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**UNDER THE NORTH STAR: NOTIONS OF SELF AND COMMUNITY IN
A FINNISH VILLAGE**

City University of New York

Ph.D. 1982

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UNDER THE NORTH STAR: NOTIONS OF SELF
AND COMMUNITY IN A FINNISH VILLAGE

by

FREDRIC MARC ROBERTS

A dissertation submitted to the
Graduate Faculty in Anthropology
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
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University of New York

1982

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1982

This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Anthropology in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

4/30/82
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Abstract

UNDER THE NORTH STAR: NOTIONS OF SELF AND COMMUNITY IN A FINNISH VILLAGE

by

Fredric Marc Roberts

Adviser: Professor Sydel Silverman

This dissertation presents a study of a community in Southern Finland, focusing on the following issues: What are the underlying cultural values and norms governing interpersonal interactions? How are these values and norms linked to international, national, and local economic, social, and political forces? How are the values and norms connected to the dynamics of community life?

The analysis in this study is organized around the concept of "notions of self." Notions of self are cultural understandings of the nature of individuals. The study demonstrates that the most important village notions of self are the product of international, national, and local economic, social, and political forces. The most central village notions of self are shown to emphasize a particular form of individualism. It is argued that conflicts involving individualism are among the most crucial sources of tension in village life. The analysis of village notions of self, especially individualism, provides insights into villagers' understandings of the nature of social stratification. It helps explain the character of villagers'

typical behavior in key social relationships. In addition, it clarifies how these individualistic villagers are able to form a community; it helps identify some of the major sources of division and conflict in village life. Key conflicts among village notions of self are shown to be expressed in the major rituals of village life--the coffee ceremony and male group drinking. The nature of storytelling, a form of communication and entertainment that has a crucial place in community life, is shown to be closely linked to major village notions of self. Finally, it is suggested that there is a single structuring principle organizing the various and opposing central village notions of self.

To the Memory of

Benjamin C. Roberts, arbitrator--who never knew how much he taught me and how much I loved him.

In Gratitude and Love to

Adele B. Roberts--who should know by now.

Caralee J. Roberts--In my life, I've loved her more.

Benjamin T. Roberts--born under the North Star and the most reliable and valid result of this fieldwork.

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Many people and organizations in Finland and the United States provided essential help and encouragement for this project. My greatest debt is to the people of Pellava, and especially to the villagers of Rasti, who shared their lives with me, taught me so much, and were always generous hostesses and hosts. It is impossible to list the names of all the Rastilaiset who gave assistance and support. However, special thanks must be offered to Else, Pentti, Jorma, and Ulla, who let me be part of their family and patiently answered my many foolish questions. I am also deeply grateful to Rauha, Eljas, and Outi, for being such good neighbors. Kalle M., Toivo R., and especially J.V.P. spent countless hours telling me about their village's history and recounting their life stories. Marja-Leena P. was a fine research assistant, cheerfully and intelligently helping me construct and record the second interview. Toini and Keijo aided me with hospitality and technical expertise.

Among the many other people of Pellava who were generous with their time and assistance, it is necessary to separately thank the staffs of the Parish and Commune of Pellava. The families of Aune and Seppo, Eevi and Arvo, Pirkko and Paavo, Riitta and Vāiski were good friends, lending support in numerous ways, not the least of which was dispelling our occasional loneliness and homesickness. Vāiski also used his considerable linguistic talents in helping me translate the first interview into Finnish. Kari R. spent many hours in the church

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I should also mention that in the text of this study, I have continued to speak of Urho Kekkonen as President of Finland, although he has recently resigned that post, due to poor health. I have chosen to do this because during fieldwork, President Kekkonen's influence pervaded virtually every level and aspect of Finnish life. It is still too early to know what his departure from office will mean to the future of Finland.

The title of this dissertation derives from that of Vāinō Linna's masterpiece--Täällä Pohjentähden alla (Here Under the North Star). Although a number of villagers strongly disagreed with Linna's interpretation of Finnish history, while reading Linna's books, thousands of miles from Rasti, I could hear the villagers' voices.

In the United States, support for this research was generously provided by the Social Science Research Council and American Council of Learned Societies, which awarded me a Foreign Area Fellowship in their Western European Program. I also received a Grant for Improving Doctoral Dissertation Research in the Social Sciences (SOC. 7418118) from the

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Finally, I hope that all those who have helped in this study will forgive my tardiness in bringing it to a conclusion. I have been as slow as the stereotypical Hāme man. This delay was not due to a lack of concern but to the difficulty of writing about people that you love and respect.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In the expansion of American anthropology into Europe, Finland has received little attention. The 1970s, however, saw two significant contributions (Lander 1971, 1976; Frölander-Ulf 1978). These studies provide a considerable number of insights on specific topics, such as social stratification and the ideology of women's roles. Nonetheless, there is still a need for a comprehensive picture of the social life of a contemporary Finnish village and for a systematic analysis of interpersonal relationships among villagers. Furthermore, both Lander and Frölander-Ulf worked in one region, Northeastern Finland. In view of the high degree of regional differentiation in Finland, comparative work on other regions is needed.

Finnish ethnologists and sociologists have recently conducted a substantial number of studies of Finnish communities. Due to the methodological and theoretical orientations of these investigators, however, questions of great interest to American anthropology remain open to exploration. These involve the following major issues: What are the underlying cultural values and norms governing interpersonal interactions? How are these values and norms linked to national and local economic and political forces? How are the values and norms connected to the dynamics of community life? Analysis of the

nature of interpersonal relations among Finns is particularly valuable, because widely held assumptions about such relations have influenced stereotypes of Finns held by Finns and non-Finns alike and, indeed, have affected public policy in Finland.

This dissertation presents a study of a community in Southern Finland focusing on these issues. In it, the analysis of the dynamics of community life and interpersonal relations is organized around the concept of "notions of self." Notions of self are cultural understandings of the nature of individuals. The study demonstrates that the most important village notions of self are the products of local, national, and international economic, political, and social forces. The analysis of the village's notions of self also provides insights into villagers' understandings of the nature of social stratification. It helps explain the character of villagers' typical behavior in key social relationships. In addition, it clarifies how villagers are able to form a community; it helps identify some of the major sources of division and conflict in village life. Key conflicts among villagers' notions of self are shown to be expressed in the major rituals of village life. Finally, the nature of village storytelling, a form of communication and entertainment that has a central place in community life, is shown to be closely linked to major village notions of self.

Although research on Finnish society has been abundant (see Alapuro et al. 1973; H. Leimu 1977), until recently cultural and social anthropologists--both Finns and foreigners--have contributed

little to this work. In this chapter, I will consider the histories of Finnish ethnology and sociology--the two fields most closely associated with social and cultural anthropology--and their contributions to research on Finnish society. I will also discuss the efforts of the only two anthropologists from American universities who have recently completed extensive research on modern Finnish society.¹ Finally, I will demonstrate how this dissertation contributes to research on Finnish society by approaching some of the traditional concerns of Finnish scholars from a different and complementary perspective, and how it adds to the previous American anthropological research in Finland by reexamining and enlarging on some of the major themes, issues, and hypotheses presented in that work.

FINNISH ETHNOLOGY: PRE-WORLD WAR II

Finnish ethnology, which has its roots in 18th century scholarship, has primarily been a national science, self-consciously concerned with Finnish society and culture. Its approach has been descriptive, aspiring: ". . . to create a close-up picture of the person, his environment, culture, and community structure. . ." (Valonen 1974b: 11, emphasis in the original). According to Valonen, it is this powerful descriptive and narrative approach that distinguishes Finnish ethnology from Finnish sociology (1974b:25). Until recently, ethnology has concentrated upon creating its close-up pictures of the past. Its first priority was to collect Finnish cultural traditions " . . . which stretched to the farthestmost antiquity" (Valonen 1974b:10). Finnish ethnologists have focused almost exclusively on the rural population, particularly the peasant or farming population, which was considered to have preserved the old traditions (Hako 1974:140). Thus in a

recent survey of Finnish ethnological research, Anttila concludes that: "Ethnological research in Finland has concentrated almost exclusively on handling the peasant culture" (1974:41).

In attempting to recreate past cultural features, Finnish ethnologists have relied heavily on material objects and oral tradition. Finnish research in the area of folklore has at times achieved international fame and even dominance (e.g., the work of Julius and Kaarle Krohn). Finland's folklore archives are massive, and its ethnological museums house extensive collections.

The development of Finnish ethnology, with its focus on the rural peasant past, is closely connected to and has played a major role in a central Finnish political concern--the search for a national identity and unity. Since 1809, Finland has undergone several traumatic events that have each resulted in a national reevaluation of the type of society Finland could or should be. Four of these are political events: 1) the transfer of Finland from Sweden to Russia in 1809, after centuries of Swedish political, cultural, and economic hegemony; 2) the achievement of Finnish independence in 1917, as a result of the turmoil of the Russian Revolution. In the wake of independence, a social class-based civil war broke out in Finland; 3) disastrous defeats in the Winter War (1939-40) and the Continuation War (1941-44) against the Soviet Union; 4) the postwar adoption of a foreign policy directed towards achieving the Soviet Union's acceptance of Finland's neutrality. In addition to these political events, there have been powerful economic changes, such as the increasing penetration of the market economy into the countryside after 1860. In the more recent postwar period, Finland experienced

rapid (though unbalanced) industrialization. This has left Finland in a position of structural dependence, as a semi-peripheral part of the European economy (Kiljunen 1979; Seers 1979:7).

Wilson has demonstrated in great detail that the primary motivation of early Finnish folklore studies was the nationalistic desire to find in Finnish folk poems a set of indigenous, uniquely Finnish values on which to base Finnish society. He has also documented how Finnish folklorists have continually reinterpreted these poems and their implicit values, as Finland's political position has changed, particularly with regard to Russia or the Soviet Union (Wilson 1976). Haavio-Mannila has demonstrated similar phenomena in other branches of Finnish ethnology. In the 19th century, interest in Finno-Ugric research, involving the analysis of materials gathered by Finnish scholars during lengthy scientific expeditions to linguistically related groups in Russia, ". . . sprang from the search for a national identity. One wished to show the original home and cultural relationships of the Finns" (Haavio-Mannila 1973:34). The theory on which Finno-Ugric studies were based assumed that Finnish culture was at the pinnacle of an evolutionary sequence, with the various other Finno-Ugric-speaking peoples representing lower levels in the sequence. When the Finnish-Russian border was closed after Finnish independence, the popularity of Finno-Ugric studies declined, and academic Finnish ethnology concentrated more exclusively on Finland itself and its uniqueness. New Finnish ethnology became diffusionist, arguing that popular material tradition was influenced by traditions that flowed across national borders, but was molded by different areas into their characteristic local culture (Anttila 1974:29). Between the World

Wars, major Finnish ethnologists, like Sirelius, emphasized that there were both Eastern and Western influences on Finnish folk culture (Anttila 1974:29). However, Finland was perceived, above all, as a frontier outpost of Western values (Kirby 1979:105). Since today Finland tries to occupy a neutral political position, its role between East and West has been characterized as that of a mediator, and a leading Finnish ethnologist has suggested that Finnish folk culture represents a unique and ". . . harmonious combination of the eastern and western components of the culture" (K. Vilkuna:1973:397).

Finnish ethnology has been primarily concerned with the past, and especially with the rural peasant past. This is understandable, since Finland has been, until recently, predominantly rural and agricultural. Traditionally, the existing Finnish urban society was dominated by a Swedish-speaking elite that identified itself with Sweden and its culture. Only in the late 19th and early 20th centuries did Finnish speakers begin to come to the cities and universities in significant numbers and thus start to enter the middle and upper class intellectual elite. These young people were primarily offspring of landowning peasants or farmers (Hamalainen 1979:27). It is not surprising that in this period of nationalistic fervor these young people looked to the Finnish peasant and farmer heritage as the source of Finland's national roots.

The focus on the traditions of the farming population was further sharpened by the emergence in the 1890s of a new and deep-seated source of cleavage in Finnish society--the growing appeal of socialism among Finland's rural landless proletariat (Kirby 1979:22; Hamalainen 1979; Alapuro and Alestalo 1973:110). In 1918, an attempted coup by

Finnish socialists led to a civil war, in which the Red forces were decisively defeated. The Finnish farmer or peasant class, along with the Finnish-speaking middle class and the Swedish-speaking upper class, made up the heart of the victorious antisocialist forces (Hamalainen 1979:14). In fact, the antisocialist army was named the Finnish Peasants Army. The causes and nature of this bitter civil war are still the object of scholarly and public debate in Finland. From the perspective of the relationship between the peasant and the national identity, however, it is indisputable that: "White propaganda, and a considerable number of leading figures in the country's cultural life, made a great deal of the contrast between the vigorous, honest and patriotic peasant and the . . . degenerate, bolshevized workers of the industrial cities" (Kirby 1979:65). As a result, for several decades the norms of the agricultural communities predominated in Finnish society, and school textbooks and films mainly reflected those norms (Sankiahio 1971:34).

Social policy after the Civil War reflected an idealization of the farmer or peasant. The view that Finland should become a healthy peasant republic was constantly pushed by the Agrarian party, the dominant party in Finnish political life at that time (see also Kirby 1979: 76-77; Nousiainen 1971:262-263). A number of massive land reforms were set in motion that provided land for the previously landless, under the assumption that this would help stabilize the discontented and formerly rebellious proletariat (Alapuro and Aalstalo 1973:114; Jones 1977:98).

FINNISH SOCIOLOGY

Before turning to postwar Finnish ethnology, it is important to

trace the history of Finnish sociology, since postwar Finnish ethnology has been very heavily influenced by the major trends of Finnish sociology. Perhaps the most striking fact about Finnish postwar sociology is its almost complete separation from prewar academic sociology. Until the Second World War, Finnish academic sociology was almost exclusively Westermarckian social anthropology (Allardt 1973:3). Following the leadership of E. Westermarck, who was internationally known and British trained, Finnish social anthropologists typically shared three characteristics. First, they were evolutionists. They wrote their dissertations on the origin of an important human institution. Second, they studied distant societies. Only one member of the Westermarckian school (Rob V. K. Wikman) focussed his research on Scandinavia. This second characteristic may be explained by the third characteristic: the members of the Westermarckian school (as opposed to the ethnologists) were almost all Swedish-speakers (Haavio-Mannila 1973:64, 71).

It was this lack of concern with Finnish society in general, and with modern Finland in particular, (along with the international demise of evolutionary thought) that led by 1953 to the birth of a new generation of Finnish sociologists with, according to Allardt, no interest in social anthropology (Allardt 1973a:72). As one prominent postwar sociologist, Eskola, has pointed out, postwar Finland was rapidly industrializing and organizing. In such a situation, a social anthropological tradition that focused on exotic customs of primitive peoples and did not help solve the social problems faced by contemporary Finnish society seemed less than worthwhile. (Eskola 1973:286). Pragmatic concern with contemporary domestic issues has characterized

postwar Finnish sociology.

After the Civil War, the victorious bourgeois parties dominated interwar Finland. Major social policy legislation aimed at achieving a socially stable "peasant republic". Despite these policies, socialist sentiment remained strong in Finland. The Social Democratic party was, from 1919 to 1939, almost always the largest single party in the legislature. However, the stigma of the Civil War, the occasional threat of violence from the extreme right (e.g., the Lapua movement), and the presence of an antisocialist Civil Guard, which was 100,000 strong, kept the Social Democratic party from taking the initiative in proposing radical reforms. The Communist party was banned. In this atmosphere, labor union activities were also minimal (Kirby 1979: 98-99).

However, the numerous small farms created by land reforms were not providing a lasting solution to social conflict. They were often far too small and inefficient to be viable. The expression of social, economic, and political conflict was repressed during the interwar period, but the conflicts themselves were not resolved. In addition, new sources of tension were arising, as industrialization and urbanization rapidly increased. In the 1940s, the industrial population doubled in ten years, and Finland witnessed a major exodus of people from the countryside (Eskola 1973:286; Allardt 1973a:6). It is not surprising that after the wars with the Soviet Union, when maintaining satisfactory political relations with that country required a loosening of the control over and suppression of the left (e.g., through the legalization of the Communist party, increasing freedom for worker organizations, and the banning of the Civil Guard), there were a great

number of strikes, general unrest, and urban hostility forward the farming population.

The analysis of these tensions, cleavages, and hostilities became a major task of postwar Finnish sociologists. Their approach was heavily influenced by American sociology. In particular, research focused upon the subjective factors underlying unrest, such as attitudes and opinions. Characteristically, data on these subjective factors were gathered through questionnaires and interviews and then analyzed with complex statistical procedures (e.g., factor analysis). It was also assumed that these subjective factors--traced to various reference groups--were the major causes of behavior (Eskola 1973:289, 304,306). Furthermore, particularly in the research on social policy, which was dominated by Waris, the assumption was made that conflict was pathological (Eskola 1973:294; Alapuro and Aalstalo 1973: 135-138). Whether in work life, marriage, or politics, the goal should be ". . . the blessedness of feeling content, being satisfied and fitting in . . ." (Eskola 1973:294).

According to Eskola, in the 1960s, this orientation began to change, as sociologists developed an increasing interest in conflict theories of society (1973:310). In line with this new orientation, Marxist theory, which had previously found little favor among Finnish academic sociologists, began to find adherents (Allardt 1973a:6; Eskola 1973:307; Eskola et al. 1973).

Although until recently Finnish sociology focused on subjective factors and took an idealist position on causation, it should be stressed that methodologically Finnish sociology has been highly positivistic. This is evident in its almost exclusive reliance on

the statistical analysis of data gathered by interview and questionnaire techniques. Allardt has traced the philosophical roots of this positivism in detail (1973b). In the context of our research, however, it is necessary only to point out that, as a result: "Finnish sociology has been prone to quantitative analysis with all shades of methods, and correspondingly there is a dearth of qualitative methods" (H. Leimu 1977:232).

FINNISH ETHNOLOGY: POST-WORLD WAR II

In the postwar period, Finnish ethnology has been changing, although not as quickly or as fundamentally as sociology. First, in line with the increasing role of the left in Finnish politics and society, the end of the 1950s saw the beginning of a collection of material on worker culture (Hako 1974:139). Second, in the 1960s Finnish ethnology became increasingly concerned with urban culture (Valonen 1974a:6). Third, Finnish ethnology, which had previously concentrated its efforts on the study of the past (i.e., traditional peasant culture), has, like postwar Finnish sociology, begun to consider modern Finland as an important target for research. Evidence of this interest was a conference on ethnological research in present-day communities, which was held at the University of Helsinki in 1974, and was attended by 200 scholars (Valonen and Kovalainen 1974).

The broadening of the focus of Finnish ethnological research has taken place not only within the context of the increasing power of the urban left, but also, correspondingly, within that of a radically weakening position for the farmer in Finnish society. By the late 1950s, the general hostility between the rural and urban populations in Finland had become so intense that the Ministry of Education felt

compelled to finance a major study of the problem (Eskola 1972:52). Finnish farmers were increasingly seen by the rest of the population as parasites. The many small and economically inefficient farms, created by a social policy aiming to bolster social stability, required massive subsidies from the more productive parts of the economy in order to survive. By the early 1960s, influential social policy researchers were arguing that heavily subsidized small holdings were major roadblocks to Finland's economic growth, and that growth was indispensable, if Finland was to remain independent, while situated between the Soviet Union and Sweden (Kuusi 1964:59). Accordingly, Finnish government policy has shifted and now encourages a reduction in the number of farms (Jones 1977:98-99). The concepts of the peasant republic and of the superiority of the farmer-peasant values had clearly lost their prominence in postwar Finland.

COMMUNITY STUDIES: FINNISH CONTRIBUTIONS

The new orientations of Finnish ethnology toward urban as well as rural, modern as well as traditional cultures converged in the 1960s with another trend--interest in the study of communities (urban and rural) as social units. This is reflected in the suggestion that: "The Finnish rural village can be examined not only as a geographical and ethnohistorical, but also as a social unit" (Kehusmaa et al. 1969:5). Valonen stressed that research on the net of internal human relations in a village "sheds light on earlier scarcely handled features of the life of a Finnish rural village. . ." (1969:2). This interest in community studies that focus on social dynamics clearly reflects the Finnish ethnologists' increasing interest in the work of Finnish sociologists and other social scientists. Thus,

in discussing the general direction in which ethnology is moving in Finland, Anttila argued that ethnologists should engage in multi-disciplinary research, and sociology is one of the disciplines that should have the greatest impact on ethnological research methods in the future (1974:41-42). Valonen also stressed the need for ethnology to make use of concepts from fields such as social psychology, sociology, and social anthropology (1974b:22-23).

Since the 1960s, a growing literature of community studies has been produced by Finnish scholars (e.g., Anttila 1969; Aukia 1973; Haanpää 1974; Hänninen 1971; Jyväskylän yliopiston etnologinen laitos 1972, 1973; Järvikoski 1970; Kehusmaa et al. 1969; Knuuti 1971; Kovalainen 1973; Lehtipuro 1972; T. Leimu 1971; Nieminen 1973; Räsänen 1971; Uusitalo 1973; Valonen and Kovalainen 1974; Viitanen 1973; Wallenius 1974). I will briefly examine two of those studies. Typical of the work in this area, they have the added advantage of having been conducted in a rural village quite close to the one discussed in my research. T. Leimu (1971) and Knuuti (1971), respectively, did ethnological and sociological studies of the same village. They were performed as part of the work of the Turku University Village Research Group. This group has carried out studies in villages in several areas of Finland.

T. Leimu's (1971) work shows many of the typical hallmarks of traditional Finnish ethnological research. For example, the work is primarily descriptive. But Leimu's study also displays some of the new features of modern Finnish ethnology described above. It, also, clearly shows the influence of fields like sociology, examining village life in modern Finland (i.e., from the turn of the century up to the time of fieldwork). Although the village, Hyömäki, is

predominantly agricultural, attention is also paid to the nonfarmer segments of the village population. Interviews were carried out with villagers from a wide variety of professions and social groups. The existence of different political and economic interest groups is reported. Above all, the apparently overriding research question is a social one: To what degree has the village remained a cohesive and cooperating unit during the 20th century?

From an anthropological perspective, there remain a number of important lacunae in Leimu's study. As noted above, it is still primarily a descriptive study, tracing in detail the history of forms of village customs in particular areas (e.g., in agricultural techniques, housing, settlement pattern, entertainment, and education). Although these customs may be related directly or indirectly to community cohesion and cooperation, Leimu makes little attempt to show how developments in these different areas are related to each other. The study remains primarily a catalogue of the changes over time in particular areas of life, rather than an analysis of the changes in the dynamics of community or social life as a whole. No coherent view of village social life at any particular point in time is presented. Furthermore, the study only deals superficially with the powerful political, economic, and social events taking place in Finland during the 20th century. Few references are made to such central occurrences as the Civil War and the wars against the Soviet Union. Although Leimu is dealing with a predominantly agricultural village, the changing position of the Finnish farmer is not dealt with in any detail. In fact, little is done even to place the village's social life in the context of the commune in which it is located.

Despite a focus on community cohesion and cooperation, important

social events and rituals (e.g., funerals, birthday parties, etc.) are only briefly described. Specific examples of events are not discussed. Certainly, no attempt is made to analyze in any detail the meaning or social significance of these events. Nor is the possibility of seeing the forms and dynamics of such events as related to central social issues (e.g., authority or prestige) explored. In fact, the study not only handles superficially the major rituals of social life, it virtually ignores daily social life and the norms that mold interactions in central social relations, such as those between spouses, friends, etc.

Although Leimu does report the existence of different economic and political interest groups, she does not indicate in any detail how these divisions or cleavages are reflected in village life. As a result, the village appears suspiciously free of major disputes. Furthermore, there is no indication of how disputes and conflicts are handled.

Leimu (1971:86-87) argues that the increasingly individualistic agriculture means that there is very little necessary interdependence within the village. The village is, therefore, no longer as tightly knit a community as before. But she concludes that despite this, there is still a powerful cooperative spirit in the village. Leimu provides no explanation, however, for the continuing existence of this surprising cooperative spirit.

Some of the weaknesses in Leimu's work may be attributed to the fact that Leimu's research is only one part of a multidisciplinary analysis of Hyömäki, which also included sociological (Knuuti 1971), historical (Laakso 1970), geographical (Leppälä 1971), and folkloric (Lehtipuro 1972) analyses. I will thus turn to Knuuti's (1971)

sociological study of the village to see if it fills the gaps I have mentioned. Knuuti's study explores the social divisions within the village. An interview was used to gather quantifiable data measuring the relationship between apparently important social divisions within the village (e.g., farmers versus nonfarmers, members of different political parties). The measures used include such things as answers by interviewees to questions about their visiting patterns, their choice of villagers whom they feel are capable of exercising leadership, their participation in organizations, and so forth. Knuuti's interview also included questions relevant to specific problems typically found in Finnish rural villages. For example, the ongoing flight of people from the countryside to the cities is explored through questions on the interviewees' future plans. The farmers' problems are probed through questions on their future farming plans and on their expectations about their children's interest in taking over the farm.

The major problem with Knuuti's study is that, true to the tradition of Finnish sociology, it presents and analyzes a good deal of quantitative data gathered through interviews, but it leaves a number of not easily quantified factors virtually unexplored. Thus, although Knuuti analyzes the visiting patterns of villagers in terms of their reports of whom they visit and by whom they are visited, she presents no information about what takes place during the visits. Likewise, she describes the type of people that villagers report that they feel are capable of leadership, but does not indicate how that leadership is actually exercised in the community.

Though Knuuti's research does, in some ways, complement Leimu's, both studies are handicapped by reliance upon data gathered almost

exclusively through interviews. Neither provides information on the details of interpersonal dynamics, which can be gathered only through extended participant observation. In fact, Leimu's and Knuuti's researches are both typical of Finnish community studies, in that the Finnish researchers have remained in the village only for a month or two during a summer.

COMMUNITY STUDIES AND AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGY

Until recently, foreign anthropological research in Finland, which might have both complemented the Finnish approaches and significantly added to the international ethnographic literature, has been virtually nonexistent. In the last decade, however, two recent dissertations on modern Finnish communities have begun to meet these needs. Lander's work is particularly significant because it was closely tied to research trends in Finland. Perhaps, as a result of working in consultation with leading Finnish sociologists (e.g., E. Allardt and E. Haavio-Mannila), Lander's research reflects the growing concern of Finnish social scientists with exploring the serious social conflicts and divisions in Finnish society (1971; 1976). Focusing on a rural but industrial commune in Eastern Finland, Lander carefully documented the highly politicized and class-conscious nature of its social life. She described and analyzed its pervasive system of social stratification and its variety of sharp social cleavages. She delineated both the types of situations in which each of the different cleavages became significant and the conditions under which they were temporarily bridged. Lander was particularly concerned to explore the impact of the increasing penetration of national institutions (e.g., the government bureaucracy, national labor unions and political parties) on the

dynamics of local cleavage and convergence (1971).

Lander's work further complements Finnish community research because, in addition to gathering extensive quantitative data through interviewing a systematic sample of commune residents, she attempted to describe, on the basis of her observations, the interaction patterns in the activities of the commune's voluntary associations, political parties, and local government organs. Lander illustrated the dynamics of the cleavages and convergences in the commune through the brief analysis of a variety of local events, e.g., Independence Day celebrations, May Day activities (1971:213-242).

Lander's choice of a commune as her unit of study is important. The commune is the smallest governmental and political unit of any significance in Finland. Lander's focus on the dynamics of stratification and cleavages would naturally lead her to deal primarily with a level: ". . . where the issues of power, authority and competition for scarce resources is most visible" (1971:245).

Lander's intensive coverage of social interaction on the more visible public and organized level of the commune, however, has necessarily meant some limitations on her research in the more private areas (e.g., family, friendship networks, neighborhoods.). Thus Lander made a number of very suggestive comments about these areas, but they remain peripheral to her main interests and require more exploration.

Furthermore, since (as Lander points out) Finnish society is highly politicized, it is important to recognize that the commune she studied was dominated by the left wing parties. This is not the case in all Finnish communes. Communes with different political balances (such as the commune in which the research reported here took

place) may have quite different political dynamics.

Frölander-Ulf's (1978) recent dissertation complements Lander's. Frölander-Ulf's unit of study was an agriculturally dominated village. Although she does not refer to Lander's work, the village that Frölander-Ulf studied is in fact in Eastern Finland, in a commune very close to the commune in which Lander did her research.

The goal of Frölander-Ulf's research was to demonstrate that the role of women in society is strongly conditioned by their relationship to the productive forces of that society. According to Frölander-Ulf, it is that relationship, and not biological factors, that determines key aspects of women's lives, such as their opportunity to make decisions about their own lives and the mental images or ideologies of women. Frölander-Ulf chose to study rural women in Eastern Finland because they are generally considered to be more aggressively assertive and to play a larger role in public affairs than women in other regions of Finland. Frölander-Ulf tried to show that the source of this relative power is the major role these women played in cattle keeping--the chief cash producing agricultural activity. However, despite their relatively larger role in public affairs, the women Frölander-Ulf studied were still not represented in proportion to their numbers in positions of public influence and power. Frölander-Ulf suggested that this reflects the fact that, despite the women's major economic contribution, there is a powerful structural bias in favor of males in inheritance patterns, residence rules, and access to control over cash resources. A dominant ideology that emphasizes that women's work is less valuable than men's and suggests that women are unsuitable for political activities is seen by Frölander-Ulf as serving to perpetuate a contradiction in the economic-political system.

Frölander-Ulf's research is a welcome contribution to the increasing cross-cultural literature on women's roles (e.g., Friedl 1975; Hammond and Jablow 1976; Mattiasson 1974; Quinn 1971; Reiter 1975; Rohrlich-Leavitt 1975; Rosaldo and Lamphere 1974). According to Frölander-Ulf, anthropological studies of women in Scandinavia are not available (1978:3-4). The only serious Finnish study of women's roles, E. Haavio-Mannila's (1968) Suomalainen nainen ja mies (Finnish Woman and Man), is sociological and based solely on occupational and statistical information and attitude surveys. It is important to indicate, however, that there appears to be a potentially serious bias in the data on which Frölander-Ulf bases her major arguments. Frölander-Ulf notes that the bulk of her information came from 20 women, of whom 10 became main informants (1978:20). Apparently, she did not systematically interview men, either on agricultural practices (an important independent variable in her analysis), or on their attitudes about women. Frölander-Ulf also analyzed the content of the ideology of women's role almost solely on the basis of conscious verbalizations about the subject. She paid little attention to the ideology as it is expressed in the structure and content of major social events and rituals.

It should also be mentioned in passing that Frölander-Ulf focused her research on the period 1900-50. She did this because during that period agriculture was still intensive, and women were deeply involved in the production process. There was also an active village social life, with all age and social groups participating (1978:19). Though this choice of time period makes sense in terms of testing her hypotheses, it means that Frölander-Ulf deals only in passing with the impact on the community of the weakening position of farmers in postwar Finland and with the changing ideology of women's

roles associated with the sexual division of agricultural labor concomitant with increasing mechanization. Finally, this historical orientation has meant that she restricted her interviewees not only to females, but also to women within the 50-85 year old range.

THIS STUDY

This brief review of the most relevant research on Finland has demonstrated that there is still a need for a village study based on extensive fieldwork and participant observation and presenting a comprehensive picture of the dynamics of community life.

Although Finnish social scientists have increasingly turned towards studies of contemporary Finnish communities, analysis of social events and patterns of interpersonal interactions are not their strong points (see Lander 1971:3). This is primarily the result of the theoretical and methodological orientations of Finnish ethnology and sociology; also, Finnish village studies have been written by Finns for Finnish audiences. This underlying cultural values and norms governing social interactions have been assumed by Finnish authors and readers and are seldom, if ever, subjected to scrutiny and analysis.

This lack of intensive studies of patterns of Finnish social interaction allows the perpetuation of a number of inaccurate stereotypes of Finns, believed by Finns and non-Finns alike. For example, describing his experiences as a visiting teacher at a Finnish university, Bradley asserted that: "You have to get used to silence in Finland. It is a major part of social communion" (1966:54). He returned to this theme repeatedly in his book (e.g., 1965: 43-44, 61, 85, 87-98, 206, 213). This characterization is found in many works on Finland by foreigners (e.g., Connery 1966:451, 454). In fact, I originally intended

to study patterns of silence in this society of apparently laconic people. The region of Häme in Southern Finland was chosen as a research site, because its people have long been considered the most laconic of all Finns. It was hoped that such a study would balance the ethnography of speaking literature, which at that time was heavily weighted with research on Afro-American cultures. This research on Afro-American culture had uncovered a high valuation of skill in verbalization and verbal maneuvering (e.g., Abrahams 1964; Abrahams and Bauman 1971; Bauman 1972; Kochman 1970; Mitchell-Kernan 1972). Ironically, as the ethnography of speaking research on Afro-Americans uncovered a highly verbal culture among people originally characterized as verbally impoverished, so my research found storytelling to play a pervasive and central role in the social life and dynamics of a supposedly laconic Häme community.

While community studies carried out by Finnish scholars have generally dealt only in passing with the cultural values and norms governing social interactions, those studies have also generally done relatively little to explore the ways in which those cultural values and norms, as they are expressed in local social life, have been molded by national and international political, economic, social, and intellectual forces and events. Lander's work, which demonstrated the impact on a commune of the increasing penetration of national institutions, points to the importance of including an analysis of the national and international framework in a study of local community life. In the present study, Lander's example was followed.

Lander's research contributed significantly to research on Finnish communities and patterns of social interactions. Of particular

significance has been Lander's emphasis on the role of social stratification in structuring social interaction and community life. However, an analysis of the dynamics of a Finnish commune still leaves many questions unanswered about the social dynamics of the Finnish village. Also, Lander had studied a commune, which though rural, was predominantly industrial with a socialist majority in its communal council. This suggested that the village chosen for this study be in a commune that had a nonsocialist majority and a predominantly agricultural economy, particularly because of the agrarian nature of the Häme stereotype. If the research were not to result merely in a catalogue of the symptoms of growing social disorganization and economic impoverishment, however, it was crucial that the commune chosen also have a future (i.e., growing service and/or manufacturing sectors). The commune also had to be diverse enough to include the types of political and social divisions that Lander had shown were central in modern Finnish life. Finally, in rapidly urbanizing Finland, it was important that the commune be more than an economic and social satellite of a city; yet, it had to be close enough to cities so that the commune's residents had fairly frequent personal experiences with urban life and urbanites. The commune of Pellava (a pseudonym) met most of these requirements. The major way in which it diverged from these criteria was that while Pellava did have a growing service sector, its manufacturing sector was underdeveloped. There were no large factories. As a result, no central focus existed around which working class movements might coalesce and organize politically and socially.

Frölander-Ulf's study of a Finnish village, though done within the American anthropological tradition, also cannot provide answers

to many key questions about the social dynamics of contemporary Finnish villages. Her research focused upon the period from 1900 to 1950. Frölander-Ulf's almost exclusive concern with the issue of women's roles and her apparently sole reliance on women from 50 to 85 years old as her major informants and interviewees limited the scope of her analysis of social interactions and of the village as a community. Finally, the community that Frölander-Ulf studied was in Northeastern Finland. Villages in that region have generally had dispersed settlement patterns (Vuorela 1975: 295-296). In contrast, the village described in this report is in Southern Finland. Like many other villages in this region, Rasti (a pseudonym) traditionally had a nucleated settlement pattern. It still displays a relatively high degree of geographic concentration in its settlement pattern. This is crucial. Kehusmaa et al. stressed that:

Particularly, in the south and west Finnish traditional field agricultural area, where village forms have since olden times been clear and fixed, there has dominated, and dominates still, a clear feeling in the rural population of belonging to a given village, of being a member of a known village. This village consciousness has not completely disappeared, even as a result of the effects of a powerfully changing modern occupational and social class picture [1969:5].

One of the main reasons for choosing Rasti was that, in fact, people knowledgeable about the rural villages of Pellava consistently pointed to Rasti as an example of a community with a strong sense of village consciousness, a feeling on the part of the people of Rasti that living in Rasti was a significant part of their lives and identities. Also, despite the general exodus from the Finnish countryside, affecting virtually all rural hamlets, Rasti still had retained a relatively high degree of political, social, and economic diversity. The village also had a store, a school, and some voluntary social

organizations.

NOTIONS OF SELF

In this study of Rasti, the dynamics of contemporary village life and interpersonal interactions have been analyzed and described primarily in terms of cultural notions of self (Rosaldo 1980). That is, this study focuses on cultural understandings of the nature of individuals (i.e., assumptions about their needs, rights, obligations, motivations, emotions, weaknesses, and strengths). To focus upon such notions is not to assert that all individuals within the culture are in fact the same (i.e., share common personality traits), or even that there is a modal personality within the society. Rather, it suggests that these notions provide the individuals in a community with common bases for interpreting, explaining, predicting, and commenting on their own and their fellows' behavior. In a recent monograph that used the notion of self as its major theoretical concept, Rosaldo argued that such a focus has a number of anthropological precedents; she cited Mauss's (1938) plea for research on how notions of person vary with different types of social systems (Rosaldo 1980:26). (Krader [1969] has recently translated and commented on that seminal article by Mauss.) Rosaldo also mentioned relevant works by Lee (1959), Benedict (1946), Hallowell (1954), Schneider (1968), and Geertz (1973). In addition, a strong case may be made for suggesting that much of Dumont's work (e.g., 1977a; 1977b) has also dealt with this issue. In a recent article, Singer (1980) approached this subject in relationship to the philosophy of Pierce. It is important to note that outside anthropology there have been works focusing on cultural notions of self in other historical periods (e.g., Ullmann [1966] on the medieval era). Recently, several widely

read and controversial works (Foucault 1979; Lasch 1979; and Sennett 1978) have dealt in detail with the origins and nature of modern Western notions of self.

It is useful to organize the analysis of the dynamics of community life and interpersonal interactions in Rasti around notions of self because within this context the behavior patterns characteristic of key social relationships (e.g., husband-wife, parent-child, friendship, farmer-nonfarmer) become explicable in terms of a relatively small number of variables. Furthermore, the tensions and stresses that characterize some of the most important relationships in the village (e.g., the husband-wife relationship) and typify villagers' feelings about some important social issues (e.g., the use and abuse of alcohol) are also understandable, to a great extent, in terms of the existence of conflicting notions of self. In fact, the major components of village notions of self are often in conflict with each other. The most central conflicts in notions of self revolve around the value of individualism.

In Rasti, individualism is characterized by two features. On the one hand, there is an emphasis on personal autonomy and independence and, on the other hand, there is a high valuation of egalitarianism. The villagers' concern with personal autonomy and independence frequently conflicts with their concern for community and cooperation. Villagers stress egalitarianism, but also recognize the important role hierarchy plays in social life.

An attempt will also be made to show how the emphasis on personal autonomy and independence is closely tied to the increasing penetration of the Finnish countryside by capitalism and to the related fostering by the Finnish government, during much of the first half of the 20th century, of an ideology of a "Peasant Republic". As I have pointed out

earlier in this chapter, the development of this ideology occurred as part of a larger search for national identity. Here it will be argued that, in general, this search for a national identity has had a heavy impact on the notions of self found in the village, since images of rural life and rural people, particularly of farming and farmers, have had a privileged place in the development of the ideology of national identity. An attempt will be made to demonstrate that the new ideologies that emerged and became dominant in postwar urbanized and industrialized Finland are in conflict with the ideologies and notions of self still held by many villagers. The consequences of those conflicts will be explored.

Egalitarianism, the second element of individualism found in the villagers' notions of self, has roots in the history of agriculture, inheritance rights, and demographic trends in rural Finland. In the following chapters, the meaning of egalitarianism will be explored in detail, but Laitinen's words aptly and succinctly capture its essence: ". . . a person's worth is not determined by his social position, his prosperity, or even his level of culture, but by his everyday activities measured against his conditions and in relation to the world in which he lives" (1978:24). The existence of this egalitarian element in the notion of self does not, however, exclude the acute sense of hierarchy and class consciousness that Lander has described. A major finding of this research is that the opposition between the traditional hierarchical and egalitarian notions of self has produced much of the tension to be found in interpersonal relations.

The village system of occupational and academic titles for address and reference is shown to reflect that tension, a tension that is, perhaps, best expressed in the way one of the Finland's leading social

historians, Wirilander, has characterized Finnish society: "a democracy of titles" (Haatanen 1973:183). An examination of the village second person pronoun system for address and reference also reveals a complex interaction between egalitarian and hierarchical notions of self.

Focusing the analysis on the implications of individualistic notions of self also sheds additional light on Frölander-Ulf's findings. The research reported here suggests that Frölander-Ulf's conclusion, the woman's position is full of contradictions, is valid in rural Häme, as well as in rural Northeastern Finland, and it is almost as true in the mid-1970s as it was in the period between 1900 and 1950. The husband-wife relationship is, perhaps, the most complex in the village. However, it is suggested that the nature of the husband-wife relationship can only be fully understood when it is viewed in the larger context of the inherent difficulties a person faces in establishing intimate relationships in a community stressing individualistic notions of self. Thus, the husband-wife relationship must be analyzed in conjunction with an examination of the nature of other key relationships within the family and of friendship.

Just as analyses of key notions of self, like individualism, are necessary to understand how intimate relationships can be established in the village, so they also help to uncover the most common sources of interpersonal antagonism and conflict within the village, and explain how those conflicts are typically handled. They also suggest why certain people are generally regarded as deviants by most villagers.

Given the emphasis on individualistic notions of self typical of villagers, the relatively high degree of village consciousness found in Rasti is puzzling, especially since the village is almost

meaningless as a governmental and economic unit. Furthermore, even though Rasti does have more organizations than most rural hamlets, those groups directly involve only a small proportion of the village's population. In fact, the community's social life does not revolve around organizations, but instead around private hospitality. Village hospitality ranges in scale from a neighbor dropping in on an errand and being asked to stay for coffee, to one hundred guests being invited for a lavish meal at a major birthday party. Data on hospitality customs are abundant in the Finnish ethnological literature (e.g., Kuusanmäki 1954; Uusivirta 1969; Vuorela 1975). However, again, this material is primarily descriptive. My analysis of the forms of village hospitality helps uncover the way villagers approach their relationships to each other and to the community as a whole. For example, major social events in the village are generally structured around the coffee ceremony and male group drinking. Within these major events, a central question of village life is ritually confronted: How can a community be formed out of a population of people whose notions of self emphasize personal autonomy and egalitarianism?

An analysis of male group drinking is also important in the context of Finnish research, because alcohol and drinking have long been subjects of major concern to Finnish researchers. Furthermore, a prominent part of the stereotype of Finns, which foreigners often believe, is the assumption that Finns are heavy drinkers. Connery's assertion is typical: "The silent Finn is also the drinking Finn" (1966:454). Finns are, in fact, divided in terms of their attitudes towards alcohol (Bruun 1971:17-18). At the national level, alcohol control policies are an important issue (Koskikallio 1979). In the village, drinking is a frequent topic for debate, conversation, and

storytelling. The division between village drinkers and teetotalers is a major factor in social interactions and community dynamics.

Reflecting the importance of alcohol in Finnish life, postwar Finnish sociology has been heavily involved in studies of drinking. A recent monograph on the sociological approach to the study of alcohol in Scandinavia by Bruun (1972), secretary and research director of the Finnish Foundation for Alcohol Studies, clearly reflects the massive literature in this area. However, it is not surprising, given the nature of the postwar Finnish sociological tradition, that this research has relied almost exclusively on interviews, questionnaires, and experiments. (The Foundation has been a center for advances in techniques of multifactor analysis [H. Leimu 1977:23]). In his monograph, Bruun emphasized the importance of the social anthropological approach to the study of alcohol. He pointed out the value of observing actual drinking situations, in order to discover the norms related to the use of alcohol; and he stressed the necessity of exploring cultural meanings of alcohol (1972:16,20). After stating that in the alcohol research in Finland, and the other Scandinavian countries, this approach has been ignored, Bruun argued that this lack must be remedied (1972:46). However, neither the work of Lander and of Frölander-Ulf, nor the various community studies recently completed by Finns appear to have taken up this challenge. This study, however, presents the type of data and analysis that Bruun calls for. Furthermore, one of the major conclusions of this research is that the tensions that are produced by the emphasis on individualism in village notions of self and affect the relationship of a villager to the community in general, and to other villagers in intimate relations, converge to be expressed very graphically in behavior surrounding drinking.

Throughout this analysis, storytelling will be shown to have a central role in village social life. An investigation of storytelling itself will show that its character is closely linked to major village notions of self, like individualism. It will also be argued that one reason storytelling is so pervasive in Rasti is that it is a means by which individuals can jointly discuss and suggest solutions to social and economic problems, without violating important village notions of self.

Finally, in looking back at the entire analysis, it will be suggested that there is an overall structural principle that orders the various and opposing village notions of self; this principle helps maximize the practical value for villagers of those notions.

RESEARCH METHODS AND TECHNIQUES

The time spent in fieldwork can be roughly divided into two periods: August 1974-July 1975 and August 1975-August 1976. During the earlier period, residence was established in the church village of the commune of Pellava. The church village is the densely populated service center for the commune. Virtually all government and church facilities, and also the largest local stores, are located in the church village. During this period, the research focused primarily on the study of the commune as an economic, political, and social entity. As Lander has pointed out, it is at the commune level that the struggles for local power are most visible (1971). I interviewed the major figures in the commune's economic, political, and religious activities; I observed and analyzed the communal organizations. At the same time, I carried out preliminary research on the life of several rural villages.

The second period of research concentrated on the study of the

village of Rasti. For most of this time, my wife and I had an independent residence in the village. However, during the last three and one-half months, after my wife and infant son returned to the United States, I lived with one of the village farm families. The material gathered during this second year is the basis for most of the analysis presented in this report, and the following description of research techniques focuses on those used in the village of Rasti.

In addition to participant observation, the following approaches were employed: A basic ethnographic interview was carried out with almost the entire adult population of the village. There were three parts to the basic interview: 1) Personal history: the residential, professional, and educational backgrounds of both the interviewees and the interviewees' parents, siblings, and children; 2) Quantitative measures of participation in social interactions: the interviewees' patterns of visiting, shopping, and participating in various other types of social events within the village, in other rural villages of the commune, and in the church village; 3) Economic data: landownership, housing, and agricultural practices, past and present.

Some of the questions on this basic interview were developed as the result of extensive observations of life in several of the commune's rural villages. Other questions were based on those used by Lander (1971) and by several Finnish ethnologists and sociologists (e.g., Knuuti 1971). The interview was extensively pretested in a village close to Rasti, before being used in Rasti itself (see Appendix A for a translation of the complete interview).

Three older men (one retired craftsman and two retired farmers) were among my most important informants. Each of these men represented

a different part of the political spectrum. The two farmers, also, had quite contrasting approaches to agriculture. The three key informants provided, in addition to information on particular subjects (e.g., farming techniques, politics), fairly complete life histories.

The spouse of one of the village schoolteachers was another major informant. This woman was originally from a distant part of Finland, but she had lived in the village for 14 years and had built a network of friends and acquaintances spanning all of the village's economic and political groups. This informant helped translate and pretest the value behavior study to be described later.

Finally, the farm family I lived with during the final period of the fieldwork was a key source of information. They held a central place in village social life. The wife was the leader of one of the village's most active women's groups; the husband had lived in the village for practically his entire life; the son was an important figure in the activities of the village's young adults.

By the spring of 1976, on the basis of data collected through observations and work with key informants, a number of hypotheses were formulated about the nature of the values that were most central to villagers' notions of self and to the dynamics of community life. In order to independently test these hypotheses, a second interview was developed to be administered to a sample of village adults. In selecting the sample, two significant sources of diversity in the village--sex and occupation (i.e., farmers versus nonfarmers)--were taken into consideration. The sample was also limited to mature adults, who were the most socially and economically active people in the village. Five people were randomly selected from each of the following four categories: female farmers, male farmers, female

nonfarmers, and male nonfarmers.

The form of the questions was derived from the work of Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961). They had developed a method for measuring quantitative variability in value orientations, both within a population and between different societies. The approach used by Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck was to describe briefly to interviewees a general life situation that was common in their society. A limited number of alternative approaches to the situation were then presented as having been taken by hypothetical individuals or groups. Interviewees were asked to indicate their preferences for the alternatives. By using this format, Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck attempted to minimize the defensiveness of the respondents, since the interviewees were not being asked to directly and personally judge the alternatives, but rather to evaluate the judgments or opinions of a set of hypothetical people (1961:79). Interviewees were also asked to decide which of the alternatives would be the first choice of the majority of other people in the community. This question was used to measure the "perceived consensus" in value choice.

Similar types of format were followed in the research in Rasti (see Appendix B). The use of a series of concrete life situations as the basis for the interview seemed appropriate, because the original hypotheses had been derived from observations of specific social interactions and informants' descriptions of actual interactions. However, most important was that, in general, villagers seemed to feel comfortable only when discussing concrete events. It was hoped that the questions would simulate actual events, without eliciting the defensiveness that would have come from asking questions on actual events involving specific real villagers. Questions that allowed

the measurement of the degree of agreement or disagreement between individuals' own views and their perceptions of the views or actions of their fellow villagers seemed highly relevant in a community where individualism was a major professed value.

Although the formats used in the interview in Rasti are similar to those used by Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck, the content of the questions used in Rasti is generally quite different. Only three of the questions in the Rasti interview (numbers 7, 26, 6) come directly from Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961: 80, 87, 89). Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck had developed their interview questions in order to test a general theory of value orientation. The general situations and alternatives offered in the questions were deduced from that general theory. The interview used in Rasti did not begin from that general theory.² Instead, it simply tested a set of specific hypotheses about a variety of values. These sets of values cover roughly seven areas of life: emotions, male-female relations, the handling of disputes, humor, alcohol and drinking, economics and work, and friendship. Because the questions were not based on one unifying theme or theory, the results will be presented throughout the text, as they are relevant to issues under discussion. However, both a translation of the interview and statistical analyses of the responses are in Appendix B.

Population statistics for earlier periods in the village's history were obtained from the archives of the Pellava Parish Church. The nature of this material is described in Chapter IV.

The next chapter provides data on key features, past and present, of the social, economic, and political structure of Finland. This is necessary background for the interpretations suggested in later

chapters. Chapter III describes the commune of Pellava, within which Rasti is located, Chapter IV contains a detailed ethnographic description of the village of Rasti. Chapter V begins the examination of the dynamics of village social life and of interpersonal interactions. In this, and the following chapters, the analyses are primarily organized around the concept of cultural notions of self. These analyses focus on the conflicts that exist between various aspects of central village notions of self and on how the resulting tensions are expressed and-or resolved. Chapter V deals primarily with occupational identity. Chapter VI discusses the patterns of social interactions characteristic of the most intimate social relationships in the village; it also analyzes the major sources of interpersonal conflict in village life. Chapter VII turns to an analysis of the forms of village sociability, particularly the central modes of hospitality--the coffee ceremony and male group drinking. Chapter VIII deals with a pervasive part of almost all village social events, storytelling. In chapter IX the basic argument of the dissertation is summarized, and it is suggested that there is a single structural principle that organizes the various and opposing central village notions of self.

NOTES

¹I am excluding research on the Lapps (e.g., Pelto 1962, 1973). The Lapps are a very small and distinct ethnic group in Finland.

²Their theory assumed that:
. . . there is a limited number of common human problems for which all peoples at all times must find some solution. . . while there is variability in solutions of all the problems, it is neither limitless nor random but is definitely variable within a range of possible solutions. . . . all alternatives of all solutions are present in all societies at all times but are differentially preferred [Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck 1961:10, emphasis in original].

CHAPTER II

THE NATIONAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter provides data on key features of the social, economic, and political structure of Finland. This is necessary background for the interpretations and assertions made in later chapters about the relationships between the tensions and stresses of village life and both national and international forces.

One focus of this chapter is the rise of the Finnish timber industry, a dominating force in the national economy since the latter part of the 19th century. The timber industry is shown to have had a major impact on the development of national integration, the definition of Finland's place in the world capitalist system, the development of Finnish agriculture, and the rise of class conflict, and stratification in rural Finnish society. The chapter describes the national social policies adopted during the interwar period in an attempt to deal with the latter two developments.

Special attention is also paid to the economic, political, and social consequences of Finland's defeat in the Finno-Soviet wars. Of particular concern is the resultant shift in the position of the farmers in Finnish society in the postwar period.

Finally, there is a brief description of the present structure of Finnish national government and of the major characteristics of present-day Finnish national politics.

GEOGRAPHY AND NATURAL RESOURCES

In a letter written in the 1880s, a Finnish philosopher, Neighlick, characterized the Finns as: "a people whose geographical setting is abominable and whose situation on the cultural map is even more so" (quoted in Mead 1968:219). Despite enormous changes in their nation's economic structure, startling improvement in their standard of living, and over 60 years of successful defense of their national independence, Finns still find themselves confronted by geographical and geopolitical facts of life that, if not abominable, are still difficult and challenging.

