

ALBAEK: A DANISH VILLAGE  
CONTINUITY OF BEHAVIOURAL FORM

By

EDNA B. DENNY, B.A.

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AUTHOR: Edna B. Denny, B.A. (McMaster University)

SUPERVISORS: Dr. David Counts  
Mr. C. E. Stortroen

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## ABSTRACT

In the traditional method of ethnology, field work in a Danish agricultural village was carried out by the candidate. On the basis of data obtained from the field work, the assumption is made that certain forms of behaviour have continued for at least several generations, that other forms of behaviour have changed in that time span, and that these conditions have existed and do exist within a changing social structure in a wider sense.

A comparison is drawn between periods defined as "the old days" and "modern times", according to the memory of residents of the village. Such comparison indicates change in some parts of the total social structure, as well as both change and continuity in behaviour.

To demonstrate the continuity of certain forms of behaviour, a specific event is described to which a generative model of transactional behaviour is applied. It is asserted that the system of values on which the behaviour is based is related to land ownership and to bonds of kinship, friendship, and community; data are presented in the descriptive chapters in support of this statement.

On the theme of behavioural continuity and change within a changing social structure, two anthropological field studies are referred to and briefly related to the theoretical analysis and findings in the Danish village study.

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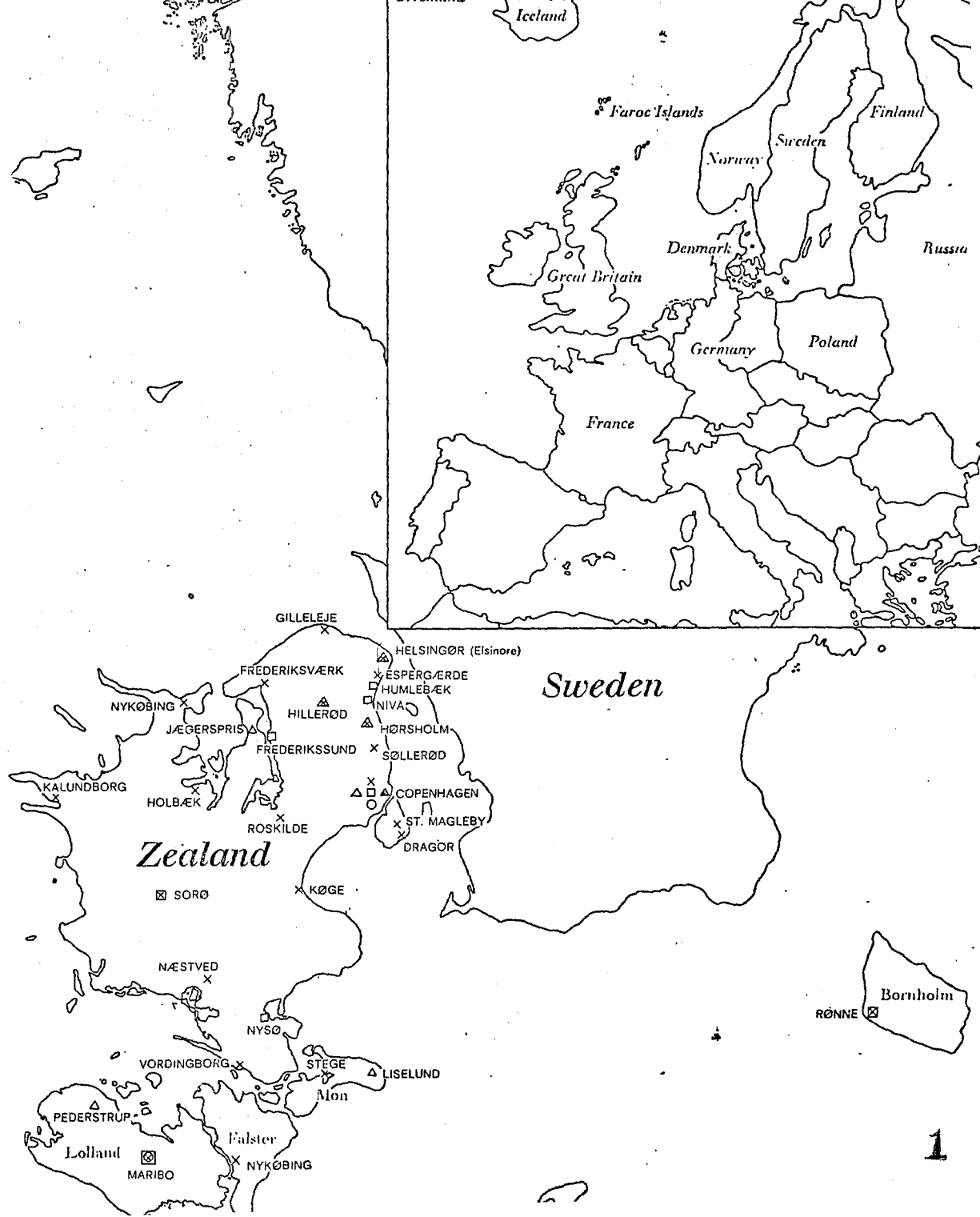
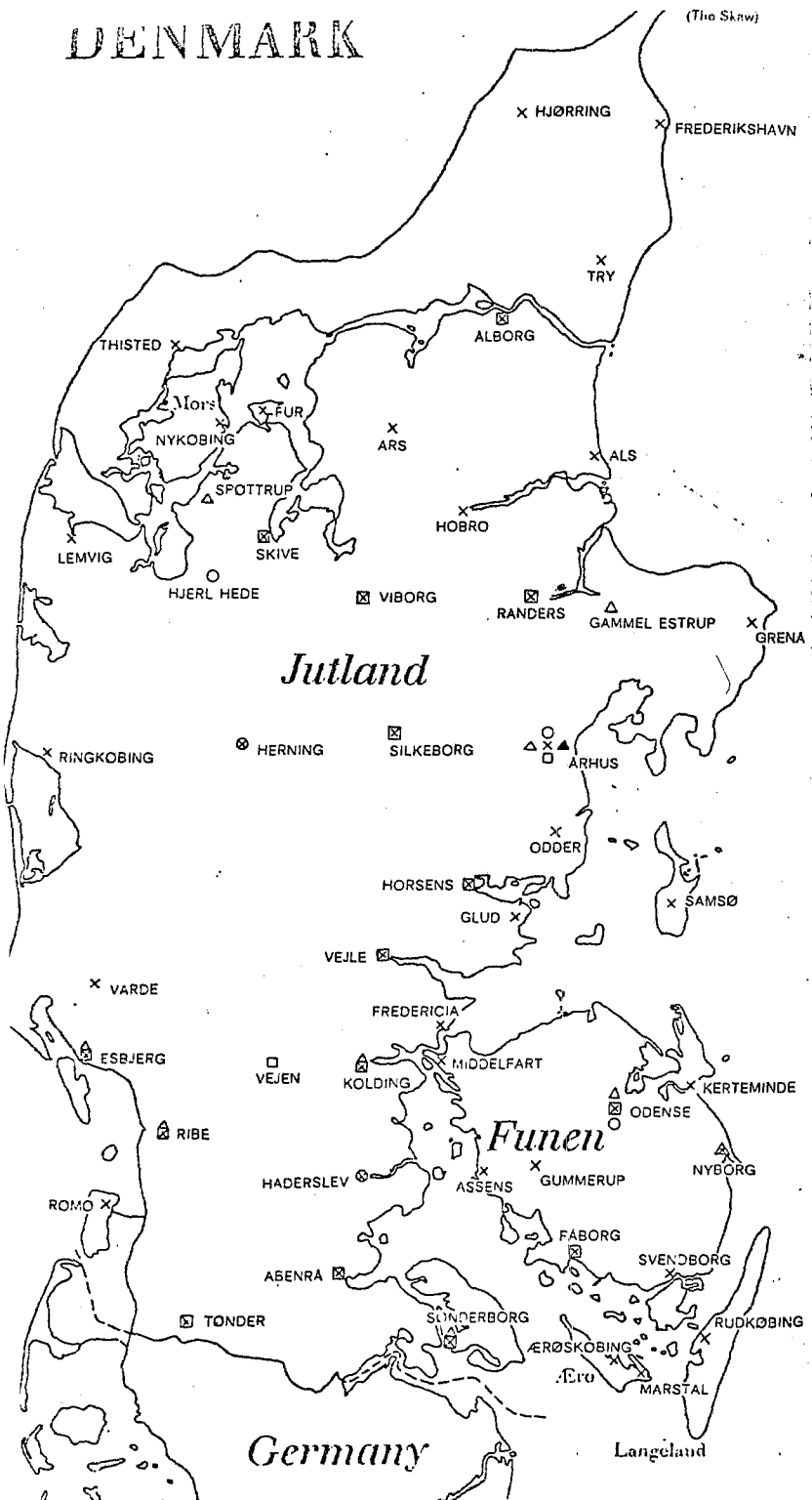
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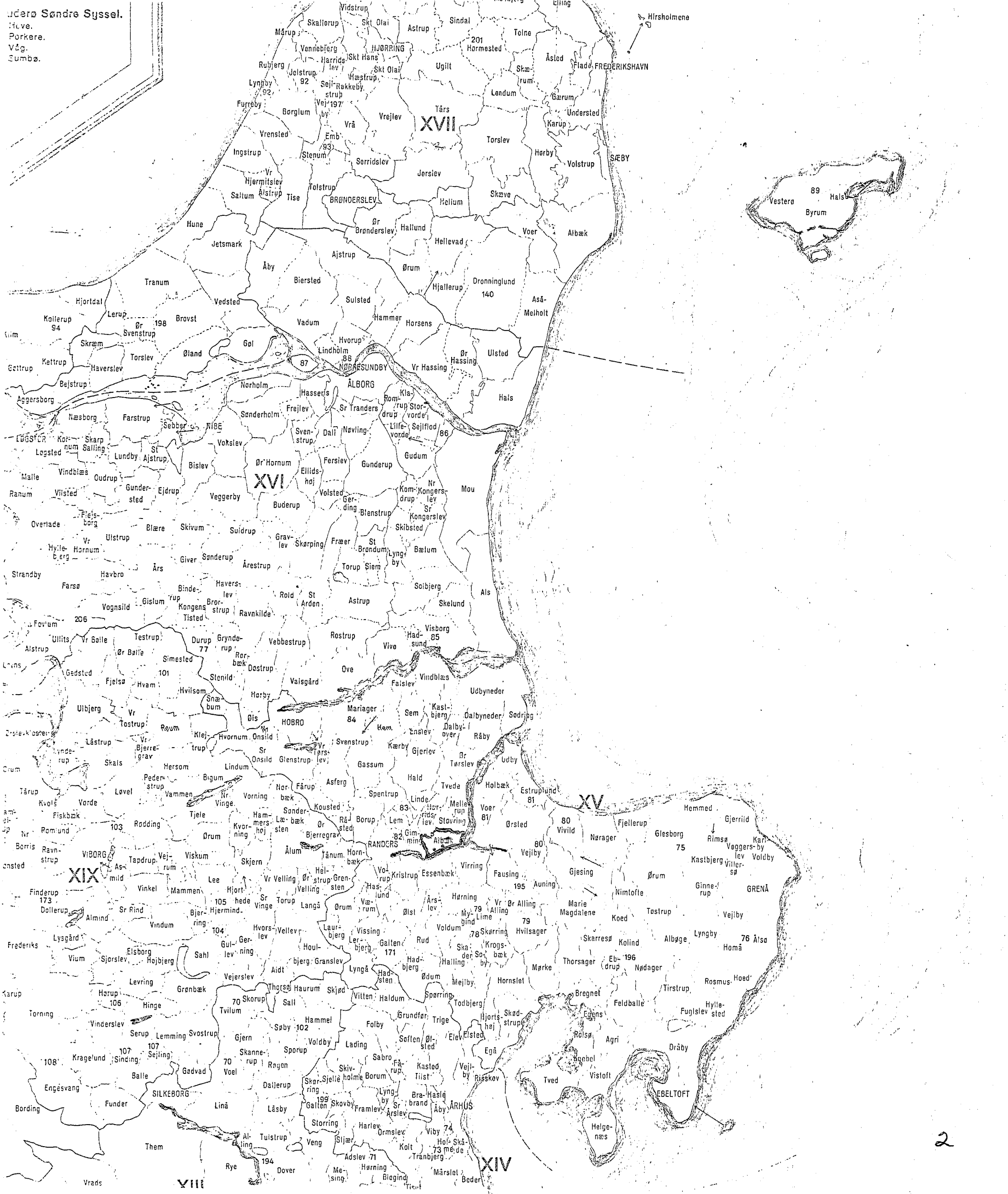
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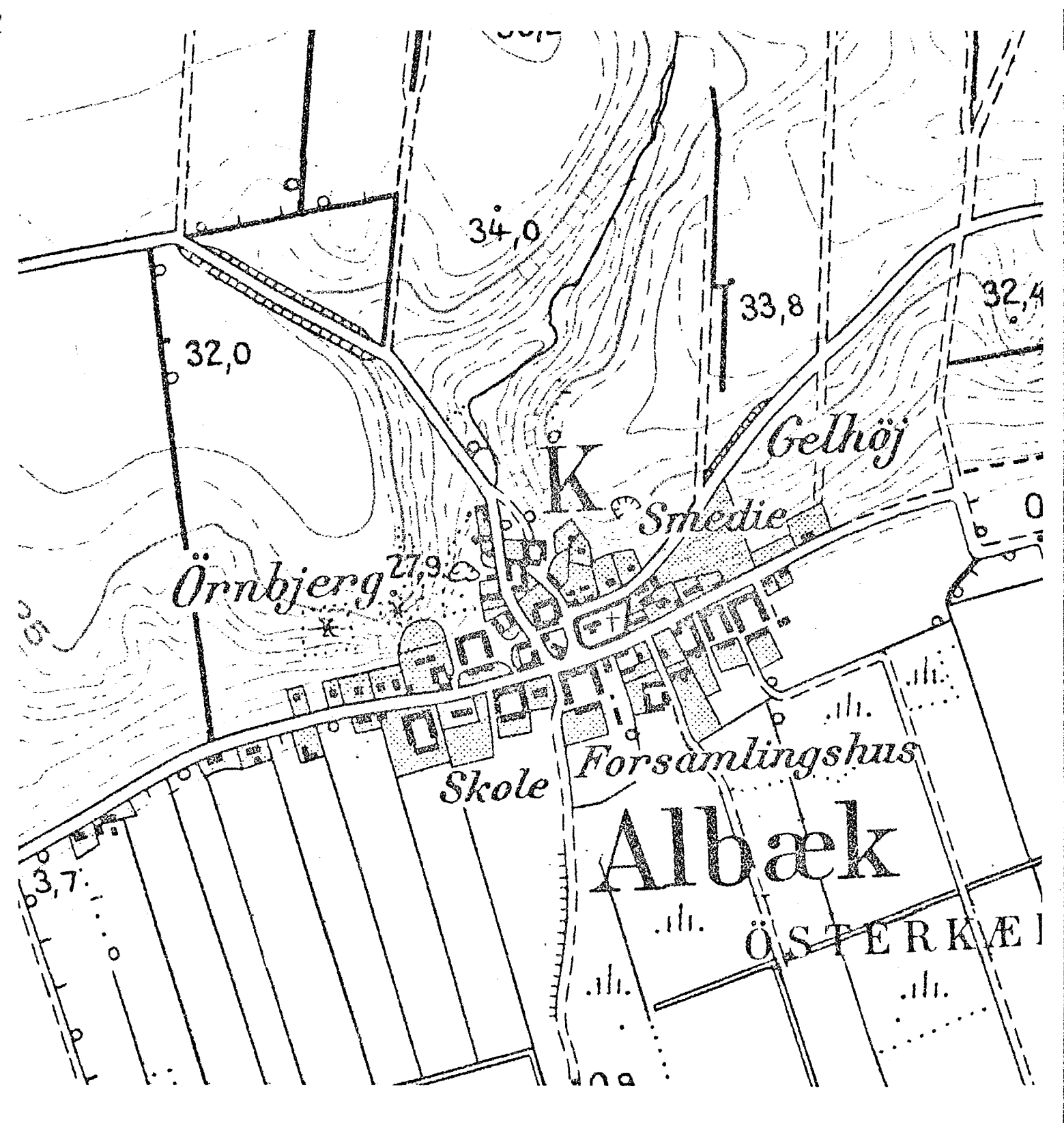
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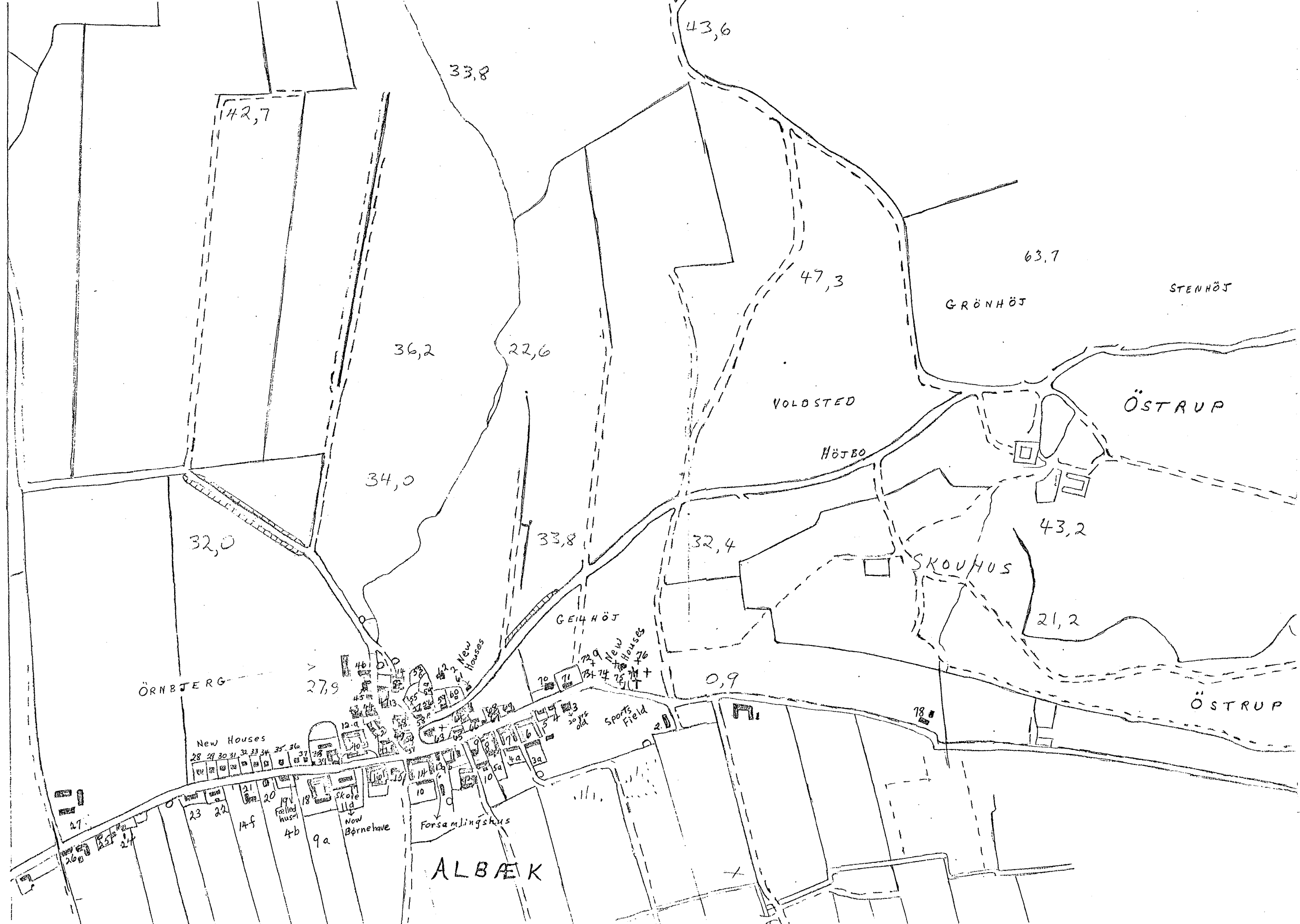




Østerrø Søndre Syssel.  
Høve.  
Porkere.  
Våg.  
Sumbø.







## INTRODUCTION

This thesis is based upon data gathered during four months of research carried out from September to December 1972 in the village of Albaek in Denmark. The data indicate that the basic social structure has changed, slowly during a lengthy period of history but rapidly in recent years. There is also an indication of continuity in some patterns of behaviour and change in others. In this paper various areas of structural and behavioural change will be described in contrast to certain continuing patterns of behaviour. It is postulated that continuity in behavioural patterns is, in part, a function of three basic values bearing upon conformity, and that this system of values can be related to land ownership and bonds of kinship, friendship and community. To demonstrate the process of continuity, a generative model will be applied to a specific situation.

### Selection of Location and Gaining Entry

My acquaintance with some of the Danish-Canadian people in Hamilton and area played a large part in the selection of Denmark as a research location. The town of Randers on the peninsula of Jutland was chosen as a central point of contact on the basis of information supplied by a former resident of Randers. Whereas other locations in Denmark would have been equally suitable, it was practical to choose

Randers and to utilize the information at hand.

With the assistance of the Danish Consul in Toronto, an initial contact was made with the Mayor of Randers by letter from the Consul, announcing my research plan and requesting helpful information. In Denmark the request was directed to Mr. Bjørn Stürup, Museumsinspektør (Director) of the Kulturhistorisk Museum in Randers, as the person in the best position to be of help.

Denmark is dotted with small villages, and the area surrounding Randers is no exception. Museumsinspektør Bjørn Stürup gave me a preview of the area before I left Canada. After my arrival in Randers a number of villages in the area were discussed with Mr. Stürup, and Albaek was selected on the basis of its proximity to Randers, its particularly old village form, its small size (population 236), and the fact that Mr. Stürup knew a resident of the village to whom he could introduce me and who would be willing to act as my chief informant.

The most obvious and most difficult problem with which a researcher in a foreign country must deal is, of course, language. My knowledge of Danish language was minimal on arrival in Denmark, having been gained from only twenty hours of instruction during a ten-week period preceding my departure from Canada. It was, therefore, fortunate that a two-week intensive language course was beginning at Århus University immediately after my arrival in Randers and that I was able to attend the class. This provided the groundwork for communication, but little else. It was obvious that in order to talk to those residents of the village who did not speak and understand English, I would have to work with an interpreter. With the help of Mr. Stürup and my chief informant this problem was solved.

initially by the voluntary help of a school teacher from another village who worked with me on interviews with the chief informant at the beginning of the research period in the latter half of August and early September. Also, early in September a writer and his wife volunteered their services as interpreters, and since they lived in the village and had some flexibility in their working hours, this proved to be an ideal arrangement. They continued to work with me until the end of the project.

Work began by occasional interviews with the chief informant. These had to be arranged at times convenient to him and the interpreter, in conjunction with the scheduled arrival of the bus from Randers, resulting in loss of research time. It was obvious that I needed living quarters in the village itself in order to observe village life and to communicate with more people. Since there is no kro (inn) in Albaek, this necessitated finding a room in someone's house, and I asked the interpreter and chief informant to help me. My request, at first met with surprise and some resistance, was then complied with, and in short order I was informed that the chief informant and his wife had very kindly offered to take me into their home for as long as I wished to stay. On the first Monday in September, then, I arrived at their door, and we began the struggle to talk with each other wholly in Danish language. The initial trauma was softened, however, by the presence of their daughter-in-law who lives on the farm next door and who had come to speak a little English with me and to help everyone feel more at ease. She also became one of the key helpers in my research as time went on.

## Method

The approach to the field research was that of traditional ethnology. There was no preconceived research design or structured hypothesis. The object was to establish myself in the selected village, to gather as much data as possible by the best possible means, and thereby to discover what exists.

There was, however, a loosely-formed idea in the planning stage to look for data related to cultural or social change over a time period to be delineated, and particularly in the area of land ownership and kinship. This proved to be a useful concept for data organization and formulation of the thesis.

Several field techniques were used. The assistance of a chief informant has already been mentioned, and the person chosen proved to be knowledgeable and helpful in producing a wide variety of information, both historical and contemporary. This gentleman was well qualified for the task for a number of reasons: He was interested in my research project and willing to help; having reached retirement, his time was flexible; he was himself involved in writing a local history and for this purpose had at hand copies of church registers and land ownership registers, produced from his own research, with which he was willing to allow me to work. Furthermore, he was a lifelong resident of Albaek, a descendant of one of the families owning farm property in the village since before the land reforms of 1787; his interest in the village was genuine, and his knowledge profound, but it was not confined only to the village. Although his main career had been the operation of the family farm, he has during his adult years served in many public offices in the area.

It was, then, my good fortune to be taken into the home of this gentleman and his wife, an amicable and kindly woman who was always ready to help in every possible way. They, and the other members of their family, although not present in the household, constituted the primary environment for participant observation. Moreover, their daughter-in-law was most helpful by visiting other households with me early in the research, and by accompanying me on the house-to-house distribution of the questionnaire later. The couple's grandson collected most of the questionnaire; their granddaughter often helped in translating conversations when I was obtaining data from the senior couple. Their younger son and his family were also of help in conversation.<sup>1</sup>

Added to this basic situation were two other, unrelated households where in addition to friendship I received informative data and employed participant observation. The latter two households differ in two important ways from the three households of the first-mentioned family. First, neither was part of the farming population of the village; secondly, they were newcomers, in contrast to those families who traced ancestry within the village.

