarian Model, and the Continuous Model. The Caste, Estate, and Class models depend upon variables used as criteria of stratification to be discretely distributed, and that is not the case for Fynby where specific criterion used for status differentiation appears to vary by the type of interaction.

The Continuous Model "assumes that for any person of a given status it is possible to find another as near him in status as desired without equalling him" (Svalastoga, 1964, p.546). This model would serve for Fynby if all the dimensions of status differentiation were known, but how would one handle situations of status inconsistency such as a teacher ranking high in one dimension or low in another? Even if one could compute a composite score based on several dimensions (for example, income, education, occupation, and neighborhood), how would one apply such scores when predicting or interpreting exchange behaviors in different situations and between individuals of different social classes? An unstated assumption of the Continuous Model appears to be that there is a general consensus on status differentiation dimensions by the group or community studied. This becomes difficult when the dimension applicable to any particular interaction is dependent upon the nature of the interaction and its social context. For example, a craftsman could rate a teacher either a higher or lower rank on the occupational dimension, depending upon the particular type of interaction he had in mind when answering the question.

4. Mike Loukinen, in his study of a Finnish community in Michigan, found a similar emphasis on helping. He experienced a feeling he describes as being cared for by a whole community while doing fieldwork. I had a similar feeling during the initial phase of field work as villagers came to "freely" help a returning native - son. However, as I assumed a place in Fynby, such helping activities were never free, and I had the distinct impression that all such help received from villagers in a sense indentured me for the future. I had to help when asked and to refuse more than a few times (and with good reason) was taken to be rejection of Fynby and its pattern of helping. So, in Fynby, there was no real way of being partially involved; either one helped when asked, without exception, or if one did not help when asked, one was not asked for help or given help.

5. The urban planning authorities apparently make such plans without regard to old village boundaries. The planned integration of Husby and Fynby displays either a willful disregard or plain ignorance of the feelings of villagers for each other. At any rate, the borgmester, when speaking about planned changes in this area expressed no concern for traditional village boundaries.

6. Many of the village farmers complained bitterly because they could not find help during the planting and harvesting seasons. Niels Husman repeatedly criticized the young for their pecuniary interests, and many times said, "They all want to know exactly how much they will get for helping. No one wants to help anymore, and it's because of this money thing. It's all money today." He rightfully blamed "the system", and at the same time contributes to it by refusing to pay for help with produce. Such non-cash payments are restricted to close kinfolk.

7. Some of the older settlers and natives who work in the area can still be seen sitting on their tractors or bicycles talking to each other during the day. New settlers are seldom seen on the streets or in the village shops.

8. Most villagers insisted that living in Fynby provided them with a great number of opportunities for doing favors, but at the same time they believed the venne tjeneste to be something of the past. Margid often said, "I love living in Fynby, and would never live in any other village. Here we can count on our friends and neighbors for help." Mads and Margid, however, reported no helping activities during the interview.

9. The phrase "it was nothing" was similarly used in Loukinen's community in Michigan, and the feelings generated by such a response were similar. One must not instill undue feelings of obligation in others by emphasizing the difficulty or importance of help given.

10. The fear of obligation as a motivation for giving help was not fully explored in this study, although it is an aspect of help giving that deserves further attention. Interviews with older villagers gave the impression that being obligated to others and having others obligated to one self was the ideal of the

traditional village. It was mutual dependency built into a traditional structure. The obligations to others, to help others, is still an expressed ideal, though it is no longer realized in a new and changing structure which emphasizes individual efforts and mobility.

The ideal of mutual obligation is still valued and practised by the established networks in Fynby. Many of these exchange network members were so concerned with the equal value of exchanged services or commodities that they kept written records of their exchanges. Hans Jeppesen and Niels Husman, for example, both have farms, and depend on each other for help several times weekly. Hans keeps a record of all help given and received, and the length of time required for each helping act. Each month he approaches Niels with these records, and balances the ledger by paying or receiving a cash amount based on the going hourly rate for farm laborers.