Most fundamental is Finland's extreme northern location. Situated between latitudes 60° and 70° North, Finland is the only independent state whose territory lies totally north of 60° latitude (Fullerton and Williams 1972:233). Thus, although Finland's land surface area of approximately 337,000 km.² makes it one of Europe's largest nations, the significance of that size is considerably diminished, since approximately one-third of Finland's total north-south length lies within the Arctic Circle (Varjo 1977:9). Not surprisingly, Finland's population is distributed very unevenly, with the heaviest concentration in the southwest parts of the country. For Finland as a whole, the population density is 14 persons per km.². In the southwest quarter, it is 50 per km.²; however, in the northeast third, it is less than 5 per km.². This trend has been steadily increasing. In the late 19th century, the southwest third of the country had one-half of the population; the southwest quarter now has one-half of the population (Mead 1968:217).

Obviously, this northern location presents considerable difficulties for agricultural activities. Even in Southern Finland, for example,

there are only approximately 200 growing days per year, as compared with 250 in Denmark (Scott 1975:136). However, though the Finns themselves often stress the harshness of their climate, it is not as extreme as the country's latitude would suggest by itself. Due to maritime and cyclonic influences, the Finnish winter is considerably warmer than those of areas located in similar latitudes (e.g., 60° North passes through the southern tip of Greenland, the south of Alaska, and the Yakutsk district of Siberia). Finland at large has a January mean temperature calculated to be 11° warmer than that of the general latitude belt that lies between 60° and 70° North (Mead and Smeds 1967:32; Varjo 1977:9). Finland remains the northernmost country in which agriculture is still the chief basis of rural settlement (Varjo 1977:7).

Although there are considerable small-scale topographical fluctuations, Finland is a predominantly flat and low country. The average height above sea level is only 152 meters (Varjo 1977:13). The arable lands of the various regions of Finland are, for the most part, similar in suitability for cultivation. However, distinct differences between Northern and Southern Finland in climatological features, such as effective temperature sum (i.e., the sum of the amounts by which the daily mean temperatures exceed 5° C.), result in considerable geographic differences in the productivity of land. Therefore, classifications of agricultural land for taxation purposes indicate that the productivity of land in Southern Finland is five times that of land in the county of Lapland (Varjo 1977: 15-22).

Approximately nine percent of the Finnish surface area is water (Varjo 1977:9). Before the extensive development of railways and motor roads, the abundant rivers and lakes were major means of

transportation. Despite Finland's large amount of water, due to its topographical flatness, Finland has quite limited potential for the production of hydroelectric power. The usable sites are primarily located in Northern Finland, at a great distance from the major sources of demand, and those potential sites have already been almost completely exploited (Fullerton and Williams 1972:230; Mead 1968:212). Compounding this problem is Finland's singular lack of other power sources. This deficiency has become increasingly significant as Finland moved to greater reliance on manufacturing; between 1945 and 1965, Finland's consumption of electricity increased five times (Mead 1968:212). Finland is now dependent on the Soviet Union for fossil fuels (Singleton 1978:329-330). These oil imports have made up one-tenth of Finnish imports by value (Mead 1968:213). Finland also has only limited supplies of iron ore and must import iron and steel. The Finnish chemical, textile, and engineering industries have had to import between 75 and 95 percent of their raw material needs and intermediates. Finland is, however, a leading European producer of copper and nickel, and it exports zinc (Bacon 1970:235-236; Fullerton and Williams 1972:239; Kiljunen 1979:301).

Finland's other resources are dwarfed in importance by its forests. Approximately 71 percent of Finland's total area is covered by conifer forest, with Norway Spruce and Scots Pine as the dominant species. They account for more than 81 percent of Finland's forests, and birch accounts for 18 percent. The long fibers of the conifers make them particularly valuable in the production of cellulose and paper (Fullerton and Williams 1972:234). Mead has pointed out that Finland's forests have been the ultimate source of her material wealth (1968:203). Kiljunen has further argued that: ". . . forestry has been the crucial

sector determining the issue of the development of the whole economy" (1979:285).

Indeed, the centrality of the timber industry is such that in the following sections it will become clear that many of the most important developments in the Finnish national economy, government, and social structure are best discussed in the context of the development of the forestry industry. In particular, drawing upon the recent work of Alapuro (1978; 1979) and Kiljunen (1979), it will be argued that the development of Finland into a national political and economic entity, the development of regional division of labor in Finland, the establishment of Finland's position in the international division of labor, and the directions taken in the development of Finnish agriculture have all been strongly conditioned by the character of the Finnish forestry industries. Furthermore, an examination of timber's central position in the Finnish economy will lead us directly to the national and international forces that have historically had the most immediate and important impacts on the economy and social life of the village of Rasti. The most forceful and significant penetrations of village life by market forces and by the capitalist economic and social order began as direct and indirect results of the development of the Finnish timber industry.

ENCLOSURE

A primary factor conditioning the impact of the timber industry on the Finnish countryside has been the ownership by individual farms of the bulk of the forests. The Finnish peasant class traditionally controlled the majority of the forest land. The ownership and control of forest land by individual (nongentry) farms, as well as the organization

of farms into autonomously run individual units, did not, however, develop in Finland until the second half of the 18th century. In the traditional peasant pattern of landownership, forests and other outlying lands were held in common by some larger unit, usually a village. Arable lands were privately owned, but any individual's farm's holdings were distributed among numerous strips or plots in open fields (Jones 1977:90). The enclosure movement, which began in Sweden-Finland in 1757, was markedly different in form from the English:

In Sweden and Finland the object of enclosure was to gather together the often numerous pieces of land belonging to a farm, and to divide the common meadow land and forest of a village among the farms. The aim was to get rid of commonly fenced arable fields and other common possessions, so that each farm might evolve an independent management [Soininen 1974:456].

Within the already established arable land, the goal was to rid agriculture of barriers to innovation and to encourage private enterprise. The preenclosure system had hampered individuals who wished to experiment with new methods of cultivation because all agricultural operations had to be carried out at the same time by all the village farms (Jones 1977:90).

Another goal of the enclosure was the development of additional arable land out of previously forested areas. The interest in expanding arable land at the expense of forest land was consistent with the fact that until the middle of the 19th century, wood was considered almost valueless in Finland (Soininen 1974:456). It was hoped that as enclosure established the principle of private ownership of all types of land (including forest), it would encourage the cultivation of new lands through the development of crofts. The right to establish crofts had been severely restricted up until the

18th century. The middle of the 18th century, however, saw the complete removal of those restrictions, along with the launching of the enclosure movement (Soininen 1974:456-457). This abandonment of restrictions on crofts can be seen, along with enclosure, as part of a general move to fortify private ownership rights and to encourage private enterprise in agriculture (Jones 1977:94).

Finnish agriculture has always had three basic sectors: crop cultivation (particularly of grains), stock raising, and forestry. Traditionally, the first sector was by far the most important. Rye was the principal grain grown in Southern and Central Finland and in the southern part of Northern Finland. Livestock was kept primarily to provide haulage power for field work, transportation, and manure to fertilize the fields. Milk production was generally quite poor. Forestry products were generally low in value. The use of wood for household purposes became wasteful. In the 1850s approximately 90 percent of the timber cut was still used for burn-beating cultivation and for household requirements (Soininen 1974:448-455). In the latter half of the 18th century, grain sales for export also became increasingly profitable. In Southwestern Finland (the area nearest to Sweden) this primarily benefited the manors owned by the gentry. It also helped some of the peasants, whose individual control over their lands had been recently established by enclosure. Wealthy peasants and the other agrarian upper classes of the Southwest had thus established by the early 19th century market involvement through the cities (Alapuro 1978:120-121). It is likely, nevertheless, that even in the Southwest the impact of the new marketing possibilities was minimal for the bulk of the peasantry in the second half of the 18th century and in the early 19th century. During that period, most

of the agricultural population still lived within a primarily self-supporting economy. In general, the variation in living standards among farmers of different social categories was decisively smaller than that which developed later in the 19th century (Soininen 1974: 457). At the beginning of the 19th century, observers still stressed the "brotherly" relationship between the farmers and their workers (Haatanen 1968:72-73).

POPULATION GROWTH

The forces that were to truly sharpen the distinctions within the rural population during the 19th century were, on the one hand, the rapid growth of the Finnish population and, on the other hand, the rise of the timber industry. Between 1815 and 1900 the total rural population of Finland grew from 1,044,000 to 2,373,000 (Jones 1977: 94-95). Until the early 19th century, there had been a relatively sparse and dispersed population in Eastern Finland. Partially as a result of its distance from Sweden and other trade centers, there was little demesne cultivation, and the local gentry played only a minor role. There was also no strong peasant upper class, no powerful tradition of exploitation within the peasant classes (Alapuro 1979: 344). In Eastern Finland, where slash-and-burn cultivation had long been practiced, the rise in population in the first half of the 19th century resulted in overcropping and steadily decreasing yields. Crop failures in the 1830s led to the decline of the slash-and-burn system. On the stony and uneven lands of Eastern Finland, the change to arable cultivation was difficult and slow. The shift could not compensate for the rapid failure of the former system. Especially crucial in terms of social stratification was the fact that burn-beating had

required a larger labor force than traditional arable cultivation. As a result of the shift to arable cultivation and the rise in population, a floating population of underemployed farm laborers developed in Eastern Finland (Soininen 1974:458).

In the agriculturally more developed Western Finland, population increased more rapidly than new farms could be established. The number of landless increased; a labor surplus developed, which damaged the economic position of the landless. "Farmers succeeded in gaining for themselves a growing share of agricultural proceeds, so the difference of living standards between themselves and the landless increased" (Soininen 1974:458).

The old system of arable agriculture came to a crisis with crop failures in the 1860s. The worst crop failure occurred in 1867, and it resulted in a famine. The famine, along with the diseases that developed in its wake, led to the death of eight percent of the Finnish population in the winter of 1867-68. Those famine years glaringly exposed the weaknesses of traditional agriculture. The need for significant changes in agriculture became even more acute when customs barriers were eliminated between Finland and Russia, and there was an influx of cheaper Russian grain. Although some major technical solutions to the problems of Finnish agriculture, in both crop cultivation and stock raising, were potentially available, their adoption required considerable outlays on the part of the farmers (Soininen 1974:459). As Jörberg has pointed out: "If they had relied wholly on agricultural yield Finnish farmers could hardly have come by this capital. Instead they acquired it to a great extent from sale of forests and timber" (1976:400-401). For it is precisely at the period of crisis in Finnish agriculture that a timber boom occurred,

which provided the Finnish landowning farmers with the capital they desperately needed to modernize. "It was with money from the forest that one paid the farm's debts, cleared additional fields, got machines, and up-to-date buildings" (Rosenberg 1974:91).

THE RISE OF THE TIMBER INDUSTRY

Although to this point some generalizations have been made about Finland as a whole, well into the middle of the 19th century Finland lacked an autonomous and truly unifying and integrating economic and political structure. Alapuro has expressed his agreement with Klinge's observation that: "The Russians ran into a country without a center in the Finland of 1809." The various Finnish-speaking regions were linked to an external core--Sweden--and not to each other during the period of Swedish rule (quoted in Alapuro 1978:118). "The basic differences among the primarily Finnish-speaking regions that had been established by 1809 were due to their different economic relationships with the core of the Swedish state" (Alapuro 1979:341). For approximately seven hundred years, Finland had been part of the periphery of Sweden. Its products had to go primarily through Stockholm; Finland paid heavy taxes to Sweden and provided the mother country with considerable manpower levies (approximately ten percent of the Finnish male population were soldiers). "The economic position of Finland was conditioned by what we would now call asymmetric dependence relations" (Kiljunen 1979:279-280).

Its transfer to Russia, in 1809, had a number of significant impacts on Finland's development as a national entity with its own autonomous core. Finland became an autonomous Grand Duchy, with its own independent fiscal system. Canals, roads, and railways were

built; the postal system was modernized (Kiljunen 1979:280-281). Furthermore, despite its relatively primitive economy, Finland was one of the more developed areas of the Russian Empire (Alapuro 1978:111; Kiljunen:1979:280). According to Alapuro, however, "A decisive factor in the economic integration was the sudden linkage, from the 1870s onwards, with the capitalist market through forestry" (1979:343). The forestry industries were so important to Finland because their position in the Finnish Economy was virtually unrivaled. In contrast with even the other Nordic countries, Finland's linkage to the world capitalist system was based overwhelmingly on forestry. In 1900, lumbering was still the basis of 69 percent of Finland's exports (Alapuro 1978: 126).

The sudden rise in the importance of forestry resulted from rapidly increasing Western European demand for wood and from a fall in the cost of transportation of wood, following the introduction of the steamship. These opportunities drew a good deal of foreign capital (especially German and Swedish) for investment in large-scale saw-mills, pulp and paper factories (Kiljunen 1979:280).

Alapuro argues that the timber industry, with its capitalist mode of production, effectively united the various regions around a domestic core, located near the cities of the southern coast (1978: 126). The industrial sectors of the forestry business became concentrated on the southern and southwestern coasts, which had good access to the interior by lakes and rivers and were near export markets. This concentration was made possible by the introduction of large steam operated sawmills. The economic and technological superiority of large mills restricted the activities of the smaller waterpower mills of other regions primarily to the meeting of local demands

(Alapuro 1979:347; Kiljunen 1979:283).

The negative effects of this developing regional division of labor were particularly felt in Eastern Finland. This area remained primarily a source of raw material, lumber. The industry of Eastern Finland subsequently stagnated in relation to that of the South (Alapuro 1979:347). It will be shown later that these regional imbalances in industrialization have continued unabated, and correction of these imbalances has become a major goal of Finnish policy today (Kiljunen: 1979:283). In any case,

It was of the utmost importance for the unification of the different regions that the Finnish link with world markets was based primarily on a product which had a strong and very direct connection to the countryside in different regions, where the peasants owned the bulk of the forests [Alapuro 1979:343].

As a result, the agrarian population felt the sudden linkage of Finland into a developed capitalist market system almost immediately (Alapuro 1978:126). However, just as the development of the timber industry had different effects on the industrialization in Southern as compared with Eastern Finland, there was also a regional differentiation between Eastern and Southern Finland in terms of how much the landowning classes profited from and became commercialized by the timber boom. The landowning peasants of the East, apparently, did not fare as well as those of the South. It was almost exclusively in Eastern Finland that farmers were persuaded to sell their timber lands to the forestry companies (often at poor prices), as opposed to merely their timber. In the East, the landowners and landless were thus united, to some extent, in their mutual hostility toward the large timber companies (Alapuro 1979:349, 354). In Southwestern Finland, in contrast, the timber boom resulted in the relatively rapid, successful commercialization

of the peasants, who had sold lumber from their forests but only a little land (Alapuro 1979:349).

As noted earlier, the timber boom, which began in the 1870s, arrived at approximately the same time as the traditionally grain oriented agriculture had come to a severe crisis. Finnish agriculture was able to take a new direction with the capital available from timber sales. Finnish farmers used those funds to improve their animal stock (e.g., through importing better stock from abroad) and to adopt improved farming techniques and technology, which resulted in better fodder crops (Alapuro 1978:127; Soininen 1974:459). The impact of this trend, which began in the late 19th century, is still apparent today. Approximately four-fifths of the total income from farming derives from animal husbandry, and 75 percent of Finland's total field area is devoted to the cultivation of fodder crops. One reason for the concentration on animal husbandry has been that fodder crops are generally less problematic than other grains in the Finnish climate (Varjo 1977: 98). Furthermore, at the same time that the agricultural changeover was taking place, the overpopulation produced an increasingly large landless group, which could be exploited in labor intensive stock raising endeavors (Alapuro 1978:127).

In the South, this growing exploitation was one central facet of the deepening of social and cultural cleavages within the rural classes that occurred in the wake of the timber boom and the agricultural changes it financed. As Kiljunen has suggested, the extra flow of income into rural areas, particularly to landholders, which was generated to a great extent by the development of the forestry industry, began to break down the ". . . traditional social relations of the subsistence economy" (1979:281). Dairy farming, which became the norm of Finland's

farms, was of necessity market-oriented,

The [resulting] changes in production and in the market situation greatly promoted the commercialization of the agrarian upper class [i.e., peasant and gentry landholders] and the penetration of capitalist exchange relations into the southwestern countryside. '[C]apitalism and the spirit of capitalism [began], consciously or unconsciously, to penetrate into peasant agriculture', wrote a contemporary observer. 'The landowning peasant had to manage his farm like an enterprise; he was forced to make calculations and to view economic activity from the point of profitability' [Alapuro 1978:127].

The overall result was that by the turn of the 20th century, there were pronounced class conflicts, particularly in Southwestern Finland. The landowners were opposed, on the one hand, by the landless, whom they exploited. On the other hand, they were faced by their own crofters. The crofters were increasingly eager to buy land; however, owners increasingly saw crofts as outmoded. The type of labor that crofters provided to the landholders did not meet the needs of dairy farming as well as it had those of grain farming. Also, as timber rose in value, the original motivation for setting up crofts (i.e., to convert forest into arable land) began to lose its rationale. The spread of socialism to the Finnish countryside, in the 1880s, added to this conflict-ridden economic and social situation. After 1905, at least 60 percent of the members of the Social Democratic party were affiliated with rural workers associations. The Social Democratic party's success with the rural population was certainly closely related to a program that appealed to the self-interests of leaseholders (crofters) and the landless. The Social Democratic party also offered a culture of class consciousness (Kirby 1979:33).

In looking at the changes in rural Finland in the second part of the 19th century and in the beginning of the 20th, a striking feature is the short time within which major economic and social alterations

occurred. An extraordinarily short time span separated the development of increasingly sharp distinctions in wealth within the rural classes (i.e., the landholders and the landless) and the rise of the spirit of capitalism in farming, from the emergence of a pervasive, well-organized socialist movement challenging the legitimacy of that new social and cultural order. There was little chance for the vast majority of peasant landowners to establish for themselves a legitimacy, or even a distinctiveness, from the rest of the rural population, based on something other than mere wealth.

This is particularly important in Finland because:

In early twentieth-century Finland formal educational achievements especially mattered a great deal; they were of greater importance than. . . economic success or good fortune. A man who possessed an academic degree, but lacked wealth, could be more certain of having achieved high social status in the eyes of his fellow citizens than could a man of some wealth who lacked formal education [Hamalainen 1979:20].

The very limited degree to which the landholders had been able to legitimize their position in this way is reflected by the fact that the 1920 census found that among people above 15 years of age there was a high rate of literacy (64 percent of the Finnish-speaking population could read and write and 30.9 percent could at least read), but only 4 percent of the Finnish-speakers had reached the highest category of educational achievement used in the census--merely having some formal education beyond primary school (Hamalainen 1979:21).

A number of additional factors also provided countervailing themes to the increasing economic distance between the landholders and the landless. Particularly important were the customs and laws governing inheritance of land and the division of property. In 1250, Swedish law had dictated that sons were to inherit twice as much as daughters.

In 1879, a new law provided that all children of either sex were to receive equal shares in an inheritance (Frölander-Ulf 1978:68; Lander 1976:83). The division of the inheritance into separate landholdings in farms (as opposed to the payment of shares in other forms to some heirs) had, however, been severely restricted by law until 1747. It then became permissible to subdivide farms, provided that the parts met government defined levels of self-support. Spurred, in part, by the great population increases of the time, the government lowered the minimum levels of self-sufficiency legally required of subdivided farms in 1864, 1883, and again in 1895. In 1916, all the restrictions on subdivisions were abolished (Jones 1977:94-95). The result was a significant fragmentation of landownership.

Between 1749 and 1901 the number of independent landholdings increased from 31,155 to 118,619 (Jones 1977:97). Consequently, farms were increasing in value, due to the timber boom; however, they were also being considerably reduced in size. Nevertheless, the increase in the number of landholdings did not keep up with the growth in population. The increase in landholdings referred to above represents a multiplication of independent landholdings by a factor of approximately 3.8. In contrast, even between the 1720s and the 1870s the Finnish population increased by a factor of six (Soininen 1974:448). Given the continuing growth in population and the limited degree to which small and medium-sized farms could be subdivided continually without losing their economic viability, children of landholders often found themselves joining the ranks of the landless. As Frölander-Ulf reported from the village she studied:

Inheritance rules and the general scarcity of property led to fluidity in class structure for individual men and women. On small and medium-sized farms (and on some of the large ones)

some of the prospective heirs usually became part of the laboring class as the farm was not large enough for subdivision and as those left landless did not always marry into landownership [1978:55].

Accordingly, as the economic significance of landownership increased, simultaneously the number of landless siblings of landholders grew.

By the early 20th century, there was a combination of contradictory forces at work in the Finnish countryside. On the one hand, the timber boom and population explosion had led to landownership becoming increasingly important; they had produced a fundamental split between the landholders and the landless in terms of wealth and security. This cleavage was further emphasized by the farmers' increasingly capitalistic approach to agricultural enterprises. On the other hand, the legitimacy of rigid class stratification had been challenged, almost immediately, by the quick spread of socialism. A factor contributing to the rapid acceptance of socialism was that there was no cultural basis that had time to develop to firmly legitimize the new rural upper class. Furthermore, a group of landless children of landholders was continually being created. A constant reminder to all of the dynamics of economic life must have been the familiar sight of landowners living in increasingly well-furnished and comfortable houses, while their siblings rented small, primitive cottages or shacks.

THE FARMERS: NATIONAL IDENTITY AND INDEPENDENCE

I have already discussed how the timber industry had been instrumental in integrating Finland economically. At the same time, Finland was struggling to create a cultural and political national identity. Farmers played a leading role in that process. Given the greater degree to which the Southwestern farmers prospered from the

economic integration of the country, it is not surprising that the wealthy peasants of Southwest Finland became central supporters of Finnish linguistic nationalism in the late 19th century (Alapuro 1978: 136).

The Civil War, which almost immediately followed Finland's independence, was an explosion resulting, in great measure, from the pressures that had built up within the agrarian community. At its core, it was a class war (Alapuro 1978:138). Recent studies of the background of the actual participants in the Civil War have demonstrated that the independent farmers were the dominant group on the White side; the workers made up the largest social group among the Reds (Kirby 1979:64). During the Civil War, the Reds had their stronghold in the Southwest. There the timber boom's impact had been greatest, the capitalist model had taken root most strongly, and class divisions had been sharpest.

The Whites' stronghold was in the region of Ostrobothnia (the area of Finland adjoining the Gulf of Bothnia) (Alapuro 1978:138). This was a region that had been affected relatively little by the upsurge of capitalism in the 19th century. Significantly, in this region much of the original forest resources had been used earlier for tar burning; there was relatively little timber available when the new timber boom began. The timber boom's effect on the social structure in Ostrobothnia had been much less than in other regions. The agrarian communities of Ostrobothnia preserved their homogeneity to a much greater extent than the villages of the Southwest (Alapuro 1978:128-130). For example, after the subdivision of farms became possible, farmers in Ostrobothnia rigidly followed the principle of equal rights for all heirs. E. Jutikkala has described the procedures used in Ostrobothnia in the following way:

When the farm was subdivided, it was the custom to give every part-owner a share in every arable parcel belonging to it. Thus scarcely a hundred years had passed since the Great Partition [i.e., enclosure] before the pattern of land tenure was as chequered . . . as before it [quoted in Jones 1977:95].

In other words, Ostrobothnia's social structure was highly traditional, even to the extent of landownership patterns of the preenclosure period being reproduced during the 19th century. The vigorous support given to the White cause by the Ostrobothnian farmers during the Civil War was in large part due to these farmers' feelings of moral indignation against the:

. . . disruptive class antagonism in the south, and against the increasing opposition to religion that accompanied it. . . .
The situation may be reformulated by saying that the indignation was directed against the capitalist integration in the rest of Finland. In a sense, for the Ostrobothnians the war was a great opportunity to demonstrate their model for national integration to the rest of Finland--an agrarian, religious and strongly nationalistic one that totally denied the class conflict [Alapuro 1978:138].

THE "PEASANT REPUBLIC", NATIONALISM, AND ECONOMIC DEPENDENCE

After the Civil War, a major goal of Finnish social policy became the development of a peasant republic free of class conflict; the goal was pursued through massive land reforms and the encouragement of small farming. The goal, and the measures instituted to try and achieve it, clearly owed a great deal to the influence of Ostrobothnian ideals. Laws were passed enabling tenants to buy leaseholds and a fixed area of forest land. Government loans were made available, and the previous landowners' consent was not required for purchase. Provision was made for the creation of land settlement holdings to be purchased by landless farm workers, who also might receive government loans. As a result of these and other reforms, the agricultural census of 1941

found 95 percent of the 285,822 holdings with at least 0.25 hectares of cultivated land were held by independent owners (Jones 1977:98).

Part of the Ostrobothnian ideal had been achieved. The distinction between the landowner and the landless was no longer the most fundamental cleavage in rural Finnish society. However, many of the farms and holdings created by the land reform were too small to be economically viable. Since Finnish farming was inextricably bound to Finland's increasingly capitalistic economy, the distinction between the landowners and the landless was quickly replaced by a stratification of rural society based on differences in sizes of holdings. These types of distinctions became ever more pronounced and vital as mechanized farming methods requiring greater capital investment spread. Small farmers were frequently forced to supplement their agricultural income by selling their labor (e.g., as lumberjacks). As E. Jutikkala, one of Finland's leading historians, has commented, the result of the reforms was that: ". . . most western Finnish farmworkers obtained their own plot of land and a potato patch, but they remained workers" (quoted in Kirby 1979:76). The lot of the former tenant farmer was also frequently difficult. These newly independent farms often had credit problems and had to struggle to achieve a minimum level of efficiency. These small holders could, nevertheless, at least feel that they were now their own masters (Kirby 1979:76).

The great irony was that as Finnish social policy stressed the ideal of the peasant republic, the importance of the small independent farmer, and supported the increasing fragmentation of landownership (even to the point of economic irrationality), the main directions of Finnish economic development were being increasingly dictated by the interests of a few large forestry industry corporations. Even before

World War I, raw timber and sawn goods had come to make up three-quarters of Finland's total exports. This development was related to the trend throughout the latter part of the 19th century for Finland's foreign trade to become increasingly focused upon Western European markets, particularly Germany and Great Britain. These nations imported Finnish raw materials or semiprocessed goods and then, in turn, exported manufactured goods, and especially investment goods, to Finland (Kiljunen 1979:282-283)

This focus on trade with Western Europe was at the expense of trade with Russia, which had earlier been Finland's major trading partner. According to Kiljunen, this decrease in trade with Russia and the increase in close economic ties with the West had long lasting unfortunate consequences for Finnish industrialization. Though Finnish industries were certainly primitive during the 19th century, they were often more advanced than those to be found in many parts of Russia. As a result, Finland's industrial diversification was stimulated by opportunities to export to the Russian markets. Though by 1910 Russia had come to take only 27 percent of Finland's total exports (versus 52 percent in 1870 and 39 percent in 1890), 10 percent of those exports were from the textile industry. The Finnish textile industry did not export anything to the rest of the world. Finland also sold more highly processed forest related goods to Russia than she did to the rest of the world. In 1910, 39 percent of the exports to Russia were from the paper industry, and only 8 percent were in the form of sawn timber. By comparison, 61 percent of the Finnish exports to the rest of the world (i.e., excluding Russia) were made up of sawn timber. Only nine percent of the Finnish exports to the rest of the world were from the paper industry. As a result of the Russian Revolution and the

subsequent defeat of the socialist forces during the Finnish Civil War, economic relations between Finland and the Soviet Union collapsed for over twenty-five years. Consequently, the only powerful stimulus to Finnish industrial diversification completely disappeared. Instead, commercial and economic agreements that were "virtually semi-colonial" were made with Germany--which had sent troops to assist the White forces in the Civil War (Kiljunen 1979:281-284). Finland continued to have close political and economic ties with Germany almost to the end of World War II.

Kiljunen concludes that Finland became part of the Western European periphery. His comments are worth quoting at length:

During the interwar period Finland's role in the international division of labor was established. It was conditioned to produce raw and semi-processed wood for export while becoming a market area for central European trading operations. Independence had created formal conditions for a national tariff and foreign exchange policy, but the external transactions of a small open economy became determined by decisions made in the core areas, and international market forces [1979:284].

It is ironic that while Finland was preoccupied by attempts to establish its political independence and by efforts to create an autonomous national identity, its economy was becoming increasingly dependent upon and dictated by forces outside of Finland. Kiljunen further argues that:

The export sector was extremely narrow and little diversified. Wood products constituted between 85-95 per cent of total exports. Hence, forestry has been the crucial sector determining the essence of the development in the whole economy. By its nature, it is externally oriented, wholly dependent on foreign markets and has relatively few linkages with other sectors of the economy. In fact the wood-based industry has developed like an external enclave. Its interests in tariff and foreign trade policy and its dominance in national production has rather jeopardised diversification and increased the openness and vulnerability of the Finnish economy in relation to the European core [1979:284-285].

As a result, on the basis of the timber industry, the Finnish

economy enjoyed one of the highest industrial growth rates in the world; during the interwar period the volume of Finnish industrial production was 300 percent higher at the end of the 1930s than it had been 20 years before (Kiljunen 1979:286). However, the narrowness of Finland's industrial base, and its vulnerability, meant that the growth was highly uneven. The Finnish economy was extremely hard-hit by the world-wide depression of the late 1920s and early 1930s. Between 1925 and 1927 world prices for timber fell, when all the great timber exporting countries increased their outputs in quantities large enough to glut the market. By the spring of 1928, the Finnish sawmills began to significantly reduce their production, seriously reducing farmers' income from stumpage and lumber. This economic crisis hit the small farmer more than any other class of producers in Finland. According to Kirby, "Smallholders who could not afford the harder conditions for short term loans were forced to sell up their farms and many small businesses went bankrupt" (1979:92). Many of these smallholders were likely to have been the former landless workers or former crofters, who had only recently gained their ownership of land through the land reforms.

By 1935, Finland's industrial output had returned to predepression levels, and growth continued at an even greater pace than before. Nevertheless, it had also become clear that the connection with the timber industry, which had enabled the Finnish farmers to modernize by turning their forest land into their basic source of investment capital, also placed the Finnish farmers in a position of immediate dependency on economic forces that were far beyond the farmers' control, and even outside the control of the nation as a whole. Furthermore, this rapid, if imbalanced, industrialization had the effect of initiating serious challenges to the political and cultural dominance of the rural over

the urban sectors of society. In the interwar years, the rural population remained approximately the same, but the urban population nearly doubled. In 1920, only one out of every six Finns lived in a town, but by 1940, that number had climbed to one in four (Kirby 1979: 77). However, the continuing government support for the small farms and the entrenched structural imbalances in the industrial sector recently led Jörberg and Krantz to conclude that: ". . . it was not until the post-war period that Finland could really be called an industrialized country" (1977:386).

FINLAND VERSUS THE SOVIET UNION

Finland was quickly drawn into the turmoil of World War II. In 1938 and 1939, the Soviet Union made a number of major demands on Finland, including calls for territorial concessions. The Soviet Union justified these demands on the basis of that nation's extreme vulnerability to an attack (e.g., by Germany) through Finland. Finland refused to accede to Soviet demands. The result was the Winter War, which the Soviet Union won by the spring of 1940. In the peace treaty ending that war, Finland was forced to cede extensive sections of the Karelian Isthmus and some other strategically significant territories. In 1941, when Germany declared war on the Soviet Union, Finland allied itself with the former nation. The Continuation War, as it is called in Finland, was also decisively won by the Soviet Union. The armistice signed in 1944 confirmed the loss of Karelia and required Finland to drive its former allies (the Germans) out of Finnish Lapland.

There is still a great deal of controversy and debate about whether hostilities with the Soviet Union could have been avoided. This subject shall be discussed later, in the context of postwar developments

in Finnish foreign policy. In the present context, of greater importance is that the peace treaty of 1947 obligated Finland to pay the Soviet Union \$300,000,000 in reparations. Furthermore, the Soviet Union required that 74 percent of the reparations be paid in the form of products from the shipbuilding, machinery, and metal industries (Kiljunen 1979:287). Finland did not have highly developed capacities in these areas. This represented a heavy burden; however, the eventual result was a "precocious development of Finnish manufactures" and a strong stimulus to the diversification of Finnish industry (Fullerton and Williams 1972:238-239; Kiljunen 1979:287).

As a direct result of the war reparations, the output of the Finnish metal and engineering industries doubled (Kiljunen 1979:300). In the postwar period, the metallurgical and engineering industries eventually came to have a larger number of employees than the timber processing industries. Icebreakers built in Finland have acquired an international reputation and market (Mead 1968:207-210). Finland has come to supply 13 percent of all the new paper machines in the world; Finnish manufacturers export complete pulp mills, sawmills, plywood and block board factories to countries in all continents (Fullerton and Williams 1972:239). This diversification can be seen as an essential part of the striking development of the Finnish economy in the postwar period. As Krosby has phrased it: "During the 1960s and the early 1970s, Finland had developed a degree of affluence remarkable for a nation torn and mutilated by World War II" (1976:173).

THE POSTWAR ECONOMY

The achievements of the postwar Finnish economy have been emphasized by many writers. For example, Mead has pointed out that it

is no longer possible for the Finn to complain that in his country "Hunger has been turned into a tradition" (1968:198). Instead, "Under-nourishment has been completely overcome. In the face of shop windows, crowded with the products of the world, it is difficult to realize that, within the span of a human life, Finland has suffered major famines" (1968:220). In terms of GNP per capita, Finland has achieved a level that is approximately at the OECD average. In terms of access to higher education, number of telephones or televisions per capita, and infant mortality rates Finland ranks even higher than income figures would suggest. The postwar period has also seen a very intensive shift in distribution of employment: from agriculture and forestry into industrial and service activities. The Finnish figures are now not very distant from the European average (Kiljunen 1979:296-297).

TABLE I. THE EMPLOYMENT STRUCTURE IN FINLAND IN 1870-1975
(%) (KILJUNEN: 1979:297).

	1870	1910	1940	1950	1960	1970	1975
Primary (Agriculture, forestry, fishing)	85.0	70.0	60.0	45.8	35.5	20.2	14.0
Secondary (Manufacturing, mining, construction)	6.0	12.0	22.0	29.3	31.8	35.8	36.0
Tertiary (Commerce, transport, banking services)	9.0	18.0	18.0	24.9	32.7	44.0	50.0
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Despite its strong overall growth, the postwar Finnish economy has displayed a number of crucial weaknesses. As a result, Finland's

postwar economic growth has been (like the growth of the interwar period) strong but unstable. Finland's average annual growth rate of GNP was 5.2 percent in the period from 1950 to 1974, as compared to 4.4 percent for the OECD. But Finland has also experienced more severe absolute economic fluctuations than any other country during the period 1950-73. The business cycle has had an average amplitude of 8.0 percent. Economic instability in Finland was particularly great during the fieldwork period for this research. In 1974, Finland had one of the fastest growth rates in national income in the OECD. However, in 1975-77 Finland experienced a zero growth rate (Kiljunen 1979:296).

A number of factors have combined to produce these weaknesses. First, despite increased industrial diversification, the forestry related industries have continued to dominate the development of the Finnish economy and thus keep it highly vulnerable to outside influences. Second, the industries that are the basis of Finland's diversification are generally ones that do not alter Finland's asymmetrical relationship with the Western European core countries. Third, in the decades immediately following World War II, government policies pushed Finnish agriculture further in the direction of uneconomic fragmentation. Fourth, the serious imbalances in regional economic development, which first appeared when Finland became closely linked to the European capitalist system through the timber industry, have continued to grow as Finland's industrialization has proceeded.

The Finnish forestry industries have continued to dominate the country's economy (Mead 1968:208). Thus in the 1970s over half of Finland's exports were still from the wood, paper and pulp industries (Kiljunen 1979:290). Even the increasing movement of Finnish industry

into the metallurgical and engineering sectors has been controlled to a great extent by the forestry interests. The largest metal working enterprises are financially integrated with the large pulp and paper mills (Fullerton and Williams 1972:239). Furthermore, according to Kiljunen, the diversification of Finnish industry and Finnish exports has not fundamentally changed Finland's highly asymmetrical relationship with the Western European core. Finland has continued to supply Western Europe with raw and semimanufactured products and in return import more refined products. In contrast, the Finnish metal industry has found its export markets primarily through opening new markets, especially in the Soviet Union and Sweden. Thus, while in 1970 only 4 percent of Finnish exports to Great Britain were from the metal industry (versus 47 percent from the paper industry and 34 percent in sawn timber), in contrast, 50 percent of the Finnish exports to the Soviet Union were from the metal industry (versus 34 percent from the paper industry and 0 percent from sawn timber). On the import side, in 1970, 75 percent of Finland's trade with the Soviet Union was in the form of raw materials, fuels, and lubricants. Only 18 percent of Finnish imports from the Soviet Union were in the form of semimanufactured goods, investment goods, and consumer goods. In that same year, only 7 percent of the goods imported from Great Britain were raw materials, fuels, and lubricants; instead, 91 percent of the goods were semimanufactured, industrial, and consumption items. Similar figures can be seen in Finland's trade with West Germany (Kiljunen 1979:291-292).

Particularly important in defining Finland's vulnerability and weakness vis-à-vis the European core countries is the high percentage of investment goods and semimanufactured goods that Finland imports from them. For the development of industries that are characterized

by dynamic growth in technology (e.g., electronics, electrical engineering, and chemical industries), Finland has relied heavily on foreign imports in research and development. This high dependence on foreign research and development in these dynamic industries is reflected in the fact that in 1973 Finland's rate of expenditure on research and development was considerably below those of the European core countries. For example, while Finland spent only 0.9 percent of its GNP on research and development, Great Britain spent 2.3 percent. Finland may export heavy engineering equipment (e.g., ships, wood processing machinery, agricultural and forestry machinery), but that is from mature and standardized industries that have slow rates of technological development. Kiljunen argues that: "It is typical of a less diversified and dependent economy that while the mass-producing and standardised forestry industry is exporting capital, the technically most advanced and dynamic sectors of the economy have to rely on foreign technical inputs and investments" (1979:295). Kiljunen has also pointed out that Finland's increasingly formal economic ties with the Western European core (e.g., its association with Efta [1964] and the EEC [1973] have had further negative consequences. The great and free import of Western European manufactured goods, which these associations promote, has a deleterious effect on domestic small-scale industries. This continues and accelerates the notable tendency toward concentration in Finnish industrial production. Consequently, a 1972 report noted that the 30 largest corporations in Finland, employing 46 percent of the industrial labor force, had been responsible for 60 percent of the nation's total industrial investments and 72 percent of its manufactured exports (1979:292,301).

Finland's asymmetrical dependence upon the European core countries

and Finland's economic vulnerability were made graphically clear in the 1970s. In the wake of the Yom Kippur War, when Western European economies were sent into a tailspin by the radical rise in oil prices, Finland found itself dragged along. In 1974, Finland's foreign trade deficit hit a record, which was then nearly equalled during the first six months of 1975 (Krosby 1976:174). According to Krosby, throughout 1975:

There was talk of an eventual national bankruptcy; the government at times found itself without ready cash to meet its obligations; and major industrial concerns with growing stockpiles of unsold commodities began to lay off workers by the thousands. Finland's well-earned reputation as a prudent and reliable country that always paid its debts was beginning to erode. A Gallup Poll conducted by an international business research group found that Finland was no longer highly regarded as a country in which to invest. Among 51 potential investment countries, Finland was ranked 32nd--behind such countries as Malaysia, Nigeria, Algeria, and the Ivory Coast, as well as all European countries except Greece, Portugal, and Turkey [1976:174-175].

Some of the economic slack was taken up by increased trade with the Soviet Union and other Eastern European countries during this period (Krosby 1976:174). Finland took increased advantage of the fact that, according to Kiljunen, "All in all, Finnish-Soviet economic relations have been highly asymmetric. This has provided Finnish industry, and thus the economy, a sort of core position in this particular section on the international division of labor" (1979:288). Finland's position was further strengthened by the fact that it has had most favored nation status with the Soviet Union since 1947 (Singleton 1974:67).

POSTWAR FOREIGN POLICY

Finland's economic position vis-à-vis the Soviet Union can, however, only be evaluated in the context of Finland's political relationship with that nation. Finland's apparent economic advantages

must be considered in the light of the special prerogatives that the Soviet Union exercises over Finnish politics. As Mead has put it: ". . . by comparison with the trading relations with other countries those with the USSR marry more closely politics and economics" (1968:188). If Finland has been economically vulnerable to, and dependent upon, the European core, politically its greatest vulnerability and dependency have been in relation to the Soviet Union.

According to Klinge, in the wake of the White triumph in the Civil War, Russophobia in Finland had become ". . . virtually synonymous with patriotism in the 1920s and 30s" (quoted in Kirby 1979:80). During this period, the deep conviction that Finland represented a "bulwark of Christendom against the godless barbarians to the east" was prevalent. President Ryti's illusion that "Finland's only salvation was that Germany should smash the Soviet Union" was shared by many Finns (Singleton 1974:66). As Wilson (1976) and other scholars have argued, there were important segments of the Finnish intelligentsia that in fact dreamed of a Greater Finland that would incorporate large chunks of Soviet territory. Recently, some scholars have suggested that Russophobia and extreme nationalism played significant roles in precipitating hostilities with the Soviet Union. However, as Singleton has put it:

Between November 1939, when the Winter War with the Soviet Union began, and April 1945, when Finnish troops mopped up the last German units in Lapland, Finland (then a nation of under four millions) lost 86,000 dead and had to cope with over 60,000 disabled soldiers and 400,000 homeless refugees. The psychological impact of their traumatic experiences forced Finns to rethink their attitude [1974:65-66].

The eventual result of that rethinking was the Paasikivi-Kekkonen line, the virtually unchallenged cornerstone of Finland's postwar foreign policy. The Paasikivi-Kekkonen line is based on what

is generally considered a realistic appraisal of the possibilities and options open to a country of under 5 million that shares a border of 700 miles with the 250 million people of the Soviet Union (Singleton 1974:65). The Paasikivi-Kekkonen line assumes that although Finland considers itself a neutral nation, it must also recognize that Finland is situated within the Soviet Union's security zone. Consequently, the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance, first signed by the USSR and Finland in 1948, calls for consultation between the two nations, if either state feels in danger of "armed aggression on the part of West Germany and states allied with it" (Singleton 1974:66). The Paasikivi-Kekkonen line further considers it realistic to assume that if Finland provokes the Soviet Union, no nation will come to Finland's assistance. Therefore, Finland's relations with countries that are regarded as potential enemies of the Soviet Union must be determined, at least in part, by the Finns' ". . . ability to convince the Russians that Finland poses no threat to them" (Krosby 1976:176).

Accordingly, in the postwar era, Finland's continuing extensive trade relations with Western Europe have been contingent upon the Soviet Union's approval (Bacon 1970:241). The agreements that Finland reached with Efta (1961) and the EEC (1973) were both tailored to meet the potential objections of the Soviet Union. For example, Finland's treaty with the EEC does not make it a member of that organization. The usual evolutionary clause (referring to the possibility of eventual political ties) was excluded from the EEC treaty with Finland. Furthermore, Finland is given the right to a three months notice of abrogation of treaty. This is shorter than the notice required of other nations (Singleton 1974:64). It was also not merely fortuitous that at the same time that Finland was establishing

relations with the EEC, it was simultaneously involved in negotiations with Moscow, which led to Finland becoming the first nonsocialist country to sign a treaty with the Council for Mutual Assistance (Comecon) (Singleton 1974:64-65).

The need for Finnish sensitivity to Soviet feelings is not confined only to the development of large-scale trade agreements. It also affects particular economic projects. For example, Bacon described the following sequence of events:

In 1968 Finland considered erecting atomic power stations. . . Finland first had offers from two Western sources; these were evaluated, and, after thinking the matter over, the Government decided to invite the Russians also to tender for this, which they did. The tender was not particularly attractive, and the Government decided the safest thing to do was to do nothing and put off indefinitely the erection of Finland's first atomic power station. Later, however, they altered their decision-or lack of decision, and decided that the first power station should come from the East and the next from the West [1970:241].

It is crucial to recognize that although the basic principles of Finnish foreign policy are clear and virtually unopposed within the nation, a great deal of diplomatic skill has been required in putting that policy into practice. It has been success in that area, and particularly success in generating personal trust among the Soviet Union's top officials, that has been one of the primary sources of Urho Kekkonen's overwhelming domination of Finnish politics since his first election to the presidency in 1956. In fact, in both 1962 and 1973, Kekkonen's successful reelections followed his personal triumphs in resolving crises in Finno-Soviet relations (Singleton 1974:66-67). Kekkonen has himself stressed the personal basis of Finno-Soviet relations in the famous comment "Whoever is for Kekkonen is for friendship with the Soviet Union and whoever is against Kekkonen is against friendship with the Soviet Union" (Singleton 1974:66). Actions, such as Khrushchev's

announcement at Kekkonen's 60th birthday party of the Soviet Union's willingness to accept Finnish ties to Efta, have consistently signaled that a similar view is held by the Soviets. Whether or not Kekkonen is an indispensable element in successful Finno-Soviet relations remains to be seen; Kekkonen was reelected to the presidency in 1978. He had been endorsed by most of the major political parties three years before the election (Krosby 1976:176). However, the general consensus on the central importance of Kekkonen's personality underlines the continuing delicacy and fragility of Finno-Soviet relations.

If the apparent strength of the Finnish economy in its trade relations with the Soviet Union is considerably diminished by viewing it within the larger political context, a closer look at Finland's trading relations with Sweden (the other major customer for the Finnish metal and textile industries) also reveals a less advantageous position than appears at first glance. If in 1970, 18 percent of Finland's exports to Sweden were from the textile industry and 43 percent were from the metal industry, this state of affairs was, to a great extent, the result of the fact that the Swedish textile industry had invested intensively in Finland, and the Swedish engineering industry was subcontracting work to Finnish firms. Thus, according to Kiljunen, ". . . though diversified, this type of export has been asymmetric and dependent in its nature" (1979:292). The true nature of Finnish trade with Sweden is clearly reflected in the fact that in 1970, 36 percent of the Swedish exports to Finland were semimanufactured goods, 32 percent were investment goods, and 24 percent were consumption goods. Of great importance in the unequal Swedish-Finnish economic relationship is the fact that 90 percent of the sizable emigration from Finland since World War II (a net figure of approximately 300,000) has gone to

Sweden, where real incomes are 20 to 30 percent higher than in Finland. According to Kiljunen, these emigrants represent an export of human capital, which Finland needs for its own economic development, since the emigrants tend to be young, rather well-educated, and often skilled workers. Furthermore, these emigrants do not add significantly to the Finnish economy through remittances since the Finnish emigrants tend to take their families with them (1979:299).

POSTWAR FARMERS

Although the terms of the peace treaty with the Soviet Union had a somewhat salutary effect on the structure of Finnish industry, precipitating a forced precocious diversification, the treaty's immediate impact on the structure of Finnish agriculture was negative. The areas ceded to the Soviet Union contained approximately ten percent of both the Finnish land and population. Almost the entire population of the ceded territory chose to be resettled in the remaining portion of Finland. This group included an agricultural refugee population of approximately 40,000 families. The Finnish government decided to institute a new round of land reforms, to reestablish these refugees on farms in Finland. In addition to providing farms for the refugees, these land reforms also made grants of land available to other sectors of the population (e.g., soldiers who had served at the front during the war, war widows, war invalids, and agricultural laborers). By 1969, this reform had produced 135,000 farms or parcels of farming land. The land was obtained from state lands, the land of various organizations and companies, and from existing farms. The farms established in Northern Finland were generally on land taken from government owned forests. Extensive and costly efforts were necessary in order to

transform the forests into arable fields. In Southern and Central Finland, resettlement was mainly on privately owned land. This required the change of ownership of considerable amounts of already developed arable land. The largest number of farms was established in Southwestern Finland (Varjo 1977:26-27). Although as a social policy this approach may have been equitable to the refugees, as Mead has pointed out:

. . . the general principle of rural settlement ran counter to long-term economic interests. First, they broke up larger, more economic and frequently more progressive farm units and substituted for them smaller and less efficient units. Secondly, they initiated a major assault on the woodlands at a time when the value of softwood timber was rising relatively more swiftly than the value of the farm products. Thirdly, they tended to shift the geographical centre of investment in farming away from the south-west--and accordingly to areas where the return on capital was lower [1968:183].

Although the efficiency of the individual farm units was lowered beneath theoretical potentials by government policies that promoted the increase in the number of small farms, in fact, the overall trends in Finnish agriculture in the postwar period were toward far greater productivity and higher overall production levels. For example, between the periods 1951-53 and 1971-73, the average yield in kilograms per hectare of wheat rose 60 percent, of rye rose 47 percent, of barley 44 percent, of oats 40 percent. The yield of milk in kilograms per cow rose 63 percent. As importantly, by the 1950s, Finnish production of milk products had exceeded domestic needs. Finland achieved self-sufficiency in meat and in bread grains by the second half of the 1960s. By the beginning of the 1970s, Finnish agriculture was able to fill domestic requirements for all of the most important agricultural products. The achievement of self-sufficiency in food production was of great concern to postwar Finnish policy makers. They wished to firmly establish Finland's neutrality, and they had earlier witnessed the political dangers of heavy reliance on other nations for Finland's food supply (Ryynänen and Pölkki 1973:20-21). As Bacon

has commented: "It has been said that then [i.e., in the 1940s], if Finland had not been on friendly terms with Germany she would have had to starve since she needed to import so many foodstuffs" (1970:239-240).

It has been estimated that approximately one-quarter of the growth in agricultural production that Finland witnessed from the beginning of the 1950s resulted from the clearing of new arable lands (e.g., the clearing of forests as a consequence of the postwar land reforms). About a quarter derived from the great amount of field area that became available for other more productive uses when horses began to be replaced by tractors on many Finnish farms. Finally, half of the increase actually resulted from greater efficiency in production (Ryynänen and Pölkki 1973:21). Certainly, a major factor in increasing productivity was the mechanization of Finnish agriculture. Although in 1950, even in agriculturally progressive Southwestern Finland, only 15 percent of the farms owned a tractor, in 1969, in the same region, 60% of the farms in almost all communes had their own tractors. By 1969, one-quarter of the Finnish farms had milking machines (one machine per 12 cows), and in some areas of Southern Finland, that figure reached 40 percent. If size is taken into account, 60 percent of the farms between five and six hectares had milking machines (Varjo 1977:30, 32). It was reported in 1975 that the Finn used tractors for 90 percent of his plowing and harrowing and milking machines for one-third of that chore (Scott 1975:138).

The key to understanding Finnish agriculture's position in the postwar period is recognition that though new technological inputs have helped to increase yields of crops (per hectare), the small size of most Finnish farms has meant that these extra yields are expensive.

Thus Mead has argued that though the forest land that makes up part of virtually all Finnish farms makes calculations purely by field area inappropriate, ". . . farm economists would argue, for example, that it is uneconomic to have a tractor for an arable land of less than 15 hectares" (1968:203). Even in Southern Finland, which has the largest farms, in 1969 the average field size per farm was only 12.2 hectares (Ryynänen and Pölkki 1973:18). Clearly the funds available to farmers from the sale of their timber have continued to heavily subsidize the mechanization and modernization of Finnish agriculture. As Scott has phrased it: "One big plus for the Finnish farmer is that he has a wild card to play: when he needs money for a . . . tractor he can go to the woodland and cut some timber. . . ." (1975:136).

It is also clear that the postwar Finnish agricultural mechanization has been both a necessary response and stimulus to the continuous flight of people from the countryside. It has played a crucial role in the general shift to a modern employment structure. The decline in the number of people in the agricultural professions in Finland is reflected in the figures in Table I. Although the absolute decrease in the agricultural working force has been sharp, it is important that its share of the total work force in Finland is still higher than the average in the OECD. The Finnish figures are nearer to those found in the European periphery than to those of the core (Kiljunen 1979: 296-297). Furthermore, the agricultural population does not contribute to the Finnish economy in proportion to its numbers. In 1969, agriculture employed 22 percent of the total working population, but it produced only 10 percent of the total net domestic product and only 1 percent of Finland's exports (Fullerton and Williams 1972:238).

Finnish agriculture's achievements in the postwar period have, in fact, been based both on the availability of capital through the sale of timber and on heavy government subsidization.