One of these consisted of a middleaged couple with a family of three boys ranging in age from 10 to 20. The man of the house is a Vice Principal and teacher of history at secondary school level, and as an extra-curricular activity he traces ancestry and family trees. He proved to be a helpful informant of particular data, while the lady of

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<sup>1</sup>The younger son is a doctor practising in another community. The older son operates the family farm. The grandchildren mentioned above are children of the older son and his wife on the farm.



the house helped by providing a modern housewife's point of view. They had come to Albaek ten years ago as the first newcomers, having bought the first new house in the village.

The other household consisted of a couple in their early thirties, with two boys aged 7 and 9. This couple worked with me as interpreters. They built their new house in Albaek and moved in about five years ago. The man is a writer and editor in hunting and fishing. His wife, trained as a nurse, is employed in the local daycare centre for pre-school children. Both are alert, involved in life, and interested in human nature. Their ideas and opinions were of great help.

In addition to the employment of chief and subsidiary informants and the procedure of participant observation, the method included formal interviews, a house-to-house survey by written questionnaire (Appendix IV), and the collection of data from written sources.

For formal interviews, the initial approach was to collect life histories of selected couples, and whereas this was at least begun, it was not strictly adhered to during the interviews, nor were any histories collected in extensive detail. Five married couples were chosen: Two of these were retired farm couples from the gård size of landholding; two were retired husmaend; one couple, middleaged, was engaged in operating a gård by modern methods.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>There are three main kinds of landholding in Denmark, according to size: Gods = Estate or Manor; owner is a godsejer; very large acreage. Gård = Farm; owner is a gårdejer; 15 tønderland (20 acres) or more. Husmandsted - Smallholding; owner is a husmand; less than 15 tønderland. The size of actual holdings varies from 1 hectare (2.47 acres) to 1,000 or more hectare (2,470 acres). The national average (1965) is 15.5 hectare (38.3 acres).

Of the two couples retired from gårde, my chief informant and his wife were one and have already been mentioned; their farm had been in the family since 1767. The other retired gård couple had inherited the farm which had been purchased in 1852 by the gentleman's grandfather who had come from outside the village.

The two retired smallholders and their respective wives had come to Albaek from other nearby areas, either as children with their parents or as young workers.

The middleaged couple operate a farm which was inherited by the wife from her mother; her grandmother had owned it before that. The husband came from another village some 20 kilometers away.

The distribution of a questionnaire to every residential unit in the village, some 78 in all, was employed as an efficient method of obtaining quantifiable data. This was prepared in English, then translated and reproduced with the help of the Museum staff in Randers. As stated before, the chief informant's daughter-in-law assisted in its distribution, explaining its purpose to each householder and asking for co-operation. Of the total number of 78 households, 4 were not successfully contacted: One was too far removed from the village boundary (the only farm lying outside the village); another house was vacant at the time; at another, we found no one home on each of several attempts; and at the fourth we received a refusal to accept the questionnaire.

Of the 74 questionnaires distributed, 19 were either not returned or returned uncompleted for a variety of reasons; e.g. misunderstanding of the purpose of the survey resulting in unwillingness to answer or a belief that it did not apply to their household; in some cases people did not have time, or forgot, etc.

There were 55 questionnaires returned and answered, although some were not fully completed. This number represents 70.5% of the total number of households. If the total population of the village is divided into two categories--Farmers (active and retired) and Smallholders together with all others--then those who returned a questionnaire in each category represent slightly more than two-thirds of the total population in each category. Since this classification is useful for statistics presented in this paper, the completed questionnaires returned can be considered as a representative sample.

Finally, written records were used in order to quantify data relating to land ownership, inheritance, and kinship relations. These records consisted of the Matrikel (land register), the Folkeregister (population register), and Kirkebog (Church book). Other written sources consisted of books and periodicals (see references) read for general and background information.

#### Statement of Thesis, Analytical Method and Results

Excluding the territories of Greenland and the Faroe Islands, Denmark is comprised of the peninsula of Jutland, plus two large islands, three islands of secondary size, and numerous small ones of varying size, some 482 islands in all, of which only 99 are inhabited. This total area consists of approximately 17,000 square miles (43,000 square kilometers) and sustains a population of 5 million, of which 1.5 million is contained in the capital city, Copenhagen, and its suburbs.

With an average population density of 294 persons per square mile, it is not surprising that Danes have to take a systematic approach

toward production, and this they do with efficiency. The same efficient systematization appears to extend horizontally in time perspective throughout the formal institutions of the society, and, one suspects, becomes a way of life at the interpersonal level as well, as is evidenced in what appears to be a high degree of conformity to expected behaviour.

Denmark has a long written history which reveals a homogeneous society of considerable time depth (with the exception of a few minor migrations.)<sup>3</sup> It is not unreasonable to suppose that efficient systematization developed early and, therefore, extends vertically in time perspective as well as horizontally. A review of Danish history, which cannot be included in detail in this writing, gives some evidence to the supposition.

It should not be assumed, however, that efficient systematization and a high degree of conformity act to reduce the humanness of the people. People are not a mere collection of statistics; individuals are not just cogs in the wheels of industrial society. Rather, there is a certain importance placed on the human side of society as is evidenced in many ways--in the handling of children and their upbringing, in politeness toward each other, both in the home and outside it, in politeness toward foreigners, in respect shown for the deceased. More subjectively, there is emphasis on creature comforts, and a special term in the language--hygge (the verb), and hyggelig (the adjective)--is used to mean a pleasant,

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<sup>3</sup>From c. 300 A.D., with a climatic change to drier conditions, westward migrations began; c. 450 the Angles migrated from Southern Jutland to Britain; Teutonic migrations had occurred much earlier; Danes overtook Jutland c. 450 and occupied Zealand and other islands earlier. (Thompson, 1961; Skovmand, 1959.)

cozy, attractive environment at hand in which one, or several, may relax and enjoy some time in pleasant activity.

It is of particular importance here to note that togetherness is an important Danish concept. It has been said by a Danish-Canadian that whereas Canadians are often individualistic, each making his own way in a highly competitive environment, Danes hold each other's hands. This can be viewed as a mutual interdependence and companionship. It is clearly observable in the family unit, and, I believe, extends to friends and neighbours of the family. I have not made direct observation of the degree of dependence and companionship in other and larger groups, but it seems reasonable to assume that it exists. Certain data from this study do indicate a group feeling in the village itself.

Undoubtedly the aspect of dependence and companionship is a positive factor in promoting conformity to expected behaviour.

The written history indicates social change in Denmark over a long period of time. Recent history, within the memory of the living older generation, reveals more rapid social change, especially in the periods following the First and Second World Wars. Needless to say, change is still occurring.

These brief generalizations on Denmark are set forth as a background against which to view the subject of this paper--a small rural Danish village. There is no attempt here to substantiate these generalizations for the whole of Denmark; but what has been stated of the whole country is equally true of the subject village, as will be seen in the description to follow.

In general terms several points have been observed here:

Systematization and efficiency are one result of the per capita ratio to acreage and a homogeneous society occupying the same territory over a long period of time. Social conformity appears in conjunction with systematization and is reinforced by feelings of togetherness observed to be interdependence and companionship.<sup>4</sup>

Speaking of the village specifically, the question arises: Why, in the face of social change over a long time and rapid change in recent history, is there still a high degree of continuity in certain patterns of behaviour while other behavioural patterns have changed?

In pursuit of an answer to this question I propose to demonstrate by ethnographic description and historical comparison the most obvious areas of structural and behavioural change as well as behavioural continuity. Structural change as used here refers to widespread social change in such matters as administrative units, division of labour, type of economy, and so on. Behaviour, whether changed or constant, refers to observable behaviour of individuals in interaction with other individuals or in group interaction, such behaviour being associated with statuses and roles. Patterns of behaviour (or social forms) are the structure which results from repeated behaviour in definable situations. Where continuity is evident, I shall seek to relate it to a value system which is stabilized by attachment to land and by bonds of kinship, friendship and community.

On the theme of continuity, I shall present in Chapter I a description of an actual event which is representative of an institutionalized

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<sup>4</sup>Anderson (1973) refers to the Danish egalitarian ethic.

ritual--the celebration of a round birthday. In this case, the situation described is what I shall refer to as Option No. 1. This sets the analytical framework of Chapter V in which I shall examine the process by which institutionalized forms of behaviour are generated. The model used is one presented by Barth (1966), incorporating certain view of Goffman (1959). This model, which has been used to explain structural change is equally useful in explaining continuity of form. The present analysis will focus on continuity. The process described will be viewed in relation to concepts of historical continuity (Pitt-Rivers, 1954) and the process of identity (Epstein, 1969).

Finally, in the concluding chapter, an answer to the question raised regarding change and continuity will be stated and the analytical model will be evaluated.

In the descriptive chapters, the names by which persons or families are identified, while authentic Danish names, are not those of actual residents of Albaek.

## CHAPTER I

### A Round Birthday

"Herr Jensen will be glad to help you, but he will be very busy for sometime while preparing for his 70th birthday." Sigrid was translating the conversation between Mr. Jensen and me, as we sat with a glass of sherry in her attractive, modern livingroom, overlooking the green valley and blue fjord. I vaguely wondered how one, retired from active employment, could be so busy for a month preceding a birthday party, and thought at first it might be an evasive tactic. Yet, that conclusion did not follow logically from the obvious interest Mr. Jensen showed in my research and his apparent eagerness to become one of my informants.

"Oh?" I responded, unknowingly, and waited for further explanation. The significance of the interpreter's statement had eluded me completely, for I am not a Dane. A merry twinkle in Mr. Jensen's eyes faded into the usual steady blue gaze as it became obvious to him that I had not taken the cue. Perhaps he viewed my behaviour as that of the uninformed foreigner rather than an ill-mannered person.

Our meeting that day ended on the understanding that I would be welcome in the Jensen home, and that Mr. Jensen would do what he could to facilitate my work. I agreed that he should help only when he felt that he had time to do so.



A short time later I was able to live in the Jensen household, and as a pseudo member of it was included in the birthday party guest list. Thus, I was about to witness a very important ritualized tradition of Denmark which constitutes a rite of passage as certainly as birth, confirmation, marriage and death.

Mr. Jensen was dialing another telephone call--the third one in a half hour. "God dag. It is Anders Jensen. Yes, we are well, thanks. I would like to invite you and Marie to my 70th birthday which will be on September 18 . . . . Yes, thank you." Eyes twinkled to match a smile. "It will be in forsamlingshuset for dinner at six o'clock. Then we shall return to my home for coffee . . . . Good. I shall be happy to see you. Farvel!" Another name was ticked off the list.

Over many days the telephone was busy with such calls. On learning that the event was to take place in the community hall, I expressed surprise and asked how many people would be there. "About 45," Mr. Jensen said. As I again expressed surprise, he added, "Here in Denmark round birthdays are important celebrations."

Later, Knud and his wife, Jytte, who were helping me as interpreters in the village, explained that when a person reaches his or her 50th birthday, that is the first round birthday to be celebrated as an important one. Although 60 or 65 might be celebrated, the next one of importance after 50 is usually 70. Since it is of greater age than 50, it is of greater importance. After 70, round birthdays might be celebrated every five years. These observances are as important as silver and gold wedding anniversaries, as well as christenings, confirmations, and weddings. All of these are celebrated in much the

same way and have been thus celebrated for as long as anyone can remember.

One evening, Bjørn and Sigrid from a nearby village came to visit the Jensens and to help interpret some data for my work. Bjørn was the new headmaster at a small residential school for young teenagers. His wife, Sigrid, taught there as well. As Mr. Jensen was a member of the Board of Governors of the school, the young couple stood in a business relationship to him.

During the evening coffee around the guest table, Mr. Jensen extended an invitation to the couple for his birthday. They responded with what seemed to be surprise mingled with delight. "But that is so special!" exclaimed Sigrid. "Surely you will not have room for us too," she said of the serving of coffee in the home after the birthday dinner. The Jensens assured the guests, with sweeping gestures and an enumeration of seats and tables, that they, too, would be accommodated.

As the warm September days passed in the village, tension mounted in the Jensen home. Conversation about the guest list and other plans; telephone conversations; a discussion about the morning newspaper; journeys on matters of business by either Mr. or Mrs. Jensen: All were part of the activity. The house and garden, always in first-class condition, were carefully scrutinized to ensure such condition. Discussion and activity extended to the members of their son, Søren's, household next door on the farm. It was a common occurrence for people from the farm household to drop into the cottage at any time, but during that September the conversation often centred around the coming event.

"It is customary," Knud was explaining, "to publish an announcement in a local newspaper when one is going to reach a round birthday.

The announcement will state that the birthday is to be fully celebrated, or that it will be only partly celebrated, or that it will not be observed at all. In this manner, everyone who knows the celebrant will know which course of appropriate action or non-action to take."

Mr. Jensen, Knud and I were standing in the yard of the gård talking one day when Mr. Jensen happened to tell Knud about his approaching 70th birthday. Knud's surprised response was voiced in socially correct terms befitting the occasion, "Your 70th birthday, Mr. Jensen! But one would never guess you are that age! You are to be congratulated on such an achievement." Again Mr. Jensen's blue eyes twinkled and his grin widened with obvious pleasure.

Sometime after I had joined their household, Mr. and Mrs. Jensen extended to me an invitation to the birthday. As a student of Anthropology on a field trip my immediate response was a feeling of delight to be included in an observable event in the village. Then, however, I realized that there was a special feeling being transmitted by the couple--a heartfelt sincerity which transcended the spoken language. (It is perhaps a desirable by-product of insufficient language communication that people must understand one another by gesture and by emotion.) It was becoming apparent that my presence in the household, perhaps in the village, was a matter of sufficient concern that I had to somehow be accounted for and taken care of. A special celebration normally includes one's relatives from near and far, one's close friends, one's business or political associates, and any important officials of the community, such as members of the clergy, the school teacher, and the store keeper. Probably the carpenter and the blacksmith would be included, too, if the

village had such persons. Obviously I did not fit any of these categories. I became increasingly aware that I had been afforded a special privilege in being included on the guest list.

"There will be some people who can speak English," Mrs. Jensen assured me, "so you will not be alone." Aloneness is undesirable, according to Danish values. "Our neighbours, Mr. and Mrs. Thorvaldsen, will be there. You know them." This couple had already extended friendship to me. "And there will be others."

Finally the day of the celebration arrived, a pleasant day in mid September, a Monday. The Jensens' thatch-roofed cottage, with the exterior walls painted tile red, doors and casement window frames painted grey-green, was its usual tidy, charming self. Windows were open to the September breeze. Sunlight favoured the cozy, well-groomed gardens in front of and behind the cottage. The little winding path from front gate, past flowers and shrubs, to front door would be well travelled that day. Inside, the rooms were as clean, bright, and tidy as usual, but the normal day-to-day cosiness had been supplemented with extra arrangements of flowers and shrubbery in every room open to view. Tables were dressed in special cloths; every candlestick had been prepared and carefully placed; ash trays were plentiful; and in diningroom and kitchen, glasses and coffee service stood in readiness. There was indeed a festive air about the place.

During the morning, gifts and greetings began to arrive--by mail, by special delivery, by bus, by telegram, by person. With each caller, the opening door set the antique brass bells in tinkling motion.

During the afternoon the activity increased. Some people came

in pairs during the day; some came singly. All those who came brought special greetings: "Til lykke p  70de f dselsdagen!" Usually they also brought a gift. People who came in were invited to sit down, and if they were able to stay for a brief visit, they were offered sherry. Gifts which had arrived were already displayed in the large double livingroom or diningroom where callers were able to view them; but more gifts were yet to come.

Mrs. Jensen's sister arrived early to help. She was to assist Mrs. Jensen later in the evening in serving coffee in the home.

Mr. and Mrs. Jensen were dressed in second best throughout the day. As the dinner party hour drew near, they changed to party dress. The dinner guests began to arrive. Members of the family came into the cottage first; some left cars parked there. Some people drove directly to forsamlingshuset which is halfway through the village. Although it is within easy walking distance of the Jensens' house, most of us drove to it in one car or another. Mrs. Jensen and I rode with the Jensens' younger son, Preben, who lives in another village, across the fjord.

Forsamlingshuset was a hive of activity. Supplies were arriving with the caterers, guests were arriving, and the host was busily seeing that all was in order. Through the entrance, across the foyer to the coat room, then back to the foyer where gifts were collecting on a table; we followed the established route. Sociable voices, handshakes, laughter; people were in a festive mood. I saw Sigrid with an armful of small song books making her way into the main hall--the banquet room for this occasion. She had brought the song books from ungdoms skolen, and as I followed her into the banquet hall I could see that she was

distributing them around the dinner table. No one else was in the hall, except the caterers coming and going. As I glanced curiously around, Sigrid finished her task and then suggested that we both should go back to the foyer because the guests do not enter the banquet hall until the host formally invites them to do so.

Before the foyer and entrance became too crowded, the host, Mr. Jensen, did formally invite all guests to enter the hall and participate in the celebration. We filed in, not to be seated immediately at the U-shaped table, but to stand and mingle, or sit on benches along the walls. Always, Danes greet each other with a handshake--men, women, and children of reasonable age. Always, when one arrives where people are gathered for an occasion, one is expected to greet everyone with a word and a handshake. If one does not arrive early, therefore, one must pass through the whole large gathering, or around the whole room of seated guests, to say "God dag" or "God aften," and if someone is encountered who is not known, self-introductions are included. In the banquet hall this procedure continued for perhaps half an hour or more while people continued to arrive, dressed in party clothes or Sunday clothes.

Sometime during this period the Jensens' granddaughter, Gurita, arrived dressed in an ankle-length skirt made of faded blue denim and a tie-dye shirt. Gurita, nineteen years of age, was a student at a residential school of textile art and had obviously acquired some off-beat habits. Judging by the expression of horrified disapproval on her mother's face, Gurita had carried things too far by her manner of dress on such an occasion as her grandfather's 70th birthday. Feelings of

ill will between mother and daughter were subtly present during the remainder of the evening, with Irene, the mother, appearing tense and unhappy. Gurita's behaviour otherwise conformed to the expected norm as she gracefully entered in denim and tie-dye, graciously smiled and made the rounds of handshaking as if nothing were amiss.

Eventually we were invited to the banquet table, everyone except the immediate family to find any available place at the two, long parallel tables situated at right angles to the head table. Mr. and Mrs. Jensen were in central position at the head table, with their two sons and their families on each side. To my great amazement, I was included at the head table. By my presence in the household, was I considered to be part of the family?

After a brief invitation by the host, the guests began to eat, first a fish course, followed by a pork dinner, complete with wine. After the food, trays of cigarettes and cigars were passed, both men and women taking whichever they preferred. Then the speeches began, interspersed with the singing of songs from the song books and familiar to all. Many people who had known Mr. Jensen for many years, perhaps a lifetime, spoke of his life and his achievements. Sometimes funny stories were told. The parish Pastor and people associated with Mr. Jensen in business or political life added their praise.

The coffee party in the Jensens' home following dinner in forsamlingshuset was a little less formal. Guests were then in a cozy atmosphere--more hyggelig than forsamlingshuset. People were able to view the gifts, then converse casually over coffee and dessert. As always in Denmark everyone was seated at a table while drinking and eating.

Again, cigarettes and cigars were offered to guests. After about two hours, people began to leave, saying the appropriate "Tak for iaften" (Thanks for this evening), with the farewell handshake, and the end of a long, busy day was in view.

This birthday had been celebrated fully, according to the appropriate published announcement. This might be called Option No. 1 for the purpose of this study. The announcement simply states that the person will celebrate a specific birthday on a certain date. There is no general announcement of a formal dinner party, of course, but it is commonly known that there will be one. Only guests who receive a direct invitation will attend the dinner party and the ensuing coffee party. The number of guests is determined by what the celebrant can afford economically as well as by the number of people within his circle of important relationship and interaction. There is, however, a variation of this form wherein a son or daughter of the celebrant, or several family members, might provide the dinner party for the celebrant. All invited guests will send or bring a gift. Any friends and acquaintances who are not invited may, if they wish, acknowledge the celebration by sending a gift, or a telegram with money, or simply a telegram or card. If one wishes to deliver the gift or greeting in person to the celebrant, it is quite proper to call early in the day and be received as a visitor for a short stay.

The traditional procedure before and during the birthday celebration has, then, been observed by Mr. Jensen and by all persons who interacted with him; but the ritual does not end at the conclusion of the special day. What is to follow is equally important.



Since some friends are not receiving the benefit of the dinner party but are acknowledging the celebration by bestowing a gift and congratulations on the celebrant, custom dictates that each of such friends be invited to the celebrant's home for an evening coffee party, or perhaps for dinner, within a reasonable period of time following the birthday. Depending on how many uninvited bestowers of gifts there are, there may be one or more such evening coffee parties or dinners until each and every one has been entertained in small groups easily handled in the home.<sup>5</sup>

Birthday-related activity continued in this manner in the senior Jensens' home for some weeks following the actual event. There were about half a dozen little parties in all. Everyone seemed to be behaving as expected--being invited, accepting, attending--except the young couple, Knud and Jytte. They had been invited on several occasions, to my knowledge, but always they found a reason for being unable to attend. The growing concern on the part of Mr. and Mrs. Jensen was observable; this was most unusual and unexpected behaviour on the part of the young Larsens; it is not surprising that people would have other obligations or prearranged plans, necessitating a refusal of a first or second invitation, but repeated refusals are unheard of. The Larsens had sent a gift

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<sup>5</sup>Option No. 2 is a partial observance of the birthday and is variable in form; It might consist of either part of the form of celebration found in Option No. 1--the dinner for invited guests, or entertainment following the date for bestowers of gifts and greetings. Option No. 3 is an announcement that the birthday will not be celebrated; this implies that no one is to send gifts, but even if some gifts should be received, there will be no after-date entertaining. Anyone who cannot bear the expense of entertaining might publish this notice, but there could be other reasons as well.

to Mr. Jensen; nothing remained but to entertain them properly. Mr. and Mrs. Jensen could not rest until their social obligations were fulfilled.

Why did Knud and Jytte behave in such an unorthodox manner?

One clear reason cannot be isolated. Rather, a set of related conditions can be viewed in the field of interaction. These will be referred to in the analysis, Chapter V. The point to be observed here is that the Larsens did exhibit a form of deviant behaviour which could not be understood by the senior Jensens; the latter couple was sufficiently upset that the younger couple eventually did consent to attend dinner at the Jensen home.

## CHAPTER II: BACKGROUND

### History

It is not possible to say how old the village of Albaek is as a place of collective habitation. Very likely it dates back to at least Viking times (circa 800 - 1035); it is not known if it existed earlier during what is known as the Old Social Order of patriarchal clanship (circa 400 - 800) when, according to the historian, Danstrup, people lived in agricultural villages (Danstrup, 1948).

The name "Albaek" is composed of two parts: "baek" meaning "stream", and "al" which can mean either "holy" or "a mound of earth". It has been suggested that the place could have been a site of pagan worship, or that "al" might refer to the height of land or an old burial mound, although there is no evidence of the latter remaining.

The great age of the site as a village location seems more evident by reason of the church, which is of the type built when Christianity became established in Denmark during the 12th century, immediately following the Viking era.<sup>6</sup> If the location was well enough established as a village at that time, such that a church would be built, it seems likely that it was inhabited previously too. In any case, the

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<sup>6</sup>Christianity had been introduced earlier, but was not fully established before the 12th century.

village can be regarded as at least 800 years old. The oldest of the present buildings, however, date from no more than 200 years ago, with the exception of the church. About the year 1830, the type of building construction in Denmark changed from the old half-timbered (bindingsvaerk) type to solid brick, and both types of construction are evident in Albaek. Then, during the 1880's, when the type of farming changed, the farm barns were extensively altered. During the ensuing period of improved economy, most of the houses were also improved. The types of farm buildings as they stand at present, then, are the oldest type, or those of the 1830 period, together with some very recent additions. Those built prior to circa 1880 have been renovated, but ordinary minor repairs and upkeep have also been applied to all but the very recent additions. Those built after 1880 follow the same basic style of the renovations of that period. The 12th century church has been enlarged and extensively renovated over the years.

The late 18th century and early 19th century brought important social reforms which changed the pattern of farming in Denmark, and this period (c. 1787 to 1807) is a convenient point of demarcation for data in support of this study. However, in order to understand the Danish farm villages as they existed at the time of these reforms, a brief review of socio-economic and political history is useful.

Speaking of Scandinavian countries as a whole, Tomasson (1970) has stated that a feudal economy as such never existed and that peasants were not repressed to the same extent as elsewhere; but there were some serfs, and during a later period, bondage to the place of birth. On the former point, for example, Danstrup refers to freeman, servants, and

tenants which formed the common families of the Old Social Order (1948: 15-16) and to a decrease in serfdom during the social changes of the period 1040 to 1241. On the latter point, adscription was enforced during times of military crisis or a critical shortage of farm labour, the most severe period of adscription occurring during the 18th century.

The importance and influence of landowners and tenants is evident throughout Danish history. During the Old Social Order, virtually everyone worked the land or was closely dependent on it. The king, then and later, was a landowner elected for a term of office. The Vikings were farmers as well as seamen. Of the modern population, Manniche (1952) states that virtually everyone is a descendant from cultivators of the soil. Except for brief periods of emphasized mercantilism, the backbone of Danish economy was agriculture. This was so during the Industrial Revolution as well, and has continued to be so until very recently when manufacturing increased sufficiently to share economic importance with agriculture. (See Appendix I.)