Values on exchange content are often difficult to determine because of the range of exchanges and the frequency of exchanges are so great that it is impossible for exchange partners to keep records. Loukinen observed the same phenomenon in FinnRiver, and concludes that the interference caused by the variety and frequency of stimuli (in this case exchange acts) surpass the information processing capacity of humans. Generally, a notion of fairness is present in Fynby exchanges; and as Mads Petersen reported regarding his exchanges with Svend and Jens, "we try to keep a balance."

Basically, the understanding between network members is that anyone is free, and in fact, expected to ask for help from other members. Once asked, a member is obligated to help. It is a set of expectations that guarantee mutual assistance with a minimum of specified conditions for reciprocation. The established networks function to assure the security of future potential exchanges in a community seeing rapid change. Villagers are depositing services in the network bank to assure freedom from debt and to guarantee future drawing rights.

It is difficult to determine the means for setting values on such exchanges in established networks, and it is doubtful that exchange partners themselves are able to determine such values. I questioned Jens about his feelings regarding the value of specific services he provided to Svend and Mads, and he was unable to see his acts as having a defined value: "It is just something we do for

each other." I had purposely asked about his installation of furnace expansion tanks for Svend and Mads since he had charged a monetary sum for such installations elsewhere.

Despite the denials by Jens of the exchange value of his services, it is obvious that services are valued, and that some form of equivalent reciprocation is expected. When Thorvald failed to meet his obligations to the network, none of the skilled members hesitated in recalling innumerable services they had provided Thorvald, and for which he had not reciprocated. This revelation was a surprise to me, and undoubtedly was due to Thorvald's probationary status in the network. Skilled members kept track of exchanges with Thorvald to make sure he, as an unskilled member, fulfilled his obligations according to some set of value of exchange content. The incident revealed a keen sense of balance, though skilled members are probably unable to list specific values of services given or received from other members.

I propose that the established networks provide a method for guaranteeing future assistance by allowing individuals the opportunity to invest services and commodities into a known group of individuals. Such an investment can then be used to draw an unspecified number and type of services when needed. However, such a proposal bears further study, and is presently based on observations made only in Fynby.

11. Villagers were not aware of their discrepant answers even when these discrepancies were called to their attention during interviews. In practise, they do act out a balancing of the debts paid to each other but they are verbally unable to express or explain the dynamics of such acts of reciprocation.

I originally attempted to include questions on reciprocity but the effort required severely detracted from my main objective of studying social network patterns. In many cases, when asked about their expectations for returns from services or commodities given, subjects responded with uncomprehending stares and long periods of silence. My first impression was that villagers were angered by such questions, but later, it became clear that they did not really comprehend the nature of these questions. Questions requiring abstraction of specific

behaviors cannot be answered by many villagers. They are not accustomed to thinking in abstract terms; and in fact, all responses to questions about reciprocity consisted of detailed act by act descriptions of exchanges.

There are many possible explanations for such modes of thinking, not the least of which is inadequate schooling in language skills. Many villagers do not have the vocabulary for such abstraction. For example, my instructions to the "Time Utilization" forms were written in simple though formal Danish, and were thoroughly misunderstood. Relatives living in the village honestly reported not understanding such instructions. An inadequate vocabulary for abstraction is not the only explanation for misunderstanding questions on reciprocity, but it is certainly a factor.

12. We attended many parties given by new settlers. When older settlers or native villagers were invited, they came, stayed for a few minutes, and then left. It is impolite to refuse such an invitation, especially when a party is often the means for repaying debts owed for help received. Such a pattern was especially noted in the visits made by native border section residents. Here settlers often received much help with their house and garden construction from older settlers and village natives, but these natives would not consider going to the settlers for assistance. It was a way of showing a status discrepancy based on nativity, and natives enhanced their status in the changing and growing village by leaving settlers in a constant state of debt and obligation for favors given. Some settlers realized this and took advantage of the situation by asking for assistance and never worrying about repayment. Most settlers, however, were quite concerned about their inability to even the debts and obligations, and so held much resentment towards the native segment of Fynby.

13. Even preparatio for coffee and cake could be quite elaborate. Among the older villagers the rule was for several types of cakes, followed by cookies, ice cream, and finally cigars. These cakes had to be eaten in a given order, and we were politely lectured for not following the proper order for consuming cakes. It was a ritual not to be taken lightly.

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