At the heart of government agricultural policy have been both a desire to guarantee an adequate food supply for the nation, and a commitment to ". . . guarantee for the agriculture population a decent income compared to other population groups" (Ryynänen and Pölkki 1973:24). Import and export policies and regulation of domestic food prices are among the tools used by the government to meet the policy goals; these policies have required the expenditure of immense amounts of public funds. As was noted in Chapter I, in the increasingly urban and industrialized Finnish society, these agricultural subsidies have become the focus of intense criticism. By the second half of the 1960s, Finnish agricultural policy began to reverse itself; it aimed at a reduction in agricultural production, which would bring it into line with the actual domestic demand and consumption. The new policy also attempted to rationalize agriculture, through encouraging the consolidation of farms rather than their fragmentation (Ryynänen and Pölkki 1973:28). In 1969, for example, a field reservation law was passed, aiming at reducing the amount of land being cultivated by paying farmers to keep their fields fallow. At the same time, the government offered farmers monetary inducements to slaughter their dairy cattle (Varjo 1977:28). This latter measure was of particular importance because Finnish farming has continued to be predominantly dairy in the postwar period. From 1970 to 1972, on the average, 45.4 percent of the money income of agriculture was from milk. An additional 31.0 percent was from meat (Ryynänen and Pölkki 1973:22).

It is also important to note that these changes have had a moral,

as well as economic, impact. As Mead has phrased it: "Finland is a country with few impressive national monuments and its contemporary countryside reflects only meagrely the successive stages of its evolution. The principal memorial to the energies of the past is its cultivated lands"(1968:199). The cultivated land has had to be created often out of forest and frequently from rocky and swampy terrain. It is characteristic of the central place of this land clearing process in Finnish history and mythology that Väinö Linna's famous novel trilogy Täällä Pohjantähden alla (Here Under the North Star)--which describes the Finnish countryside in the 19th and 20th centuries--opens with a young worker contemplating a marsh that he hopes to turn into a farm. "In the beginning were the bog, the mattock--and Jussi" (Linna 1969:7). The Finnish farmers can see in the new agricultural policy directions that their national image is moving from that of being a pillar of society to being a social parasite. They can also see the neglect and devaluation of the great achievement of their forefathers--cultivated land.

POSTWAR REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND AGRICULTURE

Among the major forms that subsidies to Finnish farmers have taken are regional price supports and subsidy structures. In various ways, farmers in Northern and Eastern Finland (where the agricultural conditions are less advantageous) are given substantial extra government aid (Ryynänen and Pölkki 1973:26). This special aid is predicated on the assumption that not only must farmers be kept at an income level that is fair in comparison with the income levels of other professions, but in general the people of the far less urbanized and industrialized

Northern and Eastern Finland must not be allowed to fall too far behind those of the South and Southwest. As noted earlier, one of the trends that was initiated by the development of the timber business was the increasing concentration of the new industry in those latter areas. The trend toward a regional imbalance has been accelerated by the postwar Finnish industrialization and urbanization. According to Mead, three economic regions have emerged: a developed southwestern area, the underdeveloped northern and northeastern regions, and a transitional zone (1968:215). Northern and Northeastern Finland have suffered population losses in the 1960s, while the population of the South (particularly in the province of Uusimaa, which includes Helsinki) has increased (Fullerton and Williams 1972:242). Not surprisingly, various studies have shown that the regional differences in development are reflected in divergences in standards of living (Mead 1968:215-216). The Finnish government has attempted to moderate regional imbalances in many other ways besides agricultural subsidies. For example, the government has offered special salary increases to officials working in various parts of the North and East. In those areas, rural electrification may be subsidized, and special help of various kinds may be given to some corporations operating there (Fullerton and Williams 1972:245). It will be suggested later that one of the most significant features of the Häme region, in which Rasti is located, is that it is in some ways a transitional area; it is not extremely close to the Helsinki conurbation, but it is also distant and distinct from the underdeveloped regions.

The impact of the special aid given to northern farmers was investigated by Tauriainen and Young. These investigators found that by 1970 the Finnish agricultural policy, which systematically favored

the northern region, had significantly altered a previous major trend in agricultural income. Between 1960 and 1970 the relationship between agricultural income per hectare and industrialization reversed itself. Instead of the agricultural income per hectare being higher in industrial areas (i.e., in the South) ". . . in 1970 the high incomes per unit of land tend to occur in the less industrial communes [i.e., in the North]" (Tauriainen and Young 1976:199). It is important to note that the heavily subsidized agriculture of Northern Finland has increasingly developed its dairy farming sector. This is a movement in precisely the opposite direction from the trends that have been emerging recently in Southern Finland. In the South, the competition for labor from local industry has resulted in a decline in the importance of the labor intensive dairy farming and an increase in potentially more mechanized and specialized forms of agricultural production. Thus, for example, in the South, the proportion of land planted in wheat is very high, but it is negligible in the North. The same pattern can be seen in fruits and vegetables (Tauriainen and Young 1976:197). Varjo has pointed out that in general in the South and Southwest the availability of other types of jobs, which may be lighter, more regular, cleaner, and with frequently better wages pulls people (especially the young) from agriculture.

. . . and added to this the poor esteem in which agriculture has been held in recent years makes it understandable that the young people on the farms should prefer to travel to the towns to work rather than accept their share in the running of the farm. Where this has not been possible they have moved away from the countryside entirely, . . . [1977:104].

In some of the formerly most agriculturally productive areas of Finland, farmers find themselves having difficulty convincing their heirs to take over the farm. In the postwar period, farmers have increasingly

found themselves in a situation in which their once much-envied profession is often shunned, even by their own children.

Before ending the discussion of agriculture, it should be emphasized that although Finnish agriculture has been characterized by a multitude of individual small farms, Finnish farmers have attempted to maintain their economic and political position through a multitude of organizations. This fits in with Bacon's observation that in general "Although Finns are such individualists, in industry and business there is a good deal of organization on both sides" (1970:237). For example, in the discussions and negotiations over government agricultural policies (e.g., on price levels), the farmers are represented by the extremely powerful Central Association of Agricultural Producers (M.T.K.). In the postwar period, the M.T.K. has occasionally used the threat of withholding farm products as a way of affecting government policies. As Kirby has pointed out: "Grappling with inflation and seeking to satisfy the demands of powerful interest groups such as the S.A.K. [a central labor union organization] and M.T.K. have been the lot of all postwar governments" (1979:170). The cooperative movement has also been of central importance. For example, cooperative dairies process almost all the milk produced in Finland (Ryynänen and Pölkki 1973:240).

NATIONAL GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

The Constitution of 1919 established a national government that has a parliamentary system. There is, however, a very strong role reserved to the President of the Republic. The Constitution calls for the President to be indirectly elected every six years by an Electoral College. There has never been a socialist elected to the Finnish presidency, although the parties of the left have endorsed Kekkonen's

presidential candidacy since 1968. The President is considered to be primarily responsible for foreign policy. He may also veto legislation enacted by Parliament. That veto may, however, be overridden, if the law is subsequently passed again in another session. It is the President and not the Parliament that chooses the Prime Minister; the Prime Minister chooses the Cabinet in consultation with the President. The Cabinet must have the confidence of both the President and the Parliament. The Parliament is elected by a system of proportional representation.

In the first 60 years following Finnish independence, there were 60 different governments. Most governments have been coalitions. This apparent instability is somewhat moderated by the fact that many governmental changes have been quite small, merely a minor reshuffling of the Cabinet. A large number of individuals have served in the Cabinet for long periods of time, in several different positions (Bacon 1970:125-126; Kirby 1979:216-217). Kirby has characterized the different periods of government in the following way: From 1919 to 1937 the Cabinets were dominated by the center and center-right coalitions. The period from 1937 until the wars with the Soviet Union was characterized by center-left (noncommunist) cooperation in the Cabinet. During the Winter War and the Continuation War, there were all-party governments. From 1944 to 1948, the Communists participated in the Cabinet for the first time. From 1948 to 1958, the cabinets were built from a center-(noncommunist) left coalition. In the period from 1959 to 1966, nonsocialist governments were in power. This was one of the only times in the postwar period that the conservative National Coalition party was in the government. The main party in these coalitions, however, was the Agrarian-Center party. Since 1966, with a few interruptions,

center-left coalitions have been in power. In the postwar period, the combined votes of the leftist parties in parliamentary elections have always remained above 40 percent. The peak was a showing of 51 percent in 1966 (1979:217-218, 220).

It should be pointed out that in recent years the President's power, relative to that of Parliament's, has increased rather sharply. This was displayed graphically after the elections of 1975, when the parties Kekkonen asked to form a new government were unwilling, or unable, to do so. At that point, Finland was suffering from severe economic problems. Kekkonen summoned the leaders of the relevant parties to him. "There, in full view of the entire nation, to which the occasion was telecast, he told them 'to squeeze together here a five-party majority government, capable of functioning for this country'" (Krosby 1976:175). He gave the leaders a firm deadline for accomplishing that task. According to Krosby, this public dressing down of some of Finland's highest political figures was unprecedented; however, it was successful, and a government was formed by the President's deadline (1976:175-176).

The increasing power of the President is explicable partially in terms of the prestige Kekkonen enjoys for his ability to handle relations with the Soviet Union. However, as Krosby has pointed out, the political parties of Finland have also often neutralized their own ability to take constructive actions by their tendency to splinter and become involved in vicious personal struggles. Krosby has further argued that:

One is tempted to speak of a partial abdication of political responsibility on the part of Parliament. The fact that President Kekkonen cuts a giant figure on the political stage may well intimidate lesser politicians, but their penchant for hiding behind his broad back and letting him shoulder the responsibility when the going gets rough is not a flattering reflection on their caliber [1976:176].

In discussing national politics, it is important to indicate that the high priority given to maintaining good relations with the Soviet Union has meant that foreign policy considerations have entered into a wide variety of, otherwise, domestic issues. For example, the large conservative National Coalition Party has been kept out of the government for most of the postwar period because it is viewed with suspicion by the Soviet Union. There has also been a good deal of self-censorship in the mass media's coverage of the Soviet Union (Kirby 1979:192). In fact, early in his presidency (in 1959) Kekkonen openly and candidly stressed the need for such restraint. He told the nation that:

In our private discussions, Foreign Minister Gromyko pointed out that he has a large collection of extracts from the Finnish press in which the Soviet Union was criticized or ridiculed . . . I believe it to be certain that without restraint and responsibility on the part of the press, relations between our countries will never attain the degree of confidence that our interests require. This is a sensitive point, probably not because our bark might bite, but because unfriendly articles are regarded as reflective of public opinion [1970:81].

The degree to which both Finnish foreign policy and domestic policy are dictated in detail by the Soviet Union is an issue that is much in dispute among Finnish and non-Finnish politicians and political scientists (e.g., Jakobson 1968; Krosby 1975; Laqueur 1977; Maude 1976). In the present context, it is important merely to note that Finns are acutely aware that their country is constantly being closely scrutinized by the Soviet Union.

This chapter briefly outlined the major economic, political, and social forces affecting Finnish society, particularly since the late 19th century; it focused on the factors having the greatest impact on rural agrarian communities. Considerable attention was paid to the

crucial ways in which farming has been intimately linked to national forces and events. Having provided background material on the national framework, it is now possible to turn to the more local contexts of this study, the commune (in Chapter III) and the village, Rasti (in Chapter IV).

CHAPTER III.

PELLAVA: THE COMMUNE

This chapter begins with a brief description of the provincial government system and the province of Häme. The focus is, however, upon the commune of Pellava, where Rasti is located. While the commune Lander studied was dominated by its industrial sector, agriculture is the heart of Pellava's economy.

The main trends in Pellava's population structure and economy are examined and their relationship to national forces is analyzed. The communal government system and politics on the communal level are described. Although Lander indicates that the Finnish commune is gradually losing decision making power to national authorities, the communal framework still retains considerable significance in Pellava. Indeed, in this chapter, special attention is paid to the most powerful trend within the commune: a shift of population, sources of entertainment and recreation, organizational and commercial activities, and essential services away from the commune's rural hamlets, like Rasti, and towards a growing communal center--the church village of Pellava. The social life of the church village is briefly discussed.

THE PROVINCE

One of the most significant features of the Finnish governmental system is that there are no self-governing units between the national government and the local level communes. Although the nation is

divided into 12 provinces, those provinces are headed by appointed governors, and the provincial governments are actually bureaucratic arms of the central government. The provincial government represents the highest police authority in the province. It also oversees the collection of taxes, watches over the expenditure of state funds and checks to see that communal affairs are handled in accordance with national laws and decrees (Nousiainen 1971:292-294).

The province of Häme, in which Rasti is located, has a population of approximately 650,000 and is located in Southern Finland. Häme has a number of large cities, and like the rest of Southern Finland, it has become increasingly industrialized and urbanized. Its Governor, V. Sandelin, has, nevertheless, suggested that Häme is in Transitional -Finland (Väli-Suomi), being distant from the capital city region but also not part of the development areas of Northern and Eastern Finland. Though it suffers from some of the same problems that the development areas have, Häme has not received a commensurate degree of government assistance and investment (1974:24-32). In fact, in Kanta-Häme (the part of Häme in which Rasti is located) the government's investments have been the smallest in the country ". . . government money flies over Kanta-Häme" (Kanta-Häme 1974:17).

THE COMMUNE: GEOGRAPHY, POPULATION, AND ECONOMY

The commune of Pellava is located in Southern Häme. It has a total surface area of 607.2Km². Its 206 lakes have a total surface area of 43.3 km² and provide a 335.38 km shoreline. (Lammin kunta 1976:10). Pellava is extremely long, being 53 km. from its southernmost point to its northernmost. At its widest, Pellava measures 22 km. in the east-west dimension. However, the commune is not uniformly

broad; its southern half tapers quickly to a narrow point; in one section, it is only two kilometers wide. In general, land in Pellava is relatively high by Finnish standards. With a few exceptions, it is approximately 100 meters above sea level. Although there are a few flat areas, most of Pellava's land displays frequent changes in elevation. There are numerous ridges, which cut across the commune. The most common soil in the commune is moraine, which is poor for farming but adequate for the growth of the forests (Virkkala 1972:9-10).

In 1974, the commune's population was 6,322 (Palonen 1974:4). There has been a major drop in population since World War II. In 1950, the commune's population was still 7,670 (Lammin kunta 1976:9). In the period from 1960 to 1970, Pellava's population dropped from 7,371 to 6,587 (Palonen 1974:4). Population losses have had a major impact on the age structure of the commune (see Table II).

TABLE II. AGE STRUCTURE OF THE POPULATION OF PELLAVA BY PERCENTAGES (LAMMIN KUNTA 1974:9-10).

	<u>1960</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1980</u> (Predicted)
0-14	29.53	23.06	18.35
15-64	60.54	64.32	67.29
65+	9.93	12.62	14.36

The youngest part of the population (0-14 years of age) has decreased over time, while the population over 65 has increased absolutely and proportionally (Palonen 1974:4-5). These demographic changes in Pellava are clearly part of a general trend in Finland: a shift of population away from the rural areas and agricultural professions and towards the industrialized cities. This is apparent in the changes in the occupational structure of Pellava (see Table III).

TABLE III. OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE BY PERCENTAGES
IN PELLAVA (PELLAVAN KUNTA 1974:13).

	<u>1960</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1980</u> (Predicted)
Agriculture and forestry	69.44	53.45	40.48
Industry	7.04	6.18	10.53
Building	4.19	6.00	6.68
Business	6.39	10.55	12.15
Transportation	4.03	5.27	6.07
Services	8.91	18.55	24.09

Pellava's rate of population loss has begun to slow down; the agricultural and forestry sectors cannot continue to release as much of their labor force as in the past. Despite the decline in the population in the agricultural sector of Pellava, agriculture still economically dominates the commune. The commune's residents derive close to 50 percent of their income from agriculture and forestry (Palonen: 1974:4-5, 9). The predominance of small farms in Pellava is obvious from the following break down of farmland ownership by size categories (see Table IV).

The figures on occupational structure clearly indicate that, while agricultural has lost some of its importance in the commune, the service sector has grown to become a central part of Pellava's economy. Industry, nevertheless, continues to play a very minor role; the largest such enterprise in the commune is the cooperative dairy, owned by the farmers.

The development of Pellava's service sector reflects both national trends and local conditions. Nationally, in the postwar period, there has been a great expansion in the services provided by various

TABLE IV. FARM LAND OWNERSHIP IN FINLAND AND PELLAVA
 BY SIZE CATEGORIES (MAATALOUSALAN TIEDOTUS KESKUS 1974;
 SUOMEN VIRALLINEN TILASTO: 1970:10-11).

Size of farms by arable land in hectares	Number of farms	% of Pellava farms	% of Finnish farms	% of arable land in Pellava	% of farm owned forest in Pellava
1.00-1.99	71	8.73	10.1	1.16	1.10
2.00-2.99	54	6.64	24.5	1.45	1.20
3.00-4.99	102	12.55		4.36	4.35
5.00-9.99	237	29.15	33.7	19.03	13.24
10.00-14.99	168	20.66	16.2	22.71	40.21
15.00-19.99	95	11.69	10.8	17.80	13.40
20.00-24.99	35	4.31		8.44	5.10
25.00-29.99	22	2.71	4.0	6.56	5.18
30.00-39.99	14	1.72		5.32	4.55
40.00-49.99	5	0.61		2.48	2.18
50.00-74.99	4	0.49	0.7	2.52	1.91
75.00-99.99	0	0.00		0.00	0.00
100.00+	6	0.74		8.16	7.58

governmental agencies. Today, for instance, the health center located in Pellava employs three medical doctors, two dentists, four nurses, and an additional staff of 37 (Palonen 1974:8). The school system of the commune employs 74 teachers; the commune's home for the aged has a staff of 29 (Lammin Kunta 1976:61,68). According to Kiljunen, the service sector in Finland, in general, has expanded beyond the economy's capacity to support it; this excess growth has been one source of the Finnish economy's weakness during the middle 1970s (1979:297).

Pellava's service sector has been further enlarged because the commune has been successful in attracting several major national and regional institutions. In 1969-70, for example, an institution for the mentally retarded, serving a league of communes and cities, was built in Pellava. It has room for 300 patients and a staff of just under 300. A university has built a large research and conference center in Pellava. In addition, the commune houses two state forestry schools. A major factor attracting such institutions to Pellava is that the commune's rural environment is coupled with a central location within its region. Pellava is almost exactly halfway between two of the region's most important urban centers: Hämeenlinna and Lahti.

Pellava's growing service sector has been one factor in the recent moderating of the communal trend to population loss. The job opportunities the service sector offers have drawn population from outside the commune and provided local employment possibilities for the commune's small farmers and their families (Palonen 1974:5, 11).

THE COMMUNE: GOVERNMENT AND POLITICS

The commune is the major government institution on the local level. Communal government has evolved out of parish meetings. In

the 17th and 18th centuries, the parish meetings handled issues such as care for the poor, establishment and maintenance of seed banks, fire protection, and education, as well as strictly religious matters. Only landowners, however, had the right to participate. In 1864, the secular local governance was separated from the religious. The commune was established to take care of secular affairs. The territory of the commune did, however, coincide with that of the parish. The decision making power in communal affairs was vested in Communal Meetings. These meetings could be attended by all residents of the commune who were entitled to vote. The wealthy landowners had a disproportionate amount of power in this system because many people were disenfranchised, and votes were weighted according to the individual's tax classification. It was only in 1917 that universal and equal suffrage was granted in communal elections. At the same time, a Communal Council was established in each commune, to serve as the central local government institution (Nousiainen 1971:312-314). Elections for the Communal Council have been by proportional representation. The commune has been given major responsibilities in key areas, such as primary education, health, and medical care, and many social welfare programs.

The executive authority of the commune is vested in a Communal Board appointed by the Communal Council. Members of the Communal Board need not be members of the Council. In addition, a commune may choose to have a Commune Manager, who is a civil servant. The Commune Manager acts as Chairman of the Communal Board and supervises the daily operations of the communal government. The Communal Board prepares matters for the Communal Council's consideration and supervises the implementation of the Council's decisions (Nousiainen 1971:324-326). To help administer the commune, the Council appoints a large number of committees. Through

the committee system, a relatively large number of commune residents become involved in communal governance. Appointments to the Communal Board and the other committees are generally made on political grounds. Each party in the council gets memberships on various committees and boards in approximate proportion to the party's representation on the Council.

In theory, the commune system of government is highly democratic and decentralized. Officials of trust (i.e., elected or appointed officials who do not receive an actual wage,) carry out many of the primary tasks of communal government. In comparison to the number of officials of trust, the number of civil servants in communal government has been comparatively small. There are, nevertheless, several forces that have begun to erode the democratic and decentralized characteristics of the communal government system. The ever greater quantity and complexity of tasks and issues that the commune government must handle require the hiring of an increasing number of professional civil servants (Nousiainen 1971:327). The central government has come to regulate and supervise communal government activities with increasing frequency and stringency. According to Nousiainen, ". . . there has been a withdrawal from the principle of liberalization according to which local self-government should be independent and responsible to itself. . ." (Nousiainen 1971:340). Nousiainen concludes that:

Before the Second World War communes were permitted to resolve their affairs relatively freely, within the framework of general provisions set forth in the communal law, but state leadership and dependency on the provisions of special laws have increased over time. Eino Waronen has characterized the course of development as follows, 'Those tasks and duties for which a commune was responsible were primarily voluntary in earlier times, were based on a general provision in the communal law concerning the authority of a commune, and were fitted to local needs, no attempt

having been made to standardize them for realization in all communes. But the situation is different today. Matters which may be resolved independently by communes have become fewer in number due to the fact that state power has extended legislation to new fields within the jurisdiction of communes' [1971:343].

According to Nousiainen, ". . . as the present development continues, communes will become organs of local administration for the state and communal self-government will thus become more apparent than real; . . . (1971:343). It should be noted that a major element in Lander's dissertation was an analysis of the effect that the increasing penetration of national institutions was having on the dynamics of local political activities (1971).

Nousiainen has observed that communal level politics are often quite different from on the national. Stands on local issues may often be more important than the national party programs; moreover, the traditional cleavage between the bourgeois (nonsocialist) and the leftist (socialist) parties, somewhat obsolete in national coalitions, often continues to be significant in rural communal politics (1971:317-319). During the fieldwork period, for example, the Agrarian-Center party was allied with the Social Democrats, and the conservative National Coalition party was in the opposition in the national government. In the Pellava Communal Council, however, the Agrarian-Center party was allied with the National Coalition party, and the Social Democratic party was in the opposition.

Given the large size of the commune's agricultural population and the almost complete absence of industrial workers, it is not surprising that the political power in the Communal Council rests with the nonsocialist (Center and National Coalition) parties. This was evident in the results of the 1972 communal elections (see Table V).

TABLE V. POLITICAL STRUCTURE: 1972 PELLAVA
COMMUNAL ELECTIONS (LAMMIN KUNTA 1974:21).

	Percent of total votes received	Number of seats in Communal Council
Nonsocialist parties		
National Coalition	27.87	8
Liberal People's	2.98	-
Center	27.85	7
Finnish Christian	3.41	-
Finnish Rural	3.36	-
Nonsocialist totals	65.47	15
Socialist parties		
Social Democratic	31.58	8
Finnish People's Demo- cratic League	2.95	-
Socialist totals	34.53	8

It is also significant that, as Lander has indicated in her research, this type of political split is often apparent in many nonpolitical communal institutions and organizations (1971). In Pellava, for example, political parties now put up slates of candidates for the governing boards of the parish church. As the result of a recent reform, in student elections in the academic high school, the candidates represent the major political parties (Karvonen 1974). Commune-wide voluntary organizations often attempt to have leaderships reflecting Pellava's political balance. In some cases, organizations (e.g., sports clubs) are associated almost exclusively with one or another of the commune's political parties. While one of the commune's largest cooperative stores is politically neutral, another is associated with the Social

Democratic party.

THE CHURCH VILLAGE

Although population loss has been the most powerful postwar demographic trend for the commune as a whole, another important trend has developed within the commune: the movement of population from the commune's over 50 side villages, or rural hamlets, to its central or church village (Lammin seurakunta 1976:2). At the turn of the century, the church village, located in the middle of Pellava, was not much larger than a number of other villages in the commune. Today, the church village is the commune's main service and commercial center and its only densely populated area. In 1970, approximately 30 percent of the commune's population lived in the church village. A recent report suggested that this trend toward centralization can be expected to continue, and the densely populated area's ". . . absolute and proportional share of the commune's total population will increase" (Palonen 1974:6). In Pellava's rural hamlets, many houses are deserted or relegated to use as summer homes; however, new buildings are being erected at a rapid pace in the church village. These include single family dwellings, row houses, and also multistory apartment houses. By 1974, Pellava's church village was already the largest densely populated area of all the rural communes in the Kanta-Häme region (Palonen 1974:8). Although many of the people move to the church village to be near job opportunities in the service and business sectors, a large proportion of the new church villagers are retired people, wishing to be closer to the comforts and services available there (Lammin seurakunta 1976:2).

The importance of the church village to the rest of the commune is

reflected in the fact that 70 percent of the commune's total purchasing power was spent in the church village in 1974; the local stores, which were once found in virtually every large rural hamlet, are now mostly closed or doomed to eventual demise. The percent of public services provided to the commune's residents by the church village was even greater (Palonen 1974:13).

Although the church village has gained greater economic importance in the postwar period, as the location of the parish church, the church village has always had a special place in community life. Even today, when the Evangelical Lutheran Church is no longer the state church ". . . in the strict sense of the word, . . .", and church attendance is less than one-tenth of its potential, 95 percent of the Finnish population is at least nominally Lutheran (Mead 1968:196; Sentze 1963: 39). The church remains responsible for its members' birth, death, and marriage records.

In Pellava, the five hundred year old stone parish church stands in the middle of the church village, and it is certainly the most important symbol of the commune and parish. Throughout Pellava, pictures of the church are prominently displayed in homes. Many public events (e.g., National Independence Day, the opening of the school year) include church services. Rural villagers often pay visits to the graveyard, adjacent to the church, as part of their trips to the church village.

The parish clergymen, who live in the church village, are probably the commune's most visible public figures. Many villagers attend church infrequently; nevertheless, they come to know the clergy through their children, since the clergy are teachers at confirmation school, or through attending various church activities in Rasti (e.g., the biweekly Missionary Sewing Society or the village's annual Catechetical

Meeting). More importantly, the clergy play major roles at the most important social functions (everything from major birthday parties to funerals). The pastors frequently remain as guests, even after their official duties are over. In contrast, the full-time communal government officials' activities are confined primarily to their offices. Perhaps the centrality of the clergy in commune life is most graphically in evidence in the high frequency with which they are made the central figures in anecdotes told by villagers.

In the postwar period, the church village has increasingly become the social, as well as the demographic and economic, center of the commune. Many of the social activities once found in rural villages throughout the commune have become concentrated in the church village. For example, the dance places that were once found in many rural hamlets, and were sites of frequent and lively activities, are now almost all deserted all year, or they are only rarely open. In contrast, the church village's dance place brings in well-known entertainers throughout the summer, attracting large crowds.

The church village has gained much of its recent social importance as the meeting place for the numerous commune-wide organizations. Every week the local newspaper carries at least one page of announcements of group activities and meetings. In addition to the various organs of the communal government and the parish church, there are organizations that range in their interests from recreational activities (e.g., musical groups and clubs for the elderly) to vocational affairs (e.g., agricultural organizations) to service functions (e.g., the Mannerheim Children's League and the Red Cross) to political goals to education (e.g., evening adult education classes). Lander (1971, 1976) has also reported a profusion of organized activities in the commune she

investigated.

Part of the development of the church village has been a continuous expansion in choice and variety of spaces available for the activities of organizations and clubs. In addition to the commune's central schools, the Commune Hall, and Parish Hall, there are now suitable facilities available to groups in two of the church village's coffee shops, in two of the banks, and in the recently completed communal fire station. Since the church village has the best facilities for handling large groups, celebrations and events of commune-wide interest are almost exclusively held there. These include such occasions as Independence Day, May Day Eve and May Day, the large annual fair sponsored by the Pellava Lions Club, concerts and dramatic presentations by local and visiting groups. Even important private rites of passage, such as memorial occasions after a funeral, are celebrated by rural villagers at the facilities available in the church village with increasing frequency.

Although it has taken on ever greater importance in communal life, the church village is not a very cohesive community. This reflects a number of factors. Physically, the church village has developed into a form that is not conducive to informal and casual interaction among its residents. Most of the growth in the church village occurred after the auto and truck had achieved dominance in local transportation; the business center and the residential areas of the church village are primarily adapted to those forms of transportation and not to pedestrians. Although people may meet each other while shopping, the center of the church village is almost completely lacking in outdoor public places, where people can sit and socialize informally. There is no village square and no centrally located park. The four coffee shops and one

combination hotel-restaurant near the center of the church village are not general social gathering places for adults, in the tradition of the French or Italian cafe (Silverman 1975; Wylie 1964). On a typical day, the coffee shops' clientele consists primarily of people waiting for a bus back to the rural villages, a small group of retirees, workers on a quick break, and high school students. When most of the stores close, at 5:00 on weekdays and midday on Saturdays, the center of the church village becomes quiet. Except for some teenagers gathered on their motor bikes and a few cars driving through, little stirs, even on the long summer nights.

If the center of the town does not serve the church village as a focus of informal social life, there is also little or no social meaning to the larger residential neighborhoods. Many of the homes in the church village have only been built in the last decade. The new single family dwellings were generally constructed on land bought from the communal government. The prices paid for these plots were relatively uniform; nevertheless, residents of a single neighborhood are not homogeneous in social class or profession. The recentness of the expansion and development of the church village has also meant that the vast majority of church villagers have not grown up together; they do not have a common childhood to draw them together, despite their occupational and class heterogeneity. Within the church village, people tend to socialize on the basis of social class and profession. The high prestige professionals (e.g., medical doctors, bank directors, pastors, higher communal officials), for example, tend to associate outside of work almost exclusively with people of their own group. The Lions Club offers an organized, or formal framework, for many of the social activities of the professional elite. Lander (1971) has also described the highly

stratified nature of social life in the central town of the commune she studied. Church villagers who come originally from the other villages of the commune do not have close relationships with their new neighborhood; they have, however, often maintained very strong ties to their family and friends in their home village. Some church villagers even participate actively in the social life of their home village. When rural villagers pay social visits in the church village, they are almost exclusively to relatives or former villagers.

This chapter examined the commune of Pellava, where Rasti is located; it described the commune's major demographic, economic, and political characteristics, focusing on those forces and trends that most influence Pellava's rural villages. Having provided background material on both the national and communal frameworks, the following chapter turns directly to the community that is the major subject of this study--Rasti.

CHAPTER IV

RASTI: THE VILLAGE

This chapter provides a detailed ethnographic description of the village of Rasti, the focus of this research. Included here are data on the present-day village's demographic and economic structure, social and political divisions, organizational life, and prominent forms of community activities and social events, along with a discussion of the major trends in those areas over the last 100 years. The analysis links village developments to the national and international events and forces considered in Chapter II and the communal framework examined in Chapter III. Chapter IV argues that today, despite the existence of powerful centrifugal forces in the village, the people of Rasti still express a deep feeling of commitment and loyalty to their community. This finding is in accord with an observation made by Kehusmaa et al.: there is still a significant degree of village consciousness in Finland (1969:5).

BOUNDARIES AND SETTLEMENT PATTERN

In this study, Rasti's boundaries do not coincide with official government definitions. Although Rasti is described here as a village, it is not by itself an official village. It is a settlement, roughly defined by the limits of a fairly continuous field opening. The official village, of which Rasti is a part, will be referred to here as Greater Rasti. Greater Rasti is much larger than Rasti. The official

village's boundaries are, however, several hundred years old. The types of governmental and religious functions that were related to those boundaries long ago are not relevant anymore. Today, for example, the official village does not correspond with any important official institutions.

The boundaries for Rasti used in this study reflect social reality and local usage. Although the people of Rasti know the official borders, in almost all contexts, when referring to Rasti or to Rasti villagers as a group, they mean this more circumscribed area and its inhabitants. Furthermore, the active membership of village organizations is almost exclusively drawn from this smaller area. The villagers from Rasti, and almost no one else, attend such explicitly village-wide events as the yearly catechetical meeting. Present-day cooperative ventures (e.g., joint purchase and ownership of agricultural machinery) involve Rasti people (as defined here) almost exclusively. Finally, when interviewed, several people from the outlying region of the official village most closely tied to Rasti (an area of small and fragmented farms, dispersed in a heavily forested and frequently marshy terrain) described themselves as having their own separate identity, related to the peculiarities of their more isolated situations. While electrification reached Rasti in the 1920s, this more remote area did not begin to be connected to the communal electricity system until decades later. A trip to Rasti from many of the farms in this distant area takes as long as a trip from Rasti to the church village. As a result of all these factors, it is not surprising that analysis of visiting patterns among Rasti villagers showed that the people from outside Rasti itself played a minor role in daily village social life.

This choice of boundaries, however, did present some difficulties

in terms of using archival data. The population and occupational statistics from 1900 to 1960 presented in this study are based on the records kept in the archives of the parish church. Up until 1960, these records were organized by official villages and include what has been called here Greater Rasti. In the archival records, it is extremely difficult to separate the people of Rasti from those of Greater Rasti. The church records are subdivided within an official village in terms of the farms that were consolidated during the massive land reorganization that took place by government edict, beginning in the 18th century. These farm units typically included several plots of land throughout Greater Rasti. For example, in the 19th century, some of the farms of Rasti owned tenant farms at a considerable distance from Rasti itself. Even within Rasti, the land parcels of the main farms were sometimes located in several different areas of the village. When, as frequently occurred later, the tenant farms became independent, smaller cottage plots were sold, or the main farm itself was completely dismembered, the smaller units continued to be included under the heading of the main farm in the parish population records. Although the population and occupational statistics for 1900-60 include a wider area than Rasti, the trends that they display should be representative of the village. If there is any bias, it should be that the Greater Rasti statistics would show larger population declines than would Rasti alone. The farms outside of Rasti were much smaller and generally in much less fertile areas than the main village. The lure of urban and industrial jobs was probably greater for the people of this less-developed region.

After 1961, the church record system was radically reorganized. Population statistics were no longer kept by official villages;

instead, the records were organized by family units and were kept in an alphabetical order, which covers the entire parish. The figures for population and occupational statistics as of January 1976 are, therefore, only for Rasti, and they are based on the results of an interview completed with virtually every family in the village.

The village of Rasti is located in northern Pellava at a distance of approximately eight kilometers from the church village. The heart of the village is a narrow three and one-half kilometer long field area. The village's fields are bounded on the south by one and one-half kilometers of wooded hills, on the east by a ridge, in the north by the southern end of a 16 kilometer long lake, and in the west by five kilometers of bogs and wooded hills. Pine and spruce are the predominant trees in the village's forests. There are two small lakes in the village, one near the center of the field area and a second in its northwest corner. The fields of Rasti are approximately one hundred meters above sea level, and the predominant soil types are silt and clay, sand and gravel on top of a ridge, and sand (Virkkala 1972:10-14). The village's main road runs in a north-south direction and bisects the field area.

Rasti is an ancient village, inhabited since prehistoric times. The village's name was first mentioned in records in the 15th century. Until the enclosure that was initiated at the end of the 18th century, the village's fields were organized in a strip system. The houses of the village's farms were crowded onto a single building area, which was apparently located near the small lake toward the center of the field area. In addition to reorganizing the pattern of field ownership, enclosure also began the dispersal of the village's homes (Virmala and

Ruotsalainen 1972:303-306). The dissolution of Rasti's traditional centralized settlement pattern was furthered in the 19th century by a fire in the village center that destroyed several farms that were not subsequently rebuilt or reestablished. Today, Rasti has a linear settlement pattern, with almost all of the buildings located on, or near, the village's main roads. Though houses are sometimes found in clusters, each group of houses is usually separated from the next by long stretches of open field. The clustering is often the result of topographic factors. Several houses generally appear close together on small hills or stretches of rocky land. Houses located on potentially productive land are often the result of postwar reforms, which provided land for refugees, veterans, and war widows.

Although Rasti's homes are almost all located along the village's main roads, the individual homes are not oriented toward the road. Instead, they generally face inwards and form part of courtyards. In cottages, the courtyard is often defined by only two buildings: the main house and a combination sauna and storage shed. On farms, the main farmhouse usually forms one side of the courtyard and the cow shed a second. A third side is often made up of what was once a stable but, with the disappearance of the horse, is now often a garage. A sauna and a number of storage sheds are also often found on the periphery of the farm courtyards. The courtyard was even more sharply delineated in the past by numerous small buildings, which were necessary for multifaceted self-sufficient farming and by a second house used for guests or for one of the couples, when two adult generations lived on the farm. The courtyard pattern is, apparently, an old tradition, originally borrowed from Sweden. It was part of the preenclosure settlement pattern.

Although the houses are often built to a traditional pattern, many of Rasti's homes are of recent origin. Only thirty of the houses now occupied year-round in the village were built before 1945. In contrast, forty were built after that date. This reflects several factors. First, it has often been more economical to replace old houses with modern ones, rather than to renovate. Older buildings were frequently built on poor foundations and in several stages, with one room being tagged onto the end of another. The various parts of the houses were independent, and the heavy log walls often sank into the ground at different rates. Second, after the Finno-Soviet Wars, recently arrived refugees from Karelia required new housing. Third, many of the previously landless village workers acquired land in postwar land reforms and built homes. These latter two factors are reflected in the fact that twenty-five of the village's thirty-seven nonfarmer landowners gained their property only in the postwar (1944-) period.

PUBLIC BUILDINGS AND LANDMARKS

The social center of Rasti today is in the same area where the village's houses and farm buildings were crowded together in pre-enclosure times. At present, this area's importance derives from the two stores located there. They are both cooperatives; one (S.O.K.) is politically neutral; the second (E. Hāme) is associated with the Social Democratic party. While Social Democrats patronize both stores, it is very rare for a nonsocialist to be found inside the socialist store.

These are both general stores, offering everything from cooking chickens to chicken wire. Since there are usually only one or two people working at a time, and most of the important items (e.g., milk

and meat) are behind the counter, shopping is generally a slow relaxed affair. Both storekeepers live next to their stores, and villagers, unexpectedly in great need of some item, frequently come to the store after hours.

The neutral S.O.K. store is also the village's post office. Approximately half the village picks up its mail there. The distribution of mail, around 11:00 a.m., is the only event that daily brings together a wide spectrum of Rasti people. It is at the stores, especially around mail distribution time, that villagers may run into people whom they otherwise would rarely see. The importance of the stores as centers for the dissemination of local news is indicated by the number of times that choice bits of gossip begin with the prelude "So and so was in the store, and. . . ." Some of the best stories about local characters are set in the stores. The importance of the stores as social centers is, however, somewhat limited. In one store, there are no places to sit; in the other, there is just one stool. Furthermore, although children may buy ice cream at the store, and men occasionally drink a beer in the storage room, neither shop is a cafe or tavern. Rasti does not have that type of public meeting place.

Today, both stores face serious financial challenges. On the one hand, as the ownership of private cars has become more common in Rasti, villagers increasingly do their shopping in the larger stores of the church village. Prices there are generally lower, and there are often special offers, which are not available in the village stores. On the other hand, the local stores are threatened by competition from stores on wheels that operate in the area. These are huge vans that come right into the front yards of the village. Though they have limited stocks and do not offer especially good prices, their convenience

unused for more than a year at a time.

If the stores, the school, and dance hall are threatened with extinction, activities that were once found in the two other large nonresidential buildings in the village are now totally moribund. These two buildings, located on the southern shore of the lake, are a sawmill and a dairy. Founded in the 1920s, with a capital provided mostly by local farmers, the Rasti sawmill was hit hard by the worldwide depression. The sawmill also suffered several catastrophic fires and was eventually sold to interests outside the village. In the 1960s, the company that owned the sawmill closed it, as part of a consolidation move.

The smokestacks rising incongruously from the otherwise wooded shore of the southern bay of the lake mark the site of the now defunct Rasti Cooperative Dairy. Founded in 1927, the dairy struggled along until 1953, when it was sold to private interests from outside the village. Today, the dairy building is used only to house some old farm equipment.

The decline in activities, which has been briefly noted here, is closely tied to the demographic and economic trends in the village during the postwar period.

DEMOGRAPHY

On January 1, 1976, the total population of Rasti was 199. There was a significant population structure imbalance in this small village: a low percentage of people in the 0-14 years old age group (16.58%) an an extremely high percentage in the category of 65 years of age and older (25.12%). Those over 55 years of age made up 39.69 percent of the village's population, while those up to age 24 made up only

is a great advantage, especially for the elderly.¹ Having seen local stores in many other rural villages close and being aware of the importance of their stores for the life of the community, some villagers consciously attempt to keep the stores open by purchasing some items at the local stores, even when they could be bought more economically elsewhere. The large number of summer residents, who vacation on the lake just north of Rasti and provide a seasonal boom in sales, are, however, the major factor keeping Rasti's stores open.

An imposing two story frame building, standing on a ridge overlooking the large lake at the northern end of Rasti's field area, houses the village's elementary school. The establishment of a local elementary school was a matter of great local pride in Finnish villages at the turn of the century. Elementary education originally came to Rasti in 1897. The first school burned down in 1917, and the present school was erected in 1923. In many of Pellava's rural villages, the local schools, like the local stores, have been forced to close. Rasti's school has been able to continue to exist only by expanding the borders of the school district. Reflecting this is the fact that in 1975 only one out of the six members of Rasti's School Board came from within Rasti itself. The other members were residents of surrounding communities (Lammin kunta 1976:135).

At the northwestern corner of the village's field area is a large building, with a stage and a dance floor. This is the property of the local branch of the Social Democratic party. It was built, mostly by the voluntary labor of party members, during the 1940s. Although it is unheated and can be used only in the spring and summer, in its early years the building was the site of frequent dances and shows. Today, the building is open only rarely; it is sometimes left

26.12 percent (see Table VI).

TABLE VI. NUMBER OF PEOPLE LIVING IN RASTI
BY AGE AND SEX IN JANUARY 1976.

Age group in years	Sex		Total	Percent of total
	Female	Male		
0-14	15	18	33	16.6
15-24	10	9	19	9.5
25-34	7	8	15	7.5
35-44	12	13	25	12.6
45-54	12	16	28	14.1
55-64	17	12	29	14.6
65 and over	28	22	50	25.1
Total	101	98	199	100.0

This imbalance in the population structure is even greater than that predicted for Pellava as a whole in 1980 (see Table II). Comparison with the figures from Greater Rasti suggests that this shift to an extreme population imbalance has dramatically increased since 1960. Clearly, to a great extent this is part of the general postwar flight from the countryside. In fact, the figures from Greater Rasti (see Table VII) indicate that Rasti and its surrounding area have been losing population steadily since 1910 (see Table VII). (The anomalous figure from 1940 reflects the fact that much of the male adult population was in the army at that time).

Driving through Rasti, the village does not look as small and depleted

TABLE VII. NUMBER AND PERCENT OF PEOPLE LIVING IN GREATER
RASTI BY AGE GROUP FROM 1900 to 1960 (LAMMIN SEURAKUNNAN ARKISTO).

Age group	Years by decades													
	1900		1910		1920		1930		1940		1950		1960	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
0-14	230	34.7	258	33.8	214	31.2	164	26.3	109	27.0	156	29.1	126	25.9
15-24	114	17.2	143	18.8	136	19.9	114	18.3	62	15.4	85	15.9	85	17.5
25-34	67	10.1	94	12.3	78	11.4	89	14.3	67	16.6	59	11.0	63	12.9
35-44	80	12.1	64	8.4	69	10.1	72	11.6	49	12.2	79	14.7	41	8.4
45-54	83	12.5	79	10.4	55	8.0	62	10.0	38	9.4	60	11.2	65	13.3
55-64	47	7.1	74	9.7	63	9.2	45	7.2	40	9.9	49	9.1	50	10.3
65 and over	42	6.3	50	6.6	70	10.2	77	12.4	38	9.4	48	9.0	57	11.7
Total	663	100.0	762	100.0	685	100.0	623	100.0	403	100.0	536	100.0	487	100.0

as the population data suggest. However, at least 13 of the village houses (including some of the largest and most impressive) are not inhabited year-round. Nine of them are now used as summer cottages. Six of these nine are owned by people who were once year-round residents. Furthermore, many of the village households are quite small. There is only one person in 27.5 percent of the village's households, and 26.1 percent have only two (see Table VIII).

TABLE VIII. SIZE OF HOUSEHOLD IN RASTI, JANUARY 1976.

Type of household size	Number	Percent
One member	19	27.5
Two members	13	26.1
Three or more members	32	46.4
Total	69	100.0

The people of Rasti are acutely aware that their village is dying. Although no native children were born in the village and no village marriages took place in 1975-76, there were several funerals. One villager commented in a letter: "We villagers take so long to write, although there are so few of us. We counted [the population], but just after that another of us died."

The aging nature of the Rasti population is clearly reflected in the figures from a survey of the village's household composition (see Table IX). Only 14.5 percent of the households were nuclear families, while 27.5 percent of the households contained people living alone, and 21.7 percent of the households consisted of married couples living alone.

TABLE IX. HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION IN RASTI
IN JANUARY 1976.

Type of household	Number	Percent
One person	19	27.5
Two unmarried sisters	1	1.4
Married couple living alone	15	21.7
Nuclear family	10	14.5
Married couple with grand-child	1	1.4
Two adult married or formerly married generations	1	1.4
Two adult married or formerly married generations plus an unmarried adult	1	1.4
At least two adult generations, with one of the adult generations being unmarried	13	18.8
Three generations (two adult married or formerly married generations and children)	8	11.6

It is also significant that all eight households that have two adult married or formerly married generations plus children (i.e., three generations) are farm families. The next chapter will present a discussion of why these extended households develop among farm families and examine the particular stresses and tensions that arise in such extended households.

KINSHIP

A village teacher recalled that when she first arrived in Rasti, in the 1950s, the head teacher advised her not to get into a quarrel with anyone since everybody in the village was related to one another.

TABLE X. OCCUPATION OF THE HEAD OF EACH FAMILY UNIT IN GREATER RASTI FROM 1900 TO 1960. (LAMMIN SEURAKUNNAN ARIKISTO).

Occupation	Years by Decades													
	1900		1910		1920		1930		1940		1950		1960	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Farmer	20	11.7	17	8.3	19	11.4	31	25.6	27	26.2	32	29.4	28	20.6
Renter or Crofter	34	19.9	33	16.1	24	14.5	10	8.3	3	2.9	---		---	
Laborer	18	10.5	30	14.6	27	16.3	15	12.4	7	6.8	3	2.8	2	1.5
Full-time agricultural	72	42.1	80	39.0	70	42.2	56	46.3	37	35.9	35	32.1	30	22.1
Cottager	81	47.4	99	48.3	61	36.7	32	26.4	32	31.1	16	14.7	17	12.5
Full and part-Time agricultural	153	89.5	179	87.3	131	78.9	88	72.7	69	67.0	51	46.8	47	34.6
Craftsman	10	5.8	12	5.9	15	9.0	11	9.1	4	3.9	11	10.1	18	13.2
Transportation	---		---		---		---		3	2.9	6	5.5	19	14.0
Sawmill	---		1	0.5	5	3.0	4	3.3	15	14.6	30	27.5	34	25.0
Dairy	---		---		---		---		1	1.0	1	0.9	6	4.4
Professional	2	1.2	2	1.0	1	0.6	3	2.5	4	3.9	7	6.4	4	2.9
Commercial	2	1.2	2	1.0	4	2.4	4	3.3	3	2.9	1	0.9	6	4.4
Domestic Servant	---		---		---		---		2	1.9	2	1.8	2	1.5
Nonagricultural	14	8.2	17	8.3	25	15.1	22	18.2	32	31.1	58	53.2	89	65.4
Unemployed	4	2.3	9	4.4	10	6.0	11	9.1	2	1.9	---		---	
TOTAL	173		205		166		121		103		109		136	

Although the head teacher was clearly exaggerating, even today, when the village's population is dwindling, a sizable proportion of village families still have relatives in Rasti. About half of the farming families in the village were related to at least one other farming family and about half of the farming families were related to at least one nonfarming family. Of the nonfarmers, 35 percent were related to at least one farm family, and 57 percent were related to at least one nonfarming family.²

OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE

A change in the village's occupational structure has occurred, along with the decline in its total population and its growing age imbalance. A parallel development took place in Pellava and in the nation as a whole (see Table X). There was a clear absolute and proportional decline in the agricultural population. The data also show that, in addition to this overall decline, there were, likewise, some dramatic changes in the composition of the agricultural population. While the number of independent farmers increased over time, the number of both renters or crofters and agricultural laborers decreased sharply.

This reflects several factors. Most importantly, the land reforms that have been initiated in the post-Civil War period fostered the eventual transformation of crofts into independent farms. This is probably most responsible for the powerful shift that occurred between 1920 and 1930. All the renters or crofters, however, did not become or remain independent farmers. This is probably due to the fact that the crofts tended to be small and located in backwoods areas. As opportunities for nonagricultural employment continued to expand throughout

the 20th century, especially in urban areas, many of these marginal farms were either given up or became secondary sources of income. Furthermore, as noted in an earlier chapter, the worldwide depression most severely affected these smaller farms. Expanded opportunities in other areas, as well as constant increases in agricultural mechanization, are responsible for the sharp decline in the number of agricultural laborers in Greater Rasti from 1920 onwards. The Rasti sawmill was the only significant source of employment opportunities within Rasti for former agricultural laborers and ex-crofters from 1940 through 1960.

The data on vocational structure in Rasti in 1976 reveal some changes and contrasts with Greater Rasti (see Table XI). In 1976, Rasti had a strikingly higher percentage of population in agricultural professions than did Greater Rasti in 1960. This is partially because traditionally there had been no crofts, and very few small and marginal farms, within Rasti itself. In general, Rasti farms continued to be economically viable. One additional element, which helps explain the high proportion of farmers in Rasti in 1976, was the closing of the Rasti sawmill in 1962. Many village nonfarmers, who were formerly employed in the mill, left Rasti. Those who did stay were forced to shift into other professions. This shift was, however, eased by a surge in building activities, which occurred in the 1960s. There was some work available on construction jobs in the church village, and in Greater Rasti, building summer cottages on the shores of the large lake. Some former sawmill workers who stayed in Rasti became carpenters and construction workers. However, today, many of those individuals are now either dead, retired, or close to retirement age. They have virtually no successors within the village. Their children see the opportunities in towns and cities as far more attractive. It is the

TABLE XI. OCCUPATIONS OF NONRETIRED ADULTS
IN RASTI IN JANUARY 1976.^a

Occupation	Number	Percent
<u>Agricultural total</u>	43	43.9
Farmer	22	22.5
Farmwife	16	16.3
Other	5	5.1
<u>Craftsman/ Technician</u>	12	12.2
<u>Transportation</u>	4	4.1
<u>Commercial</u>	9	9.2
<u>Professional</u>	5	5.1
<u>Forestry/ Sawmill</u>	4	4.1
<u>Workman</u>	5	5.1
<u>Housewife</u>	12	12.2
<u>Domestic Service</u>	2	2.0
<u>Unemployed</u>	2	2.0
Total	98	100.0

^aThere were 22 retired farmers and 30 retired nonfarmers in Rasti

consensus of villagers that eventually the village will have only farmers and their children.

AGRICULTURE

Agriculture has been the center of the Rasti economy and requires detailed consideration. Jutikkala (1969:78) has classified Finnish farms into the following categories: Dwarf (less than 3 hectares of cultivated land); Small (3-10 hectares of cultivated land); Smaller middle (10-25 hectares of cultivated land); Larger middle (25-100 hectares of cultivated land); Large (over 100 hectares of cultivated land). Historically, the typical Häme farm fell into the larger middle category (Jutikkala 1969:82). Due to the land reforms and other forces of fragmentation described in Chapter III, however, Rasti's farms almost all belonged to the smaller middle group in 1976 (see Table XII).

TABLE XII. NUMBER OF FARMS IN RASTI BY SIZE OF CULTIVATED FIELDS FOLLOWING JUTIKKALA'S CATEGORIES

Size	Cultivated fields in hectares	Number of farms
Dwarf	1.0-2.9	3
Small	3.0-9.9	6
Smaller middle	10.0-24.9	17
Larger middle	25.0-100.0	0
Large	over 100.0	0

The high degree of homogeneity of Rasti's farms, in terms of field size, is even more clearly revealed in a finer breakdown of the figures (see Table XIII).

TABLE XIII. NUMBER OF FARMS IN RASTI BY SIZE
OF CULTIVATED FIELDS

Cultivated fields in hectares	Number of farms
1.0-1.9	1
2.0-2.9	2
3.0-4.9	5
5.0-9.9	1
10.0-14.9	13
15.0-19.9	4
20.0-24.9	0
25.0-29.9	0

The small and dwarf farms in Rasti are extremely marginal. Two of the three dwarf holdings are not operated as independent farms but are instead rented to other village farmers. The third dwarf holding is run as a farm; however, the owner must work at a second occupation to supplement his meager agricultural income. Three of the small holdings of arable land only provide their owners with supplements to incomes derived primarily from other professions. In fact, one of the three owners of dwarf-sized holdings and two of the six owners of small holdings did not even live in Rasti. Three of the nine small and dwarf-sized holdings were owned by middle-aged and unmarried individuals. These people had apparently remained in the village to care for elderly or sick parents. It was doubtful that any of those three units would continue as an independent farm after the present owners' death or retirement.