Alternating periods of prosperity and recession occurred in agricultural history, such periods being related to the total environment, both physical and political. For example, the Viking period brought wealth to Denmark, with the result that landowners became richer; large tracts of land were cleared and estates were formed. Not all farms became large estates, however; the small farmers continued to exist as independent freeholders. During the 12th century Danish farming prospered by way of a new system of three-field crop rotation which allowed higher productivity than previously. At the same time new markets for cattle and grain were secured in newly developing German settlements to the southeast.

Production of cattle and grain continued to be the basic system of Danish farming, with minor and regional variations, until the late 19th century when an economic crisis caused a revolution in the system of agriculture in Denmark. The opening of the Suez Canal and the western railway in North America in the 1870's allowed grain to flow from Russia and North America to world markets. This forced Danish prices to drop by one-half. Therefore, during the 1880's Danish farming turned from grain and cattle export to a high production of butter, bacon and eggs for export. Some animal feed had to be imported; but also, since more livestock was kept on the farms, there was more intense fertilization of soil and a resulting increase in grain and fodder production domestically. The turn of the century saw a more profitable situation in Danish agriculture than at any time previously.

As to socio-political organization, in prehistoric times (the Old Patriarchal Order and the Viking period) there was no real aristocracy (Manniche, 1952:26). The king was selected from time to time from among the landowners. There were large farmers and small farmers and servants who worked for the large farmers. Small farmers were freeholders with free expression of opinion in local government.

During the period 1040 to 1241 (the reign of the Valdemars) the ruling authority became more centralized with power vested in King and Bishops. The old Landsting power of the previous Old Social Order and Viking periods had been diminishing gradually.<sup>6</sup> Now landowners-at-arms

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<sup>6</sup> A Landsting was originally a meeting of the clans for the purposes of forming laws, passing judgment, planning campaigns, and electing their king. There were five lande (provinces) in all of Denmark, and one landsting for each. Under modern constitutional government, the Landsting is the upper house; the Folketing is the lower house.

stood behind the King. City dwellers paid taxes; landowners paid land tax; the peasantry paid tax to maintain the King's court and also worked on fortifications. This period was a transition from the patriarchal community to a Mediaeval European state (Danstrup, 1948:33-34). During this period most of the cities in Denmark arose; those existing earlier had been established as transit centres on trade routes. As a result of a new system of building with baked brick, new, strong castles were built for defence purposes. Often a new town developed near a newly-built castle. Towns, both old and new, became part of a new economy built on domestic expansion and import/export trade. Thus there was a growing class of merchants, with guilds and companies, and a new field for those peasants who would seek a living in the towns. These migrations and the decrease in serfdom caused a shortage of labour on large estates, and those landowners who had amassed much land began to rent land to the free peasants.

During the period of time from mid 13th to mid 14th century, political power fluctuated among three bodies--the King, the Catholic Church, and the manorial lords. Between 1259 and 1286, the estate owners regained sufficient power to secure tax exemption for themselves and for their tenants. Therefore, many freeholders chose to give up their freehold and become tenants. Thus the old tradition of freedom was curtailed by a new, powerful class of landlords which continued to hold power until the beginning of the Reformation (1536). At that time, early in the 16th century, nearly three-quarters of the land was owned by lords and bishops with the peasants under them. Only 20% of the farmers were freeholders; the rest were copyholders. During this time, too, a form

of adscription was enforced--the result of migrations to the towns, which left untenanted farms. At the same time, there was large-scale enclosure of common land in an attempt to increase grain production and the breeding of cattle.

The reign of Frederik of Holstein (1523-1536) marked the end of the Late Middle Ages in Denmark, and three great new eras followed: the Reformation of 1536; Absolute Monarchy from 1660 to 1849; and the emancipation of the peasantry from 1778 onward. The nobility remained powerful until the advent of Absolute Monarchy. Until 1778, then, the peasantry was held down by King, nobility, and townspeople who depended on the peasants' production. During the civil war preceding the Reformation, however, the peasants joined forces with the townspeople against the nobility; during this time many castles were burned. Christian III, who was granted authority by the Council of State, suppressed the revolt. Instead of increasing taxation to pay for the high cost of war, he confiscated the estates which were owned by the Catholic bishops, abolished their offices, and instituted the State Lutheran Church of Denmark.

During the late 16th century, under Christian V, Danish politics and economy stabilized. Peace and prosperity endured until about 1620. Proclamation of hereditary monarchy was enforced in 1660, reducing the power of the nobles; and in the next year, the monarchy was also proclaimed absolute. "The 1000 year old elective monarchy ended, during national crisis, when nobles were down and deserting . . . ." (Danstrup, 1948: 67). This occurred during one of the periods of war with Sweden. During this time, also, much of the Crown land which had been acquired by the King



was sold, and among the buyers were burghers who farmed for a quick profit, and Germans who were accustomed to having peasants as serfs. Under these conditions agriculture deteriorated through exhaustive cultivation, scarcity of labour, and a state policy of increased mercantilism.

In 1701 a new national defence policy held the landlords responsible for supplying certain numbers of peasants for militia duty. This, together with a crisis in agriculture in the years following 1713, caused the most severe peasant bonds in Danish history. In the year 1733, the law required peasants to be bound to the estates on which they were born, between the ages of 14 and 36; a few years later, the age limit was extended to between the fourth and fortieth birthday.

Agriculture recovered under Frederik V (1746-1766). By 1766 the population had increased, there were new migrations to the towns, and agricultural produce was in demand. Political instability followed, with power fluctuating in the hands of statesmen after Christian VII became insane. Absolute Monarchy was declining, and the way for great social reform was being prepared by, among others, one named Struensee, first in opposition to the government, then during a short period when he held political power. Among other things, he pressed for the abolition of stavnsbaand (adscription). After Streunsee was condemned to death by powerful opponents, one Goldberg gained power and, being disinterested in the peasant situation, caused a set-back in the reforms. However, when Crown Prince Frederik took command and reinstated the previous State Council, the reforms continued. Two landowners on the Council worked toward emancipation of the peasants, taking the view that it would be wise to permit freedom of production and to encourage better living

conditions. The Great Agricultural Commission was created, and although many landlords opposed it, reforms continued.

The great reform period began about 1766 and continued into the 19th century. It was in 1787 that judicial authority over land tenants was removed from landlords and a law defining the rights and duties of the tenant farmer was enacted. In 1788 stavnsbaand was abolished and was to be fully effected by 1800. At the same time a credit bank was opened by the State to enable tenants to buy their land from the landlords. The earliest separation of land in this period took place in 1767 when some tenants were able to purchase from the Crown. This was possible only in the Riders' Districts, those districts which were State owned. Most of the farms, whether purchased from the State or from the nobility, were separated by 1807. This necessitated a redistribution of land in most places; the old type of strip farming and joint tillage was changed to blocks of land, usually in one place for each farm. The old pattern of village with buildings situated within its boundaries and narrow strips of land surrounding it took a new form where many farm buildings were moved out to new land allotments or new buildings were constructed. However, while this was the pattern over most of Denmark, in a few locations where the topography restricted such movement, the farm buildings remained within the village limits and land was divided in such a way as to give each farm some of each kind necessary for the farm operation. Such is the situation in the subject village, Albaek, where each farm has some high fields and some low fields.

In conjunction with the land purchases and redistribution, more land was cleared, crop rotation was again in practice, and farm produce increased.

It is important to note that the farms so separated are those known as gårde--the medium size farm which formed the backbone of Danish economy from that time and for at least 100 years. Indeed, in the present day, most of the agricultural produce of the country comes from the gårde. From the reform period onward the gårde increased in importance and the gods (the large estates) decreased. Not to be forgotten is the growing class of husmaend, the cotters, who did not benefit from the reforms of this period. These people held very small tracts of land, often poorly cultivated, and they had to work for either a godsejer or a newly independent gårdmand in order to make a living. The number of husmaend increased at this time, as the estate owners had to depend on them for labour following the release of the gårdmaend. Plots of land were set out for husmaend, to encourage more people to occupy them.

The number of smallholdings gradually increased, but it was not until a period between 1910 and 1930 that they increased significantly in number. As early as 1875 the State assisted in the financing of the new holdings. In 1899 a loan fund was established by the State. In 1904, by law, the minimum size of smallholdings was increased to about 20 acres; prior to that, many of them were as small as  $2\frac{1}{2}$  acres--much too small to be of much help to the smallholder in making a living. By the same law, single women were able to borrow money to purchase land. For some years following, the price of land rose too high to facilitate the buying of it by many smallholders. Therefore, in 1919, the State implemented a system of State-owned holdings by which the land was rented to tenants but each tenant owned the buildings and livestock on his rented property. Both of these State systems were carried out simultaneously from 1919 onward, so that a husmand might be a total owner or a State farmer.

As the number of husmaend increased, more land for them had to be obtained. Some smallholdings were created by the division of gärde into smallholdings, but this could be done, by law, only if an existing gård were sold rather than being kept in a family. Some land came from the old praestegårde--those farms which were traditionally attached to the rural vicarage and from which the rural clergy received much of its income.<sup>7</sup>

By the end of the 19th century, then, the husmaend were increasing in importance as an economic class, and were gaining political influence as well. The present trichotomy of Danish agriculture was thus well established at the advent of the 20th century: The large estates (gods), fewer in number but still productive; the numerous farms (gårde), highly productive and bearing the weight of agricultural economy; and the smallholdings (husmandstede), with the owner producing a little but usually supplementing the family income by other means. (See Appendix I.)

The development and importance of the farms and smallholdings, occupied largely by descendants of the old peasantry, and the particular socio-political form they have taken, has been attributed to three things.

First, the comparatively early education of at least part of the rural population, beginning in 1730 when the King ordered some 230 schools to be opened in the Riders' Districts--those districts composed of Crown land which had been confiscated from the Catholic church at the time of the Reformation. Then, in 1814, education was made compulsory throughout the country.

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<sup>7</sup>Following confiscation of the praestegårde, the clergy received an increase in salary by way of compensation.

Next, and perhaps of greater importance, was the philosophy of N. F. S. Grundtvig (1783-1872) who spoke of the importance of humanity and of the responsibility of each person for his own life and the collective life of society. These teachings permeated the country, paving the way for socialism.

Finally, following Grundtvig's teachings, two new developments occurred and continue in importance to this day: the system of folkehøjskole (people's high school), and a movement of co-operatives for consumer goods, for production and distribution, and for credit and banking. The first of the folkehøjskole was started by one named Kristen Kold in Thisted, Jutland, and in time, many such schools appeared throughout the country. Basically, they developed among those who attended a new consciousness in literature, politics and history, in conjunction with the current period of nationalism, and emphasized the human being as a whole. The schools were attended primarily by rural people; attendance was for only a few months, usually; there were no examinations and no diplomas. The system continues in this fashion today. Many of those who attended have emerged as leaders in their communities.

In 1866 the co-operative movement began with a consumer organization, initiated by Rev. H. C. Sonne in Thisted. The co-operative idea was then adapted to production. Farmers formed a dairy first. Each member carried the same influence, regardless of the size of his holdings and possessions. Then followed co-operatives for egg-packing, for bacon production, for marketing, and purchasing. Today's co-operatives also include societies for quality control in milk production, export societies, purchasing societies including accident and damage insurance, machinery

stations, and a co-operative bank. The rise of the system of co-operatives definitely followed the opening of folkehøjskole which influenced the farmers who attended them.

According to Manniche (1952) the philosophy of Grundtvig and the resulting schools and co-operatives thrived in Danish society because of its particular content and history. The population is homogeneous, largely of Gotho-Germanic origin, speaking one language, 97% belonging to the State church, virtually all descendant from cultivators of the soil. Historically, democracy was practised very early, and although the peasantry lost part of its freedom in the 17th and 18th centuries, it gained greater freedom and social equality from mid 19th century onward. Manniche points out that the peasants' brooding introspection of the 17th and 18th centuries, the evasive smiles and jesting irony, was a response to oppression, and in the 19th century it gave way to an expression of nationalism in an intellectual orientation. The nature of the Dane, according to Manniche, is conducive to a co-operative movement, folk high schools, and social legislation. Within two centuries, an illiterate and inert peasantry was transformed into an alert and politically influential class. (1952: 14-15; 18; 24).

#### Administrative Units

The herred districts date back to the Old Social Order, when the five great Lande with their Landstings were the superior divisions of the country. Originally the herreder served as units for administration of justice as well as other matters of local concern. The meeting of

the freemen of a herred was known as a herredsting. During the reign of the Valdemars (12th to 14th centuries), judicial authority gradually passed to the chief officer of the herred who was called the herredsfoged. He was the equivalent of a judge in modern times, with jurisdiction only in his herred and in the villages within it. This officer also collected taxes and acted as a commander of the garrison and superintendent of the local militia, where necessary.

The village of Albaek came under the jurisdiction of Støvringherred, (Map No. 2: Støvring). Until about 1700 the herredsfoged for Støvringherred lived on a farm provided for him in Østrup. Following 1700 the officer was located in a city office in Randers, the result of a new system of administration constructed in 1661 by the new Absolute Monarchy.

In 1841 local government was reorganized to include a sogneråd (parish council), some members of which were elected by the farmers. There was also, for some time, an officer called the sognefoged, whose duty it was to travel from village to village in his sogn, calling those who must serve military duty and acting as a general police officer.

For an indeterminate length of time each community also had its own organization for conducting local matters of concern such as the joint tillage of fields, the common pasture, the village bull, and road maintenance. It is said now of "the old days" that the farmers would gather together on the bridge in the centre of a village, or in the big room of one of the farms, there to decide upon necessary courses of action. Each year they chose an Oldermand to act as a kind of leader or chairman. Normally they took turns acting in this capacity. This

community system was in existence during periods when the peasants were bonded to the land, as well as when they were free tenants or owners.

The basic units of land, herred, and landsby (village) appeared in prehistoric times as administrative units. The landsby continues and herreder are referred to in modern times, but an ever-increasing complex system of administration has developed over the centuries, with the result that herred and landsby are no longer counted as administrative units in themselves.

The following will serve to illustrate the complexity of modern administration. The chief municipal districts are amter, kommuner, sognekommuner, and kirkesogne, corresponding to what we might call counties, boroughs or townships, districts, and parishes. In addition there are amtstuedistrikter (revenue districts), skattekredse (tax districts), skyldkredse (assessment districts), vurderingskredse (valuation districts), and a separate set of parliamentary electoral districts divided into constituencies and polling stations. Added to the list is the judicial system with two high court divisions, 15 jury districts, 103 legal districts, and 72 police districts. The list is further extended by various divisions within the systems of medical districts, national service districts, military divisions, ecclesiastical divisions, customs districts, factory inspection, civil defence, and school districts. These many and varied divisions and districts are not coextensive, for the most part; that is, in most cases, there is a different total number of each kind of division in existence.

In 1969 there was a reorganization whereby the number of amter was reduced from 22 to 12, thus creating larger amter. Similarly, the



kommuner were changed from smaller units to larger ones. This clearly is an attempt to reach a greater degree of efficiency to meet modern conditions.

In relation to the village, Albaek, the important divisions to be considered are the amt, kommune, and sogn, according to the terms of common usage. These are the formal divisions of administration and transcend the village itself. A clarification of terms seems in order here; "kommune" in common usage seems to refer to the "sognekommune" of official terminology, and "sogne" is taken to mean "kirkesogne".

Albaek was formerly in what was known as Randers Amt, but this division has recently been incorporated into Århus Amt covering a larger territory. Albaek therefore now lies in Århus Amt (Map Nos. 1 and 2).

The village of Albaek is one of three villages forming Albaek Sogn. Prior to the 1969 reorganization each kommune incorporated very few sogne. The two sogne of Albaek and Harridslev formed one kommune known as Harridslev/Albaek Kommune. The new, larger kommune in which the subject village lies, named Nørhald Kommune, is composed of eight former kommuner. Its administrative centre is located in Tvede, approximately 15 kilometers from Albaek village. (Map No. 2.)

As to function, the elected council for the amter, called Amtsråd, consists of from 9 to 15 members, and administers the main highways and district hospitals. Until recently, the small domestic airports also came under amt administration, but this is now being centralized. In addition, the Amtsråd "prepares a budget, levies taxes, makes

appropriations, and supervises a small number of administrative officials. It supervises the parishes, and selects a county school board which has charge of educational funds." (Orfield, 1953:36.)

The Kommune Council, called Sogneråd, consists of from 5 to 19 elected members. It assesses the value of property for taxation purposes, administers social legislation, participates with the national government in paying the costs of social insurance, administers public education by way of a school commission which it appoints; it builds and maintains local roads, prepares the official list of those entitled to vote in all elections, gathers population and vital statistics, and deals with fire prevention (Orfield, 1953:36).

Prior to 1969 the sogneråd also collected information regarding personal income tax, both national and local, and attended to the collection of it and the forwarding of national tax to Copenhagen. Following the 1969 reorganization the kildeskat came into effect--the deduction of tax at the source of income. All income tax is now collected by Kildeskatdirektoratet in Copenhagen, and that part due to the kommuner is sent to each kommune according to its budget. Similarly, the church tax is now centrally collected and sent out to each church council.

What does this complex pattern of administration mean in terms of change in relation to Albaek? First, it demonstrates a vast change from simple societal organization of long ago to a necessarily complex organization resulting from an increase in population and greater specialization. When the village farmers met together in the old days (as they did for centuries back), their interest lie in the collective

problems of how to manage their farms and look after their roads, and (earlier) in administering justice in local cases of law-breaking.

Long ago, the herredsfoged, as well as the landlords, took care of legal matters and continued to do so until a series of reorganizations of the judicial system in the 18th and 19th centuries rendered the old system obsolete. From time to time, taxation was beyond their control, as were international relations. The pastor and teacher, at least from early 18th century onward, worked closely together for the education and spiritual care of the community members, or those of them who were interested; church and school in the old days were more closely connected than in modern times. There was not, of course, a sudden change from simple to complex, but a gradual, sometimes shifting, process by which the members of the local village, generation after generation, became more and more involved in a widening circle of administration.

Today, with universal suffrage, every adult twenty years of age and over votes in a number of elections. Many members of the local community serve from time to time on various councils or boards. However, many decisions which affect their lives are made by more remote administrative bodies. Moreover, the quickening pace of change since World War II, together with intense mass media, has drawn the villager into a new world-consciousness which is vastly different from that of his forefathers 100 or 200 years ago. Surely, then, in many ways the modern villager is a different person now, with an expanded feeling of identity, compared to villagers of generations past.

An outline of shifting boundaries of definable units, and the overlapping pattern of boundaries which they create, is useful in

considering identity as a problem for today's residents of Albaek. In a period within the memory of the oldest residents, approximately 70 years, the following pattern is observable.

The village has long been the central village in the parish which takes its name--Albaek Sogn--being flanked to the west by Vestrup and to the east by Østrup. For this group of villages, the church and community hall are situated in Albaek, as is the general store. Formerly a school was there too. In earlier times (following 1841) a parish was an administrative and religious unit; now it is a religious unit only.

Another grouping can be defined, however, with Albaek as the easternmost village of the three lower villages: Albaek, Vestrup, and Tjaerby. These three have an affinity with each other in their physical form and geographical location, in that their farm land is comprised of part lowland and part highland, and their farms have all remained within the village boundaries. Furthermore, all three are closely situated in lineal proximity to Randers with which they have a close economic tie. Østrup is segregated, further, by reason of its history; it was the Bishop's estate of pre-Reformation time, and the lower villages were under its jurisdiction.

To return to parish divisions, at the time of parish council organization, Albaek Sogn became united with Harrikslev Sogn as a kommune for administrative purposes. There was, and still is, a separate church in Harrikslev which is a slightly larger community than Albaek. In the 1969 reorganization, this kommune became obsolete for administrative purposes. The parish now serves a religious purpose only, but again the boundaries have changed to include in one pastorate three former

parishes, each with a church, plus one kloster (cloister) known as Støvringgard.

The school divisions have also altered. First, there was a one-room school in Albaek, later expanded to two rooms, to serve Albaek Sogn. In recent years, with rapid expansion, some of the Albaek students had to go to Harriidslev for part of their elementary education, fluctuating between the two locations for a time. Secondary schooling was obtained in Randers. Now a large, new school has been constructed in Harriidslev, and students from a wider area, including Albaek Sogn, attend there for elementary and secondary schooling.

Since 1969 the new unit of local administration in matters public and economic is Nørhald Kommune, created out of eight former sognekommuner. Albaek now lies within its territory, and its administrative centre is about 15 kilometers from Albaek. Although this is the official administrative district, Albaek is situated closer to the city of Randers and is still economically tied to that city and dependent on its various services.

The 1969 reorganization at the level of amt (county) places Randers and its amt, including Albaek, within the Amt of Århus. This centre of administration is considerably farther away from Albaek than is Randers, so that in matters within its jurisdiction the villagers are more remote than formerly.

In these basic divisions, then, identity has been rapidly shifting. Added to this pattern are several more abstract concepts of identity which may well influence the villagers in relation to each other. First, the dividing point between east and west within the village itself is the

general store, "Brugsen", situated at the centre. Neighbourliness tends to operate on each side of the centre dividing line, although not absolutely. It may be that there is some feeling of belonging to one side of the village or the other; but the meeting place--the place where everyone can stop and discuss matters of current interest or concern--is the general store in the middle. Of further interest in this connection is the fact that the store is a co-operative one, owned by most of the village residents and certainly by the farmers.

Next, a historical probability was a class distinction between well-to-do gårdmaend and the husmaend of lesser means. This is seldom, if ever, directly referred to, but evidence of it occasionally appears in conversations about the past as well as in current behaviour. The modern social welfare state has undoubtedly had a levelling influence, but it is a matter of interest to presume that lines of identity exist between the two groups.

Finally, a very recent development is the movement of newcomers into the village. Again, comment is not openly made as to a difference in feeling toward new people as opposed to those who belong by birth. Most of the latter have descended from a long line of kinship within the parish. Given the emphasis placed on one's place of birth as a means of identification, it must be assumed that there is a line of demarcation of identity on this basis also.

This interesting and complex pattern is to be seen as a framework in which the village of Albaek exists in its compact, relatively unchanged Mediaeval physical form.

### Geography, Topography, Climate

The eastern part of the peninsula of Jutland, consisting of gently rolling glacial moraine and a raised Stone Age sea bottom along bays and fjords which indent the coastline along the Kattegat, is a productive agricultural area with a moderate maritime climate not given to extremes of heat or cold and enjoying an adequate mixture of sunlight and precipitation. Here and there the burial mounds of the Bronze Age (c. 1800-300 B.C.) or the Viking period (c. 800-1035 A.D.) are to be seen in a farm field and are now carefully preserved by statute law. Off the main north/south highway, smaller, paved roads lace the countryside, joining towns and villages which seem to have grown into existence at regular distances of about two or three kilometers long ago and to have remained as compact units with open farmland between. Not every village has a kro (inn), but inns are located at fairly regular intervals measured by the practical distance which horses could travel in earlier times.

The largest city on the peninsula is Århus, with a population of 190,000, situated about midway between the southern boundary and the northern shore on a bay on the east coast. The main railroad line and main highway run through Århus; it is also a small seaport, and a university city. Forty kilometers north from Århus, on the highway and railroad line, lies the city of Randers with a population of 65,000. Randers is a modern outgrowth of an old trading centre built on the lowlands of the Gudenå<sup>8</sup> which runs into the fjord now known as Randers Fjord. Old streets and buildings from Mediaeval times still form a large

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<sup>8</sup> "å" means "river".

part of the core of old Randers. Through time, the town has spread southward across the river and fjord, east and west along the waterway, and northward over the elevation of land some distance from the fjord. It has become a small shipping port, a centre of light manufacturing, and a business district serving the surrounding rural communities (Maps Nos. 1 and 2).

Numbered among those rural communities is the Village of Albaek. The road from Randers which runs along the lowland bordering the fjord on the north side, leaves the city after passing its district of Dronningborg, and enters an open farming area where rural villages are placed approximately two kilometers apart. The third village along the lower road is Albaek, about six kilometers from the outskirts of Randers. Albaek is the last village on the lower road which runs on through farm land toward the area where the fjord angles northeasterly; the lower road comes to an end in an area called hestehaven, so named because in earlier days it was a rich grazing ground for a special breed of horse for which the area is known. It is of significance to note that these three villages in the area are known as the "lower villages". As such they have developed differently from the "upper villages"--those built entirely on the higher elevation rising from the fjord flatlands, and from many villages in other areas of Denmark. Although referred to in this manner, the lower villages (and in particular the subject village, Albaek) are situated partly on the rise of land, the main road running along where lowland meets the rise in elevation (Map No. 3-A; Photo No. 1). Thus, if travelling through the village easterly on the lower road



(Photo No. 2), behind the buildings on the right lie low fields running to the fjord, while on the left are buildings with a hill rising behind, and at the central and eastern end some buildings are located part way up the hill; (Photo No. 3: view from the upper, eastern road at the village extremity).

Albaek village, then, has two distinct kinds of land; the low hills composed of moraine, (highest elevation is 64 meters); and the old sea bottom, some 2 to 3 kilometers wide, lying flat between hills and fjord. Formerly the flat, marshy land, though rich for pasture, was often too wet for maximum use. Between 1919 and 1921 a canal was dug and a dike built to allow better shipping along the fjord into Randers and better drainage of the flatlands. Previously, small ships had come in only as far as Albaek. In 1931 a pumping system was installed to drain the lowlands sufficiently for use as good pasture and grain production. It is indeed a curious sight now to see a ship or small boat sailing through the fields, as it appears to the eye from the village location, for the canal water is not visible from that distance. In fact, in the area of Albaek, one must climb the dike at the canal in order to see the fjord.