If today the smaller farms are of minor importance, there are also

no large holdings that dominate the village's economy. At the turn of the century, there was one village farm that had accumulated 60 hectares of cultivated land. This farm was, however, broken up in 1941, primarily because the heirs had received advanced educations (in some cases university training) and were not strongly interested in being farmers.

As is typical in Finnish agriculture, forest holdings are important parts of Rasti's farms (see Table XIV). Figures in Table XIV indicate that while Rasti's farms have been fairly homogeneous in terms of ownership of arable land, there have been significant differences in terms of sizes of forest holdings. The differences in forest holdings are important because the forests have been the major sources of capital for agricultural development in Finland. It is symptomatic of the increase in value of the farms, caused by the rise in the demand for forest products in the latter part of the 19th century, that between 1871 and 1940 only five of the village's farms left the control of the family that owned them immediately before that period.³ Four farms, or parts of farms subsequently established as independent farming units, have been sold outside the previous owners' families since 1941. Three of these eventually went to refugees from Karelia. It is significant that all four farms had less than 25 hectares of forest, when initially purchased. Forests have been so highly valued that even when there has been a willingness to sell fields or parts of fields, village landowners have been much more reluctant to part with their forests.

AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

In the past one hundred years, there have been radical changes in

TABLE XIV. FOREST LAND (TAX QUALITY I-IV) IN HECTARES
OWNED BY FULL-TIME VILLAGE RESIDENTS.^a

Forest owned in hectares	Number of holdings
1-9.9	4
10-19.9	1
20-29.9	1
30-39.9	3
40-49.9	4
50-59.9	1
60-69.9	2
70-79.9	1
80-89.9	1
90-99.9	0
100-109.9	2
110-119.9	0
120-	1

^aIn addition to the holdings listed above, there are several former Rasti residents and relatives of former Rasti villagers who own significant amounts of forest land in the Rasti region. Complete data could not be obtained on this group. One village farm's holdings were excluded from this chart because complexities involving inheritance issues led to incomplete data being gathered. Before that particular farm became involved in complex inheritance questions, it held approximately 200 hectares of forest. Finally, two Rasti residents have shares in forest land that are part of as yet undivided inheritances.

the ways in which Rasti's fields have been cultivated. In the middle of the 19th century, the main crop grown in Rasti was rye; flax was the major cash crop. A high proportion of the village's fields lay fallow yearly. There was very little cultivated hay grown. During the summer, cattle were put out to graze in the forests. In the winter, the cattle were fed mostly hay cut from natural meadows, straw, and small portions of oats and turnips. This poor diet meant that milk production was low and limited almost exclusively to the summer months. The main value of the cattle was the fertilizer that their manure provided. As Soininen has pointed out: "Old methods of arable cultivation were used in Finland until the end of the 1870s, although modern methods started to become known after the mid-19th century" (1974:451). Table XV shows that the old system of cultivation was still dominant in Häme after the 1870s.

TABLE XV. MEAN YEARLY HARVESTS OF THE MOST COMMON CROPS OF HÄME IN MILLIONS OF KILOGRAMS: (ROSENBERG 1974:52).

Type of crops	1871-75	Time period	
		1911-15	1936-39
Wheat	---	0.4	24.6
Rye	34.9	34.9	44.2
Barley	8.3	6.7	19.9
Oats	12.7	52.8	105.3
Potatoes	---	45.1	132.5
Cultivated Hay	---	157.0	361.5

The striking increases over time in the harvests of cultivated hay, oats, and barley are indicative of the change to dairy farming, which lumber sales helped to finance in the late 19th century. These trends in production for the entire Häme Province are just as clearly shown

in data from the Hollola Kihlakunta district of Häme, which includes Pellava and six other communes. (see Table XVI).

TABLE XVI. SHARE OF FIELD AREA OF CROPS BY PERCENTAGE IN THE HOLLOLA KIHlakUNTA DISTRICT (ROSENBERG 1974:58).

Crop	1910	1920	1929	1941
Wheat	0.1	0.2	0.2	5.0
Rye	15.7	13.5	11.4	9.4
Barley	3.5	3.8	3.4	3.7
Oats	22.4	22.3	23.4	21.9
Mixed grain	0.1	0.8	0.4	0.1
Leguminous plants	1.0	1.1	0.3	0.7
Potatoes	3.2	3.2	2.8	3.0
Edible roots	0.6	0.5	1.0	1.1
Green fodder	2.4	0.5	0.8	1.9
Hay	35.2	40.5	45.0	47.0
Flax hemp	1.2	0.6	0.5	0.3
Fallow	14.6	12.2	10.1	5.2
Other field	0.0	0.8	0.7	0.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Table XVII indicates that the development of dairy farming did not entail an increase in the number of milk cows.

TABLE XVII. NUMBER OF MILK COWS IN THE HOLLOLA KIHlakUNTA DISTRICT IN 1910, 1920, 1929, and 1941 (ROSENBERG 1974:69).

	Total number of milk cows	per 100 ha. of field	per 100 ha. of field and natural meadow
1910	23,558	58.1	44.2
1920	21,685	---	---
1929	21,808	---	---
1941	23,849	48.6	47.6

Several other measures, however, clearly reveal that better feed and improved care of cattle had a dramatic impact on the productivity of milk cattle. Figures from a sample of cow herds (tarkkailukarja) from Southern Häme show that the average milk production per cow had increased considerably (see Table XVIII).

TABLE XVIII. AMOUNT OF MILK PRODUCED PER COW IN KILOGRAMS IN SOUTH HÄME (THE AGRICULTURAL SOCIETY OF THE HÄME PROVINCE) BY YEAR. (ROSENBERG 1974:32).

Year	1913	1916	1921	1926	1931	1936
Milk production per cow	2,076	1,879	2,313	2,732	2,901	3,170

The dairies of Häme Province also processed ever greater amounts of butter and cheese (see Table XIX).

TABLE XIX. DAIRY PRODUCTION OF BUTTER AND CHEESE IN HÄME PROVINCE IN KILOGRAMS (ROSENBERG 1974:78).

<u>Year</u>	<u>Butter</u>	<u>Cheese</u>
1892	351,000	96,000
1913	1,317,502	273,088
1928	2,640,957	301,103
1938	4,823,175	1,413,812

The growing importance of dairy cattle in Rasti's economy was signaled by the establishment of a dairy in the village in 1927. The dairy operated (first as a cooperative and then later as a private business) until 1960. The following figures on the spread of milking machines within the village indicate that the village farmers moved rather rapidly toward the mechanization of their milking chores in the postwar period (see Table XX).

TABLE XX. DATE OF ACQUISITION OF THE
FIRST MILKING MACHINE ON RASTI FARMS^a

Year	Number of farms
1970-1974	0
1965-1969	3
1960-1964	1
1955-1959	4
1950-1954	8
Total	16

^aNo information was gathered on this for one farm. Only three village farms that had had milk cattle never had a milking machine.

The trend towards mechanization of farming was continued, when the majority of village farms quickly purchased their first tractor (see Table XXI).

TABLE XXI. DATE OF ACQUISITION OF THE FIRST TRACTOR
ON RASTI FARMS^a

Year	Number of farms
1970-1974	1
1965-1969	1
1960-1964	1
1955-1959	10
1950-1954	4
Total	17

^aThere were unclear data on one farm.

For much of the postwar period, Rasti farmers found dairy farming to be a relatively secure speciality. First, dairy farming was less likely than cash crop cultivation to be disastrously affected by the uncertainties of a northern climate. When poor weather produced a bad

fodder crop harvest, this usually meant that the farmer had to feed his cattle a lower quality diet. The result would be lowered milk production but not a complete, or nearly complete, loss of farming income. Second, the village, and later the commune dairy and the associations to which they belonged, provided dairy farmers with abundant expert advice and numerous services. The dairies also marketed their goods for the farms. Third, dairy farmers did not have to manage an income that came in at only one or two times a years. Instead, dairy farming provided a regular and fairly predictable income throughout the year.

In 1962, however, the first farm in Rasti sold off its dairy cattle. In line with the present trend in Southern Finland, which was noted in Chapter II, a growing number of village farms have followed that example. Thus, in 1976, of the farms that received a major portion of their income from agricultural enterprises (i.e., at least 15 percent of income), only ten still had dairy cattle, and ten had no cattle at all. It is indicative of the uncertainty about continuing dairy farming, even on the farms that still have cattle, that only one village farm had installed the newest innovation in milking technology, a machine that delivered milk directly from the cow to the farm's central milk storage tank.

The move away from dairy farming reflects a number of factors. As noted in Chapter II, in the postwar period Finnish farming was soon producing an unnecessarily large surplus of milk and milk products. Although Finnish cheese competes successfully in the world market, butter exports require subsidies (Mead 1968:203). In 1969, a law was passed providing inducements for the slaughter of dairy cattle (Varjo 1977:28).

An increasing awareness of the improved working conditions in other professions has also made many farmers critical of dairy farming. For example, Finnish employees are generally guaranteed by law generous vacation time (Nousiainen 1971:423). More and more Finns take these vacations abroad. Farmers without cattle can also take extended periods of time off from work. However, cattle bind the dairy farm family firmly to the home. The cattle must be milked and fed twice a day, seven days a week, 365 days a year. Although the government has set up a program to help reimburse farmers who hire help to care for farms during vacations, there are very few of these helpers locally available. The farmers also dislike the dirt and muck involved in their job. A middle-aged farmer, who had recently sold his cattle, commented: "You never get rid of the smell of manure, even after a sauna." Villagers are also aware of the physical toll that dairy farming has taken on villagers. The fingers of women who have milked by hand are often twisted into grotesque shapes. Work related disabilities (e.g., allergies and arthritis) have forced some farmers to give up their cattle.

Third, even with the introduction of the milking machine, dairy farming, on all but the smallest scale, is labor intensive enough to require at least two full-time workers. Today, when farmers are faced with an almost total shortage of affordable outside hired help, and unmarried brothers and sisters are no longer satisfied to work at home for nominal wages, the core of the farm's work force is almost inevitably a husband and wife team. Village farmers, nevertheless, do not always choose spouses who are interested in full-time participation in farming. Today, the wives of two of the village's farmers have their own occupations, and these women have only very limited

involvement with the day-to-day operation of the farm's agricultural activities. Both of these farms have sold off their dairy cattle.

Fourth, today there are educational and job opportunities in other professions luring the farmers' children away from agriculture. On several village farms, it is still questionable whether any of the family's children will be interested in taking over the farm. Even when a child is likely to continue in farming, it is often doubtful that the young person would keep dairy cattle. This uncertainty affects the parents' choices about continuing dairy farming. Most village cow sheds are outmoded, requiring the farmers to do a good deal of otherwise unnecessary labor during daily chores. Farmers are, however, reluctant to invest the large sums necessary to build a modern cow shed and otherwise modernize their dairy operation. They fear that the major investment will be lost if their children do not take over the farm or discontinue the dairy operations. Rather than continue working in poor conditions, some farmers may eventually choose to themselves sell off the cattle. It may, nevertheless, be indicative of the prerequisites for farming in Rasti without cattle that five of the ten farms that have sold their cattle control the village's largest parcels of arable land. A sixth member of the cattleless group has a wife whose independent profession brings in a sizable steady income.

Although the above description emphasizes the negative characteristics pushing villagers away from dairy farming, there are also a number of forces attracting farmers towards, at least part-time, involvement in other fields. Over half of the cattleless farms have family members with intensive interests in nonfarming activities. In four cases, these villagers are entrepreneurs (operating businesses, such as contracting and trucking). In two other cases, the farmers' involvement in communal

political and banking affairs is great enough to almost constitute a second profession. These individuals do not seem to have chosen to participate in these additional nonfarming ventures merely for economic reasons. These nonfarming activities also appear to provide these people with competitive challenges, which are not as common in the much more routinized and standardized dairy farming.

This desire for competition and challenge is further reflected in the fact that three of the cattleless farms have focused their agricultural activities on growing vegetables (potatoes and carrots). This involves much more risk than dairy farming. Unlike the dairy farmer, the vegetable farmer has few supporting structures between himself and the market. The successful vegetable farmer must raise a good harvest and also organize his own family, and often outsiders, to process the product (e.g., wash and bag carrots). This processing must often be done in a rush. Finally, the vegetable farmer must find a buyer and negotiate an advantageous price. These farm families obviously enjoyed business competition, and descriptions of skirmishes over issues like prices are a prominent part of village talk and storytelling. For example, one farmer described an incident when a purchaser tried to cheat him. The farmer explained how he had stood up to that challenge. He remarked proudly "You have to be able to teach them they can't fool around with you."

This interest by village farmers in entrepreneurial activities has a number of historical precedents. In between the Civil War and the Second World War, several village farmers became deeply involved in a number of financial adventures. Some of these concerned only individual farms. One farm, for example, purchased an early automobile, for use as a taxi. Another farmer guaranteed a loan for a friend's gardening

business in a nearby city. In both instances, the results were disastrous. In the former case, the debts accrued by the taxi business were great enough to seriously cripple the farm's economic position. In the latter case, the failure of the enterprise eventually forced the farmer to sell his farm and spend most of the rest of his life in a small cottage adjoining the farm he once owned. A switch from farming to business had a major impact on the largest farm in the village before World War II. This farm had 60 hectares of fields and hundreds of hectares of forest. Soon after the Civil War, the farm's owner sold a large portion of his forests to a lumber company and moved to Helsinki to become a businessman. He failed at that venture and eventually returned to Rasti and farming.

JOINT BUSINESS VENTURES

In addition to these individual business endeavors, farmers also became involved in some joint ventures. Most prominent of these was the founding of a sawmill in Rasti. The capital was raised primarily from the village's farmers. The sawmill was plagued by difficulties, almost from its inception in 1923. For example, at that time electric power had recently been introduced in the commune. An electric motor was, therefore, initially purchased to run the sawmill. The motor chosen was, however, inadequate, and an additional steam engine had to be bought. This steam engine was apparently the cause of a fire that destroyed the sawmill in 1926. The mill was insured and was rebuilt.

The mill, nevertheless, had further difficulties because its sawn lumber had to be sent by water to the nearest railhead, and that route was indirect and long. The worldwide depression later caused a catastrophic drop in the demand for the wood, and the sawmill fell deep

into debt. In 1932, the sawmill burned again. Unfortunately, this occurred when the company's insurance had been allowed to temporarily lapse. As a result, the farmers who had guaranteed large loans to the sawmill found themselves with huge debts to pay off. Sheriff's sales of debt-ridden farms were occasionally threatened, and some farms were forced to sell part of their land. Many villagers today claim that it was only the wartime inflation that enabled the village's farms to finally complete paying off their debts. Although no one was ever prosecuted, many villagers felt that the fire had been the result of arson. Some suggested, for example, that one of the part owners of the mill, unaware of the lapsed insurance coverage, had set the fire to gain the insurance money, hoping to use those funds to get out from under debts. In the wake of the fire, accusations about the arson, and also about attempts by some to shift their financial responsibilities onto others, flew back and forth among the shareholders. One woman, who came to the village as a shop assistant in 1936, recalled that whenever someone walked out of the store, the people who remained behind would begin to tell her, as a newcomer, how the person who had just left had tried to profit at the cost of others in the sawmill affair. Even today, when the generation that was actually involved in the sawmill has almost entirely died off, their children and grandchildren still hold some grudges that began as a result of the sawmill debacle.

The sawmill was not the only major joint business enterprise started by the farmers of Rasti during the interwar period. In 1927, they founded a cooperative dairy. Several factors apparently led to the establishment of the village dairy. Poor road conditions during the winter made it difficult to transport milk to the commune's cooperative

dairy, which had been founded in the church village in 1904. There were disagreements over the costs of shipping milk to the church village during the fall, when only a small amount of milk was produced. Village farmers were also dissatisfied with the prices then paid by the commune dairy. The founders of the Rasti dairy hoped to draw milk from the village itself and also from the farms of the extensive area surrounding the large lake on which Rasti is located.

A report, which commemorates the 20th anniversary of the opening of the dairy, underscores the many shortcomings of this venture. Once the report's historical description gets past the excitement generated by the initial building of the dairy, it becomes mostly a depiction of economic struggles. The dairy's almost continuous difficulties are mirrored in its dropping membership: in 1923, there were 67 members; in 1938, 34 and in 1946, 18.

The dairy seems to have faced problems on many fronts. For example, the dairy opened on the eve of a worldwide depression, which drove down the prices of dairy products. The dairy's yearly report of 1929 commented: "The monetary crises that began at this time, not only in our country but in the whole of Europe, have also had an impact on our little and peripheral cooperative." Moreover, the cooperative had to compete with the commune's dairy, which was able to pay higher prices. This competition became increasingly intense as road and transportation conditions improved. Considering the heavy financial burdens some of the farms had to carry as a result of the burning of the sawmill in 1932, it is not surprising that even within Rasti itself some of the farmers began to ship their milk to the commune's dairy. The 20th anniversary report also admits that the cooperative made several errors in terms of marketing.

Although there were some good years at the end of the depression, the volume of milk received by the dairy remained low. The village dairy was sold to a private owner in 1953; it was then sold to the commune dairy, which closed it.

In addition to the farms that have moved from dairy farming to some other agricultural specialization or to a combination of agriculture and another profession, there are four traditional village farms where little or no farming goes on. In three of the four cases, the movement out of agriculture was the result of upward mobility on the part of the children or other descendants of previous owners. In each of these cases, most of the farms' fields have been sold, and only a small field area, the farmhouse, and some forest land have been retained in the family. Two of those farmhouses are used by their owners as summer homes; the third is occupied year-round. The summer residents are high prestige professionals, who live in cities most of the year. The year-round resident is a successful businessman whose work allows him to live at a distance from urban areas. The fourth former farm today consists simply of the farmhouse. Due to small forest holdings (the result of some financial blunders), this farm had long been marginal, and eventually its fields were sold to one of the village farmers. The house was bought as a possible retirement home by one of the commune's professionals. The house is presently being rented.

NONFARMERS

As noted earlier, many nonfarmers living in Rasti in 1976 had initially been able to remain in the village after World War II because work was available in the Rasti sawmill (then operated by a large company). These laborers often took advantage of government

programs, which allowed them to buy or build their own homes. By the time the sawmill finally closed in 1962, many of these nonfarmers were well into middle age. They were reluctant to move away from their homes and not anxious to adjust to a new environment. Many took up different trades in order to remain in the village. Before the post-World War II period, however, the sawmill had not provided regular employment to many. The vast bulk of nonfarmers had, instead, been directly or indirectly involved in agriculture. Most had been either full-time farm laborers or cottagers.

Until after World War II, almost all village farms had to employ full-time laborers (Jutikkala 1969:151) (See Table X). The workers could be hired on special market days in neighboring cities; nevertheless, many of Rasti's servants came from within the village or from nearby communities. The workers had yearly contracts, in which the key provisions of employment were fixed by law. The servants' wages were mostly in the form of free maintenance. Unmarried servants both ate and lived at the farm. The laborers traditionally slept in the farm's living room, or tupa, on the benches that lined its walls. Clothing and other goods might also be included as part of compensation. However, less than one-fifth of a sample of women servants working in Hāme in 1919-20 received money in addition to free upkeep (Jutikkala 1969:154). The adult children of farmers and the brothers and sisters of the farm owners were also important potential sources of farm labor.

Traditionally, cottagers made up a large part of the village's population. In 1900, they comprised 47.4 percent of the household heads of Greater Rasti. The cottagers had separate dwellings but not enough land at their disposal to support themselves. Before enclosure, the cottages were frequently located on land owned in common by the village.

Enclosure divided this common land among the village farmers, and as a result, cottagers had specific farmers as their landlord (Aaltonen 1934:87). As a consequence of the post-Civil War land reforms, cottagers were allowed to purchase their small parcels of land.

Because cottagers could not earn a sufficient living from their land alone, they were used by village farmers for seasonal labor-intensive jobs (e.g., harvesting crops, preparing meat). In addition, the cottagers frequently spun wool, wove rugs, and collected wild berries and mushrooms for the farmers. These tasks were sometimes performed by the cottagers as part of the rent on the land where their homes stood, or in return for being allowed to graze a cow in a farmer's pasture or woods, or to grow potatoes or flax on the edge of a farmer's field.

In the interwar and postwar periods, the mechanization of agriculture and the opening up of job opportunities in the cities acted to drain the village of cottagers. By 1930, they made up only 26.4 percent of the household heads of Greater Rasti. By 1950, that figure had gone down to 14.7 percent.

Finally, one group that has remained fairly constant in its numbers in the population is that of craftsmen. It is, nevertheless, important to note that the crafts represented have changed considerably. Today, carpentry and building trades are the major crafts villagers practice. Mass production and distribution of goods have eliminated the craftsmen formerly found in the village: millers, tanners, dress-makers, tailors, blacksmiths, and cobblers.

FARMER AND NONFARMER STANDARDS OF LIVING

Throughout this analysis, the division between farmers and nonfarmers

will be stressed. Although this division is based partially on these groups' different professional interests, there are also clearly significant gaps between these two groups in terms of standards of living and political orientation.

It was impossible to gather dependable and comparable data on the annual incomes of farmers and nonfarmers; nevertheless, the existence of considerable differences in standards of living can be quantitatively illustrated by reference to figures on living space and on ownership of key household items. Both in terms of floor space and in number of rooms, farmers' houses are significantly larger than those of nonfarmers. Furthermore, while only 30 percent of the nonfarming households had indoor bathrooms, this convenience was found in 73 percent of the farming households. Similarly, only 28 percent of the nonfarming households have central oil heating, as opposed to 73 percent of the farmhouses. Telephone service is expensive in Finland; the initial cost for installation of a phone was approximately \$600 in the mid-1970s. Nevertheless, virtually all farm families own telephones; these are found in less than half of the nonfarm households. On the average, those nonfarming families that do own phones have had them for only 7 years, while the average for farming families is 19 years. The general absence of those central conveniences in most nonfarmers' homes has an extremely important impact on their life-style, particularly in winter. During the cold weather, many nonfarmers without central heating must continually work at the burdensome task of chopping and carrying large quantities of wood. Because they do not own their own forest land, most nonfarmers have to pay high prices for the firewood needed to heat their homes during the winter. They often close off all but one or two rooms of their small houses to save money. Furthermore, most of these nonfarmers do not own

cars, and winter significantly curtails their freedom of movement outside the house. The nonfarmers who do not own telephones cannot even keep up their contacts with friends and relatives inside and outside the village in that way. These problems are especially hard on the elderly nonfarmers who live alone.

POLITICAL DIVISIONS

Table XXII summarizes the response of villagers to the question: Which of the following parties [Coalition, Liberal, Center, Christian, Rural, Social Democratic, Finnish People's Democratic League], in your opinion, best represents your interests in local affairs? in national affairs?

There is a clear political division between village nonfarmers and farmers. The socialist parties have substantial support among the village's nonfarmers. In contrast, there was only one farmer who supported a socialist party on either the local or the national level. The majority of village farmers support the Center party, which has only a very limited appeal to nonfarmers. The conservative Coalition party has the most balance in its support from farmers and nonfarmers. However, the nonfarmers who favor the Coalition party are an unusual group; including, for example, businessmen and entrepreneurs rather than ordinary workers.

It is striking that 24 of the 26 villagers who gave "no opinion" as their response to the question on the national level and 22 Of 26 on the local level were nonfarmers. It is difficult to definitively interpret this phenomenon. However, given the dominance of the non-socialists in the village and the commune, it would not be surprising if some socialists felt intimidated.

TABLE XXII. VILLAGERS' CHOICE OF POLITICAL PREFERENCES
ON THE LOCAL AND NATIONAL LEVELS

		Socialist			Nonsocialist					
		Left	Finnish People's Democratic League	Social Democratic	Center	Liberal	Coalition	Christian	Right	No Opinion
Local	Nonfarmer	0	6	33	5	0	7	1	1	22
	Farmer	0	0	0	31	0	11	0	0	4
	Total	0	6	33	36	0	18	1	1	26
National	Nonfarmer	2	7	29	4	2	7	0	1	24
	Farmer	0	0	1	34	1	13	1	1	2
	Total	2	7	30	38	3	20	1	2	26

Although villagers are clearly divided politically, the village itself is not a governmental or political unit of any independent significance. Some of the parties have village chapters, but their activities are sporadic, at best. The commune, which is the lowest important level of government, is broken up into a number of election districts; however, representatives to the Communal Council are not elected separately from each district. Candidates, instead, must compete for votes from the entire commune. Furthermore, a proportional representation system is followed; consequently, candidates' chances of success depend both upon the number of votes they personally garner and on the total votes their party receives. In an election in 1976, successful candidates for the Communal Council received amounts of votes ranging from 43 to 104. Table XXIII shows the number of successful candidates for the Communal Council from the Greater Rasti area since 1960.

ORGANIZATIONAL LIFE

Today, only two adult organizations meet frequently; both are almost exclusively women's groups: The Missionary Sewing Society (Lähetysompeluseura) and the Agricultural Women (Maatalousnaiset). Throughout much of the year, these groups meet on alternating weeks.

The program of the Missionary Sewing Society meetings includes prayers, hymns, and a short informal sermon. The sermon is delivered by a parish clergyman, if one is present. Otherwise, it is usually presented by an elderly villager, who worked for the church as a teacher before her retirement. Although there are some people who attend almost all of the group's meetings, at any occasion there will generally be an unusually large turnout of the neighbors and relatives of that week's

TABLE XXIII. NUMBER OF SUCCESSFUL CANDIDATES FOR COMMUNAL COUNCIL
FROM THE GREATER RASTI REGION SINCE 1960, BY POLITICAL PARTY

	Finnish People's Democratic League	Social Democratic	Center	Coalition
1960	0	1	1	0
1964	0	0	1	0
1968	0	0	1	0
1972	0	1 ^a	0	0
1976	0	1	1	0

^aThis individual was not elected initially but gained a seat on the Communal Council as the result of the resignation of a council member from his party.

host family. The host family provides refreshments--generally coffee and cake. The group has no official membership. The only officer is the individual responsible for forwarding to the parish church office the money collected at the meetings for missionary work. Aside from the meetings, the group has only a few other activities. Occasionally, it will bake for a parish social function. When there is a special occasion involving one of the regular attenders or her family (e.g., a funeral or a major birthday party), money may be collected for flowers to be presented in the name of the group.

The Agricultural Women are associated with the Northern Pellava Farmers Society, which in turn is affiliated with a national farmers organization. The group has several officers (chairperson, secretary, treasurer). The biweekly gatherings may include a business meeting or a presentation by an expert guest speaker (e.g., on flower gardening). Coffee and cake are inevitably provided by the host family. Like the church group, the Agricultural Women collect money for presentations of flowers and/or gifts at the major events in the lives of its members. They have also provided coffee and cake for the meetings of a commune-wide men's agricultural group. The Agricultural Women sponsor a wider set of activities than the church group. For example, generally once a year, the organization goes on a trip outside the commune (e.g., to see a play in a nearby city). During the summer, the group may hold a sauna evening; up to thirty people may attend these affairs. The organization also has some property. The group once owned a portable clothes washing machine, which members could borrow in turn. This machine was disposed of when most of the members had purchased their own. The group now owns a sewing machine and was considering replacing it with a weaving machine. Especially crucial

in the village's social life is the large set of cups, dishes, and cooking utensils owned by the group. These can be rented, for a nominal fee, by villagers holding large celebrations.

There is only a partial overlap among the people who attend the meetings of the two women's groups. The Agricultural Women's group, obviously, has a membership comprised primarily (although not exclusively) of farm wives. The meetings of the Missionary Sewing Society are attended by the women of both farm and nonfarm families. Some village women, however, feel uncomfortable both with the fundamentalist orientation of the missionary group and with its domination by one person--the former teacher. In fact, in general villagers are somewhat split in terms of their religious orientations. Although virtually all belong to the Evangelical Lutheran Church, there are some villagers who are generally recognized as being more pious than most other villagers. Though these people are deeply respected by some, there are other villagers who are irritated by what they see as a "holier than thou" attitude on the part of the pious. These critical villagers tell stories attempting to show the hypocrisy of the "pious". One way in which these religious differences are expressed is in attitudes towards the use of alcohol. Many of the highly religious villagers are vehement and vocal supporters of the temperance cause; they refuse to serve alcoholic beverages at their celebrations. One circulated a petition asking for a legal curtailment of the sale of beer in the commune. Other villagers feel that sahti (a homemade beer) is an important part of parish and village tradition and identity and consider it an essential element in their celebrations.

Finally, it should be noted that the only course regularly offered in the village itself by the commune's evening adult school is for

women--a weekly sewing or handicraft class.

The men do not have any organized village group meeting frequently throughout the year. During the deer and moose hunting season, however, a small hunting group (including some members from outside the village) is active. The number and kind of deer and moose the group was allowed to shoot depended upon the amount of land for which the group could get the owners' permission to hunt. At the end of the hunting season, the group holds a feast (hirvipeijaiset) to thank the owners of the land on which they hunted. The group has limited its membership. Probably because they depend on the good will of large landowners, the group does not include anyone openly associated with leftist politics.

There are some other primarily men's groups in the village (e.g., the local chapters of the Center party and the Social Democratic party); however, these only meet occasionally. The local group eliciting the interest of the widest spectrum of village men is the organization (Kalastuskunta) responsible for regulating fishing in the lakes and streams of Rasti and some adjoining villages. This group meets only a few times a year. Although the voting strength of each individual in the organization could have been determined on the basis of the size of land owned within the district, the group instead follows the rule of one man--one vote. The officers of the group are from several political parties. Interest in fishing unites many villagers who are otherwise in disagreement with each other. It is always a safe topic of conversation--like sports or the weather in the United States.

Although women obviously participate in organized village groups more actively than men, it is important to evaluate this phenomenon in the context of several additional factors. First, only a small percentage

of village women participate in the biweekly meetings; attendance rarely exceeds 10 to 15 people. Second, although village men do not frequently participate in local organizations, some of them have strong and widespread networks of acquaintances within the village. This is because it is more common for village men to have been born and raised in Rasti; consequently, they have strong friendships established from childhood. Third, men are also typically more mobile than women. Even when a family owns a car, usually only the man has a driver's license. The men are often able to keep up their friendships throughout the village by casually dropping in on people. Nevertheless, it is only the women's groups that provide fairly open forums for the informal discussion of local issues. Much of the time of the meetings of both the Missionary Sewing Society and the Agricultural Women is devoted to conversation and discussion while enjoying coffee and cake, which are served both at the beginning and at the end of these social functions. Furthermore, although only a relatively small number of women attend each meeting, they often disseminate the information and news they get at the meetings to both their family and their neighbors.

Probably the most active organization in the village is the Youth Society (Nuorisoseura). Its membership is composed primarily of teenagers who are still in school, and its leader was the head teacher of the Rasti School. Among the group's activities are a pre-Christmas (pikkujoulu) Show and a Summer Festival (Kesäjuhla). For pre-Christmas, the group presented a slapstick version of a fairy tale (Sleeping Beauty) and several short comic sketches. These were followed by a dance with recorded music. This affair was attended by many villagers of all ages, as well as by people from other communities. There were 175 tickets sold. The Summer Festival had two parts. During the day,

there was a series of contests--ranging from dart throwing to foot races. In the evening, an amateur theater group, from the church village, presented a short play. This was again followed by a dance using recorded music.

Although a good deal of effort went into the preparation for those two major events, the focus of the Youth Society's activities during most of the year is upon sports events. The group holds various ski events in the winter and soccer games and orienteering competitions during the spring and summer. These events often lure village contestants and spectators of almost every age. A highlight of each year is the group's weekend trip by bus to some distant destination.

The Youth Society flourished in the late 1940s and the early 1950s but had been inactive since 1954. The Youth Society of today was reestablished when the present head teacher came to Rasti in 1962. In some ways, during the earlier period, the Youth Society was quite different from today's organization. Its membership during the earlier period came from a much wider age group (primarily from 15 and 16 years old to young married adults). Its activities were not primarily athletic but educational and civic. Hence, they learned folk dances and had a study club. Monthly meetings included discussions and information contests. The group also had its own newspaper. Under the guidance of a professional director (who would be put up in a village home for a week or two), the group prepared plays, performing them in both Rasti and other villages.

At approximately the same time, the village's Workers' Association (Työväenyhdistys), the local branch of the Social Democratic party, also had an active theatre group, which (with the help of professional directors) performed in the village and on tour. The Workers'

Association also held a Summer Festival, which (except for political speeches) was very much like the one that the present-day Youth Society still runs.

One reason for the change in orientation of the Youth Society and the disappearance of the Workers' Associations' theatre group was clearly that there is no longer the sizable young adult population that existed in the village in the early postwar period. Furthermore, many of the teenagers who now participate in the Youth Society are in the academic high school in the church village, and they must spend a good deal of time intensively studying sophisticated course materials. They do not come to the Youth Society to improve themselves culturally and educationally, as their predecessors often did, but to blow off steam and have a good time.

Certainly another factor was articulated by a former member of both groups that were active in the 1940s. He observed that: "If we could see those productions again, we would think they were naïve. We didn't know anything. Having now seen things on television, we would feel silly trying to do our own shows." Gronow has pointed out that in general in Finland these amateur entertainments retained their popularity ". . . until the 1950s and the advent of television broadcasting" (1973:55-56). It is significant that the show put on by the present-day Youth Society in 1975 was not in fact a serious attempt but an almost assertively amateurish effort. Nevertheless, as the head teacher pointed out: ". . . at least the youth are willing to dare to do something. Their elders sit waiting to be able to criticize any attempts to do anything here."

Although the Youth Society had a renaissance in the 1960s and 1970s, the steadily declining number of young people in the village

makes its continued existence, even in its modern form, questionable. Also, the Youth Society's heavy reliance on the leadership of the head teacher raises the question of whether it could continue to function if he were to leave the village. After all, before this teacher came, the society had lapsed into inactivity for almost a decade.

COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES, EVENTS, AND SERVICES

Although Rasti has remained more socially active than most other rural villages, the overall trend in the village is towards fewer communitywide activities or services. Before the spread of television, there were active village amateur theater groups, and there were periodic presentations of movies within the village. In the past, local farm groups held lecture evenings in the village, featuring talks by agricultural experts. These are now usually held in the church village. The village swing, which was a gathering place for the community's youth, has also disappeared (Vuorela 1975:660-661). It has been a number of years since any revivalist group held a tent meeting in Rasti.

At the turn of the century, on the shores of one of the village's small lakes, there was annually a great deal of activity, as the village farmers soaked their flax. Today, flax is no longer grown in any significant quantities, and the shoreline has only a small dock and dressing shack, which the village youth occasionally use when swimming.

Another important form of community activity that has lost its central importance in the economic life of the village is the work bee (talkoot). In Western Finland, the work bee tradition apparently stretched back at least to the period when strip farming was practiced, and it was necessary for all the farms in the village to do the same agricultural work simultaneously. Although work bees were organized

to accomplish many different tasks, the type that was most common and economically meaningful was the harvest bee. This type of bee was generally held by the smaller and middle size farms. A typical Hāme farm could gather a labor force of 50 to 60 at a bee. Competition and joking were prominent features of these bees. The host farm provided the workers with food and often held dances in the evening. The increasing mechanization of Finnish agriculture, which dramatically reduced the manpower needs of farms, was an important force in decreasing the importance of work bees in agriculture (Vuorela 1975:634-638). As Vuorela has observed: "When the present-day machine culture has lessened the need for a physical work force, the work bee spirit, built on a social sense of solidarity, has disappeared at the same time" (1975:638).

Today, the only major agricultural task sometimes carried out by talkoot in Rasti is the hay harvest. No village farm has a mechanized baler, and hay must be pitched onto stakes set in the fields in order to dry. The extra work force needed for this task is often, however, composed primarily of the farmers' urban relatives, who enjoy the hay harvest work, as a change of pace.

Although the talkoot no longer has a central role in agriculture, some other kinds of work bees still occur in economically less central activities. For example, traditionally the village farmers would hold a bee to collect firewood (puutalkoot) for some of the village's landless, particularly for the village's important craftsmen (e.g., the blacksmith or the cobbler). Today, a few farmers will individually bring firewood to former workers on their farm or to landless relatives. A similar type of talkoot found today in the village is the timber bee (hirsitalkoot). Village farmers contribute logs from their forests

to an individual who is building a new house. The two timber bees that many village farmers contributed to during the fieldwork period were both for shopkeepers with whom the village farmers did business. This type of talkoot was also sometimes held by communal organizations (e.g., a veterans group), when they needed lumber for a building project. Finally, organizations may hold work bees when some large group task has to be performed (e.g., cleaning up a sports field) or when money needs to be raised. The Agricultural Women held a work bee to clean up the yard of a summer resident, who paid them for their efforts.

In the difficult times that followed the Winter War, however, the talkoot tradition apparently experienced a brief renaissance (Vuorela 1975:637-638). Since a good part of the work force was in the army, there was a need to use work bees to perform some essential agricultural tasks. In the wake of the Finno-Soviet Wars, there were also some timber bees held in Rasti for villagers who had become war invalids. A good deal of talkoot labor was used in the construction of the Rasti Workers' Association building in the early postwar period.

The yearly catechetical meeting (lukukinkerit) was traditionally one of the most important village-wide events. The meeting was held, in rotation, at the village's larger farms. At these meetings, the parish clergy examined the villagers' religious knowledge and inquired about the moral state of the village. In addition, the clergy tested people's reading skills (a legal prerequisite for marriage). Traditionally, Häme adults attended the meeting every year or two, and children went every year. By the turn of this century, however, the level of attendance had begun to lower (Kortekangas 1967:72). In fact, throughout Finland, attendance has continued to decline, even during the last few decades (Sentze 1963:140). In Rasti, the 1976 meeting was attended

mostly by elderly villagers. With the church no longer responsible for the people's literacy and no longer the exclusive or preeminent arbiter of moral standards, the meetings have become primarily occasions for prayer, a sermon, and sometimes a group discussion.

Today, in Rasti the largest social events are generally birthdays and funerals. Birthdays first become major events when individuals reach the age of 50. Major birthday parties may also be held on an individual's 60th and 70th birthdays. Subsequently, major birthday parties may be given every five years. Both birthdays and funerals are frequently community, or at least semipublic, events. Funerals and birthdays may be occasions for formal presentations of flowers, and sometimes other gifts, by the organizations in which the individual was active. Furthermore, the most visible of the commune's public officials (the parish pastors) are often present at these affairs. In addition to officiating at funerals, the pastors attempt to come to the birthday celebrations of parishoners reaching the ages of 70, 75, 80, etc.

Often, the funerals and birthdays are publicly signaled from flagpoles, which are in the front yards of many village homes. Finnish flags may be flown at full-staff for birthdays and at half-staff both on the day of an individual's death and on the day of his funeral. Furthermore, while people will usually be personally invited to these events, sometimes individuals will issue a general invitation to a birthday party in the local weekly paper. The date and time of funerals are announced in advance there as well. Even when a birthday party has not been announced in advance in the newspaper, often a notice thanking the guests will appear there in the week after the event. Finally, since these events may involve as many as several hundred

guests, a number of villagers other than the immediate family may participate in the preparations. For example, the food for the events is likely to be prepared by one villager, who is a professional cook. Several other village women may be asked to help serve the food. If sahti (homemade beer) is to be offered, there are several villagers specializing in its manufacture. Extra chairs may be borrowed from the village school; plates, cups, saucers, and large pots and pans may be rented from the Agricultural Women.

While these factors give a public flavor to these events, in turn, many public events have a private component. Most of the village organizations meet in private homes, and included as part of their meetings are forms of hospitality that are almost identical with those typical of events like birthdays and memorial occasions after funerals. This hazy border between public and private events was very evident in traditional catechetical meetings. Well into the 20th century, the farm holding the village catechetical meeting would invite additional guests from outside the village (e.g., relatives). Although everyone attending was served coffee and some sort of baked goods, only part of the group was invited by the hosts to stay for a meal after the meeting. These were likely to be their relatives, other farm families that had held meetings in their homes, some neighbors and friends.

The traditional intimate relationship between the private home and the catechetical meeting was expressed at the turn of the century, when a nearby parish tried to have the meetings moved to their newly built elementary schools. The parish claimed this new arrangement would be better because ". . . e.g., of the spaciousness of the meeting places, the help of the teachers, and the doing away with unnecessary banquets" (Kortekangas 1967:73). There were, in fact, some particular reasons

that explain why the parish made this unusual request. The parish's farmhouses were typically small, and the parish also had an unusually large number of elementary schools. The upper echelon of the church, however, rejected the request. One official pointed out that the proposed change would ". . . eliminate from the catechetical meetings the tone uniting village and home, which had been characteristic of them" (Kortekangas 1967:73).

Among the other occasions for major celebrations in village life are confirmation and graduation from the upper division of the commune's academic high school. In both cases, these events are publicly celebrated in the church village; however, parties are also often thrown at home, for friends and relatives of the family. One of the most intimate of important family celebrations is usually the baptism. Only very close relatives and friends are generally invited.

More informal parties are sometimes held on people's name days. The schedule of name days is printed on many Finnish calendars and is announced weekly in the local newspaper. Families will occasionally just invite another family or two for coffee. This happens most frequently during holiday seasons. However, the most common form of village hospitality occurs when someone drops by on an errand and is invited to stay for coffee and cake.

PRIVATE SPACE AND PUBLIC SPACE

If the distinction between private and public events in Rasti is often hazy, the borderline between private space (e.g., inside the house) and public space (outside the house) is also not clear. For example, many village homes are either at a distance from the roads or turn their back to them; nevertheless, this does not isolate the family from the

public thoroughfare, while they are inside their home. For people inside always seem to have one eye on the window facing the road, watching to see who is going by. Conversations on completely different subjects are interspersed with comments on who has just gone by and with whom. One revealing remark was made at a meeting of the Agricultural Women. The group was talking about the beauty of spring; they were, for example, discussing the birds that had recently returned from the south. One woman commented that spring is really nice. Yesterday morning the sun rose early enough that she was able to see who was walking to the village crossroads to take the 8:00 a.m. bus. There then followed a long discussion about which people everyone had seen on the road yesterday morning; the women guessed at where those people were going.

It is also indicative of the hazy distinction between public space and private space that only a very few village homes have doorbells or doorknockers. Even if visitors are complete strangers (e.g., traveling salesmen), they come straight into the house, without knocking. Unless no one is at home, the door is generally left unlocked, and frequently the key is left in the outside lock. In that way, it is possible to tell at a glance if anyone is home. Visitors are clearly supposed to come in by themselves; even when someone from inside the house can see the visitors approaching, the inside person does not come to the door to meet the visitor but instead waits for the visitor to enter.

In most farmhouses, the largest room--the living room (tupa)--has traditionally been almost a public space. The farm's servants (and sometimes the farmers' older children--particular boys) slept there. Because roads and means of transportation were quite primitive until recently, it was not unusual for travelers (e.g., traveling

salesmen or beggars) to be put up overnight in the living room. When there was a large project in the area (e.g., a large tract of forest being cut down or roads being built), workers from outside the village might be quartered in the living room for a longer period of time.

One frequently expressed theme in villagers' conversation is ambivalence about living in a small village. They resent the lack of privacy in such a community, complaining that in the village other people know more about your business than you do yourself. For example, on one farm there was a highly eligible bachelor; someone walking past that farm noticed that there were some renovations being done on its main house. The farm family soon heard the rumor that they were getting the house ready for their son's marriage. The rumor even named the supposed future bride.

Though many villagers are irritated by the village-wide knowledge (or assumption of knowledge) of their business, there is, however, also a recognition, especially by the elderly or other people who live alone, that this is a source of security for them. If someone has not been seen in the village store or does not follow his usual routine, a neighbor is likely to "just happen" to drop in or to call. For example, a woman who runs a small farm by herself mentioned that one morning she decided to sleep a bit longer than usual. A half-hour after her normal waking time, her neighbor called; the neighbor was worried that something was wrong, when she had not yet seen a light in the woman's window.⁴ News reports of elderly people dying in their city apartments and remaining undiscovered for long periods of time reminded many villagers of the positive aspects of their lack of privacy.

VILLAGERS' FEELINGS ABOUT RASTI

In evaluating the relationship of villagers to Rasti, it is

important to recognize that the people of Rasti are deeply attached to their community. This attachment is reflected in villagers' responses to several questions in the original interview. When asked to state what they considered to be the most negative feature of Rasti, 21.4 percent responded that there weren't any negative features. Only 10.3 percent responded in terms of dissatisfaction with their fellow villagers--e.g., selfish, gossiping, unfriendly people, etc. (see Table XXIV).

When asked to name the most positive characteristic of Rasti, almost half of the villagers replied in terms of social characteristics (i.e., nice people, neighborly people, people get along with each other, no general quarrel in the village, etc. or peacefulness--quiet, few disturbances, little noise) (see Table XXV).

The villagers' attachment to the specific community, and not simply to small village life in general, was clearly evident in responses to questions on residential preferences (see Table XXVI). When asked about where they would wish to live, if they could not live in a side village of Pellava, 66.7 percent named the Pellava church village (alternative a). Only 9.4 percent chose the alternative of living in a side village elsewhere than in Pellava (alternative c). Virtually all of the respondents (96.9 percent) expected to live in either Rasti or the Pellava church village during the rest of their retirement or when they eventually retired (see Table XXVII).

It is also clear that although villagers are not attached to life in side villages in general, they do wish to live in the countryside. Table XXVI (alternatives d, e, f.) shows that only a very small proportion of villagers find city life attractive. Furthermore, the city this minority overwhelmingly chose was Hämeenlinna. This is a

TABLE XXIV. CATEGORIES OF ANSWERS TO THE QUESTION: WHAT, IN YOUR OPINION, IS THE MOST NEGATIVE CHARACTERISTIC OF RASTI? (QUESTION SK-LK, APPENDIX A)

Categories of answers	Number	Percentage
There aren't any negative features.	28	21.4
The population gets smaller, lack of work places.	24	20.5
Bad means of conveyance, too distant from the church village.	15	12.8
Selfish, gossiping, unfriendly people, etc.	12	10.3
Poor level of services, lack of recreation facilities.	7	6.0
Can't say, don't know.	22	18.8
Other.	12	10.2
Total	117	100.0

TABLE XXV. CATEGORIES OF ANSWERS TO THE QUESTION: WHAT, IN YOUR OPINION, IS THE MOST POSITIVE CHARACTERISTIC OF RASTI? (QUESTION SK-LJ, APPENDIX A)

Categories of answers	Number	Percentage
Nice people, neighborly people, people get along with each other, no general quarrel in the village, etc.	34	30.4
Peacefulness (i.e., quiet, few disturbances, little noise).	21	18.7
Nature and environment.	13	11.6
Good travel connections (e.g., to the church village)	8	7.1
Its school and stores.	6	5.4
Can't say, don't know.	17	15.2
Others	13	11.6
Total	112	100.0

TABLE XXVI. ANSWERS TO THE QUESTION: IF YOU WOULD LIVE ELSEWHERE THAN IN A SIDE VILLAGE OF PELLAVA, WOULD YOU WANT TO LIVE (ASSUMING THAT YOU COULD GET A SUITABLE JOB AND HOME): (QUESTION F-10-4, APPENDIX A)

Alternative	Number	Percentage
a. In the Pellava church village.	64	66.7
b. In a church village, elsewhere than in Pellava.	5	5.2
c. In a side village, elsewhere than in Pellava.	9	9.4
d. In Hämeenlinna.	13	13.5
e. In Lahti.	0	0.0
f. In a large city (e.g., in Helsinki, in Turku, in Tampere).	4	4.2
g. Other	1	1.0
Total	96	100.0

TABLE XXVII. ANSWERS TO THE QUESTION: WHEN YOU RETIRE,
WHERE DO YOU EXPECT TO LIVE? (QUESTION F-10-1, APPENDIX A)

Alternative	Number	Percent
a. to live in your present house (i.e., in Rasti).	55	56.7
b. to live in another separate building of this farm.	12	12.4
c. to live in your own house in the Pellava church village.	12	12.4
d. to live in an apartment house in the Pellava church village.	7	7.2
e. to live in the Pellava old age home.	0	0.0
f. to live in your own house in Rasti, elsewhere than on this farm.	8	8.2
g. to live in your own house in a side village of Pellava other than Rasti.	0	0.0
h. to live in an apartment house in Lahti.	0	0.0
i. to live in an apartment house in Hämeenlinna.	1	1.0
j. to live in an apartment house in Helsinki.	0	0.0
k. to live in a side village, elsewhere than in Pellava.	0	0.0
l. to live in a church village, elsewhere than in Pellava.	0	0.0
Other	2	2.1
Total	97	100.0

small city, which is the historic center of Häme Province. It is close to Pellava, and it is the urban center with which villagers are most familiar.

The villagers' positive feelings about Rasti as a community are especially striking because this chapter, and preceding chapters, have revealed that there are a number of powerful centrifugal economic, demographic, and political forces at work on the village. In the following chapters, it will be argued that there are also in Rasti important commonly held notions of self that appear to work against a high valuation of community and in opposition to the development of close personal relationships. These subsequent chapters will explore the conflicts between the individual and community--both how they are manifested and how they are typically managed or resolved.

NOTES

¹Several other mobile services are available to villagers. Once a week, a bank on wheels come to the village, as does a library on wheels. The latter has replaced the village's own library.

²The most distant relatives included in these calculations are aunts, uncles of first cousins. These figures also include in-law relations.

³Data on this point for three farms were unclear and thus not included in calculations.

⁴Parts of the four paragraphs above are based upon Roberts (1976: 13-14).

CHAPTER V.

NOTIONS OF SELF: IDENTITY

This chapter begins the examination of Rasti in terms of the dynamics of interpersonal interactions and social events. These dynamics are analyzed primarily through cultural notions of self. To emphasize that notions of self are grounded in economic and political realities, this chapter first discusses occupational identity, exploring the changing system of professional and academic titles. Next, the primary occupational distinction in the village--farmers versus nonfarmers--is examined; the analysis reveals that both farmers and nonfarmers have notions of self encompassing conflicts revolving around the meaning and value of individualism. These conflicts are further explored in a discussion of the changing system of second person pronouns of address. Finally, norms governing village usage of first names, diminutives, and nicknames are briefly considered; they are shown to be related to the meaning of intimacy for villagers--a subject taken up in much greater detail in the following chapter.

PROFESSIONAL AND ACADEMIC TITLES

A good place to begin exploring villagers' occupational identities is the local telephone book. Although ownership of a telephone is by no means universal, a substantial portion of the population of the village either have their own phone or regularly use one. Looking someone up in the phone book is a common experience. It is customary

for a listing in the phone book to include both the name and the profession of the telephone owner. The profession is usually precisely described. For example, among truckdrivers, someone who owns his own truck (autoilija) is distinguished from someone who drives someone else's (autonkuljettaja). This exact specification of profession is not an aberration of the phone book. It is a typical way of characterizing individuals in numerous contexts. It is used, for example, in one of the commune's best sellers, a pamphlet published annually listing the taxable incomes of all the commune's taxpayers. When organizations, such as the local cooperative bank or cooperative stores, list the members of their boards in yearly reports, each name is accompanied by an indication of profession. On the ballot for communal elections, candidates' names are followed by very exact indications of their professions. When villagers were asked about the professions of their siblings or their children, most responded with precise descriptions, such as valineidenhoitaja, a person who keeps laboratory equipment clean.

If an individual is not identified by profession, he will most likely be identified by an educational or academic title. This indicates the type of higher training the individual has completed, without indicating in detail the particular job he may hold. Such references are also precise. For example, someone listed as a merkonomi has graduated from a business school, which required for admission either the completion of the lower section of the academic high school or the completion of a course at a lower level business school. A merkonomi may further be distinguished as ylioppilas merkonomi. This means that, although it was not a necessary admission requirement, the individual had successfully completed the upper academic high school before attending

the business school.

The title ylioppilas, refers both to those who have completed academic high school and those who are continuing, but have not yet completed, their education in a higher institution, such as a university or college. Ylioppilas is an important status in Finland; the ylioppilas groups (the university student organizations) have traditionally played a powerful role in the definition of Finnish nationalism and in Finnish politics (Rintala 1962:109). A major union in Finland (Akava) represents only people who have academic degrees. The completion of academic high school and of higher education have not been commonplace until relatively recently, and they have been associated primarily with the bourgeoisie.

The status of being an ylioppilas is displayed by a concrete symbol--a white cap. Nowadays, it is worn by ylioppilas only once a year--on May Day eve and on May Day. The May Day parties of the ylioppilas and the May Day celebrations of the workers have long been seen as occurring in opposition to each other (e.g., Lander 1971:217-220). However, today in Pellava, where there are many workers' children who have completed the academic high school and yet retained their identification with left wing politics, a young Social Democratic member of the Communal Council saw no conflict in wearing her ylioppilas cap on May Day eve and morning and attending the commune Social Democrat's May Day celebration in the afternoon. In their homes, Rasti Social Democrats and Communists proudly display pictures of their children, or other relatives, in their white ylioppilas caps.

The example of an ylioppilas merkonomi is particularly appropriate to an examination of how the educational title system articulates with the system of professional identification. Merkonomi is not a

status to which an ylioppilas would normally aspire. It may mean that the particular ylioppilas did not achieve good enough grades to receive a more appropriate educational training or that he lacked ambition. The addition of ylioppilas to merkonomi in a title or description may be an attempt to gain higher status than is normally due a merkonomi. An individual's academic titles can also be used when an individual's professional identification may not be as high. For example, the head of the commune's Cooperative Dairy will frequently be referred to, and addressed by, his academic title (maisteri--the approximate equivalent of having a masters). This may be because his professional title (isännöitisiijä) could be held by someone who did not have his high academic qualifications. Conversely, academic titles may be ignored, either when the professional title assumes certain levels of academic achievement (for example, lehtori, the title for an academic high school teacher) or when the professional title has more prestige than the individual's academic title. An example of the latter is the term johtaja, or director, which has high prestige and is used to address the heads of various business and governmental organizations (e.g., bank director).

It should be noted in passing that professional or academic titles may have very different forms when used orally than when employed in writing. The head of the dairy, for example, would be referred to and addressed as maisteri, but when his name is written, his academic title is maa ja metsätalouden kandidatti, which indicates the specific area in which he got his degree. The difference between the written title and the spoken form can also be seen in nonacademic contexts. Though a farmer is almost inevitably listed nowadays as maanviljelijä--literally cultivator of land--and farmers as a group as maanviljelijät (the plural),

in address and reference to a particular individual, the title isäntä (male form) or emäntä (female form) will be used instead.

The use of professional and academic titles in spoken address and reference is relatively common. This is partially because people frequently use the third person form in talking to individuals-- particularly people they do not know well. In a popular Finnish book on etiquette, this was labelled "the bugaboo of the third person" (Elmgren-Heinonen 1955:353). For example, a typical question addressed to a medical doctor might be "What does the Doctor suggest we do now?" or to the head of a bank: "What does the Director think?" This third person reference is often thought of as cultivated (Elmgren-Heinonen 1955:353). In Rasti itself, only one person is consistently addressed and referred to in this way. He is a longtime summer resident, who is a well-known artist, and he is addressed and referred to as taiteilija or artist. He comes from a well-to-do family and is elderly--over 90. His wife is referred to and sometimes addressed as taiteilijan rouva, the artist's wife.

Although virtually all people have professional identifications, not all of them are used in normal address or reference. There is, however, no general neutral form of address frequently employed, no functional equivalents of the Mr., Mrs., and Miss forms used in the United States or the monsieur, madame, and mademoiselle forms of France. Herra (Mr.), rouva (Mrs.), and neiti (Miss) are used only as residual forms, when no other title is available.

The term herra (Mr.) itself has several other meanings. Besides its use as a residual form, it also means gentleman, lord or master. Villagers use the plural form to refer to big shots. In fact, someone with a prestigious title can be addressed more formally by adding herra

before his title--e.g., herra tohtori (Doctor). Herra is also used to refer to or address Jesus.

THE TWO MEANINGS OF FORMALITY

The above sketch of the overall system of professional and academic titles points up some of the central features of notions of work that have ramifications throughout life in Rasti. One of the most obvious interpretations of this pervasive system of occupational identities would be that it demonstrates the importance of one's place in the social hierarchy for the characterization of self. Traditional official and academic systems of titles (along with aristocratic titles, now of little importance) were until recently the concern of only a very small, and relatively exclusive, group at the pinnacle of Finnish society (see Wirilander 1974). Now this system of identification has been extended to cover a wide range of occupations--both occupations that did not exist before and ones that did not have a place in the elite system (Elmgren-Heinonen 1955:354-7).

Related to the hierarchical facets of the occupational titles is the concept expressed by the adjective jäykkä (stiff or formal). This is one of the terms most frequently applied to the description of self, others, and interpersonal relations. It implies an attempt to keep people at a distance. Certainly, the occupational titles, which may be used in address to avoid more personal forms (even the use of last names), provide a formality that serves the function of maintaining distance. However, jäykkä is not only used to characterize hierarchical relationships. It is used even more frequently to describe relations between strangers or nonintimates in general--regardless of their relative positions in the social hierarchy. This concept frequently appears in

the context of the system of second person pronouns, friendship, and guest-host-stranger-relationships (see Chapters VI and VII).

The nonhierarchical use of jāykkā indicates that formality, which infuses the occupational system, frequently has a nonhierarchical meaning. Above all, it is important that it is a balanced formality. There are few relationships in the adult world today where formality or deference is required of subordinates and informality or condescension permitted to a superior. Formality is expected to be met with formality--deference with deference. The subordinate, by maintaining distance between himself and an authority, maintains his privacy and an independence of judgment. The right of superiors is primarily to suggest the move to mutual informality and assumed equality. Formality and stiffness are aspects of a pervasive reticence, or ambivalence, about openness and trust in relationships in general. The right of all people to privacy and autonomy, even within a hierarchical system, is generally assumed. People do not feel uncomfortable with distance, nor do they feel a need to pretend that it does not exist. Among the people of Rasti, formality is frequently defensive--a means of protecting privacy.

The great precision with which occupational titles or identifications are provided indicates more than simply the place of an individual in the occupational hierarchy. The great specificity sends out a second message: "I have a specific job; I have an occupation." This message is important and emotionally meaningful in Rasti because in the early part of the 20th century, many villagers were part of a group of people, cottagers (itselliset), who did not have full-time employment or a specific full-time occupation. Rather, they were employed by the farmers during the busy seasons, and during the rest of the year, they worked at odd jobs, if they were lucky enough to occasionally find them.

WORK AND NOTIONS OF SELF

Finally, the most explicit notion of self embedded in the occupational system is the statement of the importance of work in the characterization of self. This is apparent in the specificity of the titles; it is also evident in the close relationship between the world of work and the world of the home. The farmhouses are oriented towards, and not away from, the world of the barns and cow sheds. The living room of the farmhouse (tupa) is an annex to these work areas. The people who provide the public services in Rasti also cannot separate their work from their home life. The elementary school teachers have apartments located in the school building (though not all of them lived there during fieldwork). Teachers in a village school do not step out of their role when school lets out; instead, they have traditionally been leaders in the after school activities of the village youth. The storekeepers live in quarters attached to their business, and they frequently supply villagers' needs, even after store hours.

In the church village, the work lives and private lives of many of the professionals are almost inseparable. It is difficult, if not impossible, for the professionals to escape their vocational identities. The professionals' homes are often perquisites of their jobs. For example, the rector, curate, and until recently the cantor lived in homes provided by the parish, directly across from the parish offices. The professionals employed by the commune and other public organizations (e.g., the commune secretary, the commune veterinarian, the public doctors and dentists) generally live in publicly owned apartments, near the commune hall; some have offices in their homes. Many academic high school teachers live in apartments leased from the school. In the

private sector, bank directors may live in bank supplied quarters, and many employees of the cooperative dairy and the utility company live in apartments provided by those organizations. The attachment of home to position is an old tradition in Finland. When Pellava's economy was solely agrarian, the occupancy of a farm went with the office of parish rector. During Swedish rule, one of Rasti's farms was owned by the government and occupied by a military officer, as part of his job benefits.

For the people of Rasti, the centrality of work also means that a practical, or utilitarian, value is frequently used to justify recreations, hobbies, and leisure activities. Many villagers, for example, spend a good deal of their spare time fishing--during the summer with nets and/or weirs and during the winter through the ice with drop lines or nets. The fishermen demonstrate the practical results of their hobby when they give gifts of fish to other villagers. That this pastime is justified by its practical consequences was also demonstrated one year when the organization regulating fishing in the local lakes forbade the use of casting equipment. (The next year the ban was lifted, but there was a strong push to make the price of licenses for casting exorbitant.) An attempt was made to justify these actions on technical grounds. However, many understood that opposition to sports fishing resulted from a feeling that people who fished that way are just doing it for fun. (They were, also, primarily vacationing summer residents.)

Some male farmers frequently attend meetings of communal organizations in the church village. The actual business carried out in these meetings is often minimal. Instead, villagers use the meetings primarily as an opportunity to socialize with other men from outside the village--especially during the winter, when there is less work to do on the farms.

During the meetings, a good deal of time is spent in smoking, drinking coffee, eating cake, and engaging in informal conversation. However, these meetings almost always also include an "educational" part in their program (i.e., a presentation by an expert in some relevant field). This educational presentation seems necessary to justify the time spent at the meetings--even when much of the information presented is easily available to the farmers in the many newspapers and professional magazines they receive.

In the biweekly meetings of both the Agricultural Women and the Missionary Sewing Society, village women spend a good deal of time in socializing over coffee and cake. However, most keep their hands busy, knitting or sewing at the same time. Among womens' hobbies, practical pursuits again dominate. Many women spend pleasant hours during the spring, summer, and fall picking wild berries and collecting mushrooms in the woods. During the winter, women enjoy weaving rugs and sewing. It is clear that many leisure activities are enjoyed not as fun for fun's sake, but rather because they are work or useful activities, which are also fun.

Even sports--such as cross-country skiing or orienteering--in which many villagers participate, are spoken of publicly in terms of the benefits they provide to health.

That work should be this central is, of course, not surprising in a society in which until recently relatively few laborsaving devices were found and in which crop failures and famine were rather frequent occurrences. That fun and entertainment have an illicit quality about them may also be related to the fact that through the turn of this century the church consistently waged campaigns against them, seeing in them signs of moral degradation. As Kortekangas has pointed out,

this highly moralistic attitude towards such entertainment was also taken by the workers' movements at the turn of the century. In fact, the moralities espoused by church and workers' movements were practically identical (1967:56).

Finally, the centrality of work to notions of self provides a common yardstick within the village for the evaluation of self and others. The type of worker a person is (e.g., lazy, sloppy, hard, or vigorous), regardless of his professional status, is an important way in which people are regarded and evaluated. The high quality and intensity of the work done by some laborers are spoken of almost with awe, while the owner of a large farm may be held in general contempt because of his laziness or stupidity.

OCCUPATIONAL IDENTITY: FARMERS

It is natural to begin with farming in considering the various specific professional notions of self in Rasti. Farming is acknowledged by all to be the heart of the village.

The farm itself plays an important role in defining a farmer's identity. Each farm has a name from which, until recently, the farmer took his own name. The last family to adopt the farm name upon moving to Rasti arrived in the village in 1907. In 1920, the law concerning family names was altered, so that people could no longer change their last names freely. Before that time, all that had been required to change a name was to request the parish pastor to alter the name in the church register. Before 1920, the loss of one's farm might even mean the loss of one's name. One villager's farm was auctioned off, after he had been absent for several years. When he returned, he was no longer known by the name of his farm. His new last name became

Syytinki, which means the agreed upon allowance given a person for the rest of his life, when he sells his farm.

The identification of the farm name with the family still continues informally in Rasti. At least a third of the time, one family, which bought its farm in 1937, is referred to by villagers by its farm name. A young man who received his farm through his wife is sometimes referred to by the farm (and his wife's maiden) name. Even summer residents who own a traditional village farm are frequently identified by the farm name in village conversation.

As seen from these examples, kinship and farm ownership are closely intertwined. This is also demonstrated in the extreme importance most farmers place on the continuing family ownership of their farm. When farmers or retired farmers (male and female) were asked if they wanted at least one of their children to practice their profession, 27 out of 37 (73%) answered yes. Of these, 20 answered not in terms of their profession generally but in terms of their particular farm; they did not want the farm to go to strangers. Taking care of the farm seemed futile or meaningless to them if one of the children would not continue it. This sense of futility was dramatically expressed in the attitude of one farmer, who had recently lost his only son in a tragic accident. When asked if he planned any underground drainage for his fields, the farmer suddenly looked depressed and answered that he had begun, but now that he had no son it didn't matter. Another woman, who had only a daughter, once expressed her feelings of guilt at not having produced a son to keep the family name on the farm.

Today, farmers are most frequently identified in official records and public documents as maanviljelijät (literally cultivators of the earth). If formally asked, a farmer will also normally identify himself

this way. The popularity of this term, however, is of rather recent origin. It appeared first as an individual's profession in the parish records for Rasti in 1930. In 1940, the only farmer characterized in this way had interests in education and enlightenment, which suggests the term held connotations of modernity and professionalism. Its literal meaning is completely professional or occupational.

The terms historically used to designate farmers (and still commonly used in the village) are very different. These are talonpoika, talollinen and isäntä. (Only the latter is used in addressing a farmer.) Talonpoika is difficult to translate since it has very different meanings in different contexts. Literally, it means boy of the house or farm; this illustrates again the centrality of the farm house and the importance of landownership. The term can be translated variously as peasant, yeoman, farmer. It was used to describe the fourth or agricultural estate in the four estate system preceding the modern Finnish parliamentary system. Its historical connotations are used in contexts that appeal to the past, for instance, when discussing the cultural style and identity of farmers.

The second term, talollinen, is often used in its plural form to refer to the farmers of the village; it was, until recently, the term most frequently used to describe farmers in the parish records. Like talonpoika, this word stems from talo or farm and means landowner, particularly the owner of a middle-size farm.

The terms most frequently used in Rasti as terms of both address and reference are isäntä and emäntä, the master and mistress of the farm, respectively. These terms have several meanings, standing for both farm owner and for host and hostess. They can also be used in referring to, or addressing, a home owner, though this is less common.

A related form (vanha [old] isāntā or vanha emāntā) is used for retired heads of a farm. These terms are frequently used, as are other occupational titles, to avoid employing the formal form of the second person pronoun (te).

FARMERS' CONFLICTING NOTIONS OF SELF

The national economic, political, and social developments discussed in earlier chapters have clearly had a major impact on the village farmers' notions of self. As a result of these national trends, they have developed conflicting, or ambivalent, feelings about the value of individualism. Their conflicts are created by a constant tension between an emphasis on the importance of personal independence (or autonomy) and a recognition of their high degree of dependence on others and on forces outside their control.

One of the long-term trends in Finnish farming has been an emphasis on economic individualism. This began in the middle of the 18th century, when government policies began to consciously aim at the removal of local community restraints and controls on agriculture and moved instead towards the establishment of individual farms as totally autonomous units. The stripping away of the community economic organization obviously had a powerful centrifugal effect on many other aspects of village social organization.

The movement towards increased individualism was later reinforced by the rise of the Finnish timber industry in the latter part of the 19th century. Because they owned a substantial part of Finland's timber resources, Finnish farmers were immediately pulled into the world capitalist order. The funds made available to them by their forest holdings were used by the farmers to transform their formerly self-

sufficient farms into small capitalist enterprises, with the relationships between the owners and the ever increasing number of landless workers being appropriately redefined within this new context.

The continuing importance of the individualistic perspective is revealed in the fact that village farmers still stress that the independence and autonomy allowed them in their profession makes agriculture attractive to them, despite its many other negative features. Furthermore, when village farmers have sought a second vocation, they have generally chosen to become involved in small, and somewhat risky, entrepreneurial enterprises, rather than work in factories or for bureaucracies.

The independent and autonomous farmer was the basis on which the Finnish government attempted to build an independent state (i.e., the "peasant republic") during the interwar period. Ironically, the land reforms instituted to achieve that goal so multiplied the number of small farms, often at the expense of the larger, that the individual farms, which were independent and autonomous from each other at the local level, increasingly had to depend upon substantial direct and indirect subsidies from the national government. Farmers are acutely aware of the fact that a sizable portion of the urban Finnish population now views the farmers as parasites.

In the interwar period, when the triumphant White forces chose the way of life of the country's agrarian population as a central inspiration for the creation of Finland's cultural and political national identity, the farmers were often visualized as the bulwark of Finnish independence against the threat of Soviet inspired collectivism. Still in 1976, at the Finnish Independence Day celebration of the commune of Pellava, a speaker could declare that: "As long as the farmer plows his fields,

Finland will be free!" Yet in the postwar period, the party that has been most closely associated with the farmers (the Center Party) and its leader, President Urho Kekkonen, have played central roles in the development of a foreign policy that takes as its central tenet the recognition that Finland depends on the Soviet Union's good will and trust as the essential basis for continued national independence.

The reliance by Finnish farmers on timber sales as an essential source for their investment capital has also brought farmers into a position of great dependence on a few large forestry industry corporations. While Finnish farms were becoming increasingly fragmented, Finnish industry became highly concentrated and centralized. The farmers' reliance on income from timber sales has also meant that they have become highly dependent on international market forces, over which they have virtually no control.

Finally, in order to deal effectively with the state and the large corporations, the proudly independent farmers have been forced to rely upon a multitude of organizations--often cooperatives. Although on public occasions officials of the cooperatives may describe cooperatives in idealistic terms, village farmers generally see them (and other agricultural interest groups) as necessary evils, supported primarily for pragmatic reasons. Village farmers also recognize that they generally have little or no say over the policies and decisions being advocated by these interest groups on the national level. The disastrous history of the village's own cooperative dairy clearly taught the village farmers a lesson: in a modern society, major cooperative economic enterprises on the village level, where each farmer might have a meaningful impact on policy decisions, are almost certain to fail.

Today, cooperative ventures among village farmers tend to be on a

small-scale. The joint ownership of machinery is one way in which the farmers have experimented with new crops and cultivation techniques. A new type of machine is first bought jointly by a group of farmers, in order to minimize the individual's investment in an experimental venture. If the experiment is a success, the partners will each eventually purchase their own individual machines. Although farmers may engage in these cooperative schemes, they often express their dissatisfaction with those types of arrangements. In fact, when one farmer was asked what he considered to be the most negative aspect of village life, he replied--cooperatively owned machines. It is generally assumed that people will not take proper care of jointly owned machines. When one farmer had his hand caught in a winch, some people pointed out that the machine was jointly owned and in very bad repair. A distinct coolness between two village farm families, closely linked by kinship, can be traced, at least in part, to bitterness resulting from the joint ownership of a machine in the early 1950s.

National trends have also given rise to a continuing tension between egalitarian and hierarchical notions of self in farmers. One of the most important results of the timber boom (which occurred simultaneously with a population boom) was the widening of the economic and social gap between the farmers and the landless. In the past, differences in life-style between farmers and landless workers had been minimal. The yawning social chasm had been between a Swedish-speaking aristocracy and almost the entire Finnish-speaking population. Beginning in the latter part of the 19th century, at least partially on the basis of the wealth acquired through timber holdings, the number of Finnish-speakers in the educated upper class began to increase. At the same time, on the basis of their newly acquired wealth, many farmers attempted to separate

themselves from the landless, both in their relationships at work and in their general style of life (e.g., in their forms of hospitality). These farmers, quite naturally, tended to imitate the customs of the upper class. The claims of superiority by the farmers were almost immediately challenged by a powerful, if initially unsuccessful, socialist movement.

Ultimately, the development of the timber industry was a major stimulus to the industrialization and urbanization of Finland. Within an increasingly industrialized and urbanized society, the farmers' power base was destined to inevitably shrink. Farmers are painfully aware that, although they still have a dominant position within the village and commune, their profession is scorned by many Finns. Many city and town dwellers are critical of landowners, whom they see as inheriting wealth rather than having to go through the long years of education and competition necessary to obtain many other professional positions.

Today, even within the village, the owners of the largest farms in Rasti do not openly assert their social priority. They are likely to be defensive when their supposed affluence is discussed. For example, the owner of one of the village's largest farms recalled an incident that occurred in the local store, when some men were discussing the newly formed lake ice. A nonfarmer, who had just been out to the lake, said that the ice was thick enough to safely support someone. This farmer had also just been to the lake and expressed the view that the ice was still too thin. The nonfarmer replied sarcastically: "Well perhaps the ice cannot hold up the owner of a large farm." Even years later, the farmer still bitterly resented that remark.

Related to this change in the view of farming is a change in attitude toward rural life generally. The dominant position of rural

images in ". . . the general picture of Finland--as projected within and without" is under vigorous attack from several directions. Thus, for example, in a recent book Donner rejected.

. . . old established formulae for the presentation of Finland. He is not alone in his attitude. In more than one quarter there is a revolt against the presentation of Finland in folkloristic, picturesque terms. Such a homespun image is dismissed derogatively as tuohityö (birch-bark work) [Mead 1968:231].

One topic of concern repeatedly raised at the meetings of the village Missionary Sewing Society was the forthcoming revision of the Lutheran Hymn Book. Villagers were upset by reports that the new edition would eliminate, or reduce, the number of pastoral and agrarian references; the editorial board, apparently, considered these to be increasingly meaningless to the young people of modern Finland.

NONFARMERS' CONFLICTING NOTIONS OF SELF

Today, Rasti's nonfarmers are a rapidly disappearing remnant of what had formerly been the largest portion of the village's population. Most of the nonfarmers are either elderly or approaching that stage of life; their children will not replace them in the village. For the elderly nonfarmers, as for the farmers, personal independence and autonomy are centrally important to their notions of self. That these notions are highly valued is clearly seen in the choice of these elderly nonfarmers to live on their own, despite the many difficulties and challenges it entails. They have been unwilling to go to the commune's old age home, or to live with their children, or to try to get an apartment in the church village.

Chapter IV pointed out that these elderly nonfarmers are the people most likely to have the fewest household conveniences (e.g., running water or central heating). Although they are justly proud of

being able to take care of themselves, they also live with the constant awareness that someday soon they may no longer be able to chop wood, carry water, and clean the snow from their door, and then they will be forced into a living situation that makes them highly dependent on others.

Abandoning their own homes is an especially painful prospect to the present generation of elderly nonfarmers. Many of them feel that having their own house on their own land was one of the major achievements of their life. Frequently, their parents had lived in small shacks on land rented from farmers. They had been obligated to work for the farmers in return. Many of the present elderly nonfarmers were able to buy their land and build their homes as a result of land reforms, and other programs, that they could take advantage of as veterans of the Finno-Soviet Wars. In this way, the fight for national independence and autonomy was linked to their own achievement of personal independence.

Maintaining their independence is also crucially important to this generation of elderly nonfarmers because it presents such a contrast to the difficult conditions their own parents had to face in their old age. In those not so distant days, before the advent of the Finnish welfare state, the elderly nonfarmers were dependent on the goodwill of the village farmers and upon some very meager forms of communal assistance. Today, the elderly nonfarmers can instead rely upon a modern national pension system and a comprehensive national health care program (Nousiainen1971:425-428). For some of the nonfarmers, the day when they become eligible for their pension has become the occasion for joyous celebration.

Although they stress their independence, these elderly nonfarmers know that by remaining in the village they must rely on fellow villagers

in some important, though sometimes irksome, ways. Despite their pensions, elderly nonfarmers must find ways to cut corners on expenses whenever possible. For example, wood is the major source of heat for many nonfarmers; it is expensive. Some nonfarmers ask farmers for permission to go through their forests and collect fallen branches. Some also receive gifts of wood from farmers who are relatives or for whom they had once worked as farmhands. Nonfarmers also often ask farmers to plow their garden plots. These garden plots may supply the nonfarmers with a good portion of the staple of their diets--potatoes. The farmers often refuse to take money for the service; even when it is not explicitly stated, these elderly nonfarmers feel obligated, in turn, to help the farmer during the busy parts of the agricultural year (e.g., the hay season). For many nonfarmers, this is a distasteful reminder of earlier periods of their lives, when they were either full-time farmhands or had to work a certain number of days each year to pay for rights to pasture a cow in a farm's fields or forests. These nonfarmers have worked long years to achieve independence and find it very burdensome to have to ask for help and be dependent again upon farmers. Interestingly, when asked what they considered to be the most positive aspect of their profession, nonfarmer women who listed themselves as housewives often mentioned the freedom of choice and autonomy they had in running their homes. A few mentioned explicitly that one of the reasons they had gotten married was that they were tired of being servants and having to take orders from others.

As with the farmers, the nonfarmers' notions of self contain some conflict between hierarchical and egalitarian emphases. Although in the second half of the 19th century there was a widening of the gap between the landowners and the landless, there were also a number of countervailing

forces, which pushed towards egalitarian norms (e.g., inheritance rules, the rise of socialism, the inability of the farmers to legitimize their claims to cultural superiority, etc.). In the postwar period, these types of opposing forces have continued to operate within the context of Rasti life. In the early postwar period, there was a revival of socialist sentiment and solidarity among the Rasti nonfarmers. The local chapter of the Social Democratic party was extremely active on many fronts--producing evenings of entertainment (e.g., plays and dances) and sponsoring a variety of educational activities. This was possible because of a combination of national and local factors. On the national level, as part of its new relationship with the Soviet Union, Finland ended its formal and informal harassment of left wing political activities. For example, the Suojeluskunta (the voluntary militia, which had been a very active antisocialist group) was disbanded. On the local level, many farmers and nonfarmers shared a common experience in serving in the same battalion in the war. This experience strengthened egalitarian norms in the village. Several villagers emphasized their pride in the fact that one of the outstanding characteristics of the Finnish army was its lack of concern with hierarchy and rank. The villagers contrasted this with the highly stratified German army. In a party held after the general reunion of his battalion in 1976, one of the villagers had guests who had been officers and nonofficers and whose professions today ran the scale from business executives in large corporations to carpenters. Members of the Coalition party and members of the Communist party were present. At least one village farmer described the egalitarian impact of his experiences in the following way: the close contact with men with high prestige positions, like school teachers, had taught him that these people were no better or

worse than common folk. It is also interesting that when more conservative villagers discussed one of the villagers who is a Communist, they frequently ended up with the comment-- "But he was a good soldier!"

In more recent years, the Finnish government has also attempted to vigorously foster democratic and egalitarian norms, through a number of major social reforms, particularly in education (Karvonen 1974:207-208). In 1971, for example, the Finnish parliament passed a law creating school councils in secondary schools. Such a council was established in Pellava.

The task of the school council is, in cooperation with the headmaster, to use supreme decision-making power in matters concerning the planning of teaching, the purchase of textbooks and other teaching aids, cooperation between school and home, student discipline and punishment, students' extracurricular activities, etc. Teachers and students have equal representation on the school council, and thus the students have the same say in decision-making as the teachers [Karvonen 1974:209].

However, it still must be recognized that within the village today there is a hierarchical structure. Farmers are the politically and economically dominant group in the village and the commune. The elderly nonfarmers are, as has been noted, often dependent on the younger farming population for vital services. Furthermore, the Social Democrats can no longer function as an active group in the daily affairs of the village; almost all the party leaders are now either dead or quite old. Many have retired from public affairs. When asked about their party affiliation, the vast majority of the people who declined to name a preference were nonfarmers.

Forms of address have been considered important data for cultural analyses by many researchers (e.g., Brandes 1975; Brown and Gilman 1968; Ervin-Tripp 1972; Friedrich 1972; Geertz 1973: 360-411; Geoghegan

1971; Lambert 1967). Some of the main conflicts in notions of self described earlier in this chapter are also expressed in the forms of address commonly used in Rasti.

THE SINÄ-TE SYSTEM: CHANGING NOTIONS OF SELF

It is appropriate to explore the system of second person pronouns used in Rasti because the choice of which pronoun two individuals use to address each other immediately signals the degree of distance or closeness in their relationship.

Although Finnish is not an Indo-European language, it has a binary division of second person singular pronouns of address that parallels those found in German or French. It has an informal second person singular pronoun--Sinä--and a formal second person singular pronoun--Te (which is also the plural form of the formal and informal second person pronoun). Henceforth, these will be referred to as the S and T forms respectively.

It is best to begin by sketching out those types of people to whom a villager is likely to use each of these forms. Those whom villagers would typically address with the T form are: 1) the educated professional elite of the commune, including pastors, veterinarians, doctors, high school teachers, etc; 2) adult strangers, including people whom the villagers have not met before and those with whom they have had little or no interaction.

Those whom villagers would typically address with the S form are: 1) people with whom they work; 2) people who are fellow members of some active organizations; 3) kinsmen, long-time acquaintances, and friends; 4) children; 5) people with whom they are drinking alcohol. There are some people who may fit the above criteria for the use of S but

whom the villager may, nevertheless, address in the T form; these are adult villagers of the opposite sex and the elderly. An elderly person is also more likely than other villagers to use the T form in addressing people under any circumstance. A person being elderly or of the opposite sex does not eliminate the possibility that the villager will address him or her as S; it simply makes it less likely in all situations.

One additional aspect of the system must be noted before turning to further analysis: the use of second person pronouns of address is generally reciprocal. In fact, the reciprocity is perhaps the key to understanding the meaning of the S-T system. Because of the reciprocity, the S-T system today strongly emphasizes an egalitarian notion of self. Even when the use of the T form would seem to indicate respect and deference, as in the use of T to the educated professional elite of the commune, a member of the elite must, in turn, answer the T with T, thus softening the hierarchical overtones. The egalitarian element of the system is also emphasized by the fact that the two categories of people to whom T may be used, even when S might otherwise have been expected--women and the elderly--are universalistic (i.e., any adult woman or any elderly person, regardless of his or her socioeconomic status, is entitled to this privilege).

The only situation in which nonreciprocity is general--when a child will use T to an adult he does not know well, and the adult responds with S--is also universalistic and thus egalitarian. Moreover, this situation is generally avoided, since a child in this circumstance is much more likely to address an older person by his title (e.g., "teacher") or use the terms aunt (tāti) and uncle (setā).

It is important to understand that the egalitarian notion inherent in the S-T system does not involve an assumption or assertion of equal power, or even of equal right to obtain power. Rather, it asserts the equal right of each individual to maintain personal autonomy over matters concerning social distance. In this way, the analysis of the S-T system is analogous to the analysis of the professional title system. As was pointed out in that context, different titles obviously have radically different amounts of prestige and power associated with them; however, virtually everyone has some professional title, which can be used in interactions to assert the individual's identity and right to respect from others.

If reciprocity in the use of T expresses the importance of personal autonomy for the individual, even in hierarchical relationships, the reciprocal use of S expresses solidarity and community. The people with whom one uses the reciprocal S make this clear. Furthermore, that the use of S represents a conscious expression of solidarity and community was made clear at a yearly village catechetical meeting in 1976. Part of the meeting involved a discussion of the subject, loneliness and community. One question posed to the group by the clergy was: What, in your opinion, would best help to create community among the people of Pellava? A number of alternative answers to this question had been prepared in advance and were distributed to those attending. People then separated into three smaller groups to discuss the alternatives and select the three they felt were most likely to increase solidarity. Among these alternatives was the suggestion that everyone use the informal second person singular, S. One group listed this alternative among its first three choices, and a long discussion ensued. The people who supported the general use of S as a means of producing a sense of

community suggested that it made people freer. The implication was that the use of T is a source of restraint in interactions--a way in which people keep others at a distance.

Additional support for the above suggestions about the meaning of the S-T system today can be gained by looking at the way in which two people move from the reciprocal use of T to the reciprocal use of S in addressing each other. The most formal way for this to occur is called the sinā deal (sinunkaupat). This occurs when one individual suggests to another that they call each other by their first names. This automatically entails the use of the reciprocal S. Typically, when a sinā deal takes place, the two people--who may have known each other for a long time--will shake hands, as each pronounces his first name.

The nature of this formal exchange points to some of the primary meanings of the pronoun system. First, it indicates that the major purpose of the system is to mark out different degrees of distance between individuals. The handshake is, in essence, a reintroduction, a rebeginning of the relationship at a more intimate level. Second, it emphasizes the egalitarian theme, since the giving of names is reciprocal. Third, it emphasizes the individual's autonomy, since it is the individual himself who decides the degree of social distance he wishes to keep with others. The people making a sinā deal are generally aware of each other's first name, but only the individual himself has the right to give his name--the most personal marker of his identity--to another.

The decision as to which form of the personal pronouns, or of one's name, to use with someone else is a jealously guarded right. For example, when people who have not previously known each other, or have not formally been introduced, meet at a celebration at someone's home,

the decision of how they should address each other is left completely to them. The host or hostess does not interfere by making the introductions. Rather, the guests introduce themselves to strangers. As a guest walks up to another guest he does not know, he shakes hands and pronounces some form of his name. The form he uses indicates the degree of social distance he expects to maintain. For example, if a person's name is Tapani Mäkelä, he may say Tapani, Tapani Mäkelä, or Mäkelä. If he uses one of the first two alternative, then probably the person expects S to be used. If he uses the latter form, then probably T is expected.

Inherent in the sinunkaupat is one potentially hierarchical element. The person who first offers the deal is obviously expressing some degree of preeminence. This hierarchical element is, however, frequently minimized. In most sinunkaupat, the right to first offer the deal is given on the basis of the universalistic criteria of age and sex. It is the older person and/or the woman who is expected to make the offer.

Although I have no direct evidence as to which of the two criteria would be used when there is a conflict (i.e., a man is older than a woman), it would appear that age is more important. When a woman is older than a man, typically she referred to her age in offering the deal. For example, when a neighbor woman, much older than myself, offered a sinunkaupat, she phrased it in the following way: "I'm older than you, but my name is just Anja." Another women, who was only a few years older than myself, proposed the sinunkaupat by claiming: "Using Te makes me feel so old. I'm just Pirkko." This appeal to the universalistic criterion of age in this context is interesting because it will be shown that in another situation in which troublesome questions of hierarchy or precedent arise--who is to take their coffee first at a

village celebration--age is also often explicitly referred to. When people offer the sinunkaupat, they usually make explicit the reason why they are initiating the deal. The egalitarian nature of the S-T system seems to require people to justify themselves.

The community or solidarity meaning of the reciprocal S form can also be seen in the sinunkaupat. In addition to the sinunkaupat between individuals, many institutions, businesses, and clubs have a group sinunkaupat. Either the group as a whole or the leadership decides that everyone in the group will use sinā to each other. This appears to be a well-established custom. In 1945, the minutes of the village's Youth Society, which included members of all ages from teenagers up, record that it had been agreed that all members of the group were close acquaintances (were on a S basis), except for those who had grandchildren and who would thus be called grandpa or grandma (ukki and mummi, respectively). Again, it is significant that the exception to the sinunkaupat was based on the universalistic criterion of age. Of course, there is a conflict inherent in group sinunkaupat, if they have been based on a unilateral decision by the leader or boss. Their one-sided imposition seems to violate the individual's personal autonomy. Several people, in fact, expressed their dismay at this movement. In village circles, however, there are few situations in which a group sinunkaupat would be unilaterally made. Moreover, if an elderly person looks uncomfortable with such a group sinunkaupat, he or she may be addressed in the third person, by the fictive kinship term--aunt or uncle.

There are occasions in which adults will automatically begin to use S with each other, without any sinunkaupat being made. One of these is during male group drinking. Other examples also emphasize the solidarity

of the social hierarchy. Even the father and mother of the poorest family could expect, within the family, to receive the deference normally accorded to people in high prestige positions. The move toward reciprocity in pronoun usage between high and low prestige individuals has been mirrored by the move toward reciprocity within the family. However, while the former change originally emphasized personal autonomy (i.e., it was a move to reciprocal T), the latter has underscored solidarity (i.e., the move to reciprocal S). The present increase in group sinunkaupat in organizations and businesses will probably result eventually in making the reciprocal S form predominant in both of these aspects of life. It will be argued later that the shift in the S-T system, from supporting hierarchical notions of self to supporting egalitarian notions of self, is similar to a change in the meaning of the major ceremony of village social life--the coffee ceremony.

The increase in the general use of mutual S does not seem to be the result of a revolution from below--a grass roots movement. Rather, according to many rural villagers, it has been prompted by young idealistic professionals, such as teachers and pastors. It was, for example, noted that in the elementary schools children use the S form to their teachers. Several older villagers, whose children are now adults, mentioned that it had been hard to continue having their children address other adults with T, when at school they used S to the teacher. Although almost all adult villagers use the T form in addressing the pastors (when they do not use the third person with their titles), this too may become difficult in the future. One villager remarked, at a meeting of the Agricultural Women's society, that at the confirmation classes the kids call one of the pastors by his first name. (There was a general group sinunkaupat among the staff and pupils at the confirmation

meaning of the mutual S. Thus, S will be automatically used by people who are participating in work (in a nonhierarchical setting) or sport together.

To this point, it has been emphasized that the S-T system today seems to provide notions of self stressing egalitarianism, personal autonomy, solidarity, and community. In the past, however, the S-T system had very powerful hierarchical overtones. In particular, while today there is rarely any nonreciprocal use of S and T among adults, in the past it was a frequent phenomenon between people on different levels of the socioeconomic order. Thus a doctor or a pastor or any member of the gentry might use an S to a servant or a farmer and expect to be addressed with T in reply.¹

Today, all the children in the village address their parents with the S form. However, at the turn of the century, children generally addressed their parents with the T form, while being addressed in turn with the S. The older generation of villagers grew up in a period of transition in this part of the S-T system. One man, who turned 60 in 1976, recalled that he and most of his siblings had been brought up by their grandmother; she had taught them to use T to their parents. His youngest sister, however, had not been brought up by the grandmother and used the S form to their parents. The older siblings were never able to get used to employing S to their parents; it always sounded very strange to them. One middle-aged woman, who takes care of two elderly relatives, uses the S form to her father, who is in his 70s, while she uses the T form to her aunt, (father's sister), who is in her 90s.

The nonreciprocal use of S and T within the family seems to have mirrored the nonreciprocal usages between people on different levels

school.) This same pastor led the discussion of ways of increasing community that was referred to earlier. Part of his summing up of that discussion included his expression of pleasure and surprise at the villagers' generally favorable response to the idea of a general use of S. His contribution to the discussion, in fact, clearly indicated where he stood on this issue. When one of the villagers suggested that she opposed the general use of S because the use of T was a way of showing respect, the pastor responded by asking: "Aren't there other ways to show respect?" He had also declared that he was always willing to use S to anyone who would use S to him.

As indicated earlier, it is generally the elderly who seem most reluctant to take part in this spreading mutual use of S. They prefer the mutual use of T with nonintimates. Their reluctance seemed, to a great extent, based simply on their attachment to the customs of their childhood. In some ways, however, it was also a more realistic approach to social relations (i.e., the concept of social relations it presents was more realistic). Even though young professionals may feel that increasing solidarity and decreasing interpersonal social distance are worthwhile goals, the fact remains that there is a great social distance, in terms of prestige, education, income, and power, between these professionals and the villagers. A change in pronouns usage may satisfy the professionals' need for a feeling of solidarity, but it does not change the realities of the situation.

INTIMACY: FIRST NAMES, DIMINUTIVES, AND NICKNAMES

One important function of the S-T system is clearly to mark degrees of distance or intimacy between individuals. Nevertheless, since the system offers only a binary choice, it limits the amount of information

that can be conveyed about the degree of intimacy between two people. Additional information is communicated through the choice of names people use in addressing each other. As noted earlier, sinunkaupat typically involve the exchange of first names. However, even after this exchange, people may not use each other's first names very freely. The frequent use of another's first name in address indicates a closer relationship than does the use of the S form. Furthermore, many first names have diminutive forms (lempinimi). Juhannus may, for example, become Juha or Jussi; Pentti may become Pena; Heikki, Hessu, and Vainö, Väiski. The use of these established diminutives would indicate an even closer relationship with the person addressed.

Adult females are addressed by diminutives much less frequently than adult males, although diminutives are invariably used in address to children of both sexes. In a later chapter on male group drinking, it will be suggested that one important meaning of this activity is that it involves the symbolic transformation of men into boys; the continuing use of diminutives towards males in later life also seems to indicate that, in some ways, males retain certain elements of childishness longer than females.

In addition to these diminutives, there are also numerous nicknames used in the village. Some of them are used in address; these are idiosyncratic and do not usually have any pejorative implications. For example, a teen-age male and an adult male are called by combinations of the first syllables of their first names and their surnames. Other nonpejorative nicknames refer to the personal history of the individual. One young and active girl, for instance, is called by a nickname combining the slang for the imperative of the verb "to come" with her first name. This refers to the frequency with which her parents have to call her to

come home. An adult man is sometimes addressed by the other men as Isā (father). On the one hand, this refers to the fact that he was married, and became a father, at a young age. At that time, he frequently referred to himself as Isā. On the other hand, the nickname refers both to his portly, dignified, and imposing figure and to the fact that he holds important positions in communal organizations.

In addition to these nonpejorative nicknames, there are also negative and insulting nicknames (haukkumanimi), which are not used in address to the individual but are instead used in reference. For example, one religiously oriented man conspicuously avoided the use of the typical men's curse--Perkele! (the devil). Instead, he used a nonsense word, "Hitti", when he was upset (Hitto also means the devil, but by changing the last syllable, it becomes meaningless). He was referred to as Hitti, and his son was known as Pikku Hitti, or little Hitti. Another politically conservative man, who was known to be an avid gossip, was called Reuters behind his back. A woman gossip, who was a socialist, was known as Tass. An elderly woman, who lived near the store and frequently spread stories about what happened there, was known as tietotoimisto--or the information office. Sometimes the nicknames referred to physical impairments. For example, a man who was somewhat deaf was called mykkä--or deaf and dumb. Sometimes a title a person was entitled to use was turned into a pejorative nickname. For example, a former villager, who was a varatuomari (a lawyer), was called by some villagers varajuomari--a play on the word juoppo, drunkard. This nickname referred to the common village belief that the man was a heavy drinker.

Another set of nicknames involved addressing people by titles that they did not have. For example, a man who was very involved in

politics was sometimes called Senaattori (or senator); a man who was an extraordinary skillful mechanic was sometimes called Teknikko (or Technician--a title held by people who have graduated from various types of vocational schools); a very religious person, from a neighboring village, was known as pappi or pastor. In these cases, the use of the name is ambiguous. On the one hand, it sometimes implied respect, but on the other hand, it sometimes was used to imply that the person was in fact being pretentious.

In both pejorative and nonpejorative nicknames, intimacy was implied. This is not, however, the intimacy that necessarily comes from friendship and warmth but rather the intimacy that comes from the knowledge of other people's idiosyncracies and a familiarity with a person's life history.

This chapter began the analysis of central village notions of self. The focus was on identity, particularly occupational identity. The two groups examined in greatest detail were the farmers and the nonfarmers; in both cases, it was shown that their notions of self include conflicts over the meaning and value of individualism. A discussion of the changing system of second person pronouns uncovered the existence of those same conflicts. The last subject discussed in the chapter--the use of first names, diminutives, and nicknames in the village--raised the issue of how villagers conceptualize intimacy. That is the major concern of Chapter VI.

NOTES

¹The present-day egalitarian and reciprocal tone of the S-T system is reflected in a story told about U. Kekkonen, President of Finland. A local member of Kekkonen's political party mentioned that President Kekkonen liked to use the S form to people, but he became positively icy, when someone used it back to him. The villager, although a great admirer of the President, found this nonreciprocal use of S and T distasteful and offensive.

CHAPTER VI

PATTERNS OF SOCIAL INTERACTION

This chapter examines the patterns of interaction typical of the most intimate social relations in the village--husband-wife, parent-child, kinship, and friendship. This chapter clearly implies that Frölander-Ulf's analysis of male-female relationships could be re-examined within the broader context of the stresses of intimate relationships in general. Finally, this chapter explores the most common sources of antagonism, conflict, and division in village life. It is argued that the individuals who are most widely perceived as deviants within the village are, in fact, people who misunderstand key village notions of self and the nature of competition.

PATTERNS OF COURTSHIP

In trying to understand the nature of the husband-wife relationship, it is important to look at the genesis of those relations, courtship. This section can only be fragmentary; at the time of the fieldwork, there were no active courtships going on in the village. Also, much of the youth culture, within which the courtship had been acted out, had already ceased to exist, as the number of young adult villagers has grown small.

In this century, the norm has been for villagers to choose their own spouses. This had apparently always been the case among the landless, but traditionally, farm owning families had used matchmakers. The couple may have known each other previously. However, "Turning to the matchmaker

didn't in any way presume that there had been premarital association. The beginning of a match was in the hands of the parents, and the young people could turn out to be total strangers to each other" (Vuorela 1975:611).

In Rasti, by the turn of the century, the use of matchmakers had become archaic. When a village farmer's daughter (born in the 1870s) required a matchmaker to find her a husband, villagers apparently considered this amusing. When this woman later berated her servant for having had an illegitimate child, the servant was reported to have answered back: "At least I didn't need to use a matchmaker to get a man!" In matchmaking, obviously one important factor had been economic status. Economic considerations could have remained primary, even after matchmaking disappeared. An elderly village man (who was first married in the 1920s) insisted, however, that in general the people of his generation had not taken economic considerations into account in marriage. He could think of only one example in his generation where money or wealth were taken into account. The male owner of one of the village's largest farms had refused to marry his daughter to a farmer from a nearby parish; the father felt the suitor's farm was too small. The narrator of the story felt that this had been tragic; the woman had subsequently spent the rest of her life with her spinster sisters. That there was something unusual, or undesirable, about this affair is seen from the fact that I was told this same story (or a similar version of it) by several villagers. Each villager emphasized the foolishness of the father and the tragedy it produced for the daughter. By the next generation of marriages (i.e., in the 1930s), village farmers' marriages were clearly not based on economic considerations. Frequently, in these marriages one spouse did not even have a farming background.

Although marriage was on the basis of personal choice and attachment, couples confined their expression of mutual affection to when they were alone. According to Vuorela, Helminen's observation could have been written about any Finnish village: "Social life among the young was permitted only in the twilight or in the dark, never in the daytime. In going to dances, the girls and boys traveled in different groups; only in coming back did they pair off" (quoted in Vuorela 1975:607). Furthermore, ". . . uncovering of feelings was interpreted as softheartedness, and the showing of fondness was a matter to be avoided" (Vuorela 1975:607).

According to a number of village informants, if villagers became aware of a romantic tie between two young people, the couple was likely to be constantly teased. The correct response by the couple was to not react to the teasing but to try to appear unperturbed. Thus courtship provided training for the outward control of expressions of affection expected in later life. It emphasized that control of emotion is expected from an individual at all times. The same type of control over emotions in public will be expected decades later, at a spouse's funeral.

WOMEN: RESPONSIBILITY, SELF-CONTROL, AND ILLEGITIMACY

Dances have long been central occasions for the youth of courtship age; a number of villagers first met, or become acquainted with, their future spouses at dances. It is thus significant that when there is dancing at a celebration, husbands only very rarely dance with their wives. Usually the men cluster together, talking; their spouses dance with their children or with other women. Furthermore, the village men did not talk about the dances of their youth; however, women of all

ages did. An elderly widow became dreamy as she recalled how lovely she had looked, and how handsome her late husband was, when they first met at a dance. She recollected how wonderfully her husband had danced. At a meeting of the Agricultural Women, several middle-aged women talked of how much they had enjoyed going to dances when they were young. On another occasion, a woman in her 30s reminisced about the whirlwind romance she had with her husband, after they met at a dance.

The only time that dancing and women came up as a major topic of conversation among a group of village men was when a church village businessman treated several of them (without their wives) to a meal at a distant hotel-restaurant. After the meal the men drank, and many of them danced with the unescorted women at the restaurant. A usually shy young married man, who like myself had not gone to dance, turned to me and asked whether where I came from married men played around with unknown women (vierasnaiset), because here they do. On the drive home from the restaurant, the men speculated on whether one of the other villagers frequently played around with unknown women. They talked about the times they had seen him driving home alone, late at night. Someone mentioned how surprised he was to discover that this man was very familiar with many of the restaurants in the city of Hämeenlinna.

The connection of this dancing with drinking trips to distant restaurants is an important one. A young village woman, who had worked as a waitress at an urban restaurant, observed that there the men usually had to drink to get the courage to go ask a woman to dance. In this foreign environment, a reversal of the usual patterns of behavior took place (i.e., the men danced, and alcohol was not, as in the village celebrations, a way of emphasizing male solidarity but a

means of getting up the courage to leave the other men to be with a woman). Getting courage through a bottle is not admired. One war veteran, in fact, scoffed at the war heroics of another village man, who had apparently had to get himself liquored up before his exploits. Restaurants are extremely expensive places in Finland. For people who do not value conspicuous consumption, trips to these restaurants smack of foolish extravagance.

The contrast between the women's talk about dances and the men's is evident. The women were expressing a nostalgia for what they enjoyed when they were young; it was a part of their past, part of growing up. When they danced today, it was often with their children; it was part of being a mother. When the men danced at the restaurant, they were trying to be young and ignoring, or pretending to ignore, their responsibilities and ties in an environment associated with foolish extravagance. The men were expressing their independence, but it was foolish, potentially irresponsible, independence--the independence appropriate to the young not the mature. In a later chapter, it will be argued that this association of men with childhood and immaturity is also one of the major motifs of male group drinking within the village.

The idea that it is the woman who must be the self-controlled and responsible person in male-female relations was also expressed in other ways. For example, several women were concerned about becoming too friendly with a man other than their husband. An elderly widow explained that she didn't dare to visit an elderly widower, who was her nearest neighbor, for fear of starting people talking. In fact, she complained that in the past in the village "marriage was like being imprisoned. It was very horrible if one spoke with another man; any such friendship with a man besides one's husband was impossible in a

small village like this." A middle-aged married woman felt that many of the villagers were critical of her preference for the company of men. Many of her closest friends were men. She explained that she simply found men's conversation much more interesting. This may be partly because she was childless, and women's conversation was often about children.

One situation in which the question of responsibility also emerges in male-female relations is when an unmarried woman has an illegitimate child. One village woman commented that: "If there is an illegitimate child, it's considered bad for the woman but nothing for the man." The woman saw a parallel between attitudes towards illegitimacy and towards drinking alcohol. "A man can get drunk, but if a woman does, her reputation is through." My own observations suggested, however, that this stigma on the mother and the child was not necessarily permanent. A number of villagers were themselves illegitimate or had had illegitimate children. When answering questions on kinship during initial interviews, these people openly, and without embarrassment, mentioned these facts from their lives. In one case, some villagers considered it to be typical of the high-handedness and snobbery of a formerly very prominent village family that they had not recognized their connection to the illegitimate child of one of their male relatives until that child was an adult. It was also considered typical of an elderly male villager, who was an infamous quarrelsome drinker, that when he was younger and had reportedly sired an illegitimate child, he had evaded responsibility for it. In contrast, a village man who married a woman with an illegitimate child was admired for having treated that child just as lovingly as he had the other subsequent children that came from the marriage. The only individual whom I ever personally heard attacked

over the question of illegitimacy was a woman who epitomized most of the personal characteristics that villagers despise. According to one of her in-laws, who claimed to have done some research on the matter in church archives, the woman had an illegitimate child before she came to the village. However, what the in-law found most appalling was that the woman tried to hide this fact; she had not taken responsibility for the child. Instead, she put the child into a foster home, and it was later adopted.

There are a number of possible reasons for this generally tolerant approach to illegitimacy. Having the illegitimate child may have temporarily stigmatized an individual; however, taking responsibility for it and raising it well showed independence (a trait admired by villagers). Furthermore, villagers know each other's personal histories intimately. Having an illegitimate child is only one of many events in a person's life. It is the overall pattern, not one incident, that provides the meaning of another person's life for villagers. Furthermore, part of the egalitarian ethos of villagers is the concept that what matters about individuals is not the particular wealth, property, or position with which they may have been born but the qualities they show in the job or position they eventually occupy. It is not surprising that one illegitimate child, from a nearby nonvillage farm, was admired for the success he achieved in school and for the high place in business that he eventually reached.

Equally important are the traditional patterns of marriage. At the end of the 19th century in Hāme (contrary to the teachings of the church), "Sexual intercourse before marriage was not considered bad; instead, it was considered bad if a pregnancy that resulted from it didn't lead to marriage" (Kortekangas 1967:35). In fact in the Hāme

parish of Jokioinen, a fund had been set up providing money to couples in which the woman was not pregnant at the time of marriage: "There were, however, many years when in the parish there was not any couple that fulfilled this requirement" (Kortekangas 1967:35-36). The clergy laid part of the blame on the fact that at that time the male and female servants slept together in the same room, separate from the masters of the farms (Kortekangas 1967:35).

It was also, however, the case that among the rural population (in opposition to the church's position) for centuries the engagement and posting of the banns were considered to mark the beginning of marriage (Vuorela 1975:612). At least one of the present farm wives was pregnant when she married. Thus the difference between a woman with an illegitimate child and a newly married woman who had followed all the acceptable village norms was not necessarily seen as a contrast between impurity and purity but was probably associated more with foolishness or bad luck.