From the lower road at the centre of the village two roads lead up into the higher land toward other villages and areas beyond, one to the northeast and one to the northwest (Photo No. 8). The first village in each direction is connected to Albaek in certain ways of significance in administrative organization, as is the closest lower village.

As stated above, the maritime climate is moderate in temperature range. Normally, summer provides a long growing season, is not too hot, and is well supplied with a mixture of rain and sunshine. Daylight hours

are long in June and July; there is a period of darkness between 11.00 p.m. and 2.00 a.m. Conversely, winter daylight hours are very short, and sunlight in fair weather is concentrated between 11.00 a.m. and 3.00 p.m. in December. Snow and frost sometimes occur in winter, but normally not severely and only in brief periods. The Christmas rose (Julerose) blooms in outdoor gardens at Christmas time, and the first small spring flowers appear in March. Cultivation of the dryer fields often begins late in March.

In a land such as Denmark, where mankind long ago claimed the soil from the wilderness, where now the population density demands that every acre of land in forest, on field or shore be well cared for, where the climate is not harsh and often kind, there is time for and inclination toward a refined and relaxed way of life. Here a nation of gentle and fun-loving people has developed, in close communion with natural surroundings, and with a practical and casual approach to life. Amidst the picturesque, fertile farmland of eastern Jutland, which has for many generations provided economic security, there lies the village of Albaek, the inhabitants of which are this kind of people.

## CHAPTER III

### Village of Albaek - Physical Features

The little village, Albaek, can be described as a curious mixture of old and new, a charming Old World village caught up in the pace of modern agriculture.

At first sight to the uninitiated New World foreigner, Albaek appears as an unreal ghost of the past, or a scene from a Mediaeval play, because at first sight one sees the imposing old, four-block "farms" dominating the central part of the village, many of them with half-timbered walls or thatched roofs (Photo Nos. 4-7). Less imposing but equally impressive are the old, smaller dwellings or cottages, similar in construction to the farms. Impressive, too, is the 12th century church of Romanesque design, overlooking the oldest and central part of the village from its slightly elevated site (Photo Nos. 8 and 9). Not to be overlooked is forsamlingshuset--the community hall--not of striking architecture, but numbered among the older buildings.

The word "farm" is used in a double sense in a village such as Albaek. In one sense, it means the whole property--buildings and land; in the other sense, it refers to that part of the farm--buildings and immediate property--situated within the village itself. Which meaning is intended in any given statement herein is apparent from the context of the script.

As one proceeds along the main street from west to east toward the centre of the village, a number of large farms are to be seen on the right (south) side of the road, situated close to the road. A striking feature is the large gate through the north block through which the driveway from road to courtyard passes. This is an impressive sight where several large farms are situated together in a row (Photo Nos. 4; 10; 11). On the north side of the road is another large farm centrally located in the village, but here the house block faces the road while the other three blocks lie behind. Where possible the farm blocks were constructed in such a way that the residence would lie to the south, to take greater advantage of the winter sun. The majority of the farms in Albaek are on the south side of the road, so that the house is some distance from the traffic on the road, has a southern exposure, and has vegetable and flower gardens situated to the best advantage south of the house.

Of the existing buildings, the oldest is a farm house said to be 200 years of age. Most of the barns and stables of the farms as they stand at present date from the last half of the 19th century when extensive renovations were made in conjunction with a major change in the agricultural system. The residential blocks of the farms might be older. Many of the farm buildings have had renovations as a matter of general upkeep. For example, the 200-year-old house has a roof of obviously more recent date, and the barn and stable blocks on the same farm have an upper section of more recent date than the lower section (Photo Nos. 5 and 6). The several single block dwellings in the village

are of the same old architectural type as the farms. Originally they were a family dwelling in one end and a stable in the other end--the type of building which a smallholder might own. Today, they are usually completely a residence (Photo No. 12). In the central part of the village the remaining small houses are all at least as old as early 20th century, and probably much older for the most part. Accurate and complete data of this kind was not obtained. Most or many of the small homes have also been renovated over the years, so that they probably do not stand in their original form now. One house was being enlarged by a new addition during the period of research.

The form of the typical Danish village from very early times was such that farms and dwellings were built around or near a pond or stream for the practical purpose of obtaining water for household use, for watering animals, and for extinguishing fires should they occur. In Albaek the centre and supply of water was a stream which flowed openly through the village.

Originally buildings, including farms, were built very close together, sometimes having as little as two meters between the buildings of two separate properties. In 1899, in Albaek, three farms in such close proximity were damaged by fire. By then a law had been enacted to prevent the building of thatch-roofed buildings so close together, with the result that the farm in the middle of the three had to be moved. That farm was then moved to the western end of the village and built on field space which was part of the village common. It is said that at that time the villagers wondered at a farm being built so far from the

centre of the village; they thought it was a long way out, whereas it was only at the western extremity (Map Nos. 3-A and 3-B). However, the farms today still appear to be very close together (Photo Nos. 13 and 14). Also, many of the houses in the central part of the village are very closely situated, a condition usually found in old sections of towns and cities as well (Photo No. 29).

The form of farms in Albaek is worthy of description. The largest are built on the old, four-block or quadrilateral plan. According to Tage Werner Kristiansen (1950) this type is widespread in Denmark and has been the preferred plan for more than 200 years. This basic type has regional variations in architecture, and variation in distribution of space for barns, stables, and residence. In Albaek the buildings are brick without exception, some of the oldest being brick half-timbered. Originally, roofs were thatched of a special, very coarse grass. Some of these remain and are kept in repair. Other roofing materials in use are red tile or lead graphite; yet another is a tile-like corrugated cement material which appears to be applied in wide strips or sheets. On the large farm buildings the latter type provides a means of covering large areas more efficiently (Photo Nos. 4-7; 10 and 11).

The unique feature of the quadrilateral farm is the courtyard, bordered by the four blocks of buildings. Since each block is quite large (as much as 240 feet in length), the courtyard is spacious. Originally courtyards were paved with cobblestones; some of these remain in Albaek, but many are now gravel (Photo Nos. 5; 10; 11).

The importance of the courtyard (or farmyard) has been stated by Kristiansen:

The quadrilateral farmyard was handsome and functionally correct. There the milkmaid washed her pails, there the innumerable small jobs of the house were done, and there the farmer's wife could keep an eye on the maid and the chickens from the kitchen window. It was a lively centre of work and of traffic between one building and the next . . . . (1950:22).

Today the same courtyard is an active place in a different way: The farmer drives in with his tractor, pulling a wagon to be unloaded; the tank truck comes in to collect milk from the storage tank; young son or daughter drives in on a mini-motor bike, home from school; and Mother washes the family automobile. The old watering font for animals is dry; so is the former enclave for manure. Modern methods of feeding, watering and cleaning have taken over.

Breeding and marketing are becoming more specialized. Some farms have converted totally to hog-raising, and it is an impressive sight and sound to see two blocks of the four, filled with hogs, neatly divided as to age and purpose.

In Albaek the quadrilateral form follows the plan of three blocks joined, these being one block of barn for grain and other storage, parallel to the street, and two blocks running at right angles to it for stables and pens. The fourth block is the residence, detached by a space wide enough for farm machinery to pass through, and lying opposite and parallel to the barn, forming the enclosed yard.

According to the detailed map (No. 3-B) ten of the nineteen farms and smallholdings in Albaek village are constructed quadrilaterally; the remaining nine are a variation of it, being composed of two or three

blocks rather than four. In most cases, the full-scale set of buildings corresponds with a farm known as a gård--a landholding of from 20 to 150 acres approximately. Whereas a smaller farm might be referred to as a gård in the present day language, it is traditionally known as a husmandsted (smallholding). In this classification, Albaek village contains 18 gårde and one or perhaps two husmandstede. (Acreage data is lacking for seven landholdings.) Six of the gårde have between 25 and 37 acres now, and were formerly considered to be smallholdings. The remaining gårde for which figures are available range from 54 to 124 acres. At least three of those unreported are large holdings, in excess of 100 acres. The remainder of the dwellings are classified as houses, and in all but four, they are single family dwellings. In the four exceptions the house is divided to accommodate two households, although one household might be occupied by only one person.

The old farm houses and the single block houses are of similar plan in that the rooms are all on ground floor, opening into one another. In the houses of the gårde where one whole block is used as a residence (and in the old days this often housed many people), there might be a dozen or more rooms arranged in a double row along the length of the building, such that all rooms have windows either at the front or back of the house. In the old days, the gårde always had a "big room" (stor stue) which could hold 40 or more people at special times of celebration. In modern days, the big room in some of the gårde has been made into smaller rooms more suitable for modern living; but in some houses they remain and still provide space for entertainment at certain



times such as Christmas or special birthdays.

All houses, old and new, large and small, in Albaek today have central heating, and all have modern kitchens and bathrooms with hot and cold water.

Throughout Denmark most of the building construction, both old and new, is of brick or a combination of brick and wood. This is so in Albaek village as well (Photo Nos. 15 and 16). Sometimes the old brick has been painted; in some cases it seems to be covered with a kind of plaster. Roof types of all buildings (as described for farm buildings) might be thatch, tile, lead graphite shingles, or cement. Thatching is not exclusive to the very old buildings. In Albaek, and elsewhere in Denmark, new houses sometimes have a thatched roof. There is in Albaek an attractive new house built after an old style, complete with thatched roof. The use of thatching in the present day is probably related to an awakening interest in reviving the old; this is also seen in furniture and household objects (antiques), and in a certain kind of painting of woodwork and furniture called mølle farve.

Whatever the age and type of buildings, one thing clearly stands out: the value placed on keeping things in good repair, tidy, and appealing to the eye. This is obvious about property, both inside and out, about possessions, about the people themselves. The rare individual who does not conform is frowned upon.

Inside the homes, as in the view of the village itself, there is usually a mixture of old and new. Some people are interested in antiques as such and in acquiring them; others undoubtedly possess them because

they have been handed down in the family; but side by side with the old stands the new in Scandinavian design in furnishings and furniture, and in repairs to old structures. It does not seem disjointed or out of place, because there is a knack in blending new with old. The emphasis is not on a style of decorating; rather, the emphasis is on the total atmosphere which must above all be cozy, but also casually artistic, and usually colourful. The desired effect is achieved with soft fabrics--rugs, draperies, upholstery, wall hangings; with sunlight when there, or with soft lighting, both electric and candle light; and with greenery, flowers, or shrubbery in season. The total effect is hyggelig. Of such importance is the total environment, that a good wife is at least in part judged by her ability to make the home hyggeligt, and a good husband by his ability to appreciate it (Photo Nos. 17-22). However, the man of the house also takes a keen interest in his home and in beautifying it. There is a high regard for home and property. On the farm, too, it is usual for the man to keep his buildings and equipment in good repair, and although some work will be done by the local carpenter or blacksmith, the farmer will himself do whatever he can during the winter months when field work does not demand attention.

In Albaek the parish church (kirke) and churchyard (kirkegård) are typical of village churches in much of Denmark where square-tower structure is found. In some areas (e.g. Bornholm) round churches are found, having been constructed originally as small fortresses. These, obviously, appear in areas where such defence was necessary at the time of church expansion.

The Albaek church was originally built about 1100 A.D. Constructed of limestone block, it consisted in the beginning of only the skib (nave) and kor (apse). Although alterations have been made over the years, the solidity of Romanesque design is still the most striking feature of the building. The original windows were very small. Only two of these remain, the others having been bricked in and a new window added. Long ago, men and women had to enter a church building through separate doors and sit each on a different side in the nave. The original door on the north side of the Albaek church has been bricked in. The original arch of the apse is still intact, but is not aligned in relation to the axis of the nave.

During the Gothic period the ceiling was vaulted. At that time, too, the wide, square tower as it now stands was added to the west side, built of monkstone. At the end of the period of Middle Ages, the small foyer or "weapon house" (våbenhus), built of solid brick, was added around the south door. At that time, it served as an area in which to place one's weapons while attending church. Now it is only a foyer. During the Renaissance period there was again a new ceiling installed. In 1938, the whole building was restored. At that time the old lime paintings dating from c. 1490 were discovered on the walls and are now visible in their restored form. Furnishings date from various periods: the solid oak cross on the brick altar from 1938; the altar painting from 1864 (now placed on the north wall of the nave); the carved wooden pulpit from 1619; the baptismal font from 1624. Also, on the nave's north wall is a memorial plaque to a herredsfoged of an earlier time.

In most Danish churches there is a model ship hanging from the ceiling of the nave and pointing toward the altar. The one in the church in Albaek is a brig dating from 1878.

The small, solid church building stands today with its whitewashed walls and lead graphite roof, its low, square bell tower, on a slight elevation in the centre of the village, surrounded by a low stone wall and its churchyard of small tidy gardens marking the graves of Albaek's residents for many centuries (Photo Nos. 8-9; 30).

There is no school of the regular school system in the village now. The building formerly used as a school has been converted into a privately owned børnehave (day nursery) for preschool aged children. The owners and operators of the nursery also reside in part of the building which is situated near the centre of the village on the south side of the road between two gårde. The school yard of former days now holds play equipment for preschoolers.

The only store in Albaek now is the co-operatively owned Brugsen, a general store catering to home and farm needs and handling everything from farm seed to postage stamps. Situated at the centre of the village, it is an old building which has been modernized (Photo Nos. 23 and 24).

At the eastern end of the village is situated a sport field with a small club house. This is a favourite spot for young boys and young men who enjoy playing fodbald.

A walk up the hill on the road leading to Østrup brings a rewarding view over the low lying fields toward the fjord and to the far rise of land beyond (Photo No. 3). Conversely, a walk along markvejen (the field

road) toward the fjord affords a good view of the village and the height of land rising behind it (Photo No. 1: eastern half of village). On a cool November day, the harvest completed and fields plowed, the pace of modern technology can be observed and the voice of a society in interaction can be heard; but in the solidity of a landsby merged with its natural surroundings, the roots of centuries past can be sensed.

## CHAPTER IV

### Village of Albaek - Social Life

In this ethnographic description, reference is made to two periods of time basically: what has been observed at the time of the field research and is therefore to be considered as the present; and what is referred to as "the old days". The latter term of reference is used in literal translation from the Danish, den gamle dage, by which the present-day residents of Albaek refer to the previous way of life which they remember or an earlier time about which they have heard from their elders. Therefore, "the old days" in this study refers to a time approximately between 1850 and 1920.

#### i) The Agricultural Milieu

Albaek is a rural agricultural village. Daily life now, as for centuries past, centres around farming activity chiefly, together with supporting economic and community activities. (See Photo Nos. 18; 19; 21; 22; 25-28: people of the community.) Today, however, there is another economic factor--that section of the population which leaves the village daily or weekly for employment in urban areas.

On an ordinary work day the narrow road through Albaek is very early alive with small cars hurrying to Randers, some six kilometers away. An early bus joins the traffic to town, having come from farther

along, travelling through a number of villages on its route. Most workers start early, be they factory help, office help, tradesmen, or professionals. By 8.30 a.m. the village is quiet for awhile. Farm people and the retired are having breakfast: rye bread, French bread, cheese, honey or homemade marmalade, and an abundance of aromatic, filtered coffee.

In the thatch-roofed cottage of a retired farm couple, the morning news and weather are heard on the radio and then it is turned off, breakfast cleared away, and another pleasantly busy day begun. Through the open, casement windows a soft September breeze carries sounds of farm machinery moving along the road. Farmer Olsen is driving his tractor up to the high fields to prepare for a day's work. His high ground lies some distance from the farm buildings in the village. Throughout the day there will be a movement of farm equipment as each farmer tends his various fields.

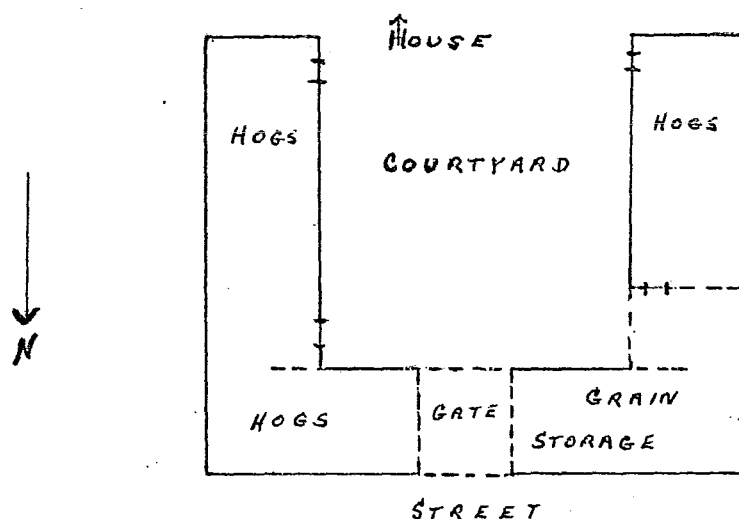
On an early autumn day one might observe a larger piece of machinery--a combine--approaching the village from the direction of Randers. Only one man, the driver, is with it, and it is turning into the small lane beside the Jensens' cottage. Søren comes out from the gård to meet it. The combine and driver, hired to harvest the grain on the Jensen farm, has come from Dronningborg. It will complete the harvest on this farm in a few days, if good weather holds, and then move on to another farm. Most farmers in Albaek now own a small combine and no longer need to rent one, but machinery stations which rent machinery or which are co-operatively owned by a group of farmers are common in Denmark.

Beyond the garden behind the Jensens' cottage stretch the long,

flat fields which lie south of the village, toward the fjord. Some of these fields belong to the Jensen farm. Before the building of the drainage system and pumping station this lowland was too wet to be used for anything but pasture. The fields where the Jensen farm and cottage now lie were the village common pasture (faelleden) in the old days. Now many farmers still use their lowland for pasture, but grain can also be grown on it. Søren, however, no longer has cattle, but raises pigs only. He therefore grows grain on the whole farm.

The fall weather has been dry and pleasantly warm--ideal for harvest. Here and there one can see smoke rising from fields as the straw and stubble is being burned off. More hands are needed to keep the fire under control, so when Søren is ready to burn the straw, his wife, Irene, and perhaps one or two other people will help with the burn-off. Sometimes the straw is kept and stored for the animals' use, but there has been such an abundance of it that this year only what is needed for the year will be kept and the rest burned.

The grain is stored in one section of the barns, which, on the Jensen farm, consist of three blocks joined together in this pattern:





Besides grain, some farmers grow a sugar beet crop which is used for animal feed (Photo No. 15). Although beets for the sugar industry are grown in parts of Denmark, this is not part of the economy in the village of Albaek; here, the farm economy is based on milk and butter production, plus beef and pork.

The customary footpath from the back door of the senior Jensens' cottage to the gård leads through the passageway in the west block of barns. To the left is a mound of grain in a huge bin. To the right is a dividing wall, through which a door opens into one section of pig pens, housing the youngest of the creatures. "These are all the grandchildren," Irene jokingly explains. The older generations of hogs were penned in the east block and one section of the north block.

Walking through the passageway, which is large enough for farm machinery to be driven through, one has a sense of spaciousness. When not in use, the tractor is usually parked to one side in this covered driveway. Usually each doorway is left open. Then grain, while under cover, is open to the air.

Søren does most of the farm work himself, with some assistance from the son of a neighbour who is not a farmer. The young lad, about twelve years of age, is fond of machinery and wants to help on the farm. Søren's own son sixteen years of age, does not like farming at all and is usually not working at it, being away at school or other activity. Nor does the nineteen-year-old daughter, who attends school away from Albaek, do the farm work. It is very doubtful if Søren's son will take over the family farm. This, then, is chiefly a one-man operation with some extra

occasional help and a limited amount of help from the farmer's wife.

Also on the south side of the street, the Eriksen farm is built on the familiar four-block plan, with low, flat fields reaching toward the fjord and high fields placed elsewhere. Mixed farming is still practiced on this farm. Dairy cattle, combined with beef production, hogs, and poultry are included in the farm's operation. This represents a less specialized form of farming which is typical of the stable farm economy existing since the important changes in method which took place about 1870. Specialization in one product (e.g. hogs) is a more recent trend. Of the twelve gårde in Albaek which have in excess of 50 acres, only nine are still engaged in mixed farming which includes dairy farming. It is predicted that two of them will soon be abandoning the dairy and beef production, which is too much work for the amount of profit. A typical mixed farm keeps about 25 milking cows, and can sell, as well, about 25 cattle per year. Young male calves are sold for beef, as are some of the young cows after giving birth to their first calf. Old cows are sold for meat too, but it is a poor quality beef. About 80 to 100 pigs might be kept, with the annual sales numbering about 180.

Often, in mixed farming, the poultry section is of secondary importance. There are no major poultry operations in Albaek. Rather, the farms are of a mixed type, or specialized in hog-raising. On the Eriksen farm, the production of poultry and eggs is less important than the dairy, beef, and hog production.

All the labour is done by three family members in this case, with Kai and his young teenage son carrying the main work load. Signe,

in addition to all the household work, looks after the hens. The job of washing milk cans was also hers until recently when a change to the tank-truck system of milk transportation was made.

In this family the young son likes farming and is very good at it. He will probably carry on the family tradition. In Albaek village, family tradition and attachment to land has a lengthy history which forms an important part of the social system of the village, a theme which is expanded in the following sections of this chapter.

#### ii) Property and Inheritance

Attachment to land and mutual dependence within the family are two closely related social phenomena. Especially with farm families, where one member of the younger generation will have the opportunity to take over the family farm, is attachment and interdependence likely to be strong between the retiring older generation and the incumbent farm owner. Formerly, this was evident in that a special contract for aftaegt was agreed upon between the retiring farm couple and the young farmer. Aftaegt is board and lodging provided for the old couple, together with some money for spending; on the death of one of them, the payment would be reduced. The agreement normally stated that the old couple would have a good room in the farm house, and would be well provided for. It also stated that each one, after death, would have a suitable burial in the district in which they lived. Also, if the farm should be sold by the new, young owner, the buyer should keep the old couple. The old couple might choose to be moved to another house, and would be kept there on the same terms and conditions by the young

owner, or new buyer. If they were forced to move by reason of a sale of the farm, they could expect to receive payment for the trouble of moving. A skøde (deed of conveyance) was included in the transaction.

As in the past, farms today are not often sold out of the family. From the beginning of the matrikel record in 1787, there are but few instances of change of farm ownership to a totally different family. In some cases the record shows change from direct inheritance by a lineal relative to ownership by a collateral relative. In the old days, as at present, it was preferable to find a collateral relative to carry on than to make a sale to a stranger. In this way, traditional ties of kinship and ownership remain strong. Such kinship links would also facilitate the keeping of old folk by aftaegt in the old days, for if a niece or nephew were to take over the farm, the older aunt and uncle would probably remain with them, whereas they might not feel comfortable with total strangers.

The system of aftaegt continued until 1933 when social reforms created the "people's pension" by which every person of retirement age receives money from the State and the Parish. Thus, aftaegt has continued until modern times.

The system of aftaegt, then, can be seen as concrete evidence of attachment to land and family dependence. Since the discontinuance of the system, however, attachment and dependence appear to have continued at least to a considerable extent, although it could be argued that greater social benefits, specifically in the form of old age pension, would act to reduce dependency.

Evidence of attachment and dependence is observable in the basic pattern of living of both the present day and aftaegt times, however. In both cases the retiring farmer and his wife must have living quarters and the necessities of life. A good example may be seen in the Søndergaard family. When Ole Søndergaard took over the farm from his father in 1924, he was able to raise enough money to buy a house in the village for his parents who were retiring from the farm unusually early because of his father's illness. His father was only 56 then; normal retirement age from a farm would be at least ten years later. In addition to buying the small house, Ole obtained a loan on the farm and paid his father a lump sum amounting to about \$7,000. There was also a specific contract between the retiring parents and the son, Ole, that certain items from the farm should be contributed to the parents by the son. In this case, it also happened that Ole's paternal grandmother, aged 92, was still living at the time he obtained the farm. She had been kept on the farm by Ole's parents, under the contract by which they had been bound, and she chose to remain in the farm house when Ole took the farm over, as she had the right to do.

When Ole reached age 54, he and his wife also retired from the farm, for reasons of his poor health, and their son, Axel, obtained the farm without aftaegt contract, which by that time was no longer used (1953). For the first ten years of farm operation, Axel was a leaseholder, paying rent to the retired parents every three months; during this time he also gave provisions from the farm to the parents. When Axel bought the farm, however, he paid a cash sum to the parents for it and provisions were no longer given. When Ole and his wife retired from the farm, they

built a new house on property near the farm buildings, thus remaining close to the farm operation.

Except for the fact that the two generations of farmers in this example retired at an earlier age than normally, this is a typical example of the flow of farm ownership from one generation to the next and the pattern of living for the retired and oncoming generations. When the younger generation takes command of the farm operation, the young man and wife (and perhaps children by then) move into the farm house itself, if they were not already in it, while the retiring couple occupy a new space either in the big farm house or in a separate house nearby.

In the case of farm family Madsen, it happened that a single-block smallholding adjacent to the farm came into the possession of the gårdmand in settlement of an unpaid debt. Originally (c. 1858) the smallholding had been built for a young bride and groom, the woman being the daughter of a gårdmand at another location in the village. After it came into the possession of the adjoining Madsen farm, it became useful as a cottage for the retiring couple or a young couple on their marriage before their advance to the big farm house. For example, about 20 years ago, young Carl Madsen married; his parents were still young enough to carry on the farm operation, and it had already been decided that Carl and his wife would eventually obtain and operate the farm. The young couple, then, lived in the cottage, but Carl's grandfather, who had moved into the cottage on his retirement from the farm, was still alive and by contract between him and Carl's father, the old man was allowed to continue to live in the cottage with the young couple, until his

death. When Carl's father was ready to retire, Carl and his wife and children moved into the big farm house and the retiring parents moved into the cottage.

It is of importance to note that the farms referred to in this description of ownership are the gård size of holding, where the house is one large block of the four-square plan (or perhaps a three-block plan), and where the landholding is large enough to support an extended family. The smallholdings (husmandstede) are less likely to show a long history of ownership by one family, and there are two reasons for this. First, the husmandstede as independent units of ownership came into existence later than the gårde. There were very few purchased before about 1900. Until the beginning of land reforms in 1787, most gårdmaend had operated as tenants of the larger estates. With the advent of ownership by the gårdmaend their individual farms became registered accordingly, so that from the year 1787 there is a written record of ownership in each district. The land reforms which resulted in individual ownership and release from adscription necessitated certain other changes (see history); among them was the need for new labour on what remained of the large estates. For this purpose, small landholdings for husmaend were allotted, in exchange for which the husmaend worked as day labourers on the estates. There has, therefore, not been so great a time period of ownership for husmandstede as there has for gårde.

Secondly, the husmandsted was and is small compared to the gård. The house usually is not large enough to hold an extended family, nor is the landholding of sufficient size to support one. Consequently, when the children of a husmand become of age, they are likely to seek

a living independently, and in order to do so often must move away from the village itself. Retired husmaend tend to stay in the little home until death or until advancing age or illness necessitates a removal to an institution. When the old couple, or the last survivor, dies or leaves the home, it passes in succession to the offspring, if any, who may then either occupy it or sell it. If all offspring have become established elsewhere, the parental property would probably be sold.

The laws of inheritance are conducive to keeping an estate (and therefore property) within a family. To cite the legislation of 1963, if a man dies, his widow inherits the whole estate. If his wife has not survived him, the children share the estate; this also applies after their widowed mother's death. If there is no spouse surviving and no children, the estate passes to the deceased's parents, brothers, sisters, and children of brothers and sisters; if there are no relatives in this second category, it passes to those of the third category--grandparents or children of grandparents (uncles and aunts). This, however, is the end of the line of succession; an estate does not pass to cousins or to stepchildren, unless there is a will naming them as beneficiaries.

The widow and children are known as the compulsory heirs, which is to say that by law the estate cannot be willed completely to others; at least one-half of the total must pass to the widow and eventually to the children. Children cannot be completely disinherited, but such an inheritance may be reduced by a will, of the parent should so desire. If a married woman is widowed, she has a right to remain in unchanged living conditions if she chooses to do so. If she remarries, the children's share of the estate then passes to them.



There is, obviously, a wide range of relatives who might inherit the estate; only if there are no surviving relatives in categories 1, 2 or 3, and if there is no will, does the inheritance pass to the State. Normally there is someone who qualifies as a beneficiary, and among the residents of Albaek the opinion was expressed that wills are unnecessary and uncommon.

Data for other types of single-family dwellings is lacking, but the same law applies to all, and presumably dispersal of such families and disposition of such property would be much the same as for husmandstede.

It is in the larger farm holdings, the gårde, that the strongest pattern of succession is obvious. As described above, the farm is usually acquired by a younger family member when the gårdmand and his wife are ready to retire. Legal arrangements regarding the farm property are made at such time, so that only the remaining personal estate would be left for disposition on the death of the last survivor of the older farm couple.

A survey of the land register since 1787<sup>9</sup> for seven of the twelve larger gårde in Albaek shows that three gårde have been owned by one family only in that time period, two gårde have been passed to a related family, and two have been sold to another family. In those of the farms which have at some time been sold to an entirely different family, the same persistent pattern of family ownership occurs before and after such

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<sup>9</sup>The first official land registration, together with a population census (Folketaelling), took place in the year 1787; but in Albaek Sogn, which was in a district of Kongens ejendom (Crown land) since the Reformation, farm land purchases began in the 1760's.

sale; in other words, farms are seldom sold out of the family, but when they are the new family acquiring the property begins a new line of lengthy succession if at all possible.

The law also permits female succession and ownership of property, again strengthening family ownership. For example, on Matrikel No. 5, the first registered owner was a woman; then a son of her second marriage succeeded, although she had five children from her first marriage as well; succession proceeded by sons for two more generations, but the next owner (and the one currently in possession) is a niece of the last male owner. The niece has married, so that the registered name of the property owner is now that of her husband, thus changing the family name on record. The important point here is that there is a link with the original family of ownership by way of female succession.

On Matrikel No. 9, there were three generations of male ownership on the register before the property passed to a daughter when there was no son to take possession. In the following generation a daughter again took possession, although there was a son of that marriage. The following two generations were successions of sons again.

Another example of female ownership appears on No. 12 where there were three generations of males in succession; then, on the death of the third male, his wife came into possession of the property and held it until a son from her second marriage succeeded. Two more generations of sons have followed him.

As stated earlier, the reform laws of 1904 allowed single females to purchase farms and smallholdings if they wished to do so.

Statistics of 1930 indicated that there were nearly 10,000 independent women farmers in Denmark--about 5% of the total farmers at that time (Thrane, 1950:2). Female ownership, then, has not been entirely by inheritance. It is not, in either situation, uncommon for an unmarried woman to carry on the farm operation, but usually she has the help of a man, or several hired people, to perform the heavy work. Often a relative--brother, cousin, uncle, etc.--will work the farm and perhaps live in the farm house as well. The record shows instances where a sale of the farm might eventually be made to such a male relative. In other cases, a hired man might be obtained, either locally or from another area, and sometimes marriage between the hired man and the female owner eventually occurs. So long as the female owner remains unmarried, the title to the property is registered in her name; when she marries (and this is the case with any married couple who own a farm) the deed is in the name of the man only. This apparently is practised as a matter of custom rather than as a requirement of law.

Current land policy and agricultural legislation promote the system of family farm ownership which has long been thought desirable in the interest of the country's economy. At the same time, legislation, particularly since 1919, has allowed some redistribution of land, especially at the smallholding level, in order to establish holdings of adequate size for an independent family operation, and to improve living conditions. Laws and regulations are designed to control the size of holdings, the number of farms which may be held by one person, when holdings may be rented or run by a manager, as well as the conditions of management. The manner of farming is also governed by law, and there

is a restriction against leaving land to lie unused or the neglect of land or any part of it. Furthermore, regulations govern the sale of land for building lots, and where it is possible to sell for such purpose, the size and number of lots is prescribed and the building must be approved. Farming as an occupation is open to anyone; but under a carefully regulated system, within which a high value is placed on land ownership, not many of the uninitiated find their way into it. This situation may, of course, change in modern times as few of the present young generation express an interest in farming. Also, it is now increasingly possible to farm larger holdings under modern technology, and recent legislation has permitted amalgamation within carefully prescribed limits.

As to values and attitudes at a personal level, there appears to be a very real attachment to the land by way of property ownership, and this is particularly marked in gård ownership. As one retired gårdmand in Albaek put it, "It is a matter of 'feeling' in regard to farm ownership. It is handed to a son or daughter in order to keep it in the family, because the farmer feels the farm is part of himself. It is not only a matter of economics." Further, to quote Kristiansen:

It was . . . possible to go on living, generation after generation, on the same plot of land, with the result that the idea of the ancestral farm is deeply anchored in the minds of Danish farmers (1950: 21).

Then, too, when residents of Albaek were asked about the value of their farm property on the real estate market today, they usually responded with uncertainty, answered hesitantly as to price, and then added, "But they are not usually sold!" Land is tantamount to family, represented

by the owner at any given time; and if that successor is a female with the registration appearing in her husband's name, the farm is still referred to as hers: "Here is Esther's farm."

### iii) Kinship

Strong networks of kinship exist within the village Albaek, extend throughout the parish (Vestrup, Albaek, Østrup), and reach neighbouring parishes as well. The boundaries of a kinship net are not, of course, definable by a rigid geographical area; any family might have relatives in other places, near or far. The above statement simply means that a large number of residents in these areas have relatives in other households in the area.

The concept of plurality in networks is stated here because probably more than one single net would be definable if sufficient data were obtained. It is not the purpose of this study to define separable networks of kinship, however. Rather, data has been obtained to a limited extent to support the view that kinship is one among several factors which strengthen a set of values upon which certain behaviour is based.

Historical generality and specific evidence indicate that in the old days the kinship networks may have been stronger than in the present day, in the sense that given a smaller population and less wide-ranging mobility, there was a greater concentration of people who were related to one another. In recent years, population movements and increase in numbers have brought new people into the old community of Albaek, people who are totally unrelated to any of the families of long standing.

Some examples taken from the Folketaelling of 1787 and the ensuing census years will illustrate the close kinship ties of the old days, and how such ties continue at the present time. In the group of seven gårde selected for statistical data for this study, the information recorded indicates only some of those relationships by way of marriage or new ownership to persons from other gårde; comprehensive data would undoubtedly indicate more relationships.

Using the Matrikel (land register) number as a means of identification, the following links are observed in the three gårde having the greatest number of connections:

<u>Gård No.</u>		<u>Linked with</u> <u>Gård Nos.</u>
4	)	9 (2 links)
	)	3 (2 links)
	)	14
	)	4-b
12	)	10
	)	14
	)	1
13	)	5
	)	8
	)	9

In addition, a number of marriages have been noted between some offspring of the gårdmaend and persons of nearby villages, particularly Vestrup and Støvring, which have resulted in a move to the other village.

Among those named as farm owners and spouse, in the seven sample gårde, from a total of 85 persons in the period 1787 to 1972, the following distribution as to birth place occurs:

Place of Birth

<u>Albaek Landsby</u>	<u>Albaek Sogn</u>	<u>Sogne Nearby</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Total</u>
49	6	15	15	85

Some of those appearing in the category "Other" appear early in the record with no place of birth stated. It is likely that many of these were also born in Albaek or nearby.

Current statistical data obtained in 1972 for this study also indicate close network ties for a significant proportion of the village population. The 178 persons listed in the 55 questionnaire sets which were returned represent 71% of the village population of 236. The 55 questionnaire sets represent 70.5% of the total number of households in the village. From this group the following data emerged:

<u>Age</u>	<u>No. of Persons</u>	<u>Place of Birth</u>
20 years or over )	25	Albaek <u>Landsby</u>
)	2	Albaek <u>Sogn</u>
Under 20 years	<u>39</u>	Albaek <u>Landsby</u>
	<u>66</u>	

The total number of 66 is 37% of the persons reported in the questionnaire.

From a total survey of the 74 households in the village, data indicates the following, where units are counted as households:

	<u>Category</u>	<u>No. of Households</u>
Where all adults in the household fit the category )	1) No kin in Albaek now or previously	30
)	2) Moved to Albaek (present adult generation)	30
)		
Where one or more adults in household fit the category )	1) Kin in Albaek now	35
)	2) Kin in Albaek now or previously	44
)		

The first and last figures, totalling 74, represent the total number of households. Between the first two figures (each of which is 30) there is a very close correlation.

From the 55 returned questionnaire sets, 20 households indicated that they have relatives in one or more of the following neighbouring parishes:

<u>Sogn</u>	<u>No. of Households in that Sogn</u>
Harridslev	11
Støvring	7
Gimming	5
Randers (including Dronningborg and Tjaerby)	6

In addition, there were 6 households of relatives named in other villages of Albaek Sogn, and 16 households which named relatives in other nearby areas.



From the questionnaire survey, there were 34 answers to the question, "Why did you choose Albaek as a place in which to live?" The following distribution appears:

<u>Reason</u>	<u>No. of Persons</u>	
Birthplace	5	16
Inherited farm of birthplace	9	
Inherited farm, but came from another location	2	
Married in	12	
Bought a farm	2	17
Bought a house and/or liked Albaek and the natural surroundings	15	
Moved in because of employment	7	

The foregoing distributions give at least a general indication of the strength of kinship connections in the village and surrounding area, and of the apparent value placed on living at the place of one's birth as well as of acquiring land by inheritance. Also, there is an indication of migration into the village for the purpose of buying a home; a very small percentage in this group purchased a farm. There is in the sample group an almost equal distribution between newcomers by migration and those with established birthright.





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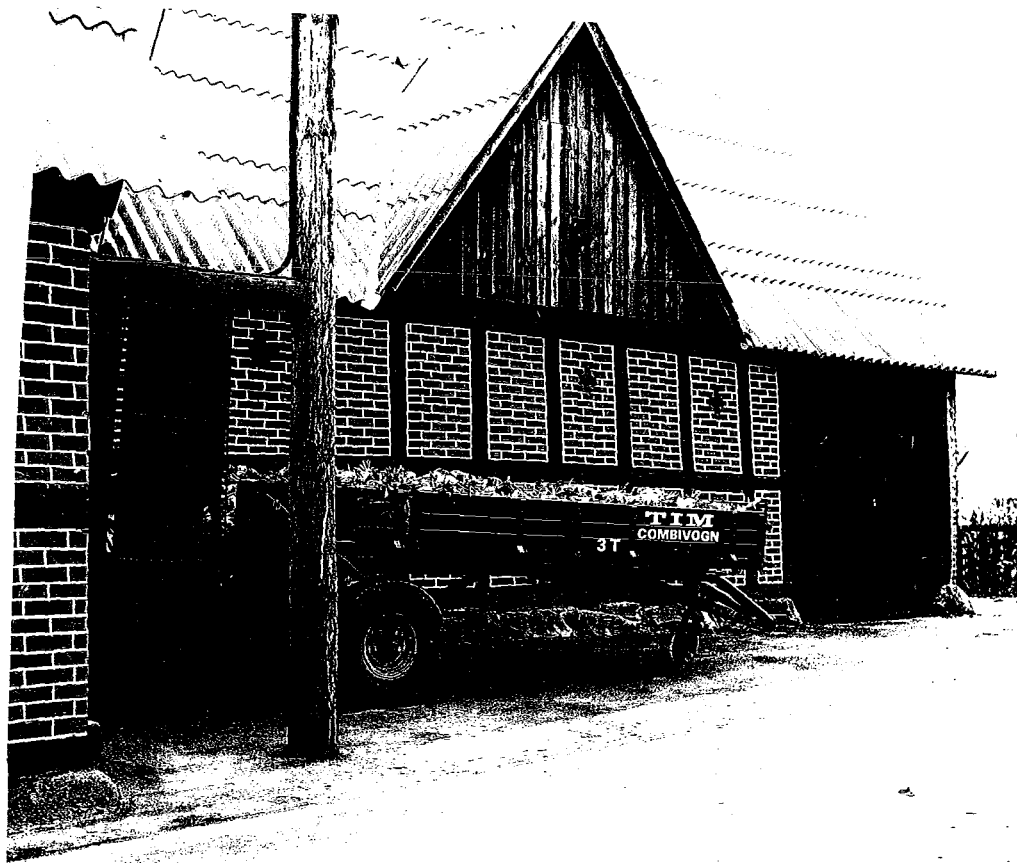


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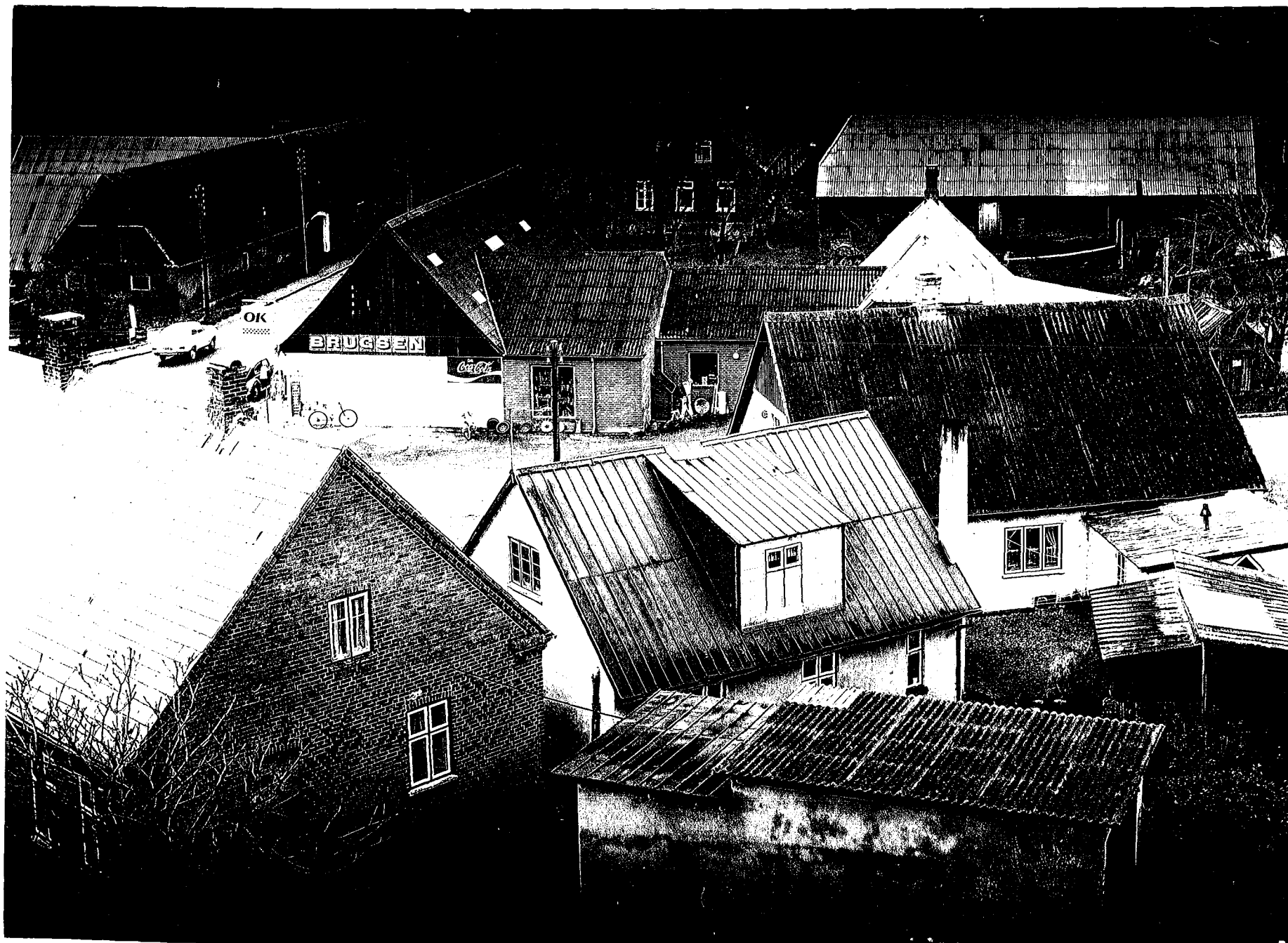


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#### iv) The Socialization Process

Marie Madsen (69 years of age) explained that when she was a child, she and her sisters and brothers were well behaved. "Father was not strict, but when he told us to do something, we would do it, because if we didn't he would be angry. He never got angry, because we always did what was expected!"

Carl Madsen (70 years of age) did not often disobey, according to his memory of his childhood and youth. He remembers once being slapped on the head by his father because he would not sit nicely at the table, and sometimes his mother slapped him if he was naughty. He believed that children had more respect for their parents in the old days than do children in modern times.

Carl and Marie seldom had to spank their two boys, who are middle-aged men now. The boys knew what they were allowed to do and what was forbidden. Two episodes of misbehaviour by the older boy were told: When he was about 12 or 13 years old, he tried some chewing tobacco, and as punishment was made to thoroughly scrub his mouth; then, when he had come home too late three times in a row, he was shaken and slapped a little. The more usual punishment, or threat, when the boys were small, was a small dark room where they were put if they were too bad.

Most of the people of middle age or older who were asked about discipline in their childhood said that they were treated well by their parents. There seems to be a general opinion, however, that in the old days father was a more authoritarian figure than now, in that father's word was law. If a child asked "Why?", the answer was, "Because I said so."

Two young women, about 20 years of age, explained, "Today it is less authoritarian; if parents correct the children, they must also explain why."

Invariably people thought themselves to be well behaved as children. Tove explained: "There was always a girl [on the farm] to look after the children when they were small; when they were older, they did not say 'No'."

Bent Nielsen (77 years of age) does not recall being punished for anything by his parents. He attributes his good behaviour to the attention which his father gave him and to the books which his father bought for him to read so that Bent would stay home instead of going into town (Randers) to meet other people and acquire bad habits. He believes that it was unusual for parents to inflict physical punishment on their children, even in the old days; but he remembers that school teachers had a stick. On Bent's first day in school (he was 6 years old) the teacher hit him. Bent does not say why, but recalls that many years later, when Bent was a young man, the same teacher apologized for the incident and gave him a present. Bent did not indicate any feelings of resentment toward the teacher or of injustice in being wrongfully punished, but said of him, "He was a smart man."

Bent Nielsen is himself a kind-natured man and speaks no evil of anyone. His view toward punishment seems to be that it is automatically received as the result of misbehaviour--as, for example, on the day of confirmation when he and other boys tried smoking some long-stemmed pipes and he became sick. Punishment ought not to be inflicted by someone

else. Bent's philosophy was expressed in the raising of his and Inge's children, and later in raising their grandson who came to live with them at the age of three. The boy, Palle, was no trouble to his grandparents. Palle, now a young man, believes that he was a happy boy and no trouble because his grandparents' home was a harmonious one; good behaviour in children is a result of a happy home. He has compared his life with the lives of some friends who have come from a home where there was fighting.

There appears to be a basic belief in bringing children up by setting a good example rather than by making demands and threats and following through with physical punishment. Many people, when asked, expressed the belief; many practise it, perhaps a few do not. This basic philosophy seems to have remained largely unchanged from the old days to the modern; what has changed is the scope of awareness. By way of mass media, children are now exposed to more information at an earlier age;<sup>10</sup> by an extension of the system of education, children are in school for a minimum of nine years instead of the former seven, and more people continue on to higher education. There is indeed now a need to explain "why", rather than to state a simple "because I said so."

Many concrete examples of teaching by example and of gentle persuasion were observed during the field study; seldom, if ever, was an adult observed displaying anger or great impatience with a child of any

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<sup>10</sup> I observed an entire family, including young children, watching a television program on sex education which explained and demonstrated the use of contraceptives.

age. If a child had ideas contrary to the wishes of a parent, the child would usually be led by the hand to the appointed place and shown what to do; when a child did the "right" thing, he was met with warm approval. In the børnehave, for example, this pattern of adult guidance was observed in the daily care of children between two and six years of age. Needless to say, the two adults were very busy managing about 20 children. If an argument occurred on the playground, an adult went to the scene and brought about a reasonable compromise; however, no intense fighting was observed. Inside, at snack time or work time, each child had learned to put things away in proper places when finished. One very young fellow did not know what to do with a bit of scrap; he was led to the waste can and shown how to dispose of it. Another small fellow, feeling insecure, did not want to sit with the children at song time; he was allowed to sit with one of the adults and be hugged by her.

Education in the old days was not so emphasized as today, but it did begin in Denmark very early (1730) for some people; it became generalized by 1814. Some of the living older generation recall that they went to school only when they could take time from farm duties; but Signe Eriksen (middle aged) had to attend school every day, for attendance was enforced by that time.

In the beginning, and until modern times, the school system was more closely connected to the church. Teacher and pastor worked together for the good of the community. The pastor had the responsibility of giving religious instruction in the schools; now he may do so, if requested; but usually he is not requested. Formerly, the School Commission was

chaired by the parish pastor; now it is completely separate from the church. The pastor of Albaek Sogn, who lives in Harridslev, does hold a special Christmas service in the school, and he finds it encouraging that some of the children are curious enough to visit the church afterward and to ask questions about it.

Education in the present day has become necessary, of course. By the time a boy or girl reaches 16 years of age, he or she must decide whether to continue at school, and if continuing, which kind of education to pursue if it is to be for a career; otherwise, one might attend an ungdoms skole or a folkehøjskole, among other possibilities, as a general training ground for an expanded view of life rather than to obtain a specific certificate or degree. For those in technology and trades, there is an apprenticeship system--three years of training, partly on the job and partly in class, with a low rate of pay.

Most people expressed the opinion that they will agree with whatever their children or young people want to do in the working world. There is still the hope, among farm owners, that one of their offspring will carry on the family farm; but even there, parents want only contentment for their children and will not force them to farm if they do not want to. Bent Nielsen believes that adulthood is not a question of age, but a matter of taking the responsibility for making decisions. Among the first to be made is the decision about education. During the years of education, if that is the chosen path, the parents might help by letting him live at home. Once a young man leaves school, he should be able to make his own decisions.



### v) Family, Friends, and Neighbours

The importance of kinship ties, including the inheritance of valued property, has been referred to. Another important function of the family network is the provision of moral support and close companionship for its members. This is particularly developed within the immediate family household, and may extend to a lesser degree to other kin in close proximity. Friends, too, are often good companions; this is especially so among the young, unmarried people of about 10 to 20 years of age, when they have greater mobility without close parental control. With married adults, however, life is likely to centre around the home, and relationship with friends often becomes more formal as it is with neighbours.