THE HUSBAND-WIFE RELATIONSHIP

The nicknames discussed in the previous chapter were used in address or reference to a specific person and were unique to that person. There is, nevertheless, one set of nicknames used in address and reference to more than one person. This set includes the terms pomo (boss) and hallitus (government). Several different men used these terms in address to their wives. When the terms were employed, they were clearly meant to be sarcastic. The role of boss and the activity of giving orders are negatively evaluated in the village. The apparent hostility implicit in these nicknames is symptomatic of the relationship that is perhaps more complex and full of conflicts and contradictions than

any other in the village: the husband-wife relationship. Implicit in the forms that structure the interactions between husband and wife can be found some central notions of self. The problematic nature of the differing demands on the individual of those notions are before the villagers daily, in their interactions with their own spouses and in the interactions of other couples that they observe.

Behavior patterns in the village seem to emphasize the personal autonomy and independence of each of the spouses. There is a continuation of the pattern found in courtship. Outside of the home, husband and wife are rarely together. Today, there are no village organizations for adults in which husbands and wives both participate regularly. When people drop by at other villagers' homes, they are seldom accompanied by their spouses. Although birthday parties may be celebrated on a grand scale, wedding anniversaries go by without any public notice. Villagers do not use any terms of endearment to their spouses, at least when someone else is present. In public, couples do not hold hands or put their arms around each other (see question 10, Appendix B).

People also very rarely praised or expressed admiration for their spouses in front of others. A folk saying suggests that: ". . . only a fool praises his old lady." The men will sometimes use the derogatory term muija (old lady), when they are talking about wives among themselves. For example, when the local Farmer's Society was auctioning off an old cement mixer, one of the men asked if the mixer had a motor. Another man called out: "All you need is a strong old lady!" (riski muija).

Husband and wife may arrive together at village celebrations; nevertheless, the men and women quickly form separate groups. One woman explaining her dislike of a village man used as an example of his faults the fact that at a village celebration he had hung around at the edge

of the women's group, listening to their conversation. At village celebrations, when the men leave the women, it is frequently to begin drinking alcohol. The separation while drinking both emphasizes the men's independence from their wives and stresses male solidarity and male distance from women in general. Accordingly, in the village during the group drinking, men rarely tell stories or jokes relating to sex. In the Value Behavior interview, villagers were asked: What happens when men have drunk sahti together in a group? (see question 4, Appendix B). The alternative, "Men begin to flirt with women" was considered by the interviewees to occur infrequently (2.2).

HUSBANDS VERSUS WIVES

A close examination of interactions between married people reveals that what is most characteristic of the behavior of spouses toward each other is competition or rivalry, often expressed through teasing and argument. During interviews or informal discussions, when husbands and wives were both present, the spouses frequently interrupted, contradicted, or ridiculed each other. For example, in a general discussion about the boundaries of a piece of land in the village, a woman began to describe the way boundaries are generally checked by the official surveyors. Her husband put his hands together in prayerful supplication, and, looking up toward heaven, he thanked the Lord for giving them an expert. The woman responded by explaining that she had previously had an opportunity to watch surveyors at work. On a drive home after attending a play about the life of a pastor, a village woman commented that being a pastor was certainly difficult. Her husband quickly snapped back: "How do you know? Were you ever a pastor?" During an interview at one home, the lights suddenly went out. The husband was

sure that it must be the result of a power failure throughout the village. However, he went to check the fuse box. This inspection confirmed his opinion. His wife, nevertheless, ridiculed his opinion; she insisted on taking a flashlight and checking the fuse box herself (the husband was right).

These challenges from one spouse to another were ongoing and reciprocal; the correct response was a counterattack. Competitiveness in the marriage relationship made it obvious that the individual, and not the couple, is the irreducible social unit. People are not expected to submerge their identity into their spouses' at marriage. To do so would weaken the individual's autonomy, a central part of notions of self. Furthermore, the competitiveness involved in the marriage relationship emphasized egalitarianism. To be willing to argue and tease (and open yourself up to counterattack) is by itself an admission that your opponent is worthy and on approximately the same level as yourself.

FARMERS AND THEIR ADULT CHILDREN

Husbands and wives are able to maintain a certain autonomy and equality in a relationship that necessarily requires intimacy mainly through (generally good-natured) teasing and rivalry. The problems arising out of the intimacy of other family and kinship relationships do not appear to have achieved quite so comfortable a resolution. In those relationships, conflicts over the issue of personal independence seem most important--both between generations and between related families. These conflicts sometimes lead to long-term rifts and quarrels.

The most important generational problems discussed in Rasti center around the inheritance of farms. When two generations work and live on

the same farm, conflicts between the inherent dependencies of the situation and the high value placed on independence and autonomy are frequently apparent.

Among farmers, the parents' explanation for wanting at least one of their children to continue in their profession is often stated in terms of kinship. In many ways, a child's decision to become a farmer is a decision to spend his or her life in a world in which kinship and family are central. This decision may bring the satisfaction of being part of a family tradition and feeling strongly identified with a piece of land. There are, however, also negative aspects of being so closely linked with a family tradition. Village farmers know that some of their predecessors in the family had their faults, and the costs of their errors or failures may still be felt and/or borne by later generations on the farm. For example, one farmer often lamented his father's late second marriage. It had added to the number of heirs that had to be recompensed when the man took the farm over from his father. This farmer and his wife also felt bitter about having been forced to sell a major part of their farm. This happened soon after the present owner had taken over from his father. Although they did not mention why the sale was necessary, other villagers pointed out that the present owner had taken over a farm in financial difficulties, which were due, in part, to the father's poor farming practices.

The decision to remain on the farm also means that even as an adult, and in a profession that emphasizes personal independence and autonomy, an individual may have to spend years in which the dependent and subordinate status of being a son or daughter is central in the experience of daily life. Normally, village farmers expect to keep control of their farm until they have reached a retirement age normal

for other professions (60 or 65) or until a serious physical ailment permanently disables them. Moreover, although villagers generally disapproved, there were several farmers who had kept control of their farms well past normal retirement age and/or despite the fact that they were physically incapable of making major contributions to the running of the farm. During the period when they are actively engaged in farming, but do not own the farm, the children of farmers are ultimately under their parents' command and supervision. Often these young people have not received a regular salary; instead, they have had to ask their parents for money when they needed it. This has sometimes meant that younger children of a farm family have inherited the farm; the older siblings were simply not willing to remain on the farm under these conditions. They preferred to seek independence in other jobs, usually outside the village.

Marriage is not necessarily linked to the transfer of the farm to the younger generations. Of the present owners of farms, only one received the farm at approximately the same time as when he married. The number of present-day village farm owners who received their farms several years after marriage is about twice as large as the number who received their farms several years before marriage. In any case, for the person who wants to become a farmer, the decision to marry may involve troubling implications about personal autonomy and independence, both for himself and for his parents. Although arranged marriage has not been a custom in the village for several generations, the parents of a farm owner or prospective farm owner are vitally concerned about their child's choice of spouse. First and foremost, it is generally important to the parents that their children marry and in turn have children, who can then continue the family's connection to the farm.

At the time of fieldwork, the owner of one large village farm and the prospective owner of another were still bachelors, although they were in their 30s. This state of affairs seemed to be a continuing focus of concern for both the particular families involved and for the village as a whole. The subject of their marital prospects came up in numerous conversations, and often the perspective adopted was that of the parents. The choice of spouse was also of concern to the parents because it affected the entire way the farm would be run in the future. In recent generations, farmers have sometimes married people who were not from farm owning families. However, typically these people had worked on farms before (e.g., as servants), or they began to participate in farming activities as soon as they married. Today, as noted in Chapter IV, several village farmers have married people who have not actively involved themselves in farming but instead have continued to practice their former professions. This has meant that the farms involved have had to eventually develop a farming speciality that could be handled by one worker for the most part. Even if people marrying into farm families are interested in farming, it is still very possible that they will not wish to practice dairy farming, which is still the mainstay of some village farms. Uncertainty about this has an important impact upon the farmers long before their children are married.

From the perspective of young people, the decision to become a farmer is potentially a limiting factor in their choice of marriage partners. Marriage to farmers is not appealing to many simply because it involves commitment to an entire life-style that is rapidly losing its prestige. Even when spouses are not going to involve themselves in the actual farming, they cannot help but be strongly

affected by the rhythm of agricultural life. Of even greater importance in terms of life-style is the fact that marriage to a farmer, or prospective farmer, means that the newly married couple is not likely to set up its own independent household. The younger couple normally lives in the same house as the parents. Even if the two couples have separate houses, most of the domestic activities are performed together. Meals are normally eaten together, and the different generations go to their separate rooms or houses only at bedtime.

This arrangement has typically produced a good deal of friction between the generations. Many horror stories are told about the relations between mothers-in-law and daughters-in-law. In most cases, if the narrator was relating her own experience as a young daughter-in-law, she seemed to still feel the pain and anguish, even when the events took place decades ago. One farm wife, who had frequently heard mothers-in-law sharply criticizing their daughters-in-law behind their backs, could recall only one farm where the relations between daughter-in-law and mother-in-law hadn't been strained.

At the same time, the relations between fathers and sons often seemed tense. At one local political meeting, for example, discussion focused on the economics of dairy farming versus the economics of speciality farming (e.g., raising carrots). One of the younger farm owners suggested to a young married man (whose father had not yet given up the farm, although the younger couple did most of the work) that their farm should sell off their cattle. The young man replied, in a bitter tone, that they weren't his cattle. In another farm family, the adult son and his father seemed unable to interact with each other for more than a few minutes without irritating each other. The son spent as much of his time away from his home as was possible.

In some instances, the friction between the two generations was intensified because the younger couple (or several children) had worked on the farm for several years; however, the older couple still threatened to sell the farm to another child, or they would not commit themselves totally on the question. When a woman who had stayed on her parents' farm, and still didn't know who would eventually get the farm, was asked whether she would like at least one of her children to practice her profession, she replied that she would rather the child go to school. It was easier. She hadn't received anything from farming.

There were many different ways in which friction between generations had emerged over the question of the transfer of the farm. One village couple received the ownership of the farm from the husband's parents; however, the parents had apparently arranged matters so that they (the parents) legally retained decision making powers in many central areas of farm life. Although villagers were critical of the older couple for their high-handedness, they also ridiculed the younger couple for their subservience. In another case, for various financial reasons, a farmer had retired early. Although he had officially transferred the farm to his son, the older man had, however, expected to keep for himself the actual control over the farm's daily activities. The father's attempts to assert his authority (which he had not had legally confirmed) led to a serious estrangement between the farmer and his son.

Sometimes the friction over the transfer of the farm included antagonisms among siblings, as well as between generations. Grievances rose over how children who did not take the farm were to be recompensed for their share of the inheritance. In several cases, the problem had developed because the parents had insisted that the children who were not becoming farmers should receive a parcel of forest land instead of, or

in addition to, a sum of money. This was resented by the siblings taking the farm; such losses of land were essentially irreplaceable. In one case, a farm wife sharply criticized a retired farm couple who had insisted that all their children get a piece of land from the farm as a memento of their home. The critic argued that, in her opinion, these other children had already received their inheritance; their parents had paid for their costly educations.

Today, there is a common additional source of potential friction between the generations in the transfer of the farms. It is becoming increasingly possible that no child of a farm will wish to take over the farm. Today, there are two farms in the village in which the only child is a teenage daughter. In neither case, apparently, is the child particularly interested in farming. In one of these families, the daughter frequently teased her father about her intentions, cautioning him not to expect her to necessarily stay on the farm. In the initial interview with this woman's father, I asked him whether he wanted his daughter to be a farmer. He answered that he didn't particularly care. However, although the man is not even close to retirement age, in the course of many subsequent interactions with him, it became clear that he was periodically seriously preoccupied with this problem. On another village farm, where the present owners are approaching retirement age, there is a strong possibility that none of the children of the farm (all of whom have their own professions) will be interested in becoming farmers.

In these situations, the dependence of the older couple upon the interests and intentions of their children is graphically clear. If the children of a farm refuse to become farmers, the parents may have to sell the farm to nonrelatives. This represents a serious blow to an important source of the farmers' pride. It also has immediate and practical

negative consequences for the farmers. It means that they will not be able to spend their old age in the place that had probably been the only home one of the spouses had ever known. These real and potential intergenerational conflicts on farms are of interest to others besides the particular families involved. They rivet the attention of villagers--farmers and nonfarmers alike. They are central dramas of village life, because even nonfarmers recognize that the farms are the center of village life.

Although the divisive tensions in the farm family have been emphasized, there are also a number of ways in which the farm families typically display some of the important positive consequences of interdependence. Even after they have retired, the older couple on the farm often plays a central role in its operations. They provide a crucial work force for the farming operations requiring a good deal of hand labor (e.g., the hay harvesting for dairy farms, weeding for sugar beets, cleaning and packaging for vegetables). Above all, they play an important role in taking care of young children. This is particularly crucial because children do not begin school until they are seven years old, and in the village there are virtually no other alternatives for child care.

NONFARMERS AND THEIR ADULT CHILDREN

Relationships with their adult children seemed to provide nonfarmers with a very different meaning in their lives. Few of the nonfarmers' adult children lived in the village; nevertheless, among nonfarmers, the accomplishments and activities of these adult children, and the grandchildren, were frequent topics of conversation. Adult children were also often guests at their parents' houses, and parents

often visited them. One nonfarmer, for example, suggested that the weekends would not be a good time to do an interview because almost inevitably at least one of his daughters would be at his home with her family. This did not seem unusual. Particularly during the spring and summer, nonfarmers' yards were often full of their visiting relatives' cars.

It was particularly significant that an elderly cottager, who lived alone and often stressed that she never borrowed from other villagers, also emphasized that she would not remain living in the village if her daughter and son-in-law did not visit her so often. If she shunned any expression of dependence on other villagers, she bragged about how much she relied upon her children. It was clear that the elderly nonfarmers did often depend upon their adult children. For example, one elderly man stayed in his son's house in a nearby commune when he had suffered an attack of flu. A woman, who worked and lived near Helsinki, chopped wood for her parents when she came to visit them in Rasti; two sons-in-law, who lived in Hämeenlinna, gathered wood from the forest for their mother-in-law. The dependence was not merely in these practical matters; it was also social. Several nonfarming families, who seldom socialized with other villagers, seemed to find an alternative community in their family, through telephone calls and/or weekend visits.

The nonfarmers, however, emphasized both what their children did for them and what they were still able to do for their children. For example, their cottages in the country offered their urban children and grandchildren a vacation place. The cottages' gardens supplied urban relatives with potatoes and other important vegetables. Grandparents often took care of their grandchildren for several days at a time.

Although the grandparents enjoyed this, it was also clear that they were giving their children a chance for some time by themselves. In some cases, grandparents in fact raised grandchildren for several years.

The nonfarmers' pride in their dependence on their adult children, as opposed to their distaste for expressing dependence or reliance on other villagers, can be explained in several ways. First, they attempted to reciprocate in some way. Second, mutual dependence in the family can be thought of as a new luxury item for the nonfarmers. When the present elderly generation of nonfarming villagers was young, work life frequently began at age 15. Although the farmers' children also began work early, they were at home. The nonfarmers' children typically had to leave their family to work as maids or farmhands. They lived on the farm that employed them, sometimes at a considerable distance from their home village. As the children of the nonfarmers had to leave home early, their parents often found themselves isolated from their children when they grew old, and in that case, their parents were dependent upon the village farmers in case of trouble.

It was clearly a source of pride to today's nonfarmers that their children had not had to begin work as young as they had; their children had not had to leave home to be servants. Furthermore, the nonfarmers were extremely proud that the homes they had provided for their children were far superior to the small shacks in which many of them had grown up. Nonfarmers enjoyed the fact that their homes were places where the family could periodically come together for celebrations; the homes they had built were still the focus of the family. Finally, if they needed help, many nonfarmers knew they could count on their children, instead of having to depend solely on other villagers.

Another major aspect of the nonfarmer's relationships with his adult children is that they are voluntary. A nonfarmer's children choose to spend their valuable free time with their parents. This is in contrast to the farmer's closest relationships with his children; those are pervaded by concerns about property and authority.

Although elderly nonfarmers emphasize their independence and try to avoid reliance on other villagers, the other villagers do in fact try to help them when they can (see Chapter IV). Villagers who are sensitive to the feelings of these elderly people recognize that they must take the initiative in offering assistance. The elderly are adverse to asking for it. One elderly villager, who lives by herself, compared two families who were her relatives. The members of the family she appreciated would come to her and ask if she wanted to go with them to the city, or they would clean her drive of snow without her having to request it. The other family, whom she characterized as selfish, always had to be asked. She didn't like to do that.

KINSHIP AND THE VILLAGE

Until now, kinship has been examined primarily from the perspective of the parent-child relationship. There are, however, also kinship ties linking various village families. Earlier it was noted that a village teacher recalled that when she first arrived in Rasti, in the 1950s, the head teacher advised her not to get into a quarrel with anyone. He warned her that everybody in the village was related to one another. It was significant that when this teacher recalled this advice, her husband--who was born and raised in this village--pointed out that relatives can also be in great quarrels with each other. Both the

advice the teacher received when she first came to Rasti and the husband's comment on it appear to have a good deal of truth in them.

On the one hand, though all villagers are not related to one another, Chapter IV indicated that a sizable proportion of village families do have relatives in Rasti. On the other hand, there were a number of related families where relations were very strained. For example, one man (now deceased) had spent most of his life working on the farm that his older brother had inherited. When the man married, his brother had given him a plot of land to build a home near the farm. After the brother who owned the farm had died, this other brother apparently quarreled with his brother's heir and left the employ of the farm. Although the man's widow lives very close to the farm, she had not visited it for the last year. When the village catechetical meeting was held at the farm, the widow pointedly went on a trip to a nearby city. The widow expressed the feeling that the only reason her husband had been given the land for their home was to secure a source of cheap labor.

Two nonfarming families, who were close neighbors, had not visited each other in years. The quarrel had begun over an inheritance from a mutual relative. Two farm families were closely related and were not openly quarreling; however, one of the families had recently done a number of things clearly aimed at aggravating the other, and a quarrel had only narrowly been avoided. The members of the latter family were constantly finding things to criticize in the former family--from the way they made sahti, to their farming techniques, to their politics. There was a bitterness in these criticisms that went far beyond what was normally present in village gossip.

The significance of kinship ties among villagers comes from the

villagers' recognition of both the positive and the negative potentials in them. Kinship is a potential source of cohesion; however, it is also a potential source of division. In any particular case, the quality of the kinship tie is not predictable in advance. Only a knowledge of the particular families involved and the history of their relationship are an adequate basis for such judgments. In kinship, as in regard to most other relationships, villagers recognize that although there may be certain ideals, personal characteristics and preferences are crucial variables in deciding whether those ideals will be met (see questions 2 and 24, Appendix B).

Finally, for both farming and nonfarming villagers, kinship ties were a key link with the world outside the village. The people whom villagers visited in the church village were generally relatives. When villagers had been to a celebration in one of the other rural villages of the commune, almost inevitably relatives were involved. Also important were the kinship ties to urban areas. For example, when two young villagers began their studies in Helsinki in 1975, one of them lived with an aunt, and the second lived in a small apartment only a few minutes from one of his aunts. In turn, urban relatives visit villagers, especially during the summer, in order to have a day or two in the country and enjoy an old-fashioned sauna. It is through interactions with relatives that villagers get their closest contact with urban perspectives on the countryside and rural living and, in turn, learn about urban life.

FRIENDSHIP: IDEAL VERSUS REALITY

Villagers' ideas about friendship and its meaning are closely tied to their definition of community. In the discussion of forms of address,

it was argued that there is a tension between friendship (solidarity) and distance (autonomy). Other aspects of the relationships between neighbors and friends will be discussed in the analyses of hospitality and male group drinking. In this section, these relationships will be discussed mainly in terms of the problems of balancing dependence-- independence and privacy and community.

One of the striking things about Rasti is the degree to which friendship is a culturally loaded term and very difficult for people to discuss. Getting people to answer a question on the percentage of their friends living in the village, as opposed to elsewhere in the commune and outside of the commune, was one of the most difficult tasks during the interviews. A number of people answered that they had no friends (i.e., they had only nodding acquaintances).

Villagers seemed to associate the formation of friendships with childhood. The Value Behavior Study included the question: On what basis do you become close friends? Interviewees rated "Being together during childhood and youth" as both the most frequent basis for friendship among villagers (4.05) and the best basis for friendship (4.15) (see question 21, Appendix B).

The interviewees were also asked about the following situation: "When talking about the forming of friendships, there were two different opinions: 1) As an adult, you can form just as good friendships as you can as a child or in school; 2) As an adult, you can never form as close friendships as you do in childhood or in school." The latter alternative was rated as a more frequent opinion in the village (3.4 to 3.0) but even more strongly as a more valuable opinion (3.8 to 2.4) (see question 25, Appendix B).

In discussing the reason why childhood should be the age for forming

close friendships, one of the villagers commented that children hadn't learned to distrust others and to hide their feelings. To a number of villagers, trust and openness seemed to be the key to an ideal friendship. When asked what they meant by the term friend, villagers frequently defined it as a person to whom you could speak openly and not expect that what you said would be spread throughout the village. They often implied, however, that they had been disillusioned about the possibility of having such a friendship. One village man, when he heard his wife define a friend that way, commented that in this village that type of relationship was impossible. The skepticism seemed to be reflected in the responses to the Value Behavior Study. As noted above, interviewees were asked: "On what basis do you become close friends?" "You can trust the other will keep secrets" was not rated as being a particularly frequent basis in the village (3.4), but it was rated as a highly valued factor (4.0). This evaluation was, in fact, the second highest given in this question.

This definition of friendship and its high valuation by interviewees as a basis of friendship are particularly interesting because they run against the grain of village social life. Interest in other villagers' lives was a consuming concern in Rasti; an individual could normally expect that anything he said or did might eventually become a story to be told for a long time afterwards. In fact, after I had been in the village only a few months, it was striking how willing, and even eager, villagers were to talk about the worries, concerns, and troubles of their fellow villagers and close friends. Perhaps symptomatic of the publicness of life was that one day when I was discussing illegitimacy with a farm wife, she told me that one of her husband's most traumatic experiences had been when, as a youth, he had found the remains of a recently killed

newborn illegitimate child. It was apparently the child of one of the farm's servants. The farm wife emphasized that her husband had kept this very secret. Several days later, however, when I was doing an interview with a neighbor of this farm family, she spontaneously told me the same story.

If trust in the ideal friendship seems potentially foolish or dangerous to villagers, it is not surprising that the formation of close friendships is associated with the naiveté of childhood. It is also significant that the few times people spontaneously discussed friendship with me, it was to indicate the danger of being too naive and idealistic about it. For example, one woman was lauding her brother-in-law for his great honesty and integrity. She recalled that before the Finno-Soviet war, he had promised to give a small island that he owned to an in-law, who was one of his close friends. The island was near another island her brother-in-law owned and used as a fishing camp. Though the in-law died in the wars, the villager kept his promise and gave the island to the man's daughter. The major moral of the story, however, was that the villager was almost betrayed. The daughter's husband nearly sold the island to strangers. Several people also voiced their disdain for those who were foolish enough to put their names on guarantees of loans for friends.

FRIENDSHIP, COMPETITION, AND EQUALITY

Although friendships of the ideal type described above seemed rare, people do have friends. It is significant that the behavior between friends was often similar to the public interactions between spouses. Friends often seemed to be highly competitive with each other, and teasing was frequently a part of their interactions. When people discussed

their friends, they were often very critical. As one rarely heard spouses praise each other, one seldom heard someone praise a friend. Of course, one characteristic of this way of expressing friendship is that the danger always exists of the individual going too far in the competitiveness and criticism. The friendly relationship may be transformed into an antagonistic one. This is a greater danger in friendship than in the husband-wife relationship. There is no practical interdependence between friends forcing them to stay together. In any case, self-control--knowing the limits to competition and not being too quick to take offense--is an essential skill needed to maintain friendships in the village.¹

Another element to friendship in the village is that it is clearly egalitarian. This is implicit in the competitive and agonistic nature of the friendship relationship, as it is in the relationship between spouses. Also, as noted earlier, "Being together during childhood and youth" was considered by interviewees as being the most frequent and valuable basis for becoming close friends. The youth of the village have always been an egalitarian group--with the children of all the various social groups playing together. In contrast, the basis for friendship that interviewees rated as having the second lowest frequency in the village (2.8) and evaluated as being the worst (2.0) was "A similar degree of wealth." Also, a similar political outlook was not considered to be either a frequent basis for friendship (3.2) or a particularly good basis for friendship (2.9) (see question 21, Appendix B).

In fact, some of the closest friendships in the village crossed both economic and political boundaries. For example, a retired carpenter, who was a former leader of the village chapter of the Social Democratic

party, was a close friend of another villager who was a farmer and a member of a bourgeois party. The owner of one of the village's largest farms was intimate with the owner of one of the village's smallest farms. The mistress and adult daughter of a prosperous village farm were very close to the family of an invalid nonfarmer.

There is one historically unique circumstance that produced a special category of friends for the present generation of middle-aged and elderly males. This is made up of brothers-in-arms (men who served together for several years during the wars against the Soviet Union). In one interview, a village farmer made the point four separate times that his brothers-in-arms were his close friends. Another village farmer's closest friend was a man from a neighboring commune with whom he had served during the wars. Because many of the Rasti men served in units that included local men, these ties still have significance in the life of the commune. In fact, the entire war experience is still very much part of the daily life of villagers, as stories about the wars continue to be told frequently.

CONFLICT: MISUNDERSTANDING NOTIONS OF SELF

The previous sections of this chapter have argued that an important element of villagers' intimate relationships is the ever present potential for conflict and antagonism. These relationships are often expressed in the idiom of competition; there is always the danger of competition losing its integrating functions and instead becoming divisive.

The following sections focus upon forms of behavior villagers clearly consider reprehensible. The examples will be primarily drawn from the lives of a small group of people whom villagers generally find irritating. One of these people was, in fact, so bothersome that in

response to a question on the standard interview, two villagers independently named that person as the only negative aspect of life in the village. It is generally in stories about these few people that villagers verbally communicate to each other about problems of conflict and antagonism. When these individuals are central characters in a story, it almost inevitably involves conflict, and stories about these people form a disproportionately large part of the typical villager's repertoire of stories.

One of the most central characteristics of these negatively evaluated people is that they quarrel constantly with their neighbors and with other villagers in general. Disagreements and antagonisms are not unusual in Rasti; there are many potential sources of conflict and tension within the village. These negatively evaluated villagers, however, display an unusual willingness to begin quarrels; they almost seek them out. They also approach problems that are potential sources of conflict with unusual directness and openness. In contrast to most villagers, they are often willing to go to outside authorities to complain about villagers who have offended them in some way.

In the Value Behavior study, a number of questions were included to try to measure what villagers perceived to be the typical ways other villagers handled disputes and quarrels. For example, the following situation was described: "Each of six individuals was angered by something another villager had done." A series of alternative ways in which the individual might have responded was presented (see question three, Appendix B). The two alternative responses in which the quarrel was expressed most openly and directly were among the three rated lowest in overall frequency. These were: "The person went immediately to clear up the matter and express his opinion", and the individual "hasn't

gone to clear up the matter or expressed his opinion; he has ignored the person when he has met him." The negatively evaluated people often expressed their grievances in ways that were even more open and direct than any of the alternatives offered in the Value Behavior study. They also usually showed at least as much interest in simply venting their anger as in "clearing up the matter." For example, one man began to plant trees in locations where they would eventually block a pretty view for several families. While most of those affected discussed this issue among themselves and with their friends, one of the negatively evaluated villagers immediately came out and screamed and yelled at the person planting the trees (who was not the owner of the land but a hired worker). The worker's response was typical of most villages' responses to these types of uncomfortable situations. The worker turned the unpleasant incident into a funny story. He commented to those listening to him that "The second day of planting trees wasn't as bad as the first. [The angry villager] only came to yell at me two times before 9:00 in the morning!"

The alternative in the Value Behavior question under discussion that the interviewees rated as most frequent in the village was: "The individual didn't go to clear up the matter; he didn't express his opinion to him, and he had behaved normally towards that person, but he has spoken to other villagers about the matter." My observations suggest that this rating was accurate. The open and direct pursuit of quarrels was avoided, but complaints and grievances were often expressed to friends, and they were not forgotten. The villagers kept up outwardly cordial relations with people against whom they held a surprisingly large number of grievances. For example, two village families constantly interacted with each other, dropping in on each other and inviting each

other to important celebrations. However, one of the families held grudges against the other family that stretched back for decades.

It was common to hear someone telling a story describing something irritating that a neighbor or other villager had done. But when I asked the person telling the story what they had done about the situation, they often replied that they had not done anything. They didn't want to "start quarrels with neighbors." For example, a farmer and a cottager each independently described to me the genesis of a lake draining project that had been carried out by a few villagers. The farmer and the cottager felt strongly that, though the project may have provided a few benefits, it had mostly been a way to get a hold of some government money. More importantly, it had turned a beautiful little lake into a mud puddle. When I asked them each why they hadn't protested, since each owned land that was directly affected by the project, each answered: "I don't want to start quarrels with neighbors."

One way in which quarrels can start is for someone to be very sensitive to insults. A common characteristic of the negatively evaluated people was their high sensitivity to insults directed toward them and their lack of concern about insulting others. The negatively evaluated people were able to discover an insult in virtually any of their neighbors' remarks and actions, and they were always ready to respond. One of these people, for example, recalled how a neighbor had asked her if she wasn't feeling well, as she seemed to have a little limp. At this the woman reported that she got literally hopping mad. She jumped up and down to show that she had no pain and told the neighbor: "If someone has better legs than I do, it is amazing!" This woman followed up her demonstration by beginning to snub her neighbor's greetings when they met on the village road. She told me that her

neighbor eventually came to talk to her nicely. She felt that this story showed that: "You have to be tough; you can't let people push you around!" This story was typical of the woman. Every visit to her house triggered off a description of a long list of insults she had suffered and of the ways she had actively avenged them. Conversely, villagers could recall numerous occasions when this woman had said very insulting things to others. By perceiving insults everywhere, by reacting directly to them, and by frequently making clearly insulting comments to others, she had isolated herself almost completely from the rest of the village.

The norm for reactions to insults was very evident in the results of the Value Behavior study. The interviewees were asked: "How do you answer an insult?" The response that the interviewees considered to be most frequent in the village was: "You take a light attitude toward the insult, even laugh about it." The two most active approaches: "You answer an insult with an insult", and "You threaten and be ready to attack if the other doesn't take back his word" received the lowest frequency ratings (see question 12, Appendix B). My observations suggest that the villagers' frequency ratings were accurate.

In their readiness to quarrel and in their ability to sense insults in almost any action, these negatively evaluated villagers violate one of the most central characteristics of village notions of self, the importance of self-control, and particularly control over emotion (see question 16, Appendix B). The description, earlier in this chapter, of male-female and husband-wife relationships emphasized that both courting couples and married couples do not normally display their affection for each other in public. In Chapter VII, it will be suggested that some of the major rituals of village life (e.g., funerals and male group

drinking) emphasize control over emotions in general and serve as training grounds for strengthening this skill.

This heavy emphasis on control over emotion is evident in the frequency with which villagers use terms like poise (tasapaino) to describe people they admire. One villager expressed his respect for the man who had been the central figure in communal politics for the last several decades in the following way: "He is placid. No matter what is going on, he is calm and even on the outside." The man who made these comments eventually took over the political position of the man he had admired. He also displayed the traits he admired. For example, during a session of male group drinking in the village, he found himself being attacked by several people, both because of his political affiliation and because of his association with one of the commune's banks. Throughout this attack, he retained an unruffled exterior. On another occasion, I saw him try to complete a small building project. He met with a continuous series of failures; however, he never expressed anger or frustration, either in words or in facial expression.

In his laudatory comment on the older political leader, the villager emphasized that the man he admired was "calm and even on the outside." Villagers recognize that a calm exterior does not necessarily imply an absence of strong emotions. Self-control requires strength precisely because people do have strong feelings. There are many villagers with firm opinions on numerous subjects; the clash of opinions is a favorite form of entertainment among villagers. It is in fact the ability of villagers to control their emotions that allows a diverse group of people to interact with each other. The control of emotions is the guarantee that individual differences can be cultivated and tolerated. In fact,

it explains, in part, why, despite the aggravation that the negatively evaluated people cause their fellow villagers, villagers are usually extraordinarily tolerant of them. As one villager pointed out, "There always has to be a few of that type in every village." The display of self-control also emphasizes personal independence. An individual's ability to display an unruffled exterior, even under trying circumstances, suggests that the individual does not automatically respond or react to others or to his environment. In this way, the person demonstrates that he cannot be easily manipulated by others.

Finally, self-control is valued because it means that even if everything else about a villager's life is known and constantly observed, the inner world of emotions and feelings remains private.² Several villagers, however, expressed the opinion that the existence of a gap between inner feelings and their outward expression had its costs. For example, when drinking with village men in a restaurant, I got into a discussion about emotions with several younger men. They expressed their strong resentment over the pressure put on them as children not to show emotion--especially not to cry.

It is interesting that the interviewees in the Value Behavior study did not particularly approve the typical villager's unwillingness to directly approach someone whose behavior has angered him in some way. The indirect alternative response to this situation was: "The individual didn't go to clear up the matter; he didn't express his opinion to him, and he had behaved normally toward that person, but he has spoken to other villagers about the matter." This may have been rated as the most frequent response in the village (a judgment in agreement with my observations), but its evaluation rating was significantly lower than its frequency rating. The alternative which was the most direct response

to the situation was: "The person went immediately to clear up the matter and express his opinion." It was rated among the more infrequent responses; however, it received an evaluation rating that was significantly higher than its frequency rating (see question three, Appendix B).

Perhaps the reason for this higher evaluation was similar to the possible explanation of the higher evaluation of being able to "trust the other will keep secrets" as a basis for becoming close friends. These are ideals, but villagers perceive them as unrealistic and dangerous. In the present case, there may be the recognition that if the individual goes to "clear up the matter" that has angered him, he is likely to find himself in a serious argument, and a lasting estrangement may result. If this approach to quarrels is to work, it would require that both sides of the dispute appreciate the benefits of openness, and villagers know that in practice this is unlikely. Equally important, this gap between the value the villagers place on a direct approach and the very limited extent to which villagers generally use it reminds the villagers of the degree to which their personal independence and autonomy are limited by life in a community.

The typical reason a villager gives for not directly approaching another villager who has done something that angered him is that he doesn't want to start a quarrel with neighbors. It does not pay to risk such a quarrel because it could make life less pleasant and would mean that there is one less place to turn to if you need to borrow a tool or seek help. It has been suggested that many of the relationships in which quarrels are most likely to arise involve the very people the individual is most likely to turn to in case of need. This may be the reason that villagers are so fascinated by the negatively evaluated people. Their directness violates some aspects of the generally followed norms; however,

in their total disregard for what other people may think or how they will react and in their willingness to alienate others they are also acting out an extreme version of the central village value of personal autonomy and independence. The villagers' constant talk about these negatively evaluated people may act as a boundary maintaining device, constantly communicating what can happen if personal autonomy and independence are asserted to the exclusion of the consideration of the benefits of community.

Through their insensitivity to others' needs and feelings and through their quarrelsomeness, these negatively evaluated people dramatize the threat to the individual of being too exclusively concerned with personal autonomy and independence. Moreover, they present direct threats to the autonomy and independence of their fellow villagers. In particular, a final characteristic of these negatively evaluated villagers is their willingness, indeed their seeming pleasure, in drawing outside officials into villagers' affairs.

CONFLICT: VILLAGERS AND OUTSIDE AUTHORITIES

Because villagers know so much about each other, they are aware of things that their neighbors do that border on the illegal or actually are illegal (e.g., the construction of buildings without permits, making unreported income, etc.). Certainly villagers discuss these matters among themselves, but because there are no government officials in Rasti, it is unlikely that these infractions would ever come to the attention of the authorities. Even when mentioning potentially dangerous infractions, villagers will typically respond to the suggestion that they bring the matter to the attention of officials with the remark: "Here we don't carry tales!" This was how one villager replied when a young man, she and several other villagers knew was driving a motorcycle too fast

(and they suspected, without a license), eventually killed someone in an accident. She felt the death was tragic but expressed no remorse at not having taken action before.

The negatively evaluated villagers will, however, inform officials about infractions as a way of getting back at people they have quarreled with. One of the negatively evaluated people, for example, called the police when a neighbor had his dog off the leash and also contacted commune officials claiming that another neighbor was using a stream to wash clothing. In both cases, the negatively evaluated person had previously quarreled with the person on whom she informed.

The negatively evaluated people were also willing to take disputes to outside officials for resolution when they had not been able to settle them with fellow villagers. For example, as one of the major roads leaves Rasti, it takes a very sharp turn. A villager felt this curve should be eliminated; however, this would have meant building the new road through the center of some small cottages and a village farm's prime forest land. The people affected had opposed his suggestion. Instead of dropping the matter, as most villagers would have done at this point, since it was not vital, this negatively evaluated person had subsequently turned to various government officials, pushing them for years to force these villagers to sell the part of their land where the road would go. In this way, he was directly attacking central aspects of other villagers' notions of self. On the one hand, the cottagers feel that having their own homes is a central achievement of independence in their lives; to threaten those homes in any way strikes at the core of their being. On the other hand, the farmers' freedom to do what they wish with their land is a major positive aspect of their profession.

By dragging in government officials--especially when a vital matter

is not involved--the negatively evaluated villagers are to a great extent taking an issue out of local control and often putting it into the hands of strangers, who are unknown and in many ways unpredictable. It is significant that most stories about villagers' relationships with government officials emphasize the villagers' need to defend themselves against outside officials trying to impose unreasonable demands upon them. For example, one story told of a communal official making an unfair decision on whether a village farmer could sell part of his land as lots for summer cottages. The story suggested that the official had ulterior motives for his decision. The farmer appealed the decision and won. Another villager emphasized the foolishness of the local tax officials; she explained that she had to educate them about the nature of farming to avoid being taxed into the ground.

Historical events may have, at least for the farmers, intensified this distaste for carrying tales to outside officials. During the wars (and for several years afterwards), there was a food rationing system. This meant that government officials kept a close watch on farms to make sure they were not selling any of their products on the blackmarket or keeping too much for themselves. Obviously, people whose professional notion of self emphasizes personal independence and autonomy must have found this a strain; however, it was understandable to them. What village farmers especially disliked was that accusations about violations were apparently rife, and several villagers went to government officials with complaints about farmers.

CONFLICT: CLAIMING SUPERIORITY

Another type of behavior, regularly displayed by negatively evaluated villagers, that frequently generates conflict is bossiness--trying to

order other people around. When asked why they like their present profession, and what they would like in an ideal job, both farmers and nonfarmers generally considered freedom from being bossed to be an important factor. They also expressed an aversion to bossing others. In contrast, one of the negatively evaluated people had a little enterprise that could have been profitable; however, one villager commented, this person insisted on having people around to boss and to curse at--which was not good business. Because of her approach, villagers were often unwilling to work for her, and she had to hire her laborers through a state employment agency.

Villagers will level this type of criticism at people from all strata of the village. The late head of what was once the village's largest farm was, for instance, still being criticized for not trusting smaller farmers. In several cooperative ventures, he insisted on making all the important decisions himself. Some angrily recalled his supercilious comment: "Do what father tells you."

An aversion to bossiness is apparent in village organizations. For example, the village elementary schoolteacher who leads the Youth Society is an extraordinary person--a fine athlete, an excellent actor, an outstanding fisherman, and very bright. He is full of ideas and energy; nevertheless, when he is running a meeting of the society, or any of its events, his suggestions are made in an offhand manner; he never tries to force his ideas upon others. For example, when the group was beginning the rehearsal of a play, the teacher offered very detailed and clever suggestions to the cast as to how to act their various roles. None of them did more than about a tenth of what he suggested, but he showed no impatience or irritation.

This same approach was typical of adult organizational meetings

in Rasti and in the church village. Chairmen did not attempt to run meetings on a tight program. Speakers were, for example, allowed to continue on as long as they wanted (see question 13, Appendix B).

A number of women said they did not participate in the Missionary Sewing Society partly because one of the central figures in that group is known for her domineering personality. This woman frequently expressed her religious views at length, and she disliked opposition. Her implicit claims to moral and religious superiority made some others feel uncomfortable. As one villager put it: "She thinks she is better than the rest of us sinful people--being nearer to the Kingdom of God."

This distaste for individual claims of moral superiority or charges of moral inferiority can be seen earlier in the century in Häme: "In many parish reports, the complaint was made that those who were dying hadn't any 'real sense of sinfulness.' They certainly granted themselves to be generally sinful, but didn't want to confess 'to be worse than others', didn't confess to separate personal sins" (Kortekangas 1967:71). This attitude could be seen in Rasti when a man defended his son, who was being criticized for drinking heavily. The father replied: "He wasn't any worse than many others."

Villagers are generally quite sensitive to claims to superiority, high status, or the right to boss others around. One villager had an unlisted telephone number, which some people thought was an expression of her sense of superiority to others. As one husband and wife put it: "Usually people who are self-satisfied or conceited think they are so important that they need such a number." This claim to superiority is seen as asocial. An unlisted telephone number is not an invitation or a challenge to competition but a statement of separation. Similarly, because the men of one of the larger farms of the village refused to play

an active role in communal politics, they were criticized for being stuck-up.

Conversely, there is a positive valuation of people whose claims to social superiority are generally accepted but nonetheless avoid acting haughtily. These admired people behave in a folksy way and show themselves to be well-disposed to the "common people". For example, one cottager remembered with admiration how the educated son of one of the village's largest farms came to personally invite her--as a former servant of his family--to his father's funeral. Another cottager family described the person from whom they rent their house (a major figure in the commune) as a kansanmies, or man of the people, since he had basically let them do as they wish and had even invited them to coffee.

CONFLICT: MISUNDERSTANDING COMPETITION

Why do the negatively evaluated people seem to seek conflict rather than avoid it, as other villagers do? Perhaps the negatively evaluated villagers' agonistic behavior and quarrelsomeness can be better understood when they are seen as misunderstandings of a pervasive village norm--competition. Competitiveness, argumentativeness, and playful teasing are probably the most pervasive characteristics of social life in Rasti, and the dynamics of village social life can only be understood in these terms. People who become insulted easily, quarrel openly, and act in a bossy manner are perhaps trying to play these agonistic games, without really understanding (or perhaps without accepting) the rules others are following. In particular, negatively evaluated people misunderstand two kinds of agonistic play. They see the obvious competition in sports and between friends as the assertion of permanent superiority or hierarchy; whereas in reality, these are challenges to equals.

They also consistently mistake the line between being playfully teased by others and having grounds for feeling seriously insulted. They see teasing and arguments between friends not as play but as situations in which they must show they can't be pushed around or from which they must gain some kind of permanent ascendancy.³

The negatively evaluated people's misconceptions about village norms for behavior become evident when their behavior is contrasted with that of two people who are highly respected and well-liked in the village. The first, a central figure in village social life, is the most competitive person in the village. He can turn virtually any activity into a form of competition. For example, he will start an argument, and place a bet, over what kind of highway markers are found on the road to a nearby city. He can turn going to the sauna into a contest, testing who can stand the highest temperatures. The only time I ever saw him silenced was after a ski race in which he was totally vanquished. He had not skied for over 20 years, and since his youth, he had smoked several packs of cigarettes a day. Before the race, he had bragged about how good a skier he was--since as a teenager he had apparently excelled in the sport. When he actually competed and got badly beaten (he had to give up in the middle of the race), he became a driven man. In the following summer, he took up the sport of orienteering with a passion and became an excellent competitor.

Looking at his bragging, his argumentativeness, and competitiveness, one might expect him to be negatively evaluated by others; in fact, he was extremely well-liked and respected. This is because for him competition was not a means of separating himself from others but a way of being social. His argumentativeness and claims of superiority in sports, or other skills, were invitations to competition. His bragging

was aimed at irritating people into opposing him, and he never picked anyone who was weak or could be easily dominated as an antagonist. He wanted to be challenged. Although he visited other villagers frequently and talked incessantly, he was not interested in an audience but in opponents. Although he obviously enjoyed people and loved competition, he was always in control of his competitiveness and never let it interfere with his work.

This man's talkativeness and verbal dueling were aimed at drawing people out and enjoying them. In this he can be compared with some negatively evaluated individuals who are also highly verbal. In their cases, their approach seems to be to dominate by taking exclusive control of a social situation. Their talkativeness seems to be based in merely wishing an audience; they want others to be passive. For example, the following stories were told about one very talkative negatively evaluated villager. One day, some of the village men decided to see how long they could keep him talking. They started him talking at the store in the morning, and by listening to him in relays, they were able to keep him in the store until late at night. A farmer also mentioned that one day he had been riding his bicycle alongside this man, who was driving a wagon. The bicyclist turned off the road at his own home, but the talkative man did not notice that he was alone. Instead, he kept talking until he got to his farm.

There is a woman in the village who is also known to be quite talkative. However, unlike the man just described, she communicates. For example, the story was told of how she had an exchange student from the United States staying at her farm. Although the farm wife did not speak English, she was very able to get things across. Another time she went to visit her daughter, who was at school in Helsinki and lived in

a nearby suburb. Her daughter didn't know anyone in her apartment house, but within a few days, her visiting mother had become acquainted with many of the building's residents. This woman is aware that she talks too much. When, as a chairman of a local group, she was leading a discussion, she admitted humorously that she had been doing most of the discussion herself. This sense of humor is essential. In knowing her own faults, she displays another key feature--she is realistic about herself. Also, she never lets her talkativeness and her inquisitiveness interfere with her work. She was known as one of the hardest working farm wives in the village.

This chapter considered the characteristic patterns of interaction in the most intimate relations in the village. It dealt with the difficulties facing villagers in trying to establish intimate relations, when personal independence and autonomy are important parts of their notions of self. It was argued that competitiveness is an idiom in which intimacy and solidarity can be expressed, without overtly violating those important notions of self. Finally, it was suggested that the people who are most frequently negatively evaluated by villagers often seem to misunderstand, or not accept, important village notions of self and the community norms governing competition.

The next chapter focuses on the most important forms of village sociability, the coffee ceremony and male group drinking, arguing that in those forms of hospitality and festivity, villagers ritually act out central conflicts among village notions of self. In particular, in major events villagers ritually confront the challenge of forming a community out of people whose notions of self emphasize personal autonomy and egalitarianism.

¹ Basso (1979:67-76) has pointed out that the Western Apache feel that potentially dangerous and divisive forms of joking should be used only when there is a high degree of solidarity between the joker and the butt of the joke.

² Although this emphasis on self-control is traditional, it probably was given additional strength by the experience of the Civil War. During that short but violent period, people saw all the horror that could be perpetrated when humans let their feelings run riot.

³ Basso (1979:37) has emphasized that acts of play (e.g., a joke) can be easily misinterpreted as nonplay (e.g., a serious insult). He has also pointed out that such errors may often have serious socially disruptive consequences. Brandes (1975) has made a similar point in regards to the use of derogatory nicknames in a Spanish village.

CHAPTER VII

FORMS OF SOCIABILITY

This chapter examines prominent and pervasive forms of village sociability. In contrast to the approaches usually taken by Finnish ethnologists, these forms of sociability are analyzed in the context of the investigation of the dynamics of interpersonal relationships. The focus is again upon notions of self.

In the village, hospitality plays a central role in sociability and in the dynamics of interpersonal relationships. The commonly held village concepts of hospitality and the most important large-scale village social events are discussed in detail. Chapter V emphasized the centrality of work to notions of self. Chapter VII relates hospitality to festivity and then describes the complex relationships between villagers' notions of self and their concepts of work, hospitality, and festivity. A detailed examination of the coffee ceremony and male group drinking--the most important forms of festivity and hospitality--suggests that both of these rituals of hospitality dramatically act out major conflicts in village concepts of self.

It is almost exclusively in major events, which are generally structured around the coffee ceremony and male group drinking, that large numbers of villagers gather together. This chapter argues that it is within those major events that a central question of village social life is ritually confronted: How can a community be formed out of a population of people whose notions of self emphasized personal autonomy and equality?

Consideration of male group drinking is also important because alcohol and drinking have long been subjects of major concern to Finnish researchers who have, nevertheless, seldom used anthropological approaches.

PROBLEMATIC ROLES: GUEST AND HOST

Although villagers seldom stay long talking and chatting in public places like the store, in the village's kitchens and living rooms people spend much of their time exchanging news, debating politics, and reminiscing over a cup of coffee and a piece of cake. Hospitality is at the heart of Rasti social life; however, villagers were very inaccurate when responding to my interview questions about the extent of their participation in the constant round of informal hospitality. People who could frequently be found sipping coffee and gossiping, either in their own kitchen or in others', consistently claimed they rarely visited or were visited by others. This persistent underestimation suggests that something about hospitality deeply bothers people. It will be argued here that the roles of guest and host are both problematic for villagers.

Symptomatic of the problematic nature of the guest-host relationship are the very words for guest (vieras) and host or hostess (isāntā and emāntā respectively). Vieras means strange or stranger, as well as guest. In many of the contexts in which the word is used, it clearly implies distrust and danger. For example, when farmers talk about why they want at least one of their children to continue their farm, they frequently explain that they don't want the farm to go to strangers. Many feel that if it did, their life's work would have been in vain. When a villager heard something disturbing about her mother-

in-law's recent behavior in the local store, she immediately went to check out the story with the storekeeper's wife. This was because the original source of the story had been a "complete stranger" (vento vieras)-- someone who had only been in the village for a year. Of course, given the highly personalized structure of village knowledge--the importance of personal histories as a basis for interpreting and understanding others--the strangers are dangerous or uncomfortable. The lack of information about them short-circuits most of the major village patterns of thought (see Pitt-Rivers 1977:98). It is important to note here that there are several villagers who have lived in the heart of the village for many years and yet remain strangers. They live as isolated as possible, minimizing their social interactions and even the opportunities for others to observe them.

The words for host and hostess are, likewise, ambiguous; they also mean the master and mistress of a farm. These terms refer primarily to the ownership and the command of the farm's operations and work force. It was pointed out earlier that for village farmers and nonfarmers alike a major criterion for liking one's profession is the personal independence it allows--the freedom not to be under anyone's command. Correspondingly, jobs that required ordering people around were negatively evaluated.

Looked at in the context of formal celebrations, it becomes evident that the alternative meanings of each of the above ambiguous words are closely related to each other. On the one hand, at the beginning of formal celebrations, people are stiff and restrained; talk, which will eventually become lively, is at first desultory. It is as though the social relationship of being a guest temporarily turns even friends or old acquaintances into strangers. On the other hand, the invitation

by host or hostess to go pick up coffee and cake from the coffee table is described by the verb kāskeä, which means to order, and this order is frequently initially ignored or resisted by the guests.

A series of conflicts among important village notions of self also surface in the context of informal hospitality, when someone makes an unexpected visit and is invited to stay for coffee. A person who drops in on others--especially someone who is not an intimate friend or close kin--is generally "on an errand" (asialla). A woman who is a summer resident from a different part of Finland recalled that when she was first married and came to the village with her husband (who was born and raised there), she wanted to go visit the other villagers in order to get acquainted. Her husband was horrified, explaining that you don't go to someone's house here if you don't have specific errands or if you don't have an invitation.

The errand generally involves borrowing something, arranging for a service to be done, or asking a favor. By itself, this introduces one of the major negative aspects of notions of self--feelings of dismay at displaying dependence upon others. As the visitor is almost always also invited to stay as a guest for coffee, this places the visitor under a double obligation to the host or hostess. It is difficult for the person on an errand to know in advance if his request is going to come at an awkward time for his host. For example, if the errand involved asking to borrow a machine, the owner may himself need the machine. The owners are then in an uncomfortable situation. Their refusal and explanation may not be accepted at face value but be interpreted as evidence of distrust or hostility. The owners know that a frustrated borrower may go around the village telling others that the owners are too greedy or proud to help people. Also, because a visit to arrange a

loan is usually informal and uninvited, it is very difficult for the borrower to know if he has come at a time when the household is busy, or intending to go somewhere else, and he is disturbing their plans. With a few exceptions--e.g., a dairy farm at milking time--this is not predictable. The host finds himself in the role of being dependent on his guest--having his work or recreation plans disrupted for him by the guest. There are many times when villagers are happy to spend an hour or more socializing, but at other times they are in a great hurry. Here, from the host's perspective, another notion of self, self-control, enters in. It has been emphasized that it is important to show an unruffled, unflappable demeanor to the outside world. Should the host show his anxiety to rush through coffee, he would be displaying a negatively evaluated lack of self-control. While I was living on a farm, on numerous occasions I saw the farmer and/or his wife calmly chat and drink coffee with a casual visitor, when I knew that they had important tasks they had planned to do. After the guest left, they often expressed their irritation at being kept sitting around while crucial jobs were neglected. On several occasions, when the family had been invited to visit in the village, they came hours late or never went at all because they would not leave their uninvited visitor.