Such formal relationships seem to be a function of a polite respect for privacy. One does not drop in on a neighbour, usually, nor on other friends or distant relatives. Visiting is done by invitation only, and a prescribed form of behaviour which automatically follows warrants description: People are invited either for a specific meal or for coffee at a definite time. Handshakes accompany greetings on arrival; if it is a first visit to the household for a guest, the guest will most certainly bring flowers. Guests leave the table, after eating and drinking, with the appropriate phrase, "Tak for kaffe" or "Tak for mad". (Thank you for coffee, or Thank you for the food.) The host or hostess always wishes them well, as they leave the table, with "Velbekomme". (May it do you well.) Guests always depart after an appropriate length of time, and with the farewell handshake say, "Tak for iaften" or "Tak for

idag." (Thanks for the evening, or thanks for today.) Perhaps the most important part of the ritual of visiting is the required "Tak for sidst" (Thank you for the last time) which a guest must say to the host and/or hostess when they are next seen or spoken to by telephone. In fact, the host or hostess will undoubtedly thank the guests or guest in the same way. They are, in effect, thanking each other for friendliness and companionship on the previous encounter. An example of observed behaviour will illustrate the importance of this practice. One day, when Irene and Margrethe were talking briefly together, after sometime Irene suddenly gasped, "Tak for sidst!" and laughingly hid her face because she had almost forgotten it. One is considered rude to forget good manners.

At home, too, one always says the appropriate phrase when leaving the table; but home, of course, is not the place for extreme formality. There appears to be no very great change in attachment to home and family from the old days to modern times--merely a shuffling of kinds of activity resulting from technological change. In the old days, as well as now, some free time was spent out of the home as well as within it. In both time periods the working day followed the rhythm of the times. In small houses, where members of the family would probably go out to work at a job, in the old days the job might be working on a gård, working as a tree gardener, or working on the roads; the blacksmith, shoemaker and storekeeper would work at home; and other tradesmen and professional people would go where necessary to carry on their work. The most obvious change in this pattern is in the work on the gårde; now, work on the farms is carried out only by the family, in most cases.

In the old days, the large residence blocks of the gårde housed a large number of people: the family which often was larger than now, and several hired workers. Among the workers were one or two hired men, often a hired boy, and one or two hired girls. The number of children in the family might be five or six, compared with from one to three in the present day. Also in the old days, the family might be an extended one at any given time, with the retired farm couple or either one of them, sometimes with an aunt or uncle or other kinship member. An example is the Søndergaard family. Even as late as 1924, when Ole and Tove married, the 23-year-old bride took over management of the farm household with about 10 persons to feed every day for dinner--fewer for other meals. Besides the young husband and wife, the aged grandmother of the husband was still living in the farm house and was confined to bed; the farm help consisted of two hired men and two girls; added to this number of seven persons was the husband's parents who had retired to another house but who came to the farm each day for dinner; finally, the postman also stopped to have dinner each day at that farm.

Tove relates that she bought 40 lbs. of bread per week; but when her mother-in-law was in charge in earlier days, the bread was baked at home and was the responsibility of the vildest pige (head girl). Two generations ago, the brewing of beer also took place on the farm, from homegrown ingredients. In this busy scene the work was shared by most of the household residents; also Tove's mother-in-law was helpful.

A typical day on the gårde of old times would begin at 7.00 a.m. A young boy, perhaps 11 years of age--either the son of the farmer or a hired boy--whose duty it was to move the cattle between stalls and fields,

took his charges which were tied four together by ropes; a clever boy could move 12 cattle at a time. In the pasture he would tie them, and move them to different locations from time to time. During each day, he moved the cattle four times, because they were brought in for milking three times a day. When school was in session, this chore was carried out before going to school in the morning; then at noon and again in the evening. During summer vacation, the boy might be able to spend much of his day in the fields. One retired gårdmand reminisced about those days long ago when he tended the cattle on his father's farm. He would meet a hired boy from another farm where their fields adjoined. Together they built a small hut in which they could take shelter when it rained; and together they would swim or fish in the fjord while their cattle grazed. Kai Eriksen believes that "the little cowboy" was and is very important to the farmer.

In the old days, boys never milked the cows, and certainly never did the cooking or washed the dishes. Now they may do any of these things, if interested.

Girls, about 10 or 11 years of age, began to help with the milking in the old days; they gradually assumed more responsibility in the total milking operation, including the washing of cans, and helped with the housework too. One elderly lady (86 years of age) tells that she began to milk cows when she was six years old, in response to an older brother's admonition, "You like to drink milk; so you must do the milking." When she was older, she drove the horses in the barn at threshing time. (Horse power was used to run the threshing machine.)

At busy times, particularly during harvest, both boys and girls helped in the fields, girls beginning as early as 14 years of age.

The senior citizens of today can recall very little about playtime; they remembered only that they were usually very busy with work. A middle-aged farm wife of today, however, remembers playing (dolls, house, and ball games); her duties about the house and farm started around the time of her confirmation. Her middle-aged husband, however, remembers that he began to work at a very early age--when he started to walk! Then, he claims, he had to watch the younger children.

At mealtime everyone in the household sat at the same table--family members and other workers who lived there; many of the boys or young men who were living in as workers were sons of other farmers, perhaps from some distance away, who had come to stay at the farm for a year to learn the ways of farming at that particular place. This was a kind of farm apprenticeship, and even though the young man could learn much from his own father's farm, it was thought beneficial to see another one too. It was for this reason that the now retired Carl Madsen went to work at a farm in another village only six kilometers away when he was 18 years of age; and Ole S ndergaard, at 22 years of age, went to work for a short time on a farm on Sjaelland, much farther away.

Meals in the old days, and in modern times, were served six times a day, if the mid-morning, mid-afternoon and mid-evening coffee are to be considered as meals. Certainly the coffee service is as regular as any other meal, (coffee as such is not served with dinner or supper), and the food served at it as predictable, if tradition is followed. After the noonday meal, which on the farms is usually dinner,

virtually everyone has a middagsogn (afternoon sleep); in this, too, life has remained unchanged over many generations.

After the evening meal, in the old days, the people of the household would gather together in the living room, the men to talk together and the women to knit or sew. It was not uncommon, in some households, for one (often the mother or father) to read aloud to the whole group. In one household, this gathering took place before the evening milking chores. After the time together, some in the family might have an evening engagement to attend to: the girls might go to the community hall for gymnastics; the boys might play ball; father might have to attend a meeting; mother and father might be invited for coffee at the home of friends; or the whole family might go to the community hall to see a local theatre production or to hear a visiting lecturer. In the old days there was a newspaper, too, but since several farms subscribed to one paper among them, the news might be rather old before being read.

Modern times differ chiefly in that radio, television, and daily newspapers are present in every home and likely to occupy the family's early or later evening hours. Activities in the community hall have almost ceased, but there is a sports club. There are still meetings to attend and occasional visits to be made. In addition, there are night school courses in a wide variety of interests.

Vacations in old days, especially for farm folk, were unheard of. Even now, farmers' vacations are not frequent, if at all. Therefore, many people have not travelled outside Denmark. There were, however, certain times of celebration on the farms or in the whole village. The

most important of these were the harvest celebrations and the family Christmas parties. Both of these events centred upon the gårde level of economy. In addition, celebrations of individual rites of passage, including round birthdays, were and still are important events with but few changes as to form between the old days and modern times. Formerly, a baby was born at home, and residents of the village came, gradually, to welcome the new resident and leave a gift of money. Now this is not done so much. Christenings continue to be an important event with a large party. Confirmation of boys and girls at 12 or 13 years of age is also an important celebration now, as in the old days; entertainment and the giving of gifts for it is similar to that described in Chapter I for a round birthday. Perhaps weddings have changed most of all. In the old days, and even into modern times, musicians led the wedding parade between home and church and hall, the bride and groom riding, usually, in a horse-drawn carriage. Then a two-or-three-day period of feasting and partying began, with førsteskafteren (an older man appointed to be in charge) seeing that things ran smoothly, collecting money from the guests with which to pay the cook and musicians; it was also his honour to give the bride away in the church ceremony, and to have the first dance with her at the party. Now the wedding celebration is for only one day.

Silver and gold wedding anniversaries are of great importance now, as in the past, and fall into a similar pattern as that of the round birthday, with an added gesture of honour bestowed on the couple by the community, or at least the near neighbours, who create a shield

of honour, erect it over the doorway of the couple's house, and decorate around the door with greenery and flowers. On the morning of the celebrated day, a song is sung by the well-wishers outside the door, and they are then invited in for coffee. This is still practiced in Albaek village.

To return to the celebration of festivals on the gårde, the harvest celebrations included a first party (opskye) in each farm house after the grain had been cut, and a larger party in each farm house (and sometimes one for the whole community as well) after the whole harvest was completed (skårgild). The opskye was celebrated in the household by feasting on special food with snaps and beer. The skårgild, if at a farm house, would include friends of the young people, and neighbours; there was feasting in which many kinds of salted meat were sampled, and dancing either in the stor stue (big room) or on the big lawn outdoors. A party for the whole community would be held in the community hall, with feasting and dancing.

The community party is the only part of harvest celebration which remains in modern times, and the opinion of some of the community members is that even it has changed from a pleasant evening of fun to a night of disorderly and rather rowdy behaviour. On the latter point, there are differences of opinion. The individual farm parties have disappeared along with the large household staff of workers. Now the small farm family, or sometimes only two of them, carry the agricultural operation alone with the aid of modern machinery.

The farm Christmas parties were for the family's relatives, who came from near and far on the special day set aside. Each farm held its



party on the same date each year--December 22 for one; December 20 for another; and so on. This activity started before Christmas because there were so many places to visit. No one would dare change the date and intrude on another farm's rightful day. This was functional in that each household probably had to attend more than one farm party during the season, due to overlapping kinship networks.

This was, in effect, the farm people's annual vacation, for no work, except the minimum required in caring for livestock, was done during a period of about two or three weeks. A typical farm party on the farm began about 3.00 p.m. with the serving of coffee. In Denmark, "coffee" means "coffee and cakes". After coffee, the men went to the stalls to inspect and discuss the livestock. Perhaps the events of the previous autumn cattle market held near Randers would be discussed, or the farm's horses might be inspected with a view to the approaching horse market early in the new year. The guests stayed for dinner, and because the stor stue was not heated in winter, two smaller rooms would be used, the men eating in one and the women in the other. During the evening, the men played cards until it was again coffee time.

In addition to the large, traditional family party, some neighbours and friends might be entertained during the Christmas season.

Between the old days and modern times one form of behaviour has changed: Women now smoke and consume alcoholic beverages. As to the behaviour of women in this regard in the old days, two opinions were stated: A retired gårdmand said, "It was not the custom." A young, modern woman remarked, "They were not allowed to!" In Denmark today, women may smoke anything they please--cigarettes, cigars, and pipes.

Such was the pattern of entertainment at festive times in the farm houses. Sometimes there would be a family gathering at other times of the year too, perhaps on a Sunday. Life in the houses of smallholders, however, was much more simple in the old days. Big parties were not part of life there, because, first, the houses were too small to hold many people, and secondly, the economic status of the smallholder did not permit extensive entertainment.

So it was in the old days. Then, following the First World War, the pattern began to change, such that between c. 1914 and 1940 the great farm parties became only two or three evenings of coffee parties offered by each farm. The economic situation in general was more difficult at that time; rations during wartime, and taxation of alcoholic beverages after the First World War made it difficult to entertain; but during this period, the Christmas coffee parties were just as obligatory and reciprocal as the larger parties had been.

The regular Christmas Eve celebration (juleaften) and the form of Christmas lunch (julefrokost) are much the same now as in the old days, except that gift-giving is now commercialized, and at least in some families, some kinds of food might be purchased rather than homemade. In the old days, there were not many gifts, but there were many people visiting, in contrast to modern times with more gifts and fewer guests.

Christmas 1972 on the Jensen farm was traditional in form. Some days before Christmas one of the hogs from the farm's livestock was slaughtered, from which special meats were prepared which would be used as cold cuts for smørrebrød during the holiday season. In the afternoon of juleaften (December 24) most the family went to the special Christmas

church service, while Irene, the hostess, stayed home to prepare the evening dinner: roast fowl, boiled potatoes and gravy, red cabbage, preserves, and wine. Dessert was the traditional ris a la mande, a creamy rice pudding with almonds, but, as tradition dictates, there must be one whole almond, and he who finds it in his serving wins a prize of candy.

With the drinking of the wine there was the usual skaal. Also, as at any other meal, everywhere in Denmark, the expected manners were practised: One always says "Vaer så god"<sup>11</sup> when passing something to someone; one always responds to a challenge to skaal; and as stated above, at the completion of the meal when leaving the table one says "Tak for mad" (Thanks for the food), while host and hostess say "Velbekomme" (May it do you well).

As always, there was no coffee with dinner, but it followed sometime later with cakes; on juleaften it followed the Christmas tree ritual. In the guest half of the double living room (the stor stue of old days) the spruce tree had been erected in the centre of the room. Its branches were decked with polished, small, red apples, with homemade paper decorations, and with the fireworks known as "sparklers" which might be removed by anyone who cared to light one. The small, white tree candles on the tree branches were lit when everyone gathered together in the room; then all joined hands and walked around the tree, singing the same traditional

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<sup>11</sup>"Vaer så god" means "please", and translates literally as "Be so good"--in other words, "Be so kind as to take this." The phrase is spoken in all other situations when handing something to anyone, or when calling the attention of anyone, as to come to the table.

songs as for centuries past. Finally, gifts were opened and admired. Then, after the tree candles were extinguished, coffee was served around the sofabord in the daily living room, with more candles burning, including what remained of the candles on the advent wreath.

Daylight hours are very short in December. Home, then, is more appreciated than at any other time, and an exceptional effort is made to create a cozy atmosphere; one might even have candles on the days of Christmas at breakfast time, to warm the darkness and enhance the form of greenery and flowers decking the rooms. It is, too, a delight to come home on a darkening afternoon to the smell of good food and the cosiness of warmth and soft light. For the villager in Albaek, for the native of Denmark, home is desirable.

One more part of the Christmas festivities bears mention--the special julefrokost (Christmas lunch), often held on the second day of Christmas (den anden juledag)--December 25. Lunch in Denmark at any time, if it is in any way special, consists of smørrebrød of many kinds, beginning with a variety of sild (herring), meat including one hot dish, and certainly including snaps (aquavits) and beer. Julefrokost when it is held on a farm will be for relatives besides the immediate family, whereas the juleaften dinner will be for a smaller group--the immediate family perhaps. Julefrokost has also become an annual event for employees in any place of business, but there it is held a few days before Christmas. In both situations, julefrokost is a time of great merriment, the serious side of Christmas being reserved for juleaften with church service. At julefrokost there will be eating and skaal and jolly

conversation over many hours. At this time people come together in full enjoyment of one another's company, a Danish tradition--perhaps an expression of Danish identity--which is clearly symbolized by the ritual of skaal. When the lunch begins, the host will initiate the first skaal as a welcome to all present, perhaps with a short speech. Then, everyone will skaal in the proper manner: The glass is raised, one engages the eyes of each person in turn around the table, at the same time nodding the head in greeting; the obvious difficulty of looking at everyone at once is simply handled by nodding to as many as possible before drinking; the small glass should be drained, but no one is condemned for not doing so; one finishes the act, after drinking, by again holding the glass up and nodding to one and all. After the first skaal, anyone at any time is free to skaal a selected person at the table or any who will join in. If only two persons skaal together, it is correct to continue to engage one another's eyes to the end of the process. The meal is unhurried; the atmosphere is relaxed; conversation and enjoyment abound.

The ritual of skaal is a very effective means of communication in a society where dependence on one another and companionship are highly valued.

#### vi) Community

The village, indeed the parish, in the old days was a more tightly-knit community than in modern times. Then, the population was smaller and was composed chiefly of members of one or more of the local kinship networks and people who had married into them; very few people had come from outside the area, and among those who had, the pastor and

the school teacher might be numbered. People in a professional capacity such as this would be accepted as authority figures in the village; but it was rather difficult for newcomers who might move into the community for the purpose of farming or some other occupation. They would always feel like outsiders, since one is identified by the place of birth; only after a couple bore children in the new location would new roots begin to take hold. Evidence of a stronger community bond in the old days also appears in the form of celebration of rites of passage; then, when an announcement of full celebration of round birthday, for example, was made everyone in the village was invited, whereas in the present this is not so.

In the village of modern times, the consistency of the population has changed remarkably by way of migration. For one thing, during a few years following the Second World War, about 80% to 90% of the young people from farms went to the city of Randers or other cities to work, chiefly in factories. Some of this group continued to live in the village and to travel to Randers every day, but others moved away. It was during the same period of time that the greatest advancement in mechanization took place on the farms, so that the former large farm household group was no longer necessary. Then, too, during the past ten years, there has been a new migration back to country villages, as more new houses are being built in planned areas. As a result, in Albaek, the population of the old days, consisting mostly of farm kinfolk and farm labourers, has changed to relatively few people engaged in farming and a much larger proportion going to the city to work. The proportion of people earning a living at other jobs or professions within the village remains much the

same; e.g. formerly there were teacher, blacksmith, store-keeper, carpenter; now there are store-keeper, carpenter, trucker, and day nursery matron. The pastor, previously and now, lives in another village.

In the old days, the operation of the community as a system depended on agriculture, both before and after the reforms of 1787 and ensuing years. Then there was always a leader in the village--sometimes one who just emerged naturally; for example, it might have been the manorial lord or, later, a wealthy farmer, according to one report. Other information indicates that the farmers took turns acting as village leader (Oldermand) for one year at a time. Presumably the latter situation was a later development. In earlier times, it is reported, no one would dare to disagree with the opinion of the "important" (i.e. wealthy) man, but all would act in matters of mutual interest according to what he thought best. Once the leadership became shared, it appears that a more democratic system of decision-making operated.

In the present day, such leadership seems to have disappeared with the occurrence of greater independence on the farm; no longer is there a village bull and common pasture. All that remains to be attended to now is the pumping station and maintenance of the road leading across the fields to it. One man is elected, for a defined term, to be in charge of this.

Socio-economic levels, apparently, were more clearly defined in the old days than at the present time. Retired husmand Arne Poulsen expressed the opinion that his life was economically very difficult during his working years, but now that social benefits have improved, and

particularly the old age pension in his case, life is much better. The gårde of Albaek village were considered quite well off in the old days. Certainly there was a difference in social activity, style of entertaining, and in the celebration of festive occasions between the gårde and the husmandstede. Arne Poulsen remembered that his family could not afford a big celebration for round birthdays, and ordinary birthdays for both children and adults were remembered only with congratulations. At christenings, confirmations and marriages there was only a small celebration with near relatives. This situation stands in contrast to the present one of increased economic welfare. In 1972 Arne's wife, Kirsten, celebrated her 75th birthday with about 35 guests. This was a part celebration, according to a published notice. In this case, there was no follow-up entertaining after the birthday.

In conversations with people from both kinds of background--rich and poor--it is those who were poor who spoke of the differences between the two economic levels, while those who were well off were not aware of the difference. However, if there was, or is, a class consciousness it is a very subtle one, for the preferred value appears to be social equalization.

In the old days the church was a stronger bond of community than now. A higher percentage of the members attended church formerly, and attended more frequently. Then, too, children received religious instruction in the school system by the pastor, and the teacher was required to assist the pastor in the Sunday church service. Now, the two institutions have separated; and now, although 97% of the population of the country belongs to the State church, only about 5% of the



population of the local community is found in attendance at a regular Sunday service. Twice a year, however, at Easter and Christmas, the church is filled. One indication of changing times and dropping church attendance is the employment of fewer people as praeste (pastors), and the amalgamation of several single parishes under one vicarage. The pastor of the area in which Albaek lies administers to three churches and a kloster (cloister), as well as doing hospital service duty. He regrets that now the population in his total area is so large that he cannot know everyone personally; he thinks this is regrettable because the parish pastor is often the only person who can listen when people need to talk to someone, and now the pastor sometimes does not have time.

The Lutheran church practices confirmation of boys and girls at the age of 12 or 13. Because several months of training is required of the confirmands prior to their confirmation, the young people are in close contact with the church during this period of their lives. The pastor in Albaek Sogn thinks this is a very important part of his work.

There are two other branches of the Danish Lutheran Church--one based on Grundtvig's philosophy, and an evangelical group which is strong in the western part of Jutland; in certain areas, the latter group might have a definite influence in community life. However, on the whole, the main branch of the Danish Lutheran Church is no longer a strong bond in the local community life. This appears to be the situation in the subject village, with the exception of small groups of confirmands which come together each year, and with one further exception --that of its function in the final right of passage.

In Albaek, the death of a community member tends to bring the population together as they pay their final respects to the deceased and offer condolence to the family. The church bell is rung to announce a death, and again when the coffin is lowered at the funeral. The church is likely to be filled with people at the funeral. If one of the family is able to speak, he will thank the people for coming, and may invite them home for coffee; if no one from the family can speak, the school teacher will do it for them. By custom, there is a list posted up in Brugsen (the store), on which members of the community write their names and an amount of money each will donate to the bereaved family. The total collection will be given to the family for whatever use they see fit. This is an old custom which is still alive.

Forsamlingshuset (the community hall) was a more active place in the old days than at present. Then there were many activities in which many members of the community participated. Now, as well as previously, it may be used for private parties, but for the whole community the annual activities have been reduced to fastelavn (Shrovetide), the harvest ball, and juletraefest (Christmas party). These three celebrations have continued from many years back, with only minor changes in form. As is the case with the traditional celebrations of the rites of passage (especially the round birthdays, christenings, confirmations, and silver and gold wedding anniversaries), the basic elements of the festival celebrations have remained.

The community hall contains symbols of community life, however. The old drum, by which a caller in the village would announce a joint

meeting of the farmers in the old days, has been preserved and displayed in the hall. Furthermore, the special shields made for each couple who have celebrated silver and gold wedding anniversaries have been preserved and hung around the walls of the main gathering room in the hall. The collection continues to grow in modern times.

There is a certain group sentiment alive in relation to Albaek village. Most people live there because they want to. Certainly this was clearly expressed in answers from the 55 questionnaire sets: for example, "The best little place in the world!" "A beautiful village!" "The best village!" "A very good, nice little village, where all people are kind to each other." and simply, "Good!" These were among the many phrases given by adults in answer to the question, "What do you think about Albaek?"

An opinion was not taken among children, but a young woman, 19 years of age, could not imagine any place better in which to live.

People do not criticize one another, but rather speak well of one another, if anything of this nature is spoken at all. In conversation about today's younger generation in general, however, Arne Poulsen (retired) expressed the opinion that today's young people are treated too well. "Good hard work would change them. They have too much education, and because they do not do enough physical work, they have become lazy." He continued, "It is good for children to start work early in the morning and early in life, as we had to; then they grow up to be normal people who do not use drugs or get into other difficulties."

When asked if this were true of young people in Albaek, however,

he remarked, "Oh no; not our young people!" Further questioning revealed that he had formed his generalized opinion from information received through the news media.

## CHAPTER V: ANALYSIS

### Introduction

In a short discussion of the nature of scientific theory as it is found in Anthropology, Freeman finds that "various seemingly conflicting theories are, in certain fundamental aspects, congruent, or at least complementary, but certainly not in basic conflict." (Freeman, in Wallace, 1960:93.) In his view, the evolutionism of Tylor, the structural-functionalism of Malinowski, and the cultural historicism of Kroeber and Lowie become congruent in hypotheses, which are part of "a single theory of socio-cultural form and process." (1960:96.) It is not necessary here to argue his statement, but the concept is a suitable one by which to launch the theoretical discussion and analysis of this chapter. Regardless of the school of theoretical thought to which any given author relates, current Anthropological literature provides ample evidence of the ongoing search for a general form of sound theory, including restatements of older theories and refinement in models. Description and taxonomy as in the old-fashioned comparative method, ethnology, or formal structuralism, are no longer sufficient methods in themselves. Whereas description, at least, must remain as a necessary part of Anthropological inquiry, explanation of phenomena and, ultimately, prediction are the expected results of scientific investigation and are

what theorists are reaching toward. Whereas explanation has always been attempted by the various schools of thought, the greater emphasis on its importance during the last 15 years is reflected in advancements in theory.

Freeman's statement above includes two sets of concepts about which much written debate has appeared during the history of Anthropology as a science. These are: society and culture; and structure (or form) and process. To place this thesis based on the Danish data in perspective relative to the paired concepts, society and culture, the following definition by Geertz is adopted:

On the [cultural] level there is the framework of beliefs, expressive symbols, and values in terms of which individuals define their world, express their feelings, and make their judgments; on the [social] level there is the ongoing process of interactive behavior, whose persistent form we call social structure. Culture is the fabric of meaning in terms of which human beings interpret their experience and guide their action; social structure is the form that action takes, the actually existing network of social relations. Culture and social structure are then but different abstractions from the same phenomena. (Geertz, 1957, in Keesing, 1971:24-25.)

Following this definition, then, it will be obvious that the study of the Danish village--the data obtained and the analysis written--incorporates both cultural and societal abstractions. In both the descriptive chapters and the theoretical model, values, symbols, feelings and judgments are vital elements in the cultural sense, while interaction based on these elements takes place in the societal sense. The method of analysis used in this paper--transactional analysis via a generative model of process--effectively transcends the previous problem of this paired concept.

The second of the paired concepts, structure and process, have

been defined by theorists in a variety of ways, sometimes but not always as a pair. Some discussions focus chiefly on structure. (For example, see Fortes, 1970; Nadel, 1957. These include references to Radcliffe-Brown, Evans-Pritchard, Murdock, Eggan, Leach, and Firth, among others.)

Structure is usually seen as a framework in which interaction takes place. It is important to note, however, that the inherent nature of structure and process is such that one cannot exist without the other (Radcliffe-Brown, 1952: 3-4). This viewpoint I support in this analysis. Furthermore, the position taken here is that process is the vital element in the dichotomy, and structure is the by-product of process.