The fact that people come in person on errands is also important. Sometimes the errand could have been arranged by telephone in a matter of minutes. Carrying out the errand in person seemed an excuse or rationalization for spending time with others. This clearly was related to the fact that although people enjoy company, they need to see themselves as independent of others, preferring to be at home in their own company. Even those who are aware and unashamed of their need for companionship know that there is a danger of being too obvious and thus

being despised by other villagers. A phrase describing such trumped up, totally unnecessary visits is "going to borrow matches." A host may also be perceived as being too interested in having company. While it is important to be hospitable, to be too anxious to sit and socialize at the expense of doing work is equally a symptom of a lack of personal self-sufficiency.

Thus from both the perspective of the host and the guest, informal hospitality is often related to work--another central aspect of villagers' notions of self. It is significant that the two men who probably visit more village homes than anyone and have frequent visitors at their homes are not criticized for this by villagers. It is common knowledge that both have jobs necessarily bringing them in contact with many villagers. Both are from farm families but also do extensive contract work for construction, both inside and outside the village. They are known as compulsive workers, who more than compensate for their socializing by their unusually long work hours. Work and visiting are balanced, even if it is a balance of extremes.

There are a few families and individuals in the village who are not strangers but are seldom visitors or visited. It is known that at these homes a guest is not welcome. Villagers are critical of this lack of hospitality and interpret it as reflecting unwarranted pride. Although villagers should be satisfied with their own company, to withdraw from socializing is to pull away from a pervasive system of reciprocity and to implicitly reject egalitarianism, which is also an important notion of self.

COFFEE, HOSPITALITY, AND FESTIVITY

Having briefly suggested some of the notions of self involved in

hospitality in general, it is now appropriate to scrutinize in more detail the specific forms hospitality takes. Central to hospitality in almost any situation are coffee and coffee bread. Coffee is at the heart of hospitality, both as a substance and as a symbol, in social events ranging in scope from an elderly villager entertaining one visitor to two or three families coming together by invitation, to a meeting of the village Missionary Sewing Society, or several hundred people gathering in a commune school celebrating Finland's Independence Day. Coffee is drunk in events whose context ranges from a casual dropping by of neighbors to joyful occasions, such as weddings, to tragic events, like funerals. Most importantly, in all but the most informal situations, the ritual involved in drinking coffee is structurally almost exactly the same. This same ritual of hospitality is participated in by an adult probably a hundred times a year and thousands of times in a lifetime.

Coffee stands metonymically for the whole complex of village hospitality. When someone calls to extend an invitation, for example, the most frequent phrasing is "Tule kahville!"--Come for coffee! A public invitation to a birthday party printed in a newspaper may be worded "The coffee pot will be hot starting at 1:00 p.m." It is important to put coffee and the coffee ceremony in perspective by briefly looking at the history of the use of coffee in Finland.

Coffee did not reach its preeminent place in Finnish social life until recently. For economic reasons, the importation of coffee was forbidden in 1756-61, 1767-70, 1794-96, and 1799-1801, but by the end of Swedish rule (1809), coffee drinking had an established place among the aristocracy (Kuusanmäki 1954:257-258; Vuorela 1975:285). A rough survey in the 1830s showed only three commoners (rahvas) in Pellava drank coffee every day, and only 30 drank it other than at feasts

(pidot) (Kuusanmäki 1954:265). By 1850, coffee and sugar had grown to be the number one and number two imported goods respectively in Finland. At that time, coffee was regularly served to guests at major celebrations and drunk daily by the master and mistress of the farm. Only in the 1880s did it become a regular custom to offer morning coffee to everyone on the farm. It is significant that it was in the latter half of the 19th century, when Finnish landowners were beginning to enjoy a period of unparalleled prosperity due to a timber boom, that coffee became a fixture in the daily life of Finnish farms. Drinking coffee at other times of day--first forenoon and then evening coffee--became general only after World War I (Kuusanmäki 1954:269-270).

Although coffee remains expensive today, it is a necessary luxury for most villagers. This is particularly significant because most villagers are quite frugal in their other outlays for food. Coffee thus becomes a symbol of plenty or luxury, as well as of hospitality. When villagers talk both of old times and economically hard times, they often describe them in terms of coffee. For example, in talking about how things used to be done in the old days, several people mentioned roasting and grinding coffee beans at home (which was still common in the countryside in the 1930s) (Vuorela 1975:286). When talking about the hardship of the depression and wars, people frequently mentioned having to use various coffee substitutes and mixes of substitutes and coffee.¹

If coffee has moved from being the luxury of a few to an occasional luxury for many, and finally to a necessary daily luxury for almost all, the same is true of the inevitable accompaniment for coffee in hospitality--baked goods. In the past, the major ingredients for such delicacies (milk, butter, sugar, wheat flour, and eggs) were far too costly to be used except in the very important events of villagers'

lives (Käkönen 1974:VII). Adult villagers recall that even for some time after the wars with the Soviet Union, coffee bread, cookies, and cakes were eaten only on rare and special occasions. Similarly, as has been mentioned earlier, milk production was low in Finland until well into this century. According to Soininen, there was only an insignificant amount of wheat grown in Finland in the 19th century (1974:453). The cultivation of wheat in Finland only became widespread in the 20th century. In fact, a comparison of figures on wheat and rye harvests in the province of Häme shows that it wasn't until the 1930s that wheat had any importance (see Table XXVIII). It should also be noted that in the postwar period, Finnish agriculture began to experience a tremendous growth in the production of milk and in the yields per hectare of crops like wheat

TABLE XXVIII. AVERAGE OF HARVESTS IN HÄME PROVINCE
IN MILLIONS OF KILOGRAMS. (ROSENBERG 1974:52)

	1871-75	1911-15	1936-39
Wheat	--	0.4	24.6
Rye	34.9	34.9	44.2

While coffee is never drunk alone, it is also seldom consumed with meals. Even when coffee and cake come immediately after a meal, there is a completely different atmosphere than what prevailed during the actual meal. This separation of coffee and cake from the meal is important in terms of the significance of coffee; it emphasizes that coffee is not only a symbol of hospitality but also a symbol of sociality and festivity. Ahlström-Laakso has suggested that:

In Italy the eating of meals is to a high degree a social activity, one having an inherent worth, an integrating function . . . In Finland, by contrast eating is conspicuously less of a social ritual. Finns look upon meals as

an unavoidable part of their daily routine. In the preparation and eating of meals, the Finns spend less time than the Italians [1976:126].

Today in Rasti, the normal family meal tends to be very simple; boiled potatoes, milk, and butter are frequently at the heart of a meal. These are perhaps accompanied by sausage, meatballs, or fish. More importantly, people do not linger over their food. Meals are singularly informal; there is no elaborate etiquette, and there is seldom much conversation. Food is part of the world of work, rush, and business. One eats in order to be able to work well. One farm wife recalled an old Finnish saying: "The household is hostile when it is eating."

In contrast, people know that coffee and cake have little or no nutritional value, but they linger over them, even when there are no guests. It is during coffee and cake that people talk, tell stories, and enjoy each others' company. Consequently, everyday coffee drinking and informal hospitality serve the same function as coffee served at major festivities and celebrations, though on a lesser scale. The separation of coffee from meals establishes a boundary between the worlds of work and festivity. Just as coffee and cake are considered necessary luxuries by all villagers--regardless of their social or economic status--so the nonmaterial accompaniments--conviviality, festivity, and sociality--are also seen as necessary luxuries. As Pieper has suggested:

Even in conditions of extreme material scarcity, the withholding from work in the midst of a life normally governed by work, creates an area of free surplus. . . . A festival is essentially a phenomenon of wealth; not, to be sure, the wealth of money, but of existential richness [1965:14-15].

The talk that inevitably accompanies coffee and cake in the village reinforces the suggestion that they are signs of a festive time outside of work time. Cox has suggested that festivity helps people ". . . to

keep alive to time by relating past, present, and future to each other" (1969:23). Furthermore, festivity ". . . plays an indispensable role in restoring to man his sense of the larger landscape within which history proceeds" (Cox 1969:46).

It will be argued in Chapter VIII that it is precisely in the storytelling and chatter that are central parts of major celebrations, and almost always accompany coffee and cake, that villagers relive the distant past of their lives, recreate the events they have just experienced, and attempt to predict the future. The subjects of stories told by villagers stretch beyond the limits of the village to include many of the central experiences of Finnish history, as they or their acquaintances have personally participated in them.

Though hospitality brings periods of festivity to the daily life of the village and constantly emphasizes the importance of the non-material luxury of sociality, this does not suggest that the value of work is being challenged. Throughout the preceding chapters it has been argued that work is central to the notions of self of villagers. Work and festivity are a pair. It is the necessity of spending most of life working that gives the moments of leisure their flavor. Furthermore, it is the world of work that provides the material for the world of festivity. Work experiences provide the subject matter for much of the talk and humor that make festivity enjoyable. It is in the leisure of festivity that the meaning of work can be clarified: ". . . the possibility of festivity is destroyed [by]. . . the view that man's daily life, taken as a whole, is nothing but vexation, . . . drudgery, in a word: an absurdity-- . . ." (Pieper 1965:4). For a villager, festivity and work must be balanced in a dynamic tension. The person who neglects either one of this pair is scorned.

Though villagers see the dangers of a life totally dominated by sociality and hospitality, they also negatively evaluated those who work to the exclusion of festivity and sociality (see question six, Appendix B).

THE COFFEE CEREMONY AND NOTIONS OF SELF

It is now possible to examine in detail the basic form hospitality takes: the coffee ceremony. If hospitality expresses a number of opposing trends existing in dynamic tension, in the coffee ceremony the villager is also presented with a set of opposing notions of self.

The coffee ceremony can be defined, for our purposes, by four necessary features. The first feature is a table (almost any table will do; there is not one set aside as a special single purpose coffee table). Second, on the table are coffee cups, spoons, saucers, napkins, and plates. There are a special size and shape, and delicacy is especially prized. Third, on the table are some foods. The most basic are baked sweet goods, but many additions and elaborations are possible, and multiplicity and variety are criteria for judging the offering. The fourth feature is that the guests do not consume their coffee and foods at the coffee table but sit at benches or chairs around the periphery of the room. Guests must periodically get up to fetch the various delicacies.

Because people have to serve themselves, the coffee ceremony can not get started until the guests can be persuaded to come to the table. This involves an invitation from the hostess. After the hostess has already poured coffee into the cups on the table, she stands beside the coffee table, with her coffeepot in one hand, and usually announces to the group as a whole: "The coffee is on the table. Please take some coffee!" This invitation inevitably produces tension; no one moves

toward the coffee table, and the invitation must be repeated several times. Often guests pointedly glance away from the hostess, obviously ignoring her invitation. After several invitations have failed to elicit a response, a hostess (or her husband) may announce in an irritated tone of voice: "The coffee is getting cold." If all else fails, the hostess may turn directly to one person and choose some relatively insignificant reason to get her to go first, (e.g., "You come from the farthest away"). More often, after a few invitations, someone will finally get up and go to the table. Frequently, however, that person will also make a self-deprecating remark or emphasize the arbitrariness or artificiality of the reason she is going first (e.g., "Well, I am closest to the table" or "Well, I'm so old, I guess I'll go").

Another common response to a stalemate over responding to the invitation is for someone to look at the people around her and stand up and say--"It doesn't matter. Let's go" (Mitāpā siitā. Mennään nyt). Several people will then go together to get their coffee. This wording is significant. Obviously, the person breaking the stalemate is not asserting any precedence for himself or herself alone but appealing to a group as a whole. The tone of voice--which is almost always a verbal shrug of the shoulders--simultaneously communicates: "It doesn't matter"; "I'm not doing this because I particularly want to"; "All this waiting around is making more of this than it should be."² It is interesting that this appeal to a group comes when an element of asserted hierarchy enters in. Otherwise, the entire coffee ceremony is extremely individualistic. For example, if any person comes late to a celebration (i.e., after other people have had one or two rounds of coffee), that guest will not join in at the stage the others have reached but instead will begin from the very beginning and go through all the stages by himself.

The invitation and response are clearly related to the villagers' notions of dependence and independence. It was pointed out previously that the verb describing the act of inviting people to the table also means to order or command. Moreover, the invitation is generally phrased in the imperative form of the verb. In light of the importance to villagers of displaying independence and the emphasis on egalitarianism in social relations, it is not surprising that guests so often seem to resist the hostess's command. Any hostess-guest relationship inherently places a guest, as the recipient, under obligation to the hostess. The form of the invitation in the coffee ceremony makes that implicit imbalanced relationship explicit. The guests' resistance to that invitation, however, forces the hostess to move from a stance of command to that of exaggerated beseeching or urging. The hostess is obliged to her guests when they are finally willing to accept her invitation.

In this situation, there are two particular pitfalls for the hostess. If, as sometimes happens, the hostess (or her husband) becomes impatient with her reluctant guests and shows her irritation or vexation, this loss of self-control is negatively evaluated in the village. Also, the alternative of the hostess finally asking a particular person to go first places the hostess in a socially exposed position. If she chooses someone on the basis of social position, she may insult someone else, and any choice, even an arbitrary one, seems to embarrass people. Furthermore, the hostess is not seen as having the right or responsibility of making other socially significant choices for her guests. The hostess and host usually play no special role in their celebration, aside from providing the food. When two people who have not met before or have not been introduced formally meet at a party at a third person's house, the decision as to how these two should address each other is left

completely to the pair. The host or hostess does not make introductions. The host and hostess also usually play no special role in the conversation or talk; they make no effort to keep everyone involved. The decision whether or not to mix socially with other people is part of an individual's right; it is a choice for the autonomous individual to make for himself or herself.

Since in the first stage of the coffee ceremony the cups of coffee have already been filled, a hostess can appeal to the fact that coffee was getting cold--going to waste--in urging her guests forward. However, the decision to take a second cup is in the hands of the guest, and there need not even be any verbal communication involved. In Rasti, a hostess will not pour any more coffee into a person's cup if there is anything left of the previous cup. Furthermore, while the guest has no choice but to take a whole cup during the first round of coffee, on subsequent rounds villagers may tell the hostess that they want only a drop or a half cup.

The present-day egalitarian and individualistic emphases of hostess-guest interactions in the coffee ceremony are underlined by their contrast with the explicit strongly hierarchical emphasis this ceremony had historically. Today, women are the first to get their coffee. In the past the gentry (males and females) preceded the women of the farming and non-farming groups in the coffee ceremony. In Täällä Pohjantähden alla (Here Under the North Star), a realistic novel about life in rural Häme at the turn of the century, a meeting attended by both members of the commune's gentry and farm owners is described: "The mistresses of the farms drank their coffee shyly and quietly. It was difficult for them to get used to taking their coffee before the gentry, still yet before the Baron" (Linna 1969:176). There is only one member of the gentry who

still has the privilege of preceding the women. The parish's pastor may voluntarily exercise this privilege or be pressured into that prominent position. At a birthday party for an elderly village women, for example, the women insisted that the pastor go before them. In the very way they pressed him forward, however, they recognized that they were being old-fashioned. They told him that Rasti was, to that extent, still a backwoods place (metsänkorvissa).

The only other member of "the gentry" whom I saw unhesitatingly take a position of precedence in the coffee ceremony did not go before the women but instead quickly strode to pick up his coffee and cake after the women had gone. He was the owner of one of the commune's estates and the inheritor of a proud aristocratic tradition. Nevertheless, his behavior is clearly a bit archaic. His son-in-law, who may eventually take over the estate, did not imitate his father-in-law's aloofness but seemed to try to be "one of the boys" among the other young farmers.

In traditional hospitality, there had also been a hierarchical arrangement among the nongentry guests. This was apparently based primarily on landownership. For example, 50 years ago, when there was one village farm far larger than any other, the mistress of that farm apparently never hesitated to be the first among the village women to get coffee. Pointers to that formerly powerful hierarchical emphasis are occasionally seen in interactions today. At a party attended by four families, when the hostess invited the guests to come to take their coffee, a farm wife suggested that the, "Professor's wife go first". This professor's wife, who is a longtime summer resident and related to a former Rasti farm wife, reacted angrily. A third woman suggested, "Let's go in the order in which we are sitting. After all, this is the era

of equality." They did all go to the coffee table in that order; nevertheless, at the last minute the farm wife and the professor's wife each still tried to get the other to go first. What was significant, of course, was the angry reaction of the professor's wife; she was not being coy. On the one hand, she may have felt insulted that someone she knew well would introduce this dimension of social distance and hierarchy. On the other hand, she may have sensed that the farm wife was teasing her with unexpected and exaggerated deference.

Despite the profusion of food and drink, self-restraint and self-control over the appetite are among the major themes of the coffee ceremony. In describing a peasant wedding in 1858 in Korpilahti, Kuusanmäki writes that:

Two cups of coffee were served. Good style demanded that one should try to refuse the second cup in an affected way: "Not so much for me, not so much for me". The daughters of the next-door neighbors were particularly trying to be elegant and refused in an affected way; one remarked when she was offered a second cup: "Thank you, only a little; I will not drink more than just enough so that my mouth just gets moist." Later, people affected to refuse to take gingerbread cookies [1954:101].

It is striking that over 100 years later, the same phrases, and many similar ones, could be frequently heard at the various celebrations and informal occasions for hospitality in Rasti.

In fact, one of the most striking characteristics of the coffee ceremony is this startling contrast between the abundance of the food offered and the small portions the guests take. Especially in large celebrations, the table is a cornucopia of delights--variety in baked goods is an important ideal. Foods are in abundance and beautifully displayed. Many of the cookies and cakes are valued as much for what they look like as for their taste. Particularly in large celebrations, if a plate of food begins to look depleted, it is quickly replenished.

However, even big husky men take delicate portions. Here it is important to emphasize again the limitation placed on the role of host or hostess. Except for the first serving of coffee, the guests always decide the size of their portions. Even when one of the baked goods is a large whipped cream cake, it is always the guests who are expected to slice pieces for themselves. The host and hostess can only urge their guests to take more.

The coffee ceremony seems to express notions of self emphasizing self-control or self-restraint; nevertheless, it is important to separate out two different aspects of self-restraint. First, from the previous quotation, it is obvious that one aspect of this self-restraint is its association with elegance. In the countryside, both coffee and the cakes were originally incorporated into hospitality in imitation of the upper classes. As Uusivirta has pointed out in terms of food and hospitality: "The effect of the upper class on the rest of the population has always been notable. Customs have been adopted in vicarages and estates, which little by little have shifted into more general usage" (1969:35).

Although most villagers would have had little opportunity themselves to observe the manners of the upper class, there was one set of villagers who did regularly--the former servants of the upper classes. The most important of these were the feast cooks, who have traditionally been central figures in rural hospitality: ". . . the cook was almost the soul of the feasts" (Uusivirta 1969:43). These feast cooks were women who did not work permanently for any one family but were hired by families to help prepare for individual special occasions. The area in which they plied their trade might just be the village, but it was often as wide as the entire parish or even went beyond into adjacent

parishes. "Numerous . . . cooks had been in their youth in the service of gentry, either in the country or in the city. Thus through feast cooks, the foods of the estates and the vicarages . . . have drifted among the rural population" (Uusivirta 1969:44). Feasts cooks might come from among the nonfarming population or the unmarried daughters of farmers (Uusivirta 1969:43). Since major celebrations might involve over 100 guests, the preparation--particularly the baking--often took considerable time. For example, in the 1858 wedding Kuusanmäki described, there were two feast cooks. One arrived to start preparations two weeks before the event, and a second came one week later (1954:97). The custom of using a feast cook is still very much alive in Rasti today. One wife of an invalid worker was active in the preparation of many of the village's major celebrations. In fact, it was through her movements that one could become aware of an impending event.

In the coffee ceremony, elegance and self-restraint are expressed, and emphasized, in the foods offered, the sizes of the portions taken, and almost all the movements and motions that individuals make while taking part in the event. The coffee ceremony requires individuals to initially fetch their coffee and cake from the table. This itself introduces an element of physical restraint and control. The guest must carefully balance a delicate and full coffee cup, a saucer, a plate with cake or cookies on it, and a spoon, and a napkin, while walking across the room. In order to avoid accidents, even large men move with a delicate step. The guest usually goes back to the coffee table for another round of food at least once. Even though the second cup will have been filled by the hostess where the guest was seated, many guests will carry the filled cup, as well as the empty cookie plate, back to the coffee table to get sugar and cream. Furthermore, self-restraint

is involved at larger events, when guests often must wait patiently in line at the coffee table for their turns. Since there are frequently several rounds of cookies or foods, these same elaborate movements may be repeated three or four times. In fact, in its very structure, the entire coffee ceremony seems to involve a large number of unnecessary movements. Since calling something unnecessary (turha) is a serious criticism in daily usage, implying foolishness or softness, it is interesting that in the context of hospitality the unnecessary becomes necessary.

The guests' restraint in eating seems to be related to the idea that in this context eating is not motivated by hunger. Were villagers to show vigorous appetites at the celebrations, it would be implying both their own failure to have sufficient food at home and a lack of ability to control their feelings--here hunger or greed. It is very interesting that one villager, who was often unable to control himself (e.g., in drinking), told of how at one celebration, when people had been hesitating over who should go first, he had gone ahead saying: "Greediest first". This person had also once grown impatient with waiting for the village women to start and had gone up and taken coffee and cake before them. He knew that the rest of the villagers were scandalized, but he had been drinking (i.e., he was a little out of control at the time).

A child's education into restraint on his appetite while in public is explicit. For example, at a party, a young boy who reached for a second cookie was restrained by his mother with the firm reminder that: "We are visiting now." By limiting themselves to only small portions, the guests are just "tasting" the foods. To taste foods rather than to vigorously partake is to emphasize the critical function of the guests. They are taking just enough to test or evaluate its quality. In this way, the hostess is not placed in the role of provider but in the

position of being judged. There is an obvious element of competition in hospitality. Although the basic structure of the coffee ceremony may remain the same, the variety and quality of cookies and cakes that hostesses may offer can differ tremendously. Housewives may joke about the competitive spirit that used to drive one woman to try to produce a wider assortment of food than the next, but they often do the same thing.

The entire idea of the extravagance of the hospitality--especially in the larger celebrations--is, nevertheless, somewhat a pretense. Underlying the extravagance is a good deal of prudence. For example, even though much food may be left over after a party (since the food should never look depleted), villagers make sure that this doesn't get wasted. They try to plan their periodic obligations to host one of the village organizations so that they come after one of their family's major celebrations. Thus, the day after one farm celebrated the birthday of its 85 year old retired owner, there was a meeting of the Missionary Sewing Circle at the house. The day after important major celebrations rāāpiāiset are often held. Close friends, neighbors, and all who helped in the preparations are invited to this informal party. Often older people, who are too shy or wary of coming to the first day feast, will be invited to come to the more relaxed second day. In this event, many of the leftovers get consumed. One can also see an egalitarian element in it; the people who helped--e.g., the cooks and people who served--now become the guests of the people they worked for. Moreover, they are guests along with the hosts' closest acquaintances.

Although so far an emphasis has been placed on the element of competition (or even latent hostility) between guest and host in hospitality and the coffee ceremony, it should be pointed out that there

is a strong countervailing theme of community as well. Chapter IV showed that the help and services of a number of villagers are often needed in the preparation for major celebrations. Furthermore, village organizations may make presentations at those types of events.

THE BOUNDARY BETWEEN WORK AND FESTIVITY

Ortner's study of hospitality among the Sherpas indicates a number of similarities with the analysis offered here. In particular, she argues that:

Virtually all the etiquette of hospitality requires that the host play a pressuring and almost authoritarian role, while the etiquette of the proper guest entails resistance and struggle against the pressures of the host. A party may thus be seen as a tug-of-war between host and guests over giving and receiving . . . [1978:79-80].

This is almost a literal tug-of-war; a host presses food upon the guest crying, "Eat, eat!" The guest tries to push the food back. Ortner relates this tug-of-war to the social and economic problems of everyday life. Thus: "Guestly etiquette clearly reflects, and even parodies, the resistance to receiving (in turn a resistance to being placed under obligation) that prevails in everyday life" (1978:81).

Ortner points out that in this tug-of-war the host always wins and pleasure ensues. In fact, Ortner concludes that:

. . . party etiquette reproduces certain subjective conditions for exchange, the sense of its necessity, its difficulties, and finally its rewards. . . . The result is an experience of collective social pleasure that is quite genuine, and that is clearly the basis of the Sherpas' insistence that parties are hlermu--fun, pleasurable, exciting. . . . And precisely because such pleasure comes in part from having allowed oneself to lose a struggle against accepting the food and drink of another, one is perhaps a bit more receptive to such gifts in contexts in which they may have more specific entailments. From this point of view, party etiquette may be seen as a sort of rehearsal and shaping of consciousness for experiences of genuine (would-be) exchange, a symbolic mechanism in the service of facilitating difficult exchange

relationships in the practical world. [1978:81-82, emphasis in original].

Although Ortner's style of analysis is in some ways similar to this study's, the conclusions she draws about the role of hospitality among the Sherpas are the opposite of those to be drawn about hospitality in Rasti. A brief comparison of these different conclusions will be a useful summary for this section of the chapter.

In Rasti, as opposed to among the Sherpas, the hostess is the loser (or at best, there is a draw) in the tug-of-war between the hostess and guest. In Rasti, this is a tug-of-war over authority. It is an implicit struggle between egalitarian and hierarchical notions of self. On the egalitarian side, a key element of this tug-of-war is that the coffee ceremony is so ordered as to allow all adult villagers, regardless of wealth or profession, to participate frequently on both sides (i.e., as giver and receiver, host and guest). The coffee ceremony is so constructed that its structure and behavioral patterns can be reproduced at widely varying levels of cost. The food can be less expensive, the varieties less extensive, and the coffee cups and spoons need not be so delicate. Even an individual from a poor family learns the proper etiquette for the central ceremony in the major events of the community (Roberts 1977: 19). Furthermore, the exercise of self-restraint, which is the most important prerequisite for decorous participation in the coffee ceremony, is a skill that is common throughout all strata of the community. It is ironic that this ceremony, which now generally emphasizes the importance of individual independence and equality, was originally derived from the customs of the elite.

Ortner suggests that a major function of the parties among Sherpas is to bridge the boundary between the world of work and everyday affairs

and the world of parties. The pleasures of the party lead ultimately to: ". . . facilitating difficult exchange relationships in the practical world" (1978:82). In Rasti, an opposite role is played by the coffee ceremony, and by hospitality in general. They serve to make the boundaries between the world of festivity and the world of work as clear as possible. They emphasize the danger of either of those worlds taking over a dominant role in the individual's life. They communicate the need for those worlds to remain in the dynamic balance that is only possible between clear opposites.

Perhaps, the differences in the outcome and meaning of the tug-of-war between hostesses and guests for Sherpas and Rasti villagers derive from the fact that the Sherpas are truly interdependent and must rely on exchange relationships for survival (Ortner 1978:22-23). Rasti villagers, on the other hand, are generally far more independent of their neighbors, both politically and economically.

MAJOR SOCIAL EVENTS

Now that the coffee ceremony has been described in some detail, it is necessary to look at some of the social events of which it is a pervasive and important part. Each event will not be examined separately and in detail; instead, the focus will be on some aspects of those events that, like the coffee ceremony, are found in many kinds of celebrations. Many of the examples will be from birthdays, funerals, and the memorial occasions that come after those funerals. Partially, this is because these were the most frequent major social events in Rasti during the fieldwork period. Partially, it is because funerals and special birthday celebrations parallel each other in several interesting ways.

Special birthday celebrations may start when an individual reaches

the age of 50. They may then be held every decade until the age of 70. After 70, these special celebrations may take place every five years. They are considered extremely important events in people's lives. The whole village is always aware long in advance when an important birthday will occur. Any doubts about the date of a particular birthday are quickly cleared up by a phone call to the Parish Office, or--in the case of farmers--by checking the Great Agricultural Population Book (Suurimaatalousväki kirja), which contains biographical information about almost every farming household. Until recently, information about who was turning 70, 75, 80, etc. was published in the local newspaper. Apparently, these announcements have been eliminated, at least partially because of people's complaints that they did not want this information published about themselves.

It is unlikely that these protests were prompted by embarrassment over advanced age. Instead, in reserving the choice of whether or not to publicize or celebrate their birthday, people were probably expressing their desire for autonomy and privacy. One common way of expressing this independence is the tradition of announcing, when one does not want to have a birthday celebration, that one will be away "on a trip" (matkalla). If people have been active in community affairs outside the village, they may put an advertisement to this effect in the local and/or regional newspapers. The dynamics of this tactic were evident at a reunion of a wartime army group. After the men had been drinking heavily, one man complained to his former commander that the commander had been away "on a trip" for his 50th birthday, and he would have liked to help celebrate that day. Although the atmosphere up to that point had been one of more explicit intimacy and affection than I had ever witnessed among Finnish men, the commander snapped back: "My birthday is my own business!"

There is obviously a good deal of ambivalence in some people about "displaying themselves" on their birthdays. Several stories were told about villagers who had not sent out invitations, and had even gone so far as to notify the pastor's office that they did not want to have him visit, but still made full preparations. This clearly left other villagers in a difficult position. They knew that the preparations were under way because of the activities of the celebration cook and the buying of extra supplies at the local stores. The choice as to whether or not to come was left to each person. The decision about how intimate one is with another person is a difficult question for all but relatives and the closest of friends. The fear of seeming too forward and presumptuous about this relationship often limited the number of visitors, which in turn disappointed the birthday person. For example, in one case a villager described how the birthday person kept looking out the window trying to see if someone else was coming. The visitor, who had not intended to stay long because she and her husband had some errands to do, remained for hours to keep the woman company.

Another alternative scenario that was seen during the fieldwork occurred when a villager sent no invitations but simply told people that he expected everyone to come to his birthday party. When the host became aware that many people were reluctant to come without individual invitations, he went personally to invite almost everyone in the village. A final alternative is to place a general invitation in the local newspaper. However, here again many people express their reluctance to go if the host is not a very close friend or kinsman.

These birthday parties can be seen as a summing up of a person's life. On one level, the response of the community (i.e., how many people come)--especially if there have been no invitations--indicates the

social standing of a person. It displays the extent of his or her personal friendships and relationships and the strength of kinship ties. Birthday parties are also the time when the extent to which an individual has contributed to the commune's and village's organizational life becomes clear. Organizations often send delegations to major birthday parties of their active members. These organizations include professional groups (e.g., farmers' organizations or unions), political parties, banks, church groups, and the local government).

One Rasti farmer, who was the chairman of a commune bank's advisory board, spent a good deal of time making presentations to people who had, at one time or another, served on the board of the bank or were long-time members of the bank's staff. Often included in these presentations are lasting reminders of participation or accomplishments. For example, there may be fancy certificates and/or little flags with the insignia of the organizations. These flags are displayed long after the birthday. In addition, organizations or people who do not attend the birthday celebration may send addresses by mail or congratulatory telegrams. These are often read aloud and kept in scrapbooks. In fact, one can sometimes see guests surreptitiously counting the number of telegrams and addresses. Finally, presentations by both organizations and private individuals are often accompanied by flowers. These are also displayed and may be kept in the house for days afterwards. A lasting record of these is made in the photographs typically taken with the pāivānsankari--literally hero of the day--standing or sitting behind a table full of flowers. The family scrapbooks of such photos are often brought out to show visitors.

There is a strikingly similar set of customs at funerals. Again, the person's ties to others are made graphically clear by looking at those who

attend the funeral, or the memorial service, or send flowers and addresses. At the memorial occasion, these addresses and telegrams are read aloud. The person who reads them is not usually the closest of kin. Rather, he is generally an honored or particularly well-educated guest. At one memorial occasion, for example, a pastor read the addresses; at a second, it was a professor who was a distant relative of the deceased; at a third, it was a young relative of the deceased. This relative apparently had a good deal of experience in dramatic reading of poetry and stories.

This choice of readers seems indicative of the relationship between formal occasions in the village and ideas about elegance derived from the upper class. Elegance is here, again, related to restraint; formal speeches by the educated--particularly by the pastors, who give formal speeches more often than any other residents of the commune--are generally quiet and controlled. In attending numerous church services and public occasions, I never heard an upper-class, educated speaker try to be histrionic. In fact, most speeches were given in a voice that was only a little louder than a normal speaking voice and with a posture that was absolutely erect.

While flowers are often sent to the bereaved family immediately after a death, wreaths and flowers are also presented at the funeral itself. In fact, at the funeral, the flowers are not presented to the family of the deceased but to the deceased himself. After the pastor has completed the funeral service (almost always in the Blessing Chapel, which is separate from the church and located in the middle of the graveyard), the body is carried to the grave by the pallbearers. There, after the casket is lowered into the grave, first the relatives, then friends and representatives of organizations, walk up to the grave holding wreaths

with messages on their ribbons. The presenters stand very erect, look down, and address the casket, reading off the messages on the wreath--usually quotations from the hymn book or the Bible. The erect posture, the stiffness, and the formality are distinct echoes of the way in which presentations are addressed to the hero of the day at birthday parties.

Both in the birthday party and in the funeral, the emphasis is thus on the individual, not on his or her family. In fact, it is highly significant that birthday parties are the major events in the adult individual's life and not anniversaries, which instead emphasize a relationship. In two years of fieldwork, I never heard of people publicly celebrating anniversaries. If silver and golden anniversaries were celebrated at all, it was done quietly and privately.

If these major birthday parties and the funerals focus attention upon the individual, they form a marked contrast to other celebrations during villagers' lives, such as the less important birthdays, name day celebrations, parties marking the completion of a house, or parties given to thank people for contributing lumber from their forest for building a house (hirsitalkoot). In these cases, one of the striking characteristics is the complete nonrecognition (almost suppression) of the actual cause of the celebration. For example, almost inevitably when people called or came by to invite us for coffee, if the occasion was either a name day or nonmajor birthday, the reason for the occasion was never mentioned. Partially, this was because villagers are very well aware of their good friends' or close kinsmen's birthdays, and calendars typically include a list of name days. However, this nonrecognition of an occasion usually went beyond the invitation and into the events themselves. Either the reason for the occasion was not mentioned or, if it was, then only in passing. Furthermore, there sometimes seemed almost

a taboo about the subject.

On two separate occasions involving such celebrations--once when I was invited and the other time when I just happened to drop by on an errand and was asked to stay--I found that another villager guest was in the same predicament as myself: we did not know the reason for the celebration. In neither case, did the mystified villager come out and ask his host and hostess what was being celebrated. In one of those occasions, the situation almost became comical. Another young man and I were invited to come to coffee at the home of the young man's best friend. Neighbors were also present. The refreshments offered were so elaborate--not only coffee, cookies, and coffee bread but also ice cream, whipped cream cake, and sandwiches--that it was clear that the event signified something special. However, nothing was said during the event. When the other young man and I were driving home, he turned to me and asked me whether I knew what was being celebrated. When his mother found out our suspicions, her curiosity was aroused. After she had checked out all the birthdays of the host family in the Great Agricultural Population Book and found that they were not relevant, she continued her investigations in another way. Through indirect questioning of one of the sons of the host family (whom she met at the village store), she discovered that the occasion for the celebration was the raising of the ridgepole of a new sauna (harjannostajaiset). This sauna was being built on the lake shore at a distance from the village with the assistance of the next door neighbor and his sons.

A partial explanation of the suppression of the reasons for celebrations in all but the major birthday parties and funerals may be the relationship between host and guest, which has been analyzed in detail. In the nonmajor birthday parties, and the other celebrations

just discussed, the people whose achievements are being celebrated play the role of host or hostess. As a result, all of the typical tensions between host and guest are present; there are the same pressures on the host and hostess to limit their obtrusiveness. However, in the major birthday party, the hero or heroine of the day generally does not play the role of host or hostess. His or her major role is not that of the giver but rather of the receiver of gifts or presentations. The spouse and the children of the hero or heroine of the day take over the major responsibilities for hospitality.

MAJOR SOCIAL EVENTS AND CONTROL OF EMOTIONS

Obviously, a dead person cannot do anything but passively be the recipient of gifts and tributes in the funeral. Nevertheless, it is significant that in the funeral and in the memorial occasions, despite their grief, the spouse, children of the deceased, or other next of kin are expected to play very active roles as hosts and hostesses. For example, as guests arrive for the funeral, the chief mourners often serve as ushers, directing people into seats. The final part of the official service--"dust to dust, ashes to ashes"--is done in the chapel, not at the grave. After the service in the chapel, the pastor's officially required participation is ended. The pastor does not necessarily follow the body out to the grave or participate in the presentations at the grave or the memorial occasions. The explanation for this is that on Saturdays, when funerals are generally held, the pastors frequently have many other duties (e.g., baptisms and birthday parties).

As a result, the chief mourners must often lead the activities themselves. For example, at the grave a hymn is sung--usually a favorite of the deceased. One of the chief mourners calls out the number of the

hymn and begins the singing. After the singing and presentations are over, one of the chief mourners announces, in a loud voice, that there will be coffee served either at the deceased's home or at a public indoor place (e.g., the Parish House, the commune's fire station, or a local cafe), and all are invited. At the memorial occasion, there is often a reception line, where the guests shake hands with the chief mourners, and then there is a coffee ceremony, punctuated by the singing of hymns and the reading of addresses and telegrams. Especially if there is a pastor present, a short religious talk will be given. During the memorial occasion, the chief mourners often circulate among the guests, urging people to go up and get some more coffee or thanking them for coming.

The most striking characteristic of the funerals and the memorial occasions is the very strong suppression of outward expression of emotion (see question 16, Appendix B). At the funerals I attended, the closest I ever saw to an open emotional outburst was at the funeral of a man in his 30s, who had died under tragic circumstances. During the service, I heard one of the deceased's young female friends give a sob, which she quickly suppressed. Some of the other guests also were quite red in the face; nevertheless, there was no other outward evidence of a strong emotion.³ Outside the chapel before the service, and even on the outskirts of the crowd at the graveside while the presentations are being made, people typically chat casually about everyday affairs. One funeral was held soon after the birth of my son, and several people saw nothing wrong with coming over to me and heartily congratulating me before the service and during the presentations.

During the memorial occasions, between hymns talk is just as lively as at a normal coffee ceremony. It seems almost a festive occasion;

people tell stories and even joke. At one memorial occasion, the presiding pastor was not from Pellava but a former Pellava pastor, who now held that position in a neighboring parish. He had conducted the service and taken part in the memorial occasion because he had been a friend of the deceased. This pastor had been one of the founders of the commune's men's chorus. Soon after giving a serious and highly personal talk about the deceased, he came over to the table where I was seated with several leading members of the chorus. He immediately began gossiping and joking with them about music. At another memorial occasion, men who were the closest friends of the deceased (including the deceased's brother) sat outside the house. Even while hymns were being sung inside the house, the voices of the men could be heard arguing, debating, and joking.

It has been suggested that the coffee ceremony emphasizes the boundary that must be kept between the festive and the everyday world and illustrates the importance of a balance between them. A similar argument can be made about the funeral and memorial occasions. Here the events express the importance of self-control and the need for balance between the contrasting states of tragedy and festivity. One possible alternative explanation is that because funerals and memorial occasions are held either two or three weeks after death, this long interval could be expected to soften the blow of the tragedy. However, there is a good deal of evidence to indicate that this explanation is not adequate.

First, it is customary for the friends of the deceased to send flowers to the family immediately after hearing of the death and also to visit the family. Coffee and cake are generally offered the visitor. Even a day or two after the death, family members are expected to play their normal role as host or hostess. In fact, the conversation on these occasions often tends to be general and even lively. On one occasion,

when the mother of the deceased was obviously still highly upset, and even cried, her husband looked at her disapprovingly. By the time the visit was over, the woman was very lively and concerned with practical matters, such as suggesting it would be better if people didn't spend a lot of money on flowers for the funeral but gave the money instead to the widow, to help her get over this economically trying time.

The biweekly meetings of the Missionary Society Sewing Circle often displayed this same alternation in mood. After giving an impassioned and highly emotional sermon, the woman who is the center of this group would often immediately begin laughing and joking with the other people. The serious program was also preceded and then followed by coffee, cake, gossip, and laughter.

Another indication of this high value on the control of emotion in facing death was that three times women who had recently suffered deaths in their family spontaneously mentioned to me that they had been able to keep themselves under control through tranquilizers. In these cases, women felt that tranquilizers had been important to them. They seemed to feel no shame about taking them, but were instead proud of how well they were able to keep themselves under control. However, one young woman whose father had died expressed great admiration for her mother's refusal of the doctor's offer to give her a tranquilizer.

I would suggest that the continuity between the major celebrations and the funeral--both in the coffee ceremony and in the other elements discussed and analyzed--plays a major role in helping people to maintain their self-control and to keep their emotions suppressed. Because the coffee ceremony is enacted in so many different contexts and on so many occasions, it becomes automatic and can be performed with aplomb, even under emotionally trying circumstances. It lends a sense of normality

to otherwise crisis situations. The spouse and the children of the deceased have several times played the role of host or hostess in previous important events involving the deceased (e.g., major birthday parties).

The major birthday parties also appear to play a role in preparing people for their own aging and eventual death. It is significant that the major birthday parties begin at the age of 50. At this time, people are probably reaching the peak of their powers. If they are farmers, they have usually been the owners of the farm for a considerable period. The children of both nonfarmers and farmers of this age are beginning to establish their own households. At this turning point in life, the birthday parties represent a summing up of an individual's achievements. Because the first major birthday party comes not at retirement but at the height of the individual's power, it gives the subsequent major birthday parties an association not with an end but with a continuance. Still, these periodic summings up simultaneously prepare the day's heroes or heroines for their death. For at each of these major birthday parties, people get a sense of what their own obituaries will be at presentations at the grave, in the addresses and telegrams read at the memorial occasion.

In the previous sections, it was noted in passing that at major celebrations, such as birthday parties (and in earlier times, even at memorial occasions), a second and very different form of hospitality was acted out along with the coffee ceremony. This is male group drinking, the focus of the following sections.

Earlier in this chapter, it was argued that when people were generally uninformative about and seemed uninterested in the questions I asked about their visiting patterns, they were expressing their

ambivalence about the hospitality that centers on coffee. In fact, they persistently underestimated the frequency with which they visited others and were in turn visited. In contrast, alcohol and drinking are among the most frequently recurring topics of conversation in Rasti. Anecdotes are told about the humorous things people have said or done when they were drunk. Tragedies caused by drink are vividly recounted. The formulaic nature of these discussions clearly proclaims their cultural character. Their almost compulsive repetition points to cultural meanings of drinking and alcohol full of problematic elements that cannot be completely and finally resolved.

COFFEE AND ALCOHOL: FESTIVITY AND RECIPROCITY

While male group drinking is a complete event by itself, and is occasionally performed alone, its full implications and meaning appear only when it is seen in the context of the coffee ceremony. The frequent juxtaposition of these two ceremonies is not fortuitous. Male group drinking deals symbolically with many of the same notions of self that are handled in the coffee ceremony, but in a rather different way. Male group drinking typically begins after the coffee ceremony has been completed, or at least after the first stages of it are finished. In many ways, it assumes the message of the coffee ceremony has already been delivered. It is really the second act of a social drama. A primary focus of the coffee ceremony is the conflict between hierarchical and egalitarian notions of self. Whereas in the coffee ceremony egalitarianism seems to emerge the victor from this conflict, in male group drinking, hierarchical notions are from the very first dismissed, and the event focuses on the difficult and crucial issue of how a community can be built out of individuals for whom personal autonomy and equality

form the heart of their notion of self.

Coffee and alcohol play different roles in informal hospitality. Earlier sections of this chapter indicated the problems people had with the imbalances of reciprocity arising from hospitality. Particularly, when someone comes on an errand to borrow something or ask a favor, the guest is generally put under a double obligation to the host or hostess by being offered coffee and cake. However, when alcohol is involved in informal hospitality, it is often the guest who brought a bottle as a gift to the host to pay back a favor or service the host had performed for him.

In this situation, an imbalance in reciprocity has just been corrected. This means of paying off a debt frequently occurs when someone has borrowed a tractor or a valuable machine or tool and knows the lender will probably not need an equivalent loan from him in the near future. Because the lender would be insulted if he was offered money in payment from a friend, the gift of a bottle of alcohol is an appropriate way to settle the debt. Typically, the gift will be something like cognac, which is very expensive in Finland and is considered the ultimate in luxury. The value of such a gift is greater than the actual price of the bottle. Buying it requires a trip to one of the neighboring cities (the closest place to buy hard liquor). It is also a gift the lender would rarely buy for himself. By reciprocating a practical or purely economic loan or service with something impractical but highly valued, the debt has been paid in a way that plays down the calculating economic aspects of the exchange. Furthermore, since alcohol is considered a weakness of village men, the borrower, who has been in the weaker position, repays his loan in a medium reminding the lender of one of his own weaknesses.

Alcohol also plays a role in handling the difficult problem of reciprocity when hospitality is explicitly offered by a host and hostess as a means of repaying a debt they owe a guest but cannot repay in economic terms. This kind of hospitality occurs, for instance, at a hirsitalkoot. These take place when nonfarmers decide to build a house, and farmers have given them logs from their woods for construction lumber. These gifts often provide nonfarmers with a high percentage of the lumber they will need to construct their house.

Although coffee and cake are served at a hirsitalkoot, the talkoot is commonly thought of as a drinking affair. When a talkoot was held in Rasti during the fieldwork period, one woman from a farm that had contributed lumber decided not to go because she knew it was mainly a drinking party. (At both this talkoot and another I attended outside of Rasti, neither the hosts nor the guests ever explicitly mentioned the reason for the celebration.) As in the informal hospitality situation, a debt that could not be paid back economically was repaid with something that has a worth that could not be calculated--an excuse to drink heavily and enjoy the pleasure almost inevitably experienced on such occasions.

Finally, once a year there occurs an event in which an individual brings gifts to people that should not be reciprocated. The event is Christmas Eve, and the individual is Santa Claus. In Finland, Santa Claus is not a shadowy figure, who comes only after the children are fast asleep. Santa comes early on Christmas Eve and personally delivers the presents to the people of the house. Like guests at the hirsitalkoot, Santa is a guest to whom the hosts are in debt, and like the guests at the hirsitalkoot, this debt is frequently paid with alcohol. While the children are not looking, the man playing Santa is often offered a

bottle of liquor in return.

If, like coffee and the coffee ceremony, alcohol and drinking are closely related to problems of reciprocity, they are also, like the former, important symbols of sociality. Like coffee and cake, alcohol signals that an interaction is primarily a social or festive event. Like coffee and cake, alcoholic beverages are not part of daily meals, which are associated with the world of work. In fact, the separation of the alcohol from the world of work is even sharper than the boundary between work and the festivity associated with coffee. This is because alcohol, unlike coffee, is not a part of normal daily life. Drinking regularly in moderation is considered far more scandalous than occasionally becoming thoroughly drunk during a major celebration (see Ahlström-Laakso 1976:121). The difference between coffee and alcohol in this regard is related to the fact that while coffee signals an event is primarily social, alcohol is conceived of not only as a signal or symbol of sociality but also as a powerful factor in producing a state of conviviality in the individual. For example, a village woman originally from another part of Finland made fun of the typical Häme man's expressionless face. Although she is generally critical of drinking, she went on to comment that: "At least when the men here drink, it opens them up a bit."

Another rather perceptive villager mentioned that he had been to a wedding in another parish. No alcohol was offered to the guests. He felt that as a result everyone was very stiff. Men would talk a little to very close friends but not to other people. In Rasti, however, where sahti (homemade beer) is served, even though neighbors may sit rather quietly in the beginning, once the sahti begins to flow, people get happy and talkative, even with strangers. He then asked me: "Don't

they talk to you when they drink sahti?" In fact, they did. Especially when I first came to Pellava and was a complete stranger, it was only when I was participating in group drinking that men would themselves initiate long, and sometimes lively, conversations with me. Alcohol's power to produce conviviality is particularly underlined by this villager's observation that it can induce people to become talkative, even with strangers. One of the reasons Häme people have a reputation for laconism is probably because of their extreme reticence and reserve when dealing with strangers. Finally, alcohol differs from coffee in that the type of alcohol usually drunk in Rasti celebrations--sahti--is also a symbol of the local community. Sahti is a homemade beer, which is now regularly produced in only a few places in Finland. The preparation and drinking of sahti are explicitly referred to by villagers as a part of the parish's unique identity. The way in which sahti is typically drunk also emphasizes the linkage of drinking to community.

Before turning to male group drinking itself, it is important to introduce one fact implied but unstated up to this point: village drinking at any time is almost exclusively a male activity. While it is acceptable for a village man to get thoroughly drunk at celebrations, in the words of a village woman: "If a woman gets drunk, her reputation is finished forever." When sahti is served at a celebration, some women may take a glass, or two at the most, but it is in their words "just to taste it." In fact, one woman, who moved to Rasti as an adult, gave up even taking a taste of sahti at celebrations because after she had done so at a party when she first arrived in Rasti, she later heard gossip describing her as having gotten herself thoroughly inebriated.

There are a number of possible explanations for the exclusion of village women from drinking. Perhaps the most obvious is the suggestion

that women are considered to have less self-control than men, and drinking would be more dangerous for them. In fact, I will suggest the most probable explanation is precisely the opposite: in refraining from drink, village women are publicly expressing female superiority in terms of some central village notions of self. This explanation shall be discussed in detail later in this chapter.⁴

MALE GROUP DRINKING AND EGALITARIANISM

In Rasti, alcohol is both a symbol of sociality and community and an important aid in producing those states. An examination of how alcohol is drunk should reveal a great deal about the cultural meaning of sociality and community.⁵

In Rasti celebrations, typically the men and women quickly form separate groups, usually in different rooms. After at least a couple of rounds of coffee have been served, the host produces a bucket filled with sahti for the men. The men are almost inevitably seated in a circle, and the bucket is passed around the circle, with each man drinking from the bucket in turn.

The circle and the circular motion of the bucket are perhaps the most central features of the ritual. This circle, where there is neither beginning nor end; neither first nor last; where each place is equivalent to the other would seem to present a model of social life as a communion of equal individuals. In fact, in group drinking, even the distinction between guest and host is effaced. There is no elaboration and little attention paid to the moment when the host first brings out the bucket of sahti. Once the bucket has begun to circulate, there would be no way for the outsider to be able to pick out who the host was. As each man turns to the person next to him and suggests that he take some sahti, he temporarily usurps the role of host. In the male drinking group, all are guests, and all are hosts [Roberts 1978:11].

The effacement of the hierarchical distinction between host and guest is also seen in the way the only other substance usually enjoyed in male group drinking--cigarettes--is handled. Like drinking, smoking

is not considered proper for women. Only two or three village women smoke. Although smoking by a woman is not considered nearly as reprehensible as drinking, it is still generally felt to be a shameful habit for a woman. As the sahti gets passed around in male group drinking, so frequently do packs of cigarettes. As with the alcohol, the role of host quickly gets minimized. The host may have put the packs of cigarettes on the table, but after that, whoever happens to be near a pack of cigarettes offers them to his neighbor. In terms of cigarettes, as with sahti, "all are guests, and all are hosts."

The egalitarian mood of male group drinking is also seen in the choice of second person pronouns used by the village men while drinking. If alcohol is thought of as making men more talkative and sociable, even with strangers, it is not surprising that in the context of male group drinking the use of the informal Sinā is automatic, even with strangers.⁶ For example, in no case when I was participating in male group drinking (either in the village or elsewhere) did anyone--even a complete stranger--hesitate to use the informal pronoun to me. Even when in past interactions a man may have used the formal form, when we were drinking together he would begin to employ Sinā. If a person is interested in maintaining his distance from others, he should avoid male group drinking.

DRINKING, COMPETITION, AND COMMUNITY

The subject of the use of the informal form of the second person pronoun leads back to the issue of the relationship between male group drinking and community. The use of the informal Sinā is related both to egalitarianism and the concept of solidarity. As was pointed out in Chapter V, there is a growing tendency in Finland for groups and

organizations to try to foster a sense of solidarity among their members and/or staff by making the general mutual usage of Sinā part of the group or company policy.

If community, as represented by the drinking ritual, is based on the acceptance of the equality of all individuals, the major problem for the ritual is how this ideal can be reconciled with the villagers' notions that stress not only equality but individual autonomy and independence. What does the ritual suggest about how equal and autonomous individuals can interact to form a community? Interestingly, in the drinking ritual, the community of equal and autonomous individuals is represented as being based on disagreement and argument. A sample of village males and females was asked in the value behavior study: "What happens when the men of the village have drunk sahti together in a group?" The actions the respondents picked out as the most frequent were all examples of discordant, assertive, and agonistic behavior: "men become loud and noisy" (in the village, this is a sign of disturbance); "men begin to brag"; "men begin to argue and debate." My observations suggest that the villagers' evaluations are accurate (see question four, Appendix B).