Many Anthropological studies of the past and the present have been or are concerned with social and cultural change, which is a process. Process, in social science, also includes behaviour of individuals and groups in society, and the term "behavioural science" itself indicates that process as behaviour has long been recognized as an important focus for study. Process as the dynamic aspect of reality is a worthwhile and necessary focal point for investigation in social scientific theory, and many theorists are now focusing on it.

Some recent refinements in theory, notably network analysis, have been an attempt to bridge "the gap between structural framework and individual action . . ." (Gluckman and Eggan, in Banton, ed., 1966:xxxv). Similarly, the generative models of process, as explained by Barth, constitute theoretical refinement by relating process in the form of individual behaviour to the structure which results from the process.

Inasmuch as a generative model of process incorporates both sets

of paired concepts--culture/society and structure/process--it avoids the difficulties inherent in earlier analytical methods. In so far as the model might prove useful in the building of a general body of theory, it ought to be tested by application to field data. Therefore, I have attempted, in the following analysis, to apply the model at the first level of approximation to the Danish village data. As has been stated by Barth, "the logical operations whereby forms are generated should mirror actual empirical processes which can be identified in the reality which is being analyzed." (1966:v)<sup>12</sup> By way of demonstration, Barth selected an observed situation for description and analysis. Likewise, from the Danish data I chose an observed event and have applied the model in the steps demonstrated by Barth. In both cases, it is asserted that the actual situation observed is similar to many other events which might have occurred simultaneously and events which occur over a period of time. The assumption is that if enough of these events could be observed, it would be possible to record the repetitive nature of actions in similar situations as frequency distributions around a mode. During the field work in the Danish village, only one event was actually observed, so it is not possible to chart a distribution; but from statements made by a number of people about the general practice of similar events--i.e. the celebration of round birthdays--in the present day as well as in the past, it is postulated here that there is a repetition of the acts

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<sup>12</sup> cf. Goodenough, 1956; Leach, 1961.



involved, such that a social form does exist as exemplified by the specific event described.

The model is applied here to demonstrate continuity of form; its usefulness to explain change in form or integration in culture, and to facilitate comparison, has been discussed by Barth (1966; 1967). In the following analysis the basic model is linear, as Barth refers to it, and it therefore does not consider feed-back as part of the process--i.e. choices resulting in repeated actions produce a form, but "over-arching principles of evaluation" might operate to modify and correct the shared values which affect the action, so that the shared values will move toward greater consistency and integration. If this kind of feed-back occurs, new choices might be made which could alter the behavioural form. (Barth, 1966: 14-15.) Barth's discussion of the process of integration of culture includes a consideration of feed-back. The Danish data, however, does not provide enough information to permit a consideration of feed-back in the analysis. Any statement made regarding feed-back can only be hypothetical.

A basic but important point made by Barth in his presentation of generative models, is that from a simple set of factors in an ecologic situation, and a basic distribution of rights on elementary statuses, a variety of behavioural patterns may be explained. The model, then, contains relatively few specifications of variables. (Barth, 1966: 10-11.)

#### The Process of Continuity and Change

It is with reference to a set of values that choices are made which determine the behaviour of an individual in social interaction.

Such a concept of choice and action is central in F. Barth's analytical model of generative processes in which social forms (or structures) are seen as the result of processes of interaction of a transactional nature. That is to say, much of (but not all of) social behaviour can be viewed as a series of transactions between or among individuals, in which each person seeks to gain value which is greater than or equal to the value lost by him. Barth explains:

Transactional behaviour takes place with reference to a set of values which serve as generalized incentives and constraints on choice; it also takes place with reference to a pre-established matrix of statuses, seen as a distribution of values on positions in the form of minimal clusters of jurally binding rights (Barth, 1966:5).

Axiomatic to Barth's reasoning are the paired concepts of status and role, particularly as these are discussed by Goffman (1959) where he describes behaviour associated with a status in terms of "impression management", and describes roles as patterns of behaviour generated by statuses according to the requirements of impression management. A brief outline of Goffman's position according to Barth's view of it is presented as Appendix II. Barth, then, utilizes these concepts as "a necessary part of a model for the transformation from factors affecting choices to empirical regularities in social life . . . ." (1966:3). Whereas Goffman is concerned with a process of successful role performance, Barth's attention is centred on institutionalization which he describes as a process in which "a multiplicity of individual decisions under the influence of canalizing factors . . . has the cumulative effect of producing clear patterns and conventions." (1966:3). Patterns are

observable frequencies in certain actions. A flow chart of the outlined model is presented as Appendix III.

This is a model of process in that it can depict successive actions over time as a series of reciprocal prestations.<sup>13</sup> It is analagous to game theory in that, figuratively, a "ledger" of value gained and lost must be kept; "each successive action . . . affects that ledger, changes the strategic situation, and thus canalizes subsequent choices." (Barth, 1966:4). The implied imbalance in the ledger constantly created by successive actions can be perceived as a dynamic force which keeps a process in motion.<sup>14</sup> It can readily be seen that this concept lends itself to an analysis of change; but it is also useful in explaining continuity of form, where similar choices are repeatedly made in established patterns of behaviour.

The concept of a process which continues indefinitely should not be construed as interaction which is never interrupted. The process might be sought in situations definable in a time period; e.g. the fishing vessels in Barth's example sometimes return to shore; the birthday celebrations in this Danish study exist temporally. It is, however, necessary to delineate a time period or a situation for the convenience of analysis.

The concept of transaction, then, is basic in this model, a concept which depends upon the existence of values in a social system. Barth offers three reasons why transactions are of analytical importance:

- a) Where systems of evaluation (values) are maintained, transactions must be a predominant form of interaction.

<sup>13</sup>cf. Homans, 1958.

<sup>14</sup>cf. Colleague contracts and patron-client dyadic relationships discussed by Foster, 1961; 1963.

- b) In them the relative evaluations in a culture are revealed.
- c) They are a basic social process by means of which we can explain how a variety of social forms are generated from a much simpler set and distribution of basic values. (1966:5).

Broadly defined, generative models deal with process, as distinct from descriptive static models of structure. Generative or processual models are seen to be of use in at least three ways:

- a) to explain social form by describing the processes that generate the form;
- b) to describe and study change in social forms as changes in the basic variables that generate the forms;
- c) to facilitate comparative analysis as a methodological equivalent of experiment. (Barth, 1966: v).

It is with the first usage of generative models in terms of transaction that the analysis of data from the Danish study will proceed. The focal point of analysis will be what I have referred to as Option No. 1 in the social situation of a round birthday, described in detail as Chapter I.

In the descriptive chapters of this paper I have attempted to demonstrate the existence of some of the values held by members of a Danish community by describing social life in that community in general and by describing a certain event in particular. Some of the values thus illuminated are presumed to have existed over a period of time spanning many generations; others have developed more recently. A convenient delineation of time for this study is 1787, creating a period of 185 years within which historical change can be observed. Within the lifetime of the living older generation, certain social forms and values are known to have continued. Among them is the ritual of the round

birthday and the three options comprising it. It is with the continuation of values, roles, and a specific social form that this analysis is concerned.

The theoretical position which I take is that the generative model of process, as outlined (Appendix III), when applied to the situation of Option No. 1 of a round birthday in the Danish village, explains the institutionalized social form of that particular option of round birthday ritual by describing the processes which generate the form and which, in this case, have regenerated the same form over a defined period of time.

Before proceeding to the analysis, a brief look at two anthropological studies will raise some relevant points regarding change and continuity.

#### Cases in the Literature

In his study of a village in southern Spain, J. A. Pitt-Rivers (1969; 1954) has examined a system of values as it functions in the community and between the community and the state. In this case there is a "structural tension" existing between community and state, related to a divergence in values as well as to degree of contact. In addition, two sets of values exist within the community itself, causing conflict among its members. However, the same values which create tension and conflict are "necessary to the structure of the community . . . as well as to the country as a whole." Through a "hierarchy of patronage and . . . conventions of secrecy and fiction . . .," tension is resolved. (Pitt-Rivers, 1969: 212-213).

Pitt-Rivers has found that the basic values of the Andalusian village of his study and of the whole of southern Spain have persisted over a 200-year period of change in social structure. Such values are of sufficient importance, in his view, to hold the structural parts together. Presumably this applies, then, to any point in time which might be isolated for study, and to the changing structure over a period of time. Furthermore, it is in the system of basic values that "historical continuity" is to be found.

If a generative model were applied to the Andalusian village data, it might conceivably indicate that repetitive actions flowing from stable values are generating social forms described as the hierarchy of patronage and conventions of secrecy and fiction. The basic values which remain unchanged result in certain unchanged forms. Other aspects of the total structure, however, have changed considerably over 200 years, particularly in the related areas of church power and state administration and in the economic sphere. The above statement of process and structure is, of course, an over-simplification and cannot take into account the variables in the data--a task which is beyond the scope of this paper. The point to be made here is that there is a similarity between the Andalusian village and the Danish one in that while the broad social structure has changed during several generations, certain values have persisted and certain social forms related to them continue to exist.

In a quite different situation A. L. Epstein (1969) has examined observable continuity in a rapidly changing social structure among the Tolai people of the island of Matupit in New Guinea. In a situation

where contact with an encroaching colonial society results in change and adaptation in the tribal society, the Tolai are able to maintain their group identity, and even to strengthen it, through values attached to land and to the use of their shell money, tambu, in ritual events.<sup>15</sup>

Epstein sees change and continuity as two perspectives of the same reality; "in any given context one cannot be understood without . . . specifying the nature of the other." (1969:294). In analyzing social change among the Matupit Tolai, he utilizes assumptions similar to those in Barth's generative model where it applies to change in social forms, relating it to a process of involvement which occurs largely through new economic opportunities. In analyses of the process of change, a key concept is the presence of new opportunities around which choices must be made; new social forms are generated, then, according to the rules of strategy (to use Barth's terms) when a high enough frequency of new choices occurs. In negative terms this is seen as the decay of old forms or the erosion of custom (Epstein, 1969:309). During the generation of new forms, however, a process of value conversion might take place; values are converted from one form to another, causing changes in the principles of evaluation. Presumably only those values will change which are incompatible to a new form. Epstein argues that the roots of change lie in the need to resolve problems which arise when choices, made for short-term advantage and without adequate information

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<sup>15</sup> Evidence of continuity during change in tribal societies in contact areas is abundant in the literature, continuity and change taking various forms.

of a broader view of a situation or the outcome of the action, are made which cause incompatibility of values. In this sense, he points out, Barth's use of the concept of "strategy" is misleading, since it implies that individuals in transactions have an overall set of aims and a total view of the situation (Epstein, 1969:299). Such expectations of individuals are unrealistic; but obviously the processual model does not make an assumption of the kind suggested by the word "strategy".

Epstein's analysis becomes involved with the inevitable two-fold concept of structure and culture, although processual models are designed to overcome that problem. He discusses both change and continuity in both structure and culture. In the case of culture he finds that he is dealing with the relationship of structural change and cultural continuity. "The erosion of custom here is a product of structural change; as involvement [in the wider society] intensifies, the further it runs and the quicker its tempo." (1969:310).

Epstein's analysis considers how much erosion can occur without loss of the group's cultural distinction and sense of group identity (1969: 311-312). Much change has occurred structurally and culturally among the Matupi during a lengthy period of intense contact. Epstein raises an important point when he questions why change has not been more radical and far reaching. The strongest evidence of continuity which he isolates lies in identity of all Tolai groups with tambu, that is, in custom or culture. Thus the statement: "tambu is our treasure. If we didn't have tambu, we would not be Tolai . . . ." (1969:317). However, the Tolai on Matupit are also conscious of maintaining identity



as Matupi. Continuing relationship with land strengthens identity in historical perspective. Further evidence of continuity is found in deeply rooted traditional principles and premises which become part of newly adopted forms (1969: 318-319). On the latter point, Epstein offers as an example the adoption of the game of cricket which is "not so much a game but an occasion for feasting and ceremonial . . . ." (1969:318). A classic example from Danish history is the incorporation of old Viking beliefs into the Christian church in the 11th century. To quote Danstrup, "Belief in natural forces survived the holy authorities." (1948:21-22).

An important point to emerge from Epstein's study is that a society sees itself as a group, possesses a sense of group identity, and identifies historically with earlier generations of that society. Twentieth century Englishmen feel a sense of unity with Elizabethans; modern Danes identify with Vikings. Identity continues despite vast changes. Epstein sees the problem as that of defining a thread of continuity in the context of social change. Rather than finding it in the culture concept, he (following Redfield, 1953) suggests that it lies in the structure of signals by which people continue to recognize their common identity. There is a need to know more about the process of identification: the forming of new identities and the maintenance of old ones (1969:320).

I suggest that processual models applied to certain data might be one way by which to move toward greater understanding of the identification process.

In the Danish village, Albaek, certain forms of social behaviour exist and have existed in what appears to be unchanged form for as long

as the older generation can remember, that is for at least 70 years. Underlying these behavioural forms is a system of three basic values bearing upon conformity which relate to attachment to land ownership and bonds of kinship, friendship and community. These variables are basic ones in Anthropology; studies of many societies, including those of Pitt-Rivers and Epstein discussed above, have revealed attachment to land as an important element, and the categories of kinship, friendship, and community have long been useful.

#### The Generative Model of Process and the Round Birthday

According to the model for generating gross forms in linear procession (Appendix III), a social situation is defined by the rights and obligations of the set of statuses which is relevant in that situation. "Status set" for the purposes of this model means a cluster of reciprocal or complementary statuses (Barth, 1966:3). Within a situation, transactions occur.

For the purpose of analysis, a chosen situation must also be defined ecologically. The ritual of a round birthday observed in a specific event played out as Option No. 1 is the selected situation for analysis here, and has been ecologically defined in Chapter I. It should be noted that the situation here defined includes related activity preceding and following the celebration date, as well as the day itself.

The situational analysis, then, will define the relative statuses, their rights and obligations, and the transactions involved; it will examine the flow and counterflow of prestations, the incentives and

limitations affecting choices, and the importance of impression management. Taken together these factors represent a transformation from a matrix of values and statuses to a frequentative pattern of behaviour described as a social form. In short, the process generates the form.

The process of generation in the birthday situation is exemplary of how forms can be maintained through a period of time. In repeated similar situations, among all members of the society who fit the round birthday category, similar choices continue to be made. Thus the relative pattern of behaviour remains stable. The situation empirically observed as a round birthday ritual has been institutionalized for a lengthy period of time. The matrix of values and statuses used as a line of demarcation for analysis is also well established.

In the ritual of a round birthday, Option No. 1 can be conceptualized as a sub-form within the main form, if the main form is perceived as the institutionalized ritual containing three options, one of which must be chosen. This is the initial choice which either sets the scene for action in the sub-forms of Options Nos. 1 or 2, or prevents action by Option No. 3.

Although specific data on this point was not obtained, there is some indication that there might be a correlation between the relevant position of the celebrant in society and choice of option. For example, if the celebrant is a man of considerable importance in the local community or on a broader scale, he may feel obliged to choose Option No. 1 as the only appropriate option for one in his position. If the celebrant is less noted in public life, or if the celebrant is a married

woman and non-professional, his or her choice of option might be determined chiefly by personal preference. For any celebrant, however, his or her economic status at the time of celebration will be one factor to be considered in choosing an option.

In that the event observed was Option No. 1, the following analysis is not concerned with the main form of the round birthday ritual, except in so far as the rights and obligations of the various statuses which affect the initial choice overlap both frames of reference. Rather, it proceeds with the status set which is created when Option No. 1 is chosen. Therefore, the concept of "form" implicit in the analysis refers to the sub-form within the main form.

#### From Status to Transaction

The status set includes five kinds of status, according to the following outline:

- 1) The birthday celebrant, in this case a male, 70 years of age and a prominent member of the community, whose initial choice has created the status set.
- 2) The spouse of the celebrant, in this case female, whose opinion has influenced the initial choice made by the celebrant.
- 3) Close members of the family, who will be affected by the initial choice in the playing of roles expected of them.
- 4) Invited guests, who will behave according to a narrow range of choices.
- 5) Uninvited friends and associates, who have a slightly wider range of choices than those who are invited.

Rights and obligations are, of course, reciprocal; what is a right within one status will be an obligation in another. Basically,

the following distribution comprises the situation.

The celebrant has the right to be honoured and to reinforce his position in society by an appropriate celebration. The celebrant is also obligated: First, he must consider the rights and obligations of his wife and the close members of his family, who, on the one hand are entitled to share the prestige of an adequate celebration, but who, on the other hand, will be obligated to contribute according to their available time and capabilities. These considerations affect the initial decision, as well as ensuing decisions regarding preparations and the actual entertainment of guests. Next, he must be sure to include certain people on the guest list and to provide entertainment of suitable quality for all those invited. Finally, to all others who might send gifts or greetings, he must extend his appreciation and eventually entertain them in a suitable manner. These obligations of the celebrant can be seen as rights of the other statuses.

According to the original decision, the spouse is obligated to follow through in complete support. In Option No. 1, the wife will have to help with plans and make preparation for entertaining; she may seek outside help in this, drawing upon the availability and resources of family members if possible, and securing paid professional services if necessary. In this connection lie obligations of family members. Also, family members are obligated to give a gift, and to help see to the comfort and conversation of guests at the event and follow-up events.

Obligations of invited guests are to honour the celebrant by accepting the invitation first of all. Then a gift and good wishes will

be bestowed. By many of the guests, a speech during the banquet will be expected as a further gesture of respect.

All other friends and acquaintances may choose to honour the celebrant or not. In this sense one cannot speak truly of obligation, except to say that many people within the celebrant's network of interaction do choose to acknowledge the celebration relative to their ability and degree of involvement.

To pursue the model further, on the basis of rights and obligations of the status set, transactions involving reciprocity occur. Now the importance of values comes into view, for it is values ultimately, whether personal ones or societal systems, which provide the constraints and incentives to direct choices. Transactions are actions of value exchange in which each individual attempts to maximize value; that is, one's gain must be at least equal to, if not greater than, one's loss. Transactions, therefore, consist of a flow and counterflow of prestations, to use Barth's term, prestations being what are perceived to be appropriate and valued goods and services. At first sight, it would appear that this model is more appropriate for the analysis of economic exchange; but while it is useful in economics, it need not be limited to that area of analysis, and in this Barth concurs when he analyzes a situation of interaction on a Norwegian fishing vessel where the prestations transferred are not tangible values but depend on relations of trust. Here, chances of catching herring are returned for willingness, effort and competence. Likewise, in the birthday event the prestations depend on bonds of family identity, friendship, and respect.

The transactions occur between the celebrant and each of the other individuals in the other statuses, as well as between the spouse and celebrant and members of the family who will help the spouse. Minor transactions might also occur between some of the members of the statuses numbered 3, 4, and 5. For example, members of the family might help each other in performing certain tasks in preparation for the event; and two or more of the guests might collaborate on a gift, on transportation to the event, etc. The actual transactions can best be understood in light of the exchange of values.

#### Prestations, Choice, and Impression Management

First, the relationship between celebrant and spouse is one of mutual loyalty. The process of decision-making involving the initiating choice--to celebrate by Option No. 1 or No. 2, or not to celebrate (Option No. 3)--will vary according to the two individuals involved; either individual might be more influential than the other in decision-making. In the situation under analysis, Option No. 1 to have a complete celebration was chosen. The spouse in this case is offering her time and talent in making preparations and seeing to entertainment in a fitting manner; in so doing she is offering support to the celebrant in his due right to celebrate. In return she receives reinforced acceptance of her as a worthy wife, and chances of favourable value exchange in future transactions with her husband. In this relationship the two individuals share joint incentives and constraints related to the societal value system. If they hold the full celebration they obviously

are economically well positioned to carry it out; if the guest list is large, the celebrant is probably a prominent member of society. These factors strengthen the prestige, not only of the celebrant but of his spouse and family. Weighted against this is the actual cost in terms of time, effort, and money.

Next, the relationships between celebrant and family members are similar to that above described, except they might be seen as less intense. Each member of the family will perform certain tasks according to the availability of time and talent, but probably will not have so much to do as the spouse; they will assist in entertaining guests at the main event and the follow-up events. In so doing they are demonstrating support to the celebrant who is father, grandfather, and father-in-law. In return they receive similar benefits to those received by the spouse, and participate in family prestige. Bonds of family interdependence are operative as incentives here. Constraints are weak, and if present at all, would be found in an unlikely case of disloyalty or some extraneous disability to perform, such as illness or accident.

Similarly, relationships between the spouse and the family members depend on loyalty and interdependence, and follow the same pattern as above.

Relationships between celebrant and invited guests are more loosely defined in terms of kinship ties, friendliness, and respect. Here the celebrant offers an expected form of entertainment to the guests; but, perhaps more important, he also offers acknowledgement of their inclusion in his network of close relationships or important ties.



The invited guest, by accepting the invitation, offers a tangible gift and good wishes; however, the greater value lies not in material worth but in the respect to the celebrant which the gift symbolizes. In addition, each party to this kind of transaction reinforces a mutual acceptance. On the part of the celebrant, incentives to recognize a wide circle of friends and to avoid omitting anyone who would expect to be included must be balanced against the necessity of limiting the guests to a manageable number. Incentives on the part of guests are probably stronger than restraints, assuming they are pleased to be associated with the celebrant, for in demonstrating respect and loyalty, they are entitled to expect the same from the celebrant; thus, bonds are strengthened. The need to provide a gift is a very weak restraint, if a restraint at all.

Finally, relationship between celebrant and uninvited friends and associates, although similar to the foregoing, differs in one important way: They have not been included in the closer network of the celebrant. Whereas there might be only a fine line of distinction between some of those invited and some omitted--there has to be a cut-off point--they are nevertheless in a different category. With them the choice of initiating transaction lies. They may acknowledge the birthday on a scale of value. Anyone may send a gift of great value or proportionately less value, or money may be telegraphed; or a telegram of greetings only or simply a card might be sent. The same range of possibilities may be delivered in person, if possible. Conversely, one may choose to ignore the event completely. Each individual in this category will be guided by the degree of respect and loyalty felt for the celebrant. Once the decision

to interact has been made and the gift or greeting bestowed, the celebrant has received the same kind of values as from invited guests. Now he must respond by offering entertainment after the day of the event; thereby he offers gratitude for value obtained and recognition to the bestower of it. One further obligation follows: The bestower of the gift is, by custom, expected to accept the follow-up invitation. In the situation observed, there was one case of deviant behaviour at this point. By accepting, the bestower relieves the celebrant of obligation, and mutual acceptance is strengthened.

To depart from the analytical focus on the event for a moment, three important and related values of the whole society must be mentioned, for they relate to the behaviour of every individual engaged in transactions and provide strong incentives and restraints on choices. First, the value of conformity to norms of behaviour, especially to social behaviour stemming from bonds of kinship, friendship, and community at various levels, but also in a more general way in expected politeness in all interaction.

A related value can be termed as peaceful coexistence. One practices to be pleasant and polite in personality. One does not criticize or speak ill of another, but chooses rather to speak favourably of others, if at all. One is normally happy and content if getting along with everyone. Evidence of this behaviour pattern is pronounced in Albaek. This is not to say, however, that ill-will or hostility never exists, but if it does, it is likely to be observable by avoidance behaviour, the emotions being carefully subdued. Apart from animosity which arises from personal disagreement, the societal value of conformity

when not practised can be a source of trouble. Depending on the degree and seriousness of non-conformity, a deviant will be given cold-shoulder treatment or be socially ostracized; depending on the extent of involvement, such avoidance might be by one or any number of people. When this happens, to any degree, there need be no doubt in the mind of the deviant that something is amiss, for the usual positive behaviour of pleasant, polite kindness is lacking in those with whom he would interact. There will be no word spoken to criticize or correct him probably; yet, given the highly institutionalized rules of behaviour in most areas of social life, he will know how and where he has erred.

Yet another related value operates to enforce conformity: that is the value of companionship of people, first within the family, then with friends and others. The normal Dane feels uncomfortable if alone for longer than brief periods of time; interaction and, more important, a feeling of belonging, are necessary elements of Danish life. In this, Albaek villagers are no exception.

The three values--social conformity, peaceful coexistence, and close companionship--operate to reinforce each other and to regulate social behaviour. Obviously these values provide important incentives and constraints on decision-making in transactional behaviour, as well as on impression management.

To return to the processual model, Barth has pointed out that in transactions of intangible values (i.e. token prestations or impressions, as he names them), impression management is of major importance in the final stage of transformation from the matrix of values and statuses to

behavioural patterns (social form). According to Goffman's definitions, impression management is a matter of "skewed communication"; over-communicating that which confirms statuses and relationships relevant to a situation, and under-communicating that which is discrepant. In the result, stereotyped forms of behaviour emerge as regular features of roles, behaviour which is not specified in the rights and obligations of statuses. Such roles represent the optimum around which empirical behaviour may be seen to cluster. These patterns of behaviour become institutionalized social forms with the repeated occurrence of similar situations in which the same process of transaction, choices, and impression management occur.

It would appear that the behaviour pattern in terms of roles is well established in the situation of the round birthday, a fact which supports the position taken in this paper (pp. 116-117) that certain forms of social behaviour have existed and do exist in what appears to be unchanged form for at least 70 years.

In the various statuses of the round birthday situation, what, if any, are the stereotyped forms of behaviour being played out as roles?

First, the role of the celebrant is singular in that the celebrant is in a position of distinction and honour by having achieved an advanced age. He is aware of this throughout the play of the situation, and with a certain air of enthusiasm and importance issues verbal invitations and responds with expressions of pleasure to the guests' comments. This manner continues through the entertainment events, and added to it is an earnest attempt to bestow warm hospitality on the guests as from an official capacity, and responses of pleasure and gratitude for the honours spoken on his behalf.

The spouse and close family members, apart from the busy work of advance preparations, enter the entertainment events with the comfort of guests in mind, converse as they move among the guests, exhibiting their best and friendliest social behaviour; sometimes they, or some of them, might be busy with details of the moment; seated at the banquet head table their attentive and proper behaviour exhibits moral support for the birthday celebrant. Attention to the details of work and attention to the guests continues to alternate through the various stages of the total situation. When guests have departed from the main event, they or some of them, are likely to be with the celebrant in conversation, lending him further support and companionship.

The initial response of the invited guests, when the invitation is received, is a quite marked form of exclamation of surprise mingled with pleasure and congratulations, especially among those who were probably not aware of the celebrant's exact age or birth date. Even if the element of surprise is missing, the response will be appropriate to the situation. This seems to be a way of acknowledging the position of distinction attributed to age. At the event itself, guests are in their best polite social form, as at any social event, greeting all present on arrival; but their attention is then often centred on the celebrant as they bestow honours formally by dinner speeches, and informally in casual conversation. The content of speeches will range from humorous to serious, but always with due respect for the honoured. On departing from the event, sincere expressions of thanks for the evening will be conveyed to host and hostess.

Other friends and acquaintances, who are not invited to the

initial event but are invited to small parties later, exhibit the same social niceties as in the foregoing case, but less formally as to the bestowing of honours. These parties are informal in the home; there are no speeches and no formal banquet table procedure.

The patterns of behaviour exhibit a reciprocal dichotomy: respect and honour for one who has attained an age of distinction; and friendly hospitality combined with gratitude. In addition, at the actual events, all persons exhibit normally polite behaviour in interacting with one another. All behaviour is strikingly stereotyped and stems from a need to conform to expected behaviour. The only observed examples of unusual behaviour in the total situation under analysis were the unusual dress of the celebrant's granddaughter at the main event, and the persistent refusal of a young couple to accept an invitation to a follow-up event. In the first instance, the granddaughter deviated from the norm in appearance only; otherwise her behaviour conformed perfectly. Her mother's expression of disapproval was marked by an unsmiling face and an air of uneasiness as she tried to carry out her social role among the guests, a clear indication that something was wrong. In the second case, the celebrant and his wife appeared to be puzzled by the behaviour of the young couple, and continued to be restless and upset until the young couple did finally accept an invitation.

In both cases of deviance, there is an example of decision-making which is different from the norm. Different incentives were operating on these individuals, incentives related to a need to follow new ideas in art and fashion in one case, and incentives to follow personal beliefs

involving autonomy in the other case. On the latter point, the young couple were known to deviate in other ways; for example, they did not keep a well-designed garden around their house, and they seldom supported traditional community activities. Yet, despite their own professed disregard for many ways of tradition and their desire to be free to be themselves and live as they please, they were not totally withdrawn from people and, in fact, took a special interest in the retired members of the community.

## CHAPTER VI: CONCLUSION

### Summary

On the basis of data obtained by field research in a Danish village, the presentation in this paper has aimed at an investigation of structural and behavioural change and continuing patterns of behaviour. Because the theoretical analysis focuses on continuity in a specified behavioural pattern, the presentation of factors of change has been confined to the descriptive chapters and represents a backdrop against which the example of continuity is played in a specific event. The event singled out for description and analysis is by no means the only social form exhibiting continuity. Other forms of rites of passage are equally stable, as are certain festival celebrations. Evidence of this also appears in the general descriptive chapter.

Underlying some patterns of behaviour, or social forms, is a general set of values related to land ownership and bonds of kinship, friendship, and community. In the total society, in this case the village community, evidence of these values has appeared in numerous ways in the description of Albaek's social life. Such values may be briefly listed as loyalty, respect, duty, identity (belonging), acceptance, politeness, friendliness, pleasantness. They may be related to a structure in the following style:



Mutual dependence within the Family	) ) ) )	Expressed in joint care and use of land, garden, house and possessions. Moral support and proximity to one another.
Bonds of Friendship	) ) )	Conversation. Celebrations, Visits by invitation. Hospitality in pleasant surroundings.
Polite respect in all interaction	) ) ) ) ) )	Language contains polite forms of speech, regularly used. Polite manner. Avoidance of unkind words. Respect. Identity of persons according to residence location and occupation.
Village loyalty	) ) ) )	Identity by birthplace. Respect for the deceased. Co-operative store. Albaek is all right.
Parish loyalty	) )	Church and Pastor. Community hall.
National loyalty	) ) )	Public duty. Danish identity. Historical awareness. Respect for leaders, past and present.

Ties of kinship span both village and parish loyalty.

This, I believe, is the basic set of values underlying the whole of Danish village life, and operating at least in part in city life as well. It is not the purpose of this study to generalize to the whole of Denmark, although the findings here might be of some use as one link in a chain of studies toward generalization. One point does emerge as generally Danish, however; that is the matter of Danish identity, as stated below.

For the purpose of analysis, three related values have been abstracted as a specific system of values bearing upon conformity. These

have been stated as:

- 1) conformity, especially regarding kinship, friendship, and community, but also in general politeness;
- 2) peaceful coexistence; if getting along, all is well;
- 3) companionship and a feeling of belonging.

These three reinforce each other and operate to regulate behaviour.

In the analysis of a specific event, in which a generative model of process is applied, these values are seen as effective constraints and incentives in directing choices and impression management in transactional behaviour.

### Theoretical Links

Following the generative model of process suggested by Barth, incorporating some views of Goffman, I have taken the view that whereas the model has chiefly been used in studies of change in form, it is also useful in explaining continuity in form. The basic principle involved is that by describing the process which generates a form in a specific situation, the form itself is explained. Thus, when new choices or different combinations of choice are made from those in preceding similar situations, new forms will appear, after allowing time for repeated similar new choices or combinations in ensuing situations. Similarly, where the same choices or combinations continue to be made in similar situations occurring through time, the social form is regenerated over and over again. Such regeneration depends on continuity of a system of values as well as a stable environment which does not present cause for change, at least in relation to the situations allowing regeneration.

Two studies in Anthropology have been referred to as points of comparison to the Danish village study. In the first, that of the village in southern Spain, I see a similarity to the Danish village in that there have been changes in the total social structure over a long time period, while a basic value system has remained stable. It appears to me that there are also certain social forms which have remained stable in the Spanish village, those which Pitt-Rivers refers to as the hierarchy of patronage and conventions of secrecy and fiction, and that these are in direct relation to the value system. The idea of "historical continuity", as Pitt-Rivers uses it, is to be found in the value system of the Andalusian village. The same statement may be made of the Danish village.

In the second study of reference, the idea of continuity in identity appears to relate to historical continuity in values. Here, in a tribal society, the forces of change are quite different from those in the two European villages, but, I suggest, the feelings of identity are probably similar. The main idea abstracted from Epstein's tribal study is that the process of identity is worthy of investigation in terms of a structure of signals by which a group of people continue to recognize their common identity.

As one method toward the greater understanding of the identification process, I have applied a model of process to an event in Albaek village. The interaction and behaviour described are indeed indicative, not only of historical continuity, but of a structure of signals involving common identity. This identity, highly evident in the situation, is

that of being Danish rather than that of being a member of the local community.

### Findings

Earlier in this paper (p. 11) the following question was raised: Why, in the face of social change over a long time and rapid change in recent history, is there still a high degree of continuity in certain patterns of behaviour while other behavioural patterns have changed? Following the data and analysis presented, it is now possible to draw a conclusion in answer to that question.

It can be observed that behavioural patterns which have changed are of a different type from those which have continued. The following generalized lists might serve to clarify this point:

<u>Changed</u>	<u>Continuing</u>
From mutual dependence in the community to specialization	Mutual dependence within the family
Division of labour	Specific celebrations
Church attendance	Respect for the deceased
Privileges extended to females	Polite formality and peaceful coexistence
Premarital cohabitation	Loyalty in kinship, friendship, community and nation
Form of entertainment and recreation	Social ostracism of non-conformists

An examination of each of these lists reveals two points: First, those patterns which have changed have done so as a result of modern advancement in science and technology and new standards or morality. This

corresponds to what Epstein terms "opportunities for change". Secondly, the unchanged patterns are of such nature that they may continue independently of opportunities for change. They are of a more deeply rooted nature. They are, indeed, where the roots of identity--Danish identity--lie. How long these patterns will continue is open to question, but it is a reasonable assumption to make that they will continue substantially indefinitely.

### Evaluation of the Model

The observed behaviour in the situation analyzed, with the exception of the two cases of deviance, appears to be normal behaviour in the situation, and appears to follow from a system of values of wider base in the society. The basic generative model appears to fit the empirical situation in this case. Given more data, it should be possible to include the variable of feed-back in the analysis. If it were possible to recover specific data in historical perspective, with a feed-back variable included in the model, modification of an older form might be revealed. There is evidence of modification in the present data, in that in earlier times all residents of the community were invited to a celebration such as a round birthday whereas this is not done now. On the same line of thought, if the study were projected forward in time, data might reveal further modification of form. If change is great enough, it might be argued that the form of round birthday celebration is not a continuing one--an opposite view to the position taken in this thesis. However, following the data at hand, there is sufficient evidence

to postulate that any changes which might be revealed by a projected or historical study are no more than modifications of a continuing form, modifications which reflect a movement toward greater consistency and integration of shared values.

The question might now be asked, "Of what value is this analytical exercise?" By way of reply, I would state that it validly tests the model by applying it to empirical data. Furthermore, the same form of analysis should be applicable to similar situations throughout Denmark. If this were done, greater variation in form or, as Barth states, a variety of forms might be observed. The extended exercise would, I believe, be useful in a study of identity, the importance of which has been considered by Epstein in the Matupit case.<sup>16</sup>

Two clues for a further study of identity appear in Epstein's remarks:

- 1) "Continuity . . . has to be sought . . . in the structure of signals by which people continue to recognize their common identity . . . ."
- 2) "We also need to know much more about the processes of identification . . . ." (1969:320).

Given sufficient data, it should be possible to apply a similar model of process to the process of identification. Such an analysis would then explain the structure of signals, and some important insights might be gained. To illustrate, as a starting point, from the present

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<sup>16</sup>Others have considered the importance of meaning in signals and symbols. Denzin, for example, approaches this when he says that the link between social structure and individuals rests on the role of symbols and common meanings. (Denzin, in Douglas, 1970:259.) Thompson, in a summary statement, sees human culture as a symbolic system. (Thompson, 1961:169.)

data certain signals have been observed in the situation described: e.g. When one learns that a person is to observe an important birthday, there are appropriate expressions of surprise, pleasure, and congratulations. A foreigner in Denmark might not emit these signals.

Identity as a peculiarity of human behaviour is an important area for investigation within social science.

## APPENDIX I

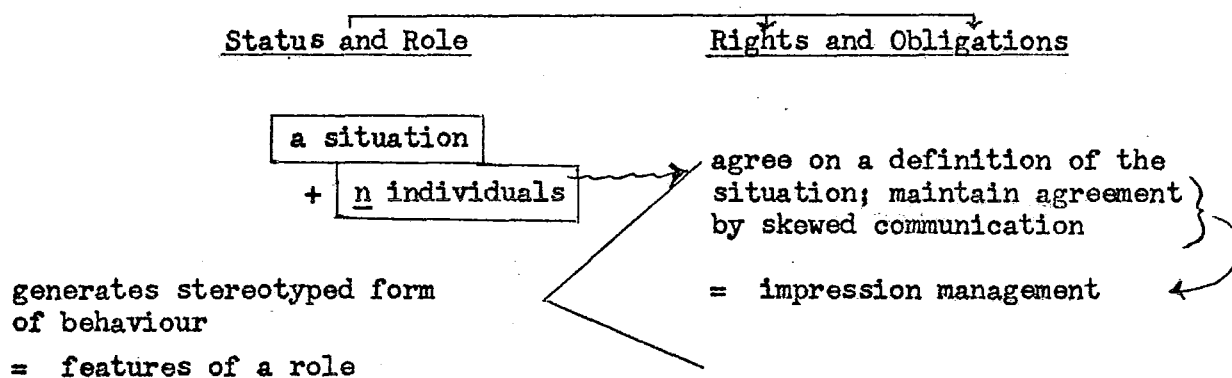
STATISTICS

Population:	Denmark .....	5,000,000	(1972)
	Copenhagen .....	1,378,000	(1965)
	Århus .....	243,000	(1972)
	Randers .....	60,000	(1972)
	Nørhald Kommune .....	8,000	(1972)
	Old Kommune of Harriidslev/Albaek	1,000	
	Albaek Sogn .....	407	(1960)
	Albaek Landsby .....	236	(1972)
No. of Households:	Albaek Landsby .....	75	(1972)
Employment: in per centage of active population	Agriculture .....	67%	(1801)
		39%	(1901)
		29%	(1930)
		11%	(1968)
		11%	(1972)
	Manufacturing .....	28%	(1972)
Land:	Area under agricultural cultivation .....	74%	
	Woodland .....	10%	
Exports:	Agriculture .....	76%	(1939)
	Manufactured Goods .....	24%	(1939)
	Agriculture .....	53%	(1960)
	Manufactured Goods .....	47%	(1960)
No. of Landholdings:	Independent Holdings .....	190,000	(1965)
	Size: Less than 10 hectares (24.7 ac.)	85,000	(1965)
	including those less than 5 hectares (12.3 acres) .....	30,000	(1965)
	Over 30 hectares (74 acres) ....	24,000	(1965)
	Over 120 hectares (296.5 acres).	877	(1965)
	Cultivated by Owners .....	95.5%	(1951)
	Rented .....	4.5%	(1951)
	Size of holdings ranges from 1 hectare (2.47 acres) to over 1,000 hectares (2,470 acres).		



## APPENDIX II

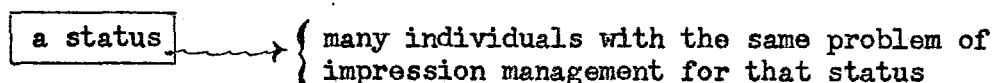
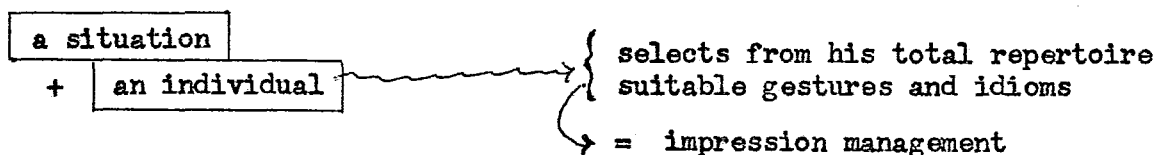
The following are Goffman's viewpoints, presented by Barth as a necessary part of a model for the transformation from factors affecting choices to empirical regularities in social life.



## Definition:

Skewed communication =

over-communicating that which confirms statuses and relationships  
 under-communicating that which is discrepant



<p>Success in impression management = Reward</p> <p>Failure in impression management = Punishment</p>	<p>} →</p>	<p>Varying degrees</p>
<p>toward an optimum ← → modifies behaviour</p>		

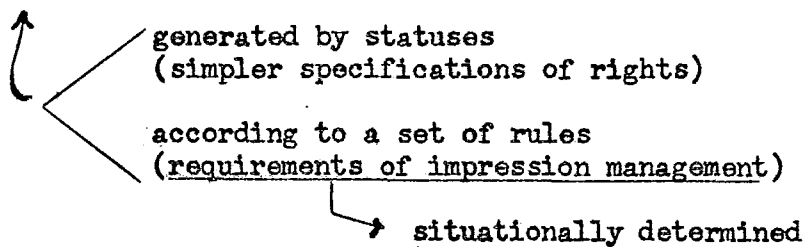
{ The more a certain type of behaviour becomes associated with a status, the more it will be reinforced through serving as an idiom of identification (roles).

Therefore, according to Barth, a model can be constructed.

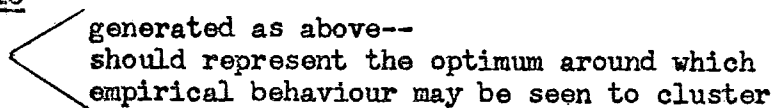
...

## APPENDIX II (continued)

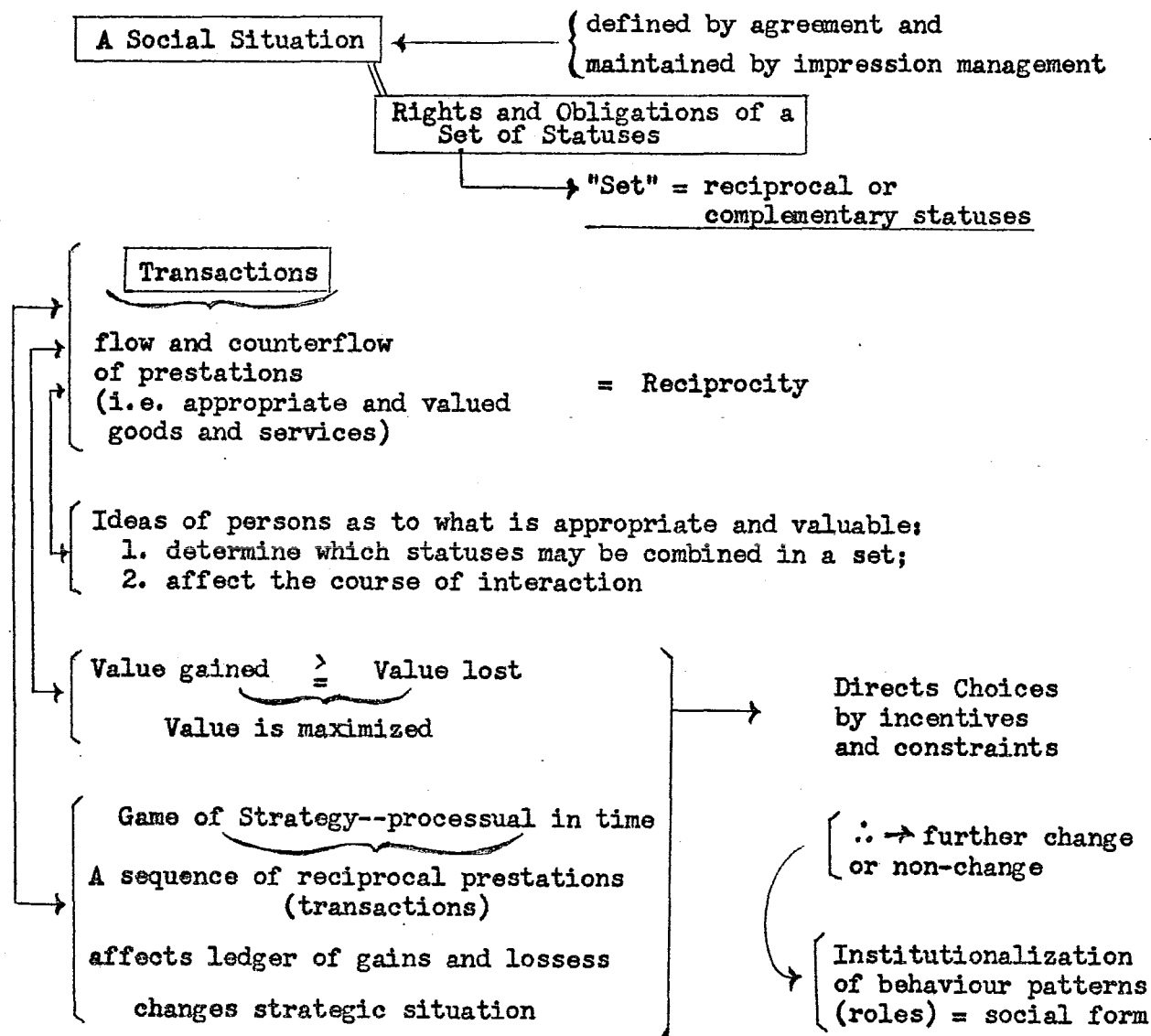
Roles = Patterns of Behaviour--complex and comprehensive



A Role



## APPENDIX III

Model for Generating Gross Forms - according to F. BarthExplanation:

Parameters of value are given.

Forms are generated according to the rules of strategy.

} → Logic

Forms may be compared to observed empirical patterns.

Patterns = non-random frequency distribution in actions.

} → Observation

The model, its parts, and its operations, may be checked.

## APPENDIX IV

ALBAEK VILLAGE

Questionnaire for Social Science Study--  
McMaster University, Hamilton, Ontario, Canada

October-November, 1972

If you would like to participate in the study being done on Albaek village, would you kindly answer the following questions, or as many of them as possible.

A. STATISTICS

Name of Head of House:

## 1. Birth Dates:

Husband

Wife

Children

Others in Household

## 2. Birth Place:

Husband

Wife

Husband's Father

Wife's Father

Husband's Mother

Wife's Mother

Children

Others in Household

## 3. Marriage:

Date

Place

Where did you first meet?

## 4. Family:

Check those of the following relatives who live in Albaek in another house (e.g. Son ✓). Where there is more than one, indicate number (e.g. Sisters 2).

Husband's Family -

Father

Mother

Sons

Daughters

Grandchildren

Brothers

Sisters

Nephews

Nieces

Uncles

Aunts

Male Cousins

Female Cousins

Wife's Family -

Father

Mother

Sons

Daughters

Grandchildren

Brothers

Sisters

Nephews

Nieces

Uncles

Aunts

Male Cousins

Female Cousins

Do you have relatives living in nearby villages?

If so, where?

## APPENDIX IV (continued)

B. RESIDENCE

1. Dwelling (e.g. farm or single house)      Owner or Tenant
  2. Amount of land
  3. Period of residence in Albaek -      Husband      Wife  
    Others
  4. Why did you choose Albaek as a place in which to live?
- 

C. EDUCATION

1. Please state last school, class, and year completed.  
     Husband      Wife  
     What other training do you have?  
     Husband      Wife  
     Husband's Father      Wife's Father  
     Husband's Mother      Wife's Mother  
     Children
  2. Would you have taken higher education if you had had the opportunity?  
     Husband      Wife  
     Others
  3. What education do you want your children to have? If they are already adults, are you satisfied with their status?
  4. What is your opinion about having a central school in Harriidslev?
- 

D. OCCUPATION

Husband -	Wife -
Kind of employment	Kind of employment
Location	Location
Children's occupations, if employed -	
Kind	
Location	
Husband's Father's occupation	
Wife's Father's occupation	

---

E. DAILY LIFE

1. Name the town in which you use the following professions and services:  

Doctor	Dentist	Lawyer
Drugstore	Food Store	Clothing Store
Furniture Store	Automobile Mechanic	
Farm Machinery Dealer	Blacksmith	
Farm Purchases	Farm Sales	
Carpenter or Builder	Electrician	Plumber

## APPENDIX IV (continued)

E.

2. Are you a member of one or more Co-operatives?

If so, state -      Number  
                            Kind

3. Check (✓) the following with whom you celebrate Christmas Eve:

Close Family  
(i.e. family in your house)

Other Relatives -  
from Albaek  
from elsewhere

Friends -  
from Albaek  
from elsewhere

Where do you celebrate Christmas Eve?

4. Check (✓) the following with whom you would celebrate special family events, e.g. confirmation, special birthdays, weddings, etc.:

Close Family

Other Relatives -  
from Albaek  
from elsewhere

Friends -  
from Albaek  
from elsewhere

Where would you celebrate such events?

5. State briefly in the following outline, what work is done at home by the members of your household, (e.g. housework, gardening, repairs, etc.)

Husband

Wife

Elders

Children -    Boys    7-12  
                  Girls    7-12  
                  Boys    12-18  
                  Girls    12-18

Others

6. State briefly in the following outline, the person or persons with whom your children spend most of their time, (e.g. father, mother, grandmother, older sister, etc.):

Boys up to 5 years old  
Girls up to 5 years old  
Boys    5-7  
Girls    5-7  
Boys    7-12  
Girls    7-12

F. SPARE TIME ACTIVITY

1. Nightschool:

Husband -  
Where  
What

Wife -  
Where  
What

Others -  
Where  
What

## APPENDIX IV (continued)

F.

2. Hobbies, Sports, etc.: (Briefly state what.)

Husband  
ChildrenWife  
Others

3. Are any persons in your household members of clubs or organizations other than Co-operatives?

Who  
What

4. Where does the family, or any of its members, go for the following outings, if any:

Visiting  
Movies, Theatre, Concerts  
Dancing  
Dining  
Other entertainment or pastimes  
Vacations

5. Do any persons in the house visit a library regularly?

Who  
Where

6. Are any persons in the house trained in music, dance, gymnastics, theatre, or art?

Who  
What

7. Check (✓) how much leisure time (evenings and weekends) is spent at home by the family:

The whole time  
One-quarterThree-quarters  
None

One-half

G. CHURCH

Do you attend church in Albaek? How often?

Husband  
Children  
Others

Wife

Do you attend church elsewhere? If so, where? How often?

Husband  
Children  
Others

Wife

## APPENDIX IV (continued)

H. COMMUNITY HALL

What functions have you attended at Forsamlingshuset during the past year?

Husband

Wife

Children

Others

Do you think Forsamlingshuset should be used for more activities?

If so, what?

---

I. GENERAL OPINION

What is your opinion about Nørhald Kommune as compared with the previous smaller Kommune of Harrikslev/Albaek for administrative purposes? Please check (✓).

Much better

No difference

A little better

Not as good

What is your opinion about Albaek Village?

Would you like to see changes?

If so, what?

Further comments, if any.

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Note: If the above opinion questions are answered, please state who in the household has answered them.

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