This essentially agonistic interaction does in fact provide a solution to the question of how a community can be formed out of people who perceive themselves as equal and autonomous. For clearly, to be willing to compete with others, even if competition is an assertion of self, is to accept these others as roughly one's peers. In competition, moreover, the individual is involved with others while simultaneously asserting, through the competitive and agonistic spirit, his autonomy. That villagers recognize agonistic displays as ways of showing attachment is seen in the arguments and teasing characterizing the

interactions between husbands and wives and among close friends (see Chapter VI).

This competition also illustrates a form of nonhierarchical and nonauthoritarian leadership. The people keeping the debates lively and telling the most entertaining stories do not necessarily have any political or economic power. Their leadership during group drinking is not even based on their ability to consistently win arguments. Rather, it derives from their skill at drawing people in and along by constantly challenging and irritating them. That this is an accurate representation of an important dynamic in everyday life is seen in the fact that the one individual who is usually the central protagonist in the drinking situations is also frequently a leader in innovations in the village. In daily life, as in the drinking ritual, he stirs others into action (e.g., they try to succeed at an innovation better than he has) by constantly bragging and asserting how clever he is.

If the form of male group drinking illustrates how community can exist among individuals for whom individual autonomy, independence, and equality are important parts of their notions of self, it also shows that self-control and a realistic viewpoint are traits that are necessary to allow the ritual and the actual community to work. These are also personal qualities central to villagers' notions of self. Hence, if under the increasing influence of alcohol, men seem to become more social, this does not mean that they become more self-revealing or open. In the value behavior study, the two forms of behavior villagers rated as occurring least frequently during group drinking were: "men begin to talk about their own and family problems," and "men become violent." (see question four, Appendix B).

While it was mentioned earlier that a village woman suggested that

Rasti men begin to "open up" when they are drinking, it is important to understand that this opening up is not like the opening of a locked box, where something carefully protected and kept secret is suddenly brought out for others to see. The "opening up" of the men while drinking is better compared to the unfolding of a fan. It is not a distinction between inside and outside but rather the exposing of more surface. When men drink, they tell more stories--stories that do not expose the storyteller's innermost thoughts and feelings. In male group drinking, the importance of the privacy of a person's intimate thoughts and emotions is, if anything, reinforced; the villagers see over and over that in even the most convivial and social atmosphere, these are not to be exposed.

Above all, group drinking, with its argumentation and debate, is not considered an appropriate place for negative emotional display. If men get verbally combative, they are not supposed to show themselves to be emotionally involved in the issue. In fact, to lose one's temper is to become comical. The object of the debates is often not to get other people to change their minds but to get them upset and thus to make them seem ridiculous. In this regard, the drinking ritual is not merely expressing a concept of community. It is also providing men with a training ground on which to learn and practice the self-control necessary in daily life to prevent competition, a source of community cohesion, from turning into dangerous and divisive quarrels (see Chapter VI).

It should also be noted that individual patterns of alcohol consumption convey messages about the centrality of control and realism as prerequisites to successful life in the community that parallel those being sent by the ritual as a whole. Though many men drink

heavily during the event, the man who drinks too much will suffer social repercussions. The individual who drinks so much he can't make sense in his arguments opens himself up to ridicule. If an individual drinks to excess and loses physical control of himself (e.g., by passing out, vomiting, etc.), he will also find his drinking companions will remember it, and he will become the major character in a story to be told and retold at his expense. It is interesting that usually when a man has lost physical control due to drink, he becomes almost a nonperson. He is often simply ignored during the event. It may not merely be coincidence that this is the way young children are often treated at adult functions. The symptoms of loss of control are acceptable in a child but not in an adult man.

DRINKING: MEN BECOME BOYS

The man who loses physical control of himself during drinking and becomes openly childlike is the exception. I would suggest, nevertheless, that an important meaning of male group drinking is that in many subtle ways it involves the symbolic transformation of all the men drinkers into boys. Furthermore, since women do not take part in drinking and are not transformed, male group drinking implicitly redefines the relationship of males to females.

The transformation of male drinkers into children is expressed in many ways. First, although adult women do not usually enter the room where men are drinking, both boys and girls wander freely in and out. In fact, men will sometimes offer the children some sahti. Second, by listening, and watching the men drinking, the children see their fathers being teased and ridiculed by others and sometimes see them act in rather silly ways. Third, the degree of equality and solidarity expressed in

the male group drinking is strikingly reminiscent of the peer groups of village young people. Villagers (young as well as the elderly) emphasize the importance of the friendships formed during childhood and school years, and those friendships often crossed the boundaries of socioeconomic class (see Chapter VI). Fourth, even though the drinking is an expected and accepted part of many celebrations, the men often seem a little bit guilty and ashamed about it. In particular, the desire to go and drink is sometimes expressed in childish euphemisms. At a celebration, for example, after drinking coffee inside, one man suggested to the others: "Let's go outside and get some fresh air!" Outside, there were benches set up and the bucket of sahti soon appeared.

This use of euphemism in relation to alcohol also occurred in less formal situations. For example, a businessman from the church village, who has a summer cottage on the lake shore near Rasti, dropped in at a village farm. He wanted to talk about the possibility of buying a small piece of land that adjoined his cottage and was owned by the farm. The businessman suggested that the men (the farmer, his son, and myself-- as I happened to be there) go for a swim at his summer cottage. I went to get my towel and was surprised to find the others had not done so. When we arrived at the cottage, it was soon clear why they hadn't. We immediately sat down to drink and smoke; nobody ever subsequently mentioned swimming. The others had clearly understood that the businessman's invitation was euphemistic. What it had meant to everyone else was: "Let's go over to my summer cottage and have a few drinks!"

Fifth, desire for alcohol may reduce men normally proud of their personal autonomy and self-control to hiding their bottles from their wives, like guilty children. In turn, the wives may treat their husbands like children who can't control themselves and must be manipulated for

their own good. One village farmer, for example, sometimes kept his supply of alcohol hidden in the house where his son, daughter-in-law, and grandchildren lived. The family always knew when he had a bottle hidden there: the farmer would suddenly volunteer to watch his young grandchildren. He inevitably emerged from these duties in a very happy frame of mind. At a nonfarmer's home, the following exchange took place during the Christmas season. The woman remarked that she could always tell if her husband has had even one glass of sahti. Her husband replied: "Oh I don't like sahti." To this, his wife rejoined: "Oh yes, it must be that sahti likes him. He dislikes it so much that he has to drink it up right away." She then claimed that she had to hide a bottle of sahti away so that there would be some in reserve in case guests came. As she put it: "I almost had to sit on it to keep it protected from him."

Sixth, if overindulgence in alcohol in group drinking may get some men to completely lose control over certain of their psychological processes, it also presents physiological difficulties of a lesser sort for all the men (i.e., bladder control). This problem obviously usually preoccupies people primarily during their childhood.

The best way to approach the meaning of this in male group drinking is to look at it in relationship to the typical behavior in the coffee ceremony. The coffee ceremony, like the male group drinking, involves the consumption of large quantities of liquids. But it is striking that rarely, if ever, does anyone seem to leave the room during the coffee ceremony for that reason. The elaborate and conscious self-restraint evident in all the other aspects of the coffee ceremony seems to extend to the bladder as well. In contrast, after drinking has been going on for a while, groups of two, three, or more men begin to drift away. This is the only time, besides when they go up to get coffee, that the men move

from their seats. Inevitably, the men are going together to urinate.

It is significant that here too euphemisms enter into the typical phraseology. At one celebration, for example, the man about to go outside to urinate began to joke about going to do some "sowing (kylvää)". This event was taking place during the heart of winter (and it was in fact snowing). Although the house in which the celebration was taking place had indoor toilets, the men went outside, formed a semicircle in the snow, and urinated together. The fact that the men both drink together and urinate together, of course, underlines the importance of solidarity as an element of the meaning of drinking. However, it also again emphasizes the transformation of men into children during drinking. As in childhood, it is not sexual intercourse that is the focus of concern with the genitals but elimination. (Note how the idea of sowing, which could obviously refer to sexual intercourse, here is turned to urination).

In fact, one of the striking features of male group drinking is the almost complete suppression of male sexuality. One of the only times I heard any sexual reference made in a group drinking situation in the village, the man who made it was pointedly ignored by all the others in the group. It is not surprising that in the value behavior interview, when I asked what people felt men did when they drank in a group, the alternative rated next to the lowest in occurrence was: "to begin to flirt with women" (see question four, Appendix B).

The suppression of sexuality during the male group drinking and the transformation of men into children are further dramatized by the fact that while the men are acting like boys, in the other room the women are usually acting like mothers. In particular, one of the most common topics of conversation for women at celebrations in which male drinking is taking

place is child rearing. Perhaps the most graphic expression of the transformation of the men into children was a thank you card that a village man sent out after his 50th birthday party. The card had two photographs, side by side. On one side, was a picture of the man drinking from a bucket of sahti. On the other side, was a picture of him as an infant at his mother's breast. The card was, to say the least, unusual, and undoubtedly caused a sensation in the village; however, it nicely summarizes much of what has been argued here.

If men are not generally talking about sex while drinking, it is important to look at what they are discussing. One major topic of conversation is politics--local and national. In contrast, women often express distaste for such subjects. At first glance, this contrast between the women discussing child rearing and the men talking about politics might suggest an opposite conclusion from those which have been offered here. The men would appear to be discussing far more weighty, important, and responsible topics. The men's concern with politics clearly is related to the fact that they tend to take a far more active role than women in communal politics. The bulk of positions of trust (luottamus) in political, governmental, and banking organizations are held by men. In 1975, for example, only 4 of 23 positions in the Communal Council were held by women.

This conclusion, however, would be misleading. For, in fact, many of the subjects that men talk about (e.g., relations with the Soviet Union or the negotiations over the prices of various agricultural products) are things that the men have little or no opportunity to influence or control. Even in terms of communal politics, it is a relatively widespread opinion that laymen have very little influence over the outcome of issues in comparison with professional government employees. For example, one

villager appointed to a communal government committee soon gave up attending meetings when he realized that essentially the committee was merely rubber-stamping the decisions of the communal bureaucrats. His remarks about his experience were repeated with approval by many other villagers. Even the villager who had the most powerful role in communal politics expressed his reluctance to oppose the communal bureaucrats, and he was criticized for this by other villagers. He also tended to remain silent when the men discussed politics in male group drinking.

It is thus not surprising that when, on the value behavior interview, I asked villagers why it was that women had far fewer responsible positions in communal organizations than men, that the alternative that "women are light-minded" was almost universally rejected. The alternative that women "don't have time for such things; they're too busy" was given very strong support (see question 20, Appendix B). In fact, several village men suggested that the two village men most deeply involved in communal affairs had time to pursue these interests only because they had wives with professions bringing in sufficient income to allow them this luxury.

DRINKING: COMPETITION'S LIMITS

Looking back at the analysis to this point, two major themes emerge. First, male group drinking provides a solution to the problem of how community can be achieved when people perceive themselves as equal and autonomous. In particular, the solution for this community is competition. In competition, a person is involved with others while asserting, through the competitive and agonistic spirit, his autonomy. Success in competition depends upon the individual's exercise of two of

the most important aspects of village notions of self--self-control and realism. Second, drinking in general (and male group drinking in particular) is associated with a symbolic transformation of men into boys.

These two themes would seem to be contradictory: one emphasizes that in male group drinking individuals must exercise skills that are the hallmark of maturity, and the other emphasizes that there is something childish about male group drinking. These two themes are, in fact, complementary. In particular, the latter would seem to set the boundary to the validity of competition as a means of creating a community. The symbolic transformation of men into boys in male group drinking indicates that even though it takes adult skills to succeed in competition (and thus community), ultimately competition and the community emerging from it are children's games. They are play and are not to be taken too seriously. For in fact, the people of Rasti are not in direct competition with each other economically or politically. Becoming preoccupied with competition with others can easily take individuals' attention away from what is best for them and their families and from what is unique about themselves and their families. Furthermore, to be too anxious to compete can produce conformity, with each person or family trying to be better than the others at the same thing. It is interesting that the farm family most estranged from the other villagers criticized villagers--particularly the farmers--for precisely these reasons. They characterized their fellow villagers as always competing to keep up with each other and suggested that there was always some fashionable thing to do in the village (e.g., selling off dairy cattle or getting rid of fields not close to the main farm), and those fashions were usually foolish.

Thus, although the conflict between autonomy and solidarity or community can be resolved to some extent through competition, both within the ritual of male group drinking and in the community as a whole, competition itself has its limitations. The conflicts between individualism and community social life are not finally resolved but are held in a tenuous balance through competition and social rituals.

This chapter has examined the most important forms of village sociability, focusing upon their relationships to notions of self. It described the complex links between villagers' notions of self and their concepts of work, hospitality, and festivity. Particular attention was paid to the major social events of village life (e.g., major birthday parties) and the coffee ceremony and male group drinking, around which those events are usually structured. It was argued that these events and rituals dramatically act out major conflicts in village notions of self. In them, the crucial question of village life is ritually confronted: How can a community be formed out of people whose notions of self stress personal autonomy and independence. It was suggested that competition plays a major role in handling that dilemma.

The next chapter turns to a form of behavior that this and previous chapters have shown to play a central role in village life--storytelling.

NOTES

¹ Coffee is now beginning to lose its association with the upper and educated classes and is seen by some as a folk drink. Tea seems to be increasingly taken up as fashionable by the professional class of the church village. In this regard, it should be noted that this is not merely a change of substances--from coffee to tea. Professional homes keep a totally different set of cups and saucers for tea, and these are much larger than coffee cups. Frequently, they are of modern Finnish design (with an emphasis on simplicity and color), which contrasts sharply with coffee services. (Villagers occasionally

drink tea out of a coffee cup or a plain glass.)

It is possible that this switch from coffee to tea is also related to a change in the models or ideals of the professional class. Up until the Second World War, the model had been Germany, but after World War II, England has, at least to some extent, replaced it.

²This particular phrasing--"Mitäpä siitä" (It doesn't matter)--is important because it is also typically the way a person will answer a request to borrow something or to do a favor, which are also questions of imbalanced reciprocity. Here the person who is about to give something is minimizing the importance of what he is doing--trying to lower the sense of imbalance.

³There was to some extent a selecting out of potential guests who felt they would have had trouble controlling their emotions. According to the wife of a young man who had grown up with the deceased, her husband had not attended the funeral because he felt he would not have been able to take it. Another woman once expressed that same sentiment to me to explain why she had not attended a friend's funeral.

The Assistant Pastor in Rasti once mentioned that he was extremely surprised at the high amount of emotion expressed by the guests and family when he presided at a funeral of a emigrant from Karelia (who had been a long-time Rasti resident). He attributed this to regional differences. He had himself been raised in Middle Finland, was married to a woman from Häme, and his major pastoral service had been in parishes in Häme and in a Finnish community in Sweden.

⁴One of the strongest contrasts between the village celebrations and the parties of the elite professionals in the church village is that in the latter, women do participate in drinking. However, the drinking in those parties does not take the form that is described here. It is instead like the type of drinking done in dinner parties among educated professionals in the United States.

⁵Although sahti is a symbol of community, it should be pointed out that there are a number of villagers--men and women--strongly opposed to sahti, and to drinking in general. One of these men, when asked what he considered to be the worst feature of life in Rasti, answered "sahti". Finland is one of the few countries to ever have a complete prohibition (1919-32). The temperance movement is still alive in Finland. In village celebrations in which male group drinking occurs, the male teetotalers will spend much, or even all, of their time with the women. Not surprisingly, in light of sahti's role as a symbol of community, these teetotalers are frequently made fun of by other villagers.

⁶Elderly men are sometimes an exception. However, this exception is itself an egalitarian one; any elderly man would be allowed that privilege (see Chapter V).

CHAPTER VIII

THE VILLAGE WORLD OF STORIES

Earlier chapters pointed out that storytelling has a central role in village social life. This chapter analyzes the structure, content, creation, and performance of village stories. Stories and storytelling are shown to be intimately linked to major notions of self discussed in other chapters. The relationship between storytelling and the handling of conflict is explored. The analysis also unveils central village notions of self not discussed in previous chapters. (e.g., the cultural structuring of memory and of the perception of time). Finally, storytelling is discussed as a pervasive means of approaching and solving problems in the village.

THE TYPICAL FEATURES OF STORIES

The first step in this analysis must be to present a very brief outline of the typical features of these stories or anecdotes. These features will be described in more detail when they are directly relevant to the aspect of notions of self under discussion.

First, they are short; frequently the entire story is built around one memorable remark or a brief dialogue. Second, supernatural and fantastic elements or themes virtually never enter into the stories. The main characters of the stories are almost exclusively present or former villagers involved in everyday affairs. The narrators usually claim either to have witnessed the events they describe or to have heard about

the experience from another villager who did. As a result, the stories frequently take for granted that the audience knows a good deal about the story's characters and setting. Third, although the narrators often explicitly or implicitly locate their stories at a particular time, the stories may cover events of the same day as the narration or of five decades before. Stories reach far back into time, but new ones are also constantly being created. Fourth, the stories are concrete and seldom openly analytic. The narrators, as overt commentators, are silent, and the characters' own words and actions are allowed to speak for themselves; the audience is left to draw its own conclusions. Fifth, while the stories are frequently entertaining--very often humorous--they generally are brought into a discussion to make a point about an important subject. Villagers' knowledge and views of such topics as innovation, politics, social stratification, and kinship--either when I inquired about them or when the villagers discussed them among themselves--seemed to be most easily and willingly retrieved from memory in the form of stories. Sixth, although stories are a central way of coding and communicating knowledge, they are normally very simple; consequently, virtually all villagers are constantly involved in creating and/or performing them.¹

THE STORYTELLING PROCESS AND NOTIONS OF SELF

In dealing with the relationship between storytelling and villagers' notions of self, the most important point is perhaps that all villagers are constantly moving between the roles of creator, performer, audience, and character, or subject of a story. These are universal roles, potentially relevant for villagers in virtually any social interaction in which they participate. Regardless of whether they are at a memorial occasion

after a funeral, at a birthday party, or just dropping by for a cup of coffee with a neighbor, villagers know they may hear a story, tell a story, see or hear things they may turn into a story, or do something that may become part of a story told by someone else. It is particularly important to look at the latter two ever present possibilities to understand the relationship between storytelling and villagers' notions of self.

The fact that villagers are constantly taking the things they experience and turning them into stories emphasizes that central to individuals are their roles as observers, constantly scanning the stream of events for good source material. The form of the stories emphasizes the observational aspects of the creative process in storytelling. Stories usually focus upon a short bit of dialogue, which the narrators claim occurred between themselves and other villagers or between several other villagers. The narrators add very little else to the story, making no commentary on the story, not even describing the characters or the setting. They are almost inevitably fellow villagers known to all listeners. As a result, the stories appear not as having been constructed by the narrators but as having been discovered by them. It has been noted in a previous chapter that some villagers define the ideal friend as someone to whom you can tell something without having to worry that what you said would be repeated throughout the village. Villagers regarded this generally as an impossible expectation. Villagers know that even when with their friends, if their words or actions should be good material for a story, they are likely to be incorporated in one.

Because of the observational nature of village stories, they operate as a form of social control. Villagers are aware of being constantly watched. However, the nature of storytelling lends itself just

as much to promoting tolerance and avoiding conflict. This is related to a different type of control inherent in the village storytelling process. Individuals achieve control over experience through constantly transforming experience into stories. This is extremely important to people for whom an emphasis on personal independence (not being controlled by others) and control over emotion are central to their notions of self.

The very act of turning an experience into a story requires individuals to control or discipline their emotional reactions to the experience. One of the most important features of effective storytelling is that narrators do not tell the audience what they were feeling in the event; they let listeners figure that out for themselves on the basis of the actions and dialogue the narrators have described. Certainly this characteristic is generally found in Rasti stories.

Through creating stories, individuals can also gain a subjective--if retrospective--control over situations and other people, turning what might have originally been irritating or distasteful situations into sources of entertainment for others and thus gaining an added amount of esteem and satisfaction for themselves. It is significant that many of the most frequently told entertaining and funny stories center on village people that are cantankerous or deviate most from the village's norms in other ways. Their usefulness as material for entertaining stories seems instrumental in promoting a sense of tolerance for their foibles.

Another way in which storytelling emphasizes control is that it not only eliminates the narrators' emotional responses to the experience, but it generally excludes their conclusions about the other people who were part of the experience. The narrators may believe some of the characters in the stories they are telling are greedy or stupid, but they

do not generally say that. Instead, they allow their version of the subjects' own words and actions to speak for themselves. This helps to avoid or minimize conflict in the village. It is far more difficult to get angry at someone who has simply told a story about you, from which others may conclude that you acted stupidly, than at someone who has said that you are stupid. This approach may explain why villagers are, by and large, able to keep up cordial, and often intimate, relations with people against whom they feel a variety of grudges.

One of the most important ways in which the storytelling process is related to control is that villagers can use the creation and narration of stories as ways of molding their presentations of self. Out of the many experiences of their lives, individuals can choose to present stories depicting the particular views of themselves they want to communicate. Furthermore, in the process of storytelling, they recreate the past into more satisfactory images. Crushing, hilarious remarks, never thought of until after the original encounter, can be inserted. After many retellings, the difference between the actual events and the stories about them is lost, even to the narrator.

For example, one evening a farmer began to tell stories about a villager he strongly disliked. One story was about a verbal exchange he had with this man. It revolved around an insulting remark made to the narrator and the narrator's crushing reply. The next morning I mentioned the story and the punch line to the narrator's wife. She commented: "Oh Juha never said that. He just wishes he did."

Although so far villagers have been dealt with primarily as creators, narrators, and subjects of stories, it is important to also look at their role as members of the audience. Although narrators of stories try to present certain images of themselves through the stories they tell,

this doesn't mean the audience necessarily accepts them. Their stories may not only be challenged by listeners, but the tables may be turned on the narrators, and the stories they were telling may become part of stories implicitly making fun of the narrators. After an orienteering contest, for example, a villager was bragging about how well he had done. He kept telling stories about how he had helped out other competitors, giving them advice and directions. One woman listening to him snapped back: "Oh, you were a traffic director in the woods then." In the story subsequently circulated around the village, it was the sarcastic remark by the member of the audience, rather than the self-congratulatory story of the original storyteller, that became the center or source of amusement.

Members of the audience are also constantly becoming performers. The stories are generally simple, and there are no storytelling virtuosos dominating interactions. In this way, storytelling presents an egalitarian notion of self. No one is allowed to dominate the role of performer. The efforts and the skill of village storytellers are appreciated and enjoyed no matter what their socioeconomic background may be.

STORIES, NOTIONS OF SELF, AND THE COMMUNITY

To this point, storytelling has primarily been looked at as a dynamic activity (i.e., from the perspective of the impact of the different storytelling roles on notions of self). It is now useful to look closely at some of the characteristics of the stories themselves to see what they communicate about notions of self.

One of the central features of the stories is that they involve a personalizing of the world. Even highly abstract matters are primarily

generated, recalled, and shared in terms of their expression in the lives (e.g., concrete actions) of fellow villagers. Above all, this personalizing emphasizes that knowledge comes from being interested in other people's lives. Furthermore, since abstract norms are rarely explicitly formulated or discussed, villagers do not get the sense that they are at the mercy of an external authority. This fits well with the villagers' belief that the individual should be unbossed. Even in their most intimate relationships, individuals do not submerge themselves but retain their autonomy. Similarly, the villagers' refusal to verbalize abstract generalizations or rules suggests that, even if a pattern of behavior emerges from a set of stories about the same subject, that pattern does not attain autonomy. It is the sum of individual examples--the behavior and responses of particular people in particular situations. In their approach to intimate relationships, villagers recognize there may be abstract ideals (e.g., for friendship), but they regard these with skepticism. They consider it naive to take abstract ideals too seriously as accurate bases for predicting actual behavior. The villagers' understanding of friendship and kinship comes instead from the specific examples they have observed or heard about. If anything, the mention of abstract ideals about these relationships merely emphasizes the poverty or worthlessness of such abstractions.

Biography and autobiography are at the heart of the world of village stories, but this is not a biography told chronologically. The personalized nature of the notions of reality embedded in the stories connects them closely with a particular conceptualization of time. For the centrality of these models in social life promotes memory--skill in the recall or reconstruction of the events of one's own and others'

past--into a culturally defined position of prominence. The constant telling and hearing of stories in which experiences of 50 years ago are routinely mixed with those of five years, five days, or five hours before define a view of reality for villagers in which they occupy:

. . . in Time a place far more considerable than the so restricted one allotted them in space, a place, on the contrary, extending boundlessly . . . reaching far back into the years, they touch simultaneously epochs of their lives . . . [Proust 1932:1124].

In one interaction with an elderly village woman, for example, stories moved from her days as a young servant in a rich urban household, to a crisis of several decades before over her husband's job, to the dance at an old people's club she had attended just the day before. As she told stories about those events, they all seemed equally alive to her. In this example, the narrator was describing part of her own firsthand experience. However, villagers have this perception of time not only about their own lives but also about the lives of their fellow villagers.

The individual's wide repertoire of stories has an impact upon villagers' sense of their relationship to the community. From the individual's point of view, community is partly a subjective phenomenon, related to the degree to which individuals feels themselves inextricably bound up in the lives of those around them. This is not simply a function of the number of ties being given active or material expression at one time. Psychologically, at the core of the individual's notion of self is a stream of personal memories. These memories give the individual a subjective sense of continuity (White 1976:412). For many people of Rasti, a significant part of the personal memories communicated to others is stored in the form of stories, and the major characters of those stories have been other villagers. Villagers have provided much of the material--the comedy, tragedy, and absurdity--from which each

fashions his or her own version of what life is about. In this crucial way, villagers are part of each other.

Due to the villagers' constant communication of stories covering a period of many decades, the population of the subjective community is considerably enlarged. Stories frequently involve deceased villagers. At the farm where I lived, for example, the present owner's father had died over a decade before. Yet after a few weeks on the farm, I felt as though I knew him as well as I did villagers with whom I had frequent contacts. I knew his strengths, his weaknesses, and his mannerisms. I knew many funny things he had said or done during the course of his life. It may be that in some ways the control over emotion, which is particularly important in one's reactions to the death of intimates, allows people to keep up a continuing close relationship with the dead. It permits people to talk about the dead in much the same way as they talk about the living. Although villagers naturally told stories mostly about those dead people who had been their intimates, they also talked about other deceased villagers with whom they had not been as close. For example, one farm wife still enjoyed telling how the mother of a now elderly cottager had expressed herself when she was angry with someone. Here again, there is an egalitarian element. For the possibility of individuals being talked about outside of their own family circles is primarily dependent upon the frequency with which they said or did striking or amusing things--not upon their socio-economic status.

Through stories, the village's "subjective population" is also increased by the many villagers who have moved away from Rasti. For examples, Gypsies are a very striking ethnic minority in Finland; they are small in numbers, but they are highly visible in their own distinctive

type of dress. They are typically talked about by villagers in terms of their dishonesty, proclivity for violence, etc. Today, there are no Gypsies in Rasti, but decades ago, one family lived there for a while. This family is still remembered in stories in which a young Gypsy boy had outwitted the local authorities.

In their storytelling, villagers are frequently relating not their own firsthand experiences but those of other villagers. In doing this, the villagers are clearly incorporating those other people's experiences into themselves. In fact, as Benjamin has pointed out, a characteristic of good storytelling is that: "The storyteller takes what he tells from experience--his own or that reported by others. And he in turn makes it the experience of those who are listening to his tale" (1969:97). Thus, while in Rasti there is an emphasis on individual independence and on competitiveness, through the storytelling process people are constantly demonstrating their dependence upon each others' experiences.

Villagers often identify from whom they heard a story. Obviously, the most frequent sources of stories for individuals are those people with whom they are most intimate. It has been shown that these intimate relations are often full of tensions, and/or they are acted out in a competitive manner. Yet the penetration of these intimates into each others' lives is seen every day when villagers tell stories based on the experience of their close relatives and friends. For example, although one woman's relationship with her mother-in-law seems to have been strained for years, the former was constantly telling stories that come from the latter's experience. Again, although a husband and wife may separate at a village celebration, many stories they tell in their separate groups are likely to be based on their spouse's experiences.

STORIES IN A PATTERN: INTERPRETING AND PREDICTING

This chapter's title, *The Village World of Stories*, emphasizes that the villagers share through their stories many of their conceptions of reality. Equally important, villagers do not generally present or hear a story as an isolated unit. For example, a farmer found his neighbor had put fish traps in his shed without permission, and the farmer had taken them out. Later, when the farmer was in the local store, the neighbor (who must have discovered what had happened) pointedly pretended not to have seen the farmer. When the neighbor left, the storekeeper joked to the farmer that a family war had begun. I happened to be there when the farmer returned from the store and told the story of his snub to his wife. When I expressed my surprise at the neighbor's behavior, the farmer and his wife responded by telling several stories in which the neighbor had acting in a similar way in other situations. A few days later, the farmer found one of his new fish traps had been smashed in--just badly enough so that it couldn't be easily repaired. The farmer and his wife were angry but made no accusations. However, when their son came in and was told about it, he immediately blurted out the neighbor's name. His mother quickly responded: "Why must you accuse neighbors?"

This sequence of events is instructive. The initial response of the farmer and his wife to the snub--to tell analagous stories to form a pattern in which another villager's behavior could be seen as fitting the logic of his character--is a means of interpretation and prediction constantly employed by villagers. The mother's rather angry response to her son, when he openly voiced a conclusion about the smashed fish trap that was obvious from the pattern of stories his parents had constructed,

also made sense. The form of interpretation and prediction the parents employed is valued precisely because it allows people to express their views without having to make direct accusations that might lead to serious confrontations. This attitude to confrontations--it is best to avoid or ignore them--is pervasive among villagers and is embedded in all the stories of the sequence just discussed. The stories made no mention of retaliation taken or seriously planned against the offending villager. Because this villager took such aggressive action against people he felt had wronged him, he seems a pathetic and laughable figure in the stories.

The power of village storytelling lies in the fact that once an initial pattern has been suggested by a narrator's story, the audience can draw upon its own knowledge of the village stories to provide other analagous examples. The ability of the individual to pull out of his or her stock of village stories ones that are appropriate to a problem under discussion is an important prerequisite for active participation in the social life of the village. Above all, the village world of stories and the form of thought built upon it are based upon allusions.

In this centrality of allusiveness, the world of village stories is like the world of literature. Frye has pointed out that: ". . . in literature you don't just read one poem or novel after another, but enter into a complete world of which every work of literature forms part" (1964:69). Comprehending the meaning of literature depends upon the reader's knowledge of the classics. The allusiveness in village stories and the reliance on allusiveness as a key form of thought divides villagers and nonvillagers nonspatially. On the one hand, newcomers have trouble fitting themselves into the community's life. The village world of stories, which is an effective

channel of communication and tool for thought for villagers, is for the newcomer a high barrier, which may never be scaled. One farmer's wife, who had lived in the village for over 30 years, partially attributed her failure to find friends to the fact that she came from a distant region of Finland, where storytelling was quite different. On the other hand, as has been pointed out, former villagers who either have moved or have died remain part of the village world through their place as characters in stories that are still told.²

How is this concrete, analogical, and allusive way of thinking about problems related to the conceptualization of time? Obviously, it emphasizes that in the present, the past still lives, and the future may be anticipated. For example, one of the stories told about the villager accused of wrecking a fish trap was over a decade old. At the same time, I could see the birth of a new story about this most recent event that might be told and retold in the future. In this form of thought, there may be specific temporal references, but chronology is not emphasized. In the implicit patterns of explanation, interpretation, and prediction, analogy and not chronology structures and organizes thought.

In fact, the whole thought process might be characterized as anti-historical (if history is conceived of as dealing with fundamental change). Although it continually uses new materials (new stories that may deal with innovations), it is antagonistic to change in the character of the individuals through whose actions the images of reality are presented. New ideas and customs can be assimilated if they are represented through the actions of basically unchanging individuals. A constantly changing world is not highly threatening, if at the most fundamental level--the individual--nothing really changes.

For example, one woman appeared to be very serious and solemn, but villagers told stories revealing that until relatively recently she had been known throughout the village as a lady of rather easy virtue. This type of story was typical of how villagers handled anyone who seemed to have altered his or her patterns of behavior or style of life. Villagers denied, through their stories, that such changes were part of a basic developmental process. Rather, they often suggested that the new character was merely a pretense or facade.

The villagers typecast each other in their stories, and it is very difficult for individuals, who knows the story-characters, to break out of those molds. Many villagers settle down to being, in public at least, accomplished character actors, whose performances become entertaining or amusing often simply because they are so predictable. Kawin argues that: "It may be that in comedy we expect a character to act the same way most of the time; we feel we see through a character more surely and recognize him faster" (1972:37). That the villagers provide entertainment and frequently comic relief for each other may explain, in part, why, although villagers are often in their stories and talk highly critical of each other, their actions display a rather amazing degree of tolerance. As Thorndike has pointed out: ". . . when one is entertained by a person one has gone a long way towards understanding and loving" (1960:vii).

This chapter has considered a central facet of village life--storytelling. It has examined the content, creation, and performance of stories. A number of key aspects of village notions of self have been shown to be closely linked to the nature of stories and storytelling (e.g., stresses on personal autonomy, egalitarianism, and control

of emotion). It has been argued that the nature of stories and storytelling is a factor helping villagers develop intimate relationships and feel part of a community without violating, for example, the villagers' strong need for a sense of personal autonomy. Knowledge of village stories and skill in creating and performing them have been shown to be important prerequisites for taking an active part in village life. Finally, it was suggested that storytelling defines and constitutes a form of allusive thought pervasive in the village; it also expresses a conceptualization of time that gives an antihistorical orientation to village notions of self.

The concluding part of this study will present a brief summary of the preceding material and then suggest that there is a single structuring principle organizing the various and opposing notions of self found to be central in village life.

NOTES

¹ In describing storytelling among elderly Jews at a Senior Citizens' Center in California, Myerhoff argued that in telling their tales, the Center people did not primarily aim at . . . marking their successes or unusual merits. Rather they were efforts at ordering, sorting, explaining--rendering coherent their long life, finding integrating ideas and characteristics that helped them know themselves as the same person over time, despite great ruptures and shifts. No doubt their emigrant experience and the loss of their original culture made them even more prone to seek continuity and coherence. Survivors, it is often noted, are strongly impelled to serve as witnesses to what has been lost [1978:33-34].

Since a high percentage of Rasti's population is elderly, that might suggest that the village storytelling primarily serves the functions described above. That is an especially appealing hypothesis because as noted in earlier chapters, the present elderly generation in Rasti, though not made up primarily of emigrants, has lived through many of the most decisive changes in its nation's history. However, storytelling is central not only to the village's elderly but also to its younger generations. Furthermore, the process of creating stories is ongoing, and contemporary events are constantly being incorporated

into anecdotes. Thus, although storytelling in Rasti may play the types of functions described by Myerhoff, it certainly fulfills many other essential social needs, as well.

²It is significant that this type of story--with its personalizing and its reliance on allusiveness--was not frequently told among the commune's middle level professionals, either in their social events or in their organizational activities. Since they are highly mobile and are unlikely to have either grown up in Pellava or to remain there permanently, this is understandable. When these people did tell personal stories, they were likely to have been about activities all the listeners--regardless of whether they had known each other for long--would have engaged in (e.g., smuggling booze through customs, taking trips abroad, serving in the military). The other type of story often told in their social events was totally context free and self-contained (i.e., the story line did not depend upon the listeners' knowledge of the characters involved). No attempt was made to attach the story to an actual person; its humor depended upon puns, double entendre, etc.

CHAPTER IX

IN CONCLUSION

This final chapter briefly summarizes the major points of the last eight chapters and then suggests that there is a single structuring principle organizing the various and opposing major village notions of self that were described in detail in the preceding material. This principle will be shown to be closely related to the nature of powerful economic, political, and social forces operating on the national and local levels. A vital and common function of the central rituals of village life will be described in the light of the importance of this principle.

SUMMARY

This study began with a brief review of the most relevant research on Finland. It was suggested that there was a need for a Finnish village study based on extensive fieldwork and participant observation and presenting a comprehensive picture of the dynamics of community life and interpersonal interactions.

Finnish social scientists have increasingly turned towards studies of contemporary Finnish communities. However, it was shown that analyses of social events and patterns of interpersonal interactions were not their main interest. This is primarily the result of the theoretical and methodological orientations of Finnish ethnology and sociology, which have been until recently, the fields most closely

associated with social and cultural anthropology in Finland. Furthermore, Finnish village norms governing social interactions have been assumed by Finnish authors and readers and have seldom been subjected to close scrutiny and analysis. The studies carried out by Finnish scholars have also done little to explore the ways in which the cultural values and norms expressed in local social life have been molded by national and international economic, political, and intellectual forces and events.

Two recent studies by anthropologists from American universities have done much to remedy this situation and to raise other interesting research questions (Lander 1971; Frölander-Ulf 1978). Lander's work on a rural but industrialized commune analyzed the role of social stratification in structuring interpersonal interactions and community life. Furthermore, Lander demonstrated the significant impact on the commune of the increasing penetration of national institutions, thus pointing to the importance of including analysis of the national and international frameworks in studies of local Finnish communities. Frölander-Ulf's research focused on a Finnish village and shed a good deal of light on the very complex male-female relations in rural Finland.

Nevertheless, Lander and Frölander-Ulf both did research on communities in Northeastern Finland. Because there is a significant degree of regional differentiation in Finland, their findings (on social stratification and the role of women) merit reexamination in the context of another region of Finland. This is particularly important on the village level. Traditionally, in Northeastern Finland, villages had dispersed settlement patterns; by contrast, villages in Southern Finland were generally more compact. Also, industrial and agricultural development

have advanced much more quickly in Southern Finland.

The research reported here took place in the commune of Pellava in Häme (in Southern Finland). Pellava's economy is dominated by agriculture, and its Communal Council has a decisive nonsocialist majority. The village of Rasti, the focus of this research, is an ancient community, with a comparatively varied population and an unusually high number of village-wide activities and services.

In the study of Rasti, the dynamics of contemporary village life and interpersonal interactions were analyzed and described in terms of cultural notions of self (Rosaldo 1980). The study focused on cultural understandings of the nature of individuals (i.e., assumptions about their needs, rights, obligations, motivations, emotions, weaknesses, and strengths). It was valuable to organize the analysis around notions of self because within that framework the behavior patterns characteristic of key village social relationships (e.g., husband-wife, parent-child, friendship, farmers-nonfarmers) could be explained with a relatively small number of variables. Furthermore, the tensions and stresses characterizing some of the most important relationships in the village (e.g., husband-wife) and typifying villagers' feelings about some important social issues (e.g., the use and abuse of alcohol) were also understandable in terms of the existence of conflicting notions of self. It was argued that the major components of village notions of self are often in conflict with each other. The most central conflicts revolve around the value of individualism. This individualism is characterized by an emphasis on personal autonomy or independence and a high valuation of egalitarianism.

The analysis began with an examination of the key features of the social, economic, and political structure of Finland. This provided

necessary background for the interpretations and assertions made later about the relationships between the tensions and stresses of village life and both national and international forces. In particular, an attempt was made to show how these forces have contributed to making individualism a major element of villagers' notions of self. For example, it was shown that beginning in the middle of the 18th century, a goal of land reform in Finland had been the break up of the traditional village, in which forest was owned in common, and fields were organized in a strip system, and the establishment in its stead of farms as individual autonomous units.

A particular focus of attention was the rise of the timber industry, a dominating force in the national economy since the latter part of the 19th century. The timber industry was shown to have had a major impact on the development of national integration and the definition of Finland's place in the world capitalist system. From the perspective of this study, the great significance of the rise of the timber industry was its massive impact on the development of Finnish agriculture, the rise of class conflict, and the deepening of social stratification in rural Finland. Particularly significant was that the influx of money into Finnish farmers' hands from the sale of timber fostered an attempt on their part to ignore the traditional rural egalitarianism and attempt to assert their social and cultural supremacy over the growing population of landless Finns. However, a number of forces operated in opposition to the farmers' efforts, for example, the rise of a powerful socialist movement. The resulting tensions exploded in a Civil War, in which the socialist forces were defeated by an army in which farmers played a major role. During the interwar period, national social policies were adopted that viewed

the individualistic small farmer as the ideal, and an unsuccessful attempt was made to defuse social tension in the countryside through economically unviable land reforms aiming towards making Finland a "peasant republic."

The Finnish defeat in the Finno-Soviet wars had a tremendous impact on farmers' and nonfarmers' notions of self. In the postwar period, Finland has become an increasingly industrialized and urbanized nation. Consequently, the farmers' power base has become increasingly weakened, and the farming profession has moved from being a national ideal to being often pictured as economically parasitic, requiring an inordinate amount of government subsidization. The ideal of the "peasant republic" has died.

The study next briefly considered the commune of Pellava, where Rasti is located, examining the main trends in the commune's population structure and economy and their relationship to national forces and events. Particular attention was paid to the most powerful trends, including an overall loss in population (part of the general flight from the Finnish countryside) and a growth in importance of the service and business sectors (reflecting the national changes in occupational structure). Among the other important trends considered was a shift within the commune of population, sources of entertainment and recreation, organizational and commercial activities, and essential services away from the commune's rural hamlets, like Rasti, and towards the central church village of Pellava.

These major trends were shown to have had a major impact on Rasti. Among the most significant characteristics of present-day Rasti are a shrinking population and a growing imbalance in the village's age structure (i.e., an increasingly high percentage of elderly people

and a decreasing percentage of young people). Also highly significant has been the continuing disappearance of nonfarmers from the village, reflecting the growing job opportunities in urban Finland and the decline in possibilities for nonfarmers in rural areas.

Because agriculture has always been the heart of the Rasti economy, special attention was paid to its development over the last 100 years. Especially important was the shift to dairy farming, which increasingly took place during the beginning of the 20th century, and the change from dairy farming to other specialized forms of farming, which began in the early 1960s.

It was stressed that in the postwar period, the economic and social relationships between village farmers and nonfarmers have been dramatically transformed, with the nonfarmers no longer being almost exclusively dependent on the farmers for sources of employment. Although farmers and nonfarmers now seldom face each other as boss and laborer, the analysis showed that there still exists a significant difference between the two groups in terms of standards of living, and the farmer-nonfarmer split is clearly reflected in each group's political preferences.

Although the population losses the village has suffered have also meant an accompanying decrease in community activities, an analysis of Rasti's present-day organizational life, community events, and services suggested that this village's level of social activities is relatively high by today's standards. It was found that despite the powerful centrifugal forces affecting Rasti, villagers are still strongly attached to their community. This is even more startling in light of the fact that individualism is a central aspect of village notions of self. In fact, among the major research questions

examined in this study was the issue of how villagers are able to establish strong intimate relationships and a powerful sense of solidarity with their community when some of the central aspects of their notions of self appear to pull them away from those commitments.

The examination of the dynamics of interpersonal interactions and social life in Rasti, in terms of cultural notions of self, began with a discussion of occupational identity, first exploring the changing system of professional and academic titles. This showed that villagers feel a tension between hierarchical and egalitarian notions of self, and this tension is reflected in formality, which is especially characteristic of interactions between people from different social classes and with strangers. It was also argued that work plays a major role in people's sense of identity. The quality of a person's work, irregardless of the individual's specific profession, is an egalitarian yardstick by which villagers judge themselves and others.

The analysis of notions of self of specific occupations concentrated primarily on farmers. It was argued that farmers now experience an intense conflict among their notions of self. Their profession has traditionally emphasized individualism, especially the importance of individual autonomy and independence. Yet, the postwar economic, political, and social developments in Finland have made them intensely aware of their dependence on the Finnish government and of their lack of control over major national and international forces significantly affecting their lives. Conflicts revolving around individualistic notions of self were also shown to be characteristic of village non-farmers. The nature of conflicts between hierarchy and egalitarianism and between personal autonomy and dependence in notions of self were further explored through analysis of the changing system of

second person pronouns of address. Finally, examination of how first names, diminutives, and nicknames are used in the village led to a consideration of the meaning of intimacy for villagers.

The meaning of intimacy was explored through an analysis of the characteristic patterns of interaction in some of the closest relationships in the village: husband-wife, parent-adult child, kinship, and friendship. The major issue raised was: How do villagers handle the difficulties entailed in trying to establish intimate relationships, when independence and autonomy are central parts of their notions of self? An analysis of husband-wife interactions concluded that competitiveness was the idiom in which spouses were able to express their mutual intimacy and solidarity, without overtly violating other important notions of self. It was noted, however, that this approach was not characteristic of parent-adult child relationships, at least in farm families. In those families, the children's decisions to stay and eventually take over the farm frequently led to galling mutual dependencies, and intergenerational relations were often strained. Friendship was, however, also shown to be a relationship in which the competitive idiom was the way in which affection was commonly expressed.

Having looked at how intimate relationships were typically handled, the analysis turned to consideration of frequent sources of conflict in the village. It was argued that the people most frequently negatively evaluated by villagers, and most likely to be embroiled in quarrels, often seemed to misunderstand important village notions of self and the community norms governing competition (e.g., by failing to comprehend the line between teasing and insulting and by not recognizing that the object of competition in the village is to be

involved with other people, not vanquish them).

The most prominent and pervasive forms of village sociability became the next subject for discussion. The focus was, again, upon their relationship to village notions of self. Hospitality plays a central role in the dynamics of interpersonal relationships. Widely-held village concepts of hospitality and the most important large-scale village social events were discussed in detail.

Although hospitality is a central part of village life, there is clear evidence that villagers find the roles of host and guest to be problematic. The analysis of hospitality revolves around the assertion that the difficulties villagers experience in these roles stem from conflicts among villagers' notions of self.

Coffee is the most important ingredient in village hospitality. Coffee was also shown to symbolize the value of sociability and festivity, both in daily life and in major social events. The basic form hospitality takes--the coffee ceremony--is examined in detail. It was argued that the coffee ceremony ritually acts out a conflict between egalitarianism and hierarchy, and between dependence and autonomy in village notions of self. Ironically, the coffee ceremony, originally an imitation of the customs of the elite, now emphasizes, instead, the importance of personal independence and equality.

The coffee ceremony and hospitality in general are also shown to serve the function of making the boundary between the world of festivity and the world of work clear. They emphasize the danger of allowing either of these worlds to take over a dominant role in an individual's life; they communicate the message that a dynamic balance between these two worlds is necessary.

An examination of the most important social events in village life (e.g., major birthday parties, funerals, and memorial occasions) revealed striking similarities among them in structure, form, and behavioral norms. It was argued that these similarities are explicable in terms of the fact that they help facilitate individual control over emotions in sometimes difficult and tragic circumstances. Control over emotion is a central facet of village notions of self.

While the coffee ceremony is inevitably the center of major social events in the village, another very different form of hospitality is frequently going on in conjunction with it: male group drinking. Male group drinking was analyzed as forming the second act of a social drama of hospitality beginning with the coffee ceremony. The drinking ritual assumes that in the coffee ceremony, egalitarian notions of self have ritually triumphed over hierarchical ones. Male group drinking confronts a difficult and crucial issue: How can a community develop out of individuals for whom personal autonomy and equality form the heart of their notions of self?

It was suggested that the ritual of male group drinking dramatically represents such a community as being based on disagreement and argument--agonistic competition. In fact, in Rasti the villagers' high degree of competitiveness does bring them together and, furthermore, a nonhierarchical form of leadership is exercised in the village by a few people adept at getting other people to want to compete with them. Major facets of village notions of self--high valuation of self-control and of realism--are seen as assuring that competition, which can build a sense of community, will not easily be transformed into divisive antagonism. In fact, it was suggested that male group drinking is really a competition in self-control

and thus a good training ground for success in everyday life.

Next, it was argued that in male group drinking, men are symbolically transformed into boys. This ritually sends a message about the limitations of competition as a means of forming a community. It takes adult skills--self-control and realism--to succeed in competition and community. However, although community and competition are enjoyable and valuable, in the last analysis, they are like children's games, and it is dangerous to take them too seriously. It is argued that in this way, conflicts between individualism and community social life are not finally resolved but instead held in a tenuous balance through competition and social rituals.

Finally, a central facet of village life--storytelling--was considered. The content, creation, and performance of stories were examined. A number of key aspects of village notions of self were shown to be closely related to the character of stories and storytelling (e.g., stresses on personal autonomy, egalitarianism, and control of emotion). It was suggested that the nature of stories and storytelling is a factor helping villagers develop intimate relationships and feel part of a community, without violating, for example, the villagers' strong need for a sense of personal autonomy. Knowledge of village stories and skill in creating and performing them were shown to be important prerequisites for taking an active part in village life. Finally, it was suggested that storytelling defines and constitutes a form of allusive thought pervasive in the village; it also expresses a conceptualization of time that gives an anti-historical orientation to village notions of self.

STRUCTURAL PRINCIPLES

The preceding chapters have thus described and analyzed some of the central cultural notions of self found in a small Finnish village. These notions have been shown to be firmly rooted in major political, economic, and social forces operating at the national and local levels.

Most significantly, the analysis revealed that there are a number of conflicting and contradictory elements among these notions of self. The most crucial conflicts center upon individualism: there is simultaneously a stress upon personal autonomy and on the value of membership in the local community. There is also an emphasis on egalitarianism but simultaneously a recognition of the existence of a social and economic hierarchy. In addition, while the world of work plays a crucial role in defining notions of self, the importance of festivity and sociality in the individual's life is also acknowledged.

If there is a common structure organizing these various and opposing notions of self, it is the delicate balance of equal and opposite forces. In each of the opposing pairs of notions of self, each member of the pair has positive consequences, when followed in moderation and not taken to extremes. For example, a stress on individualism makes sense when for several hundred years the primary trend in agriculture has been the consolidation of farms into relatively autonomous units, eventually operating as capitalistic enterprises. Furthermore, the continuing stress on personal autonomy as a fundamental facet of the farming profession has helped farmers keep their self-respect when national forces have increasingly led to a loss of prestige for that vocation. On the other hand, an attachment to community is important where farms are so small that a certain amount of lending and borrowing

of tools and equipment is economically necessary. Furthermore, for small farmers, the risk in experimentation with new crops and cultivation techniques can be minimized by modest joint ventures. Finally, farmers have found that marketing their products through cooperatives and lobbying on the national level through farmers' interest groups are essential to their individual economic well-being.

If the overall structuring principle in the notions of self is a balance of equal and opposite forces, it is not surprising that the central rituals of village life (e.g., the coffee ceremony and male group drinking) can be understood as boundary maintaining devices. These ceremonies emphasize the need for each member in a pair of opposing notions of self to limit and moderate or contain the other. For example, the coffee ceremony stresses the necessity of keeping the worlds of festivity and work separate from each other and the importance of not allowing either to predominate in the individual's life. Male group drinking emphasizes the pleasures of sociality that emerge from competitive and agonistic interactions with other men. Competition--which is best and most exciting when it involves the matching of roughly equal opponents--has been shown to be a major way villagers generally balance the opposing demands of community or intimacy and autonomy or independence. However, male group drinking ritually suggests that ultimately involvement in competition must remain limited. Over-indulgence may lead to economic disaster or to excessive social conformity. It has been suggested that the interest of villagers in the lives and foibles of a small number of negatively evaluated residents of the community (i.e., deviants) serves as a boundary maintaining device for competition. The behavior of those deviants illustrates to villagers the dangerous consequences of allowing competition to get out

of control.

It is probably not fortuitous that in general self-control is one of the most central facets of notions of self. In fact, a value on self-control is one of the only major cultural notions of self that does not have an equal and opposite force. Where the structuring of notions of self requires the continual balancing of equal and opposite forces, self-control--not allowing oneself to go to any extreme--is an essential and necessary skill. The value of self-control has been given further emphasis by the fact that on the national level self-control has been the keystone of Finland's foreign policy during the postwar period.

This research has demonstrated the value of organizing analysis of communities in modern complex societies in terms of notions of self. Certainly, additional studies of this type should be pursued in other areas of Western Europe. More specifically, the centrality of individualism and conflicts about individualism in notions of self in Rasti is certainly not unique to that community, or its nation. Individualism has long been an important concept in Western Europe. As Lukes has argued, attempts to define, trace, and evaluate the origins of individualism have interested such diverse thinkers as Durkheim, Marx, J.S. Mills, Saint-Simon, Tocqueville, and Weber (1973). Comparative anthropological research on individualism should focus on the forms individualism takes, the conflicts it engenders, and the ways these conflicts are handled in interpersonal interactions in various Western European communities.

APPENDIX A

BASIC INTERVIEW (PART 1)

Name_____ Birthplace_____ Age_____

Previous addresses in Pellava _____ Years at present address_____

Years at previous addresses_____

Total years in Pellava _____

Years outside of Pellava _____

Years outside of Hāme _____

Years in a City _____

Non-native of Pellava, Native

If non-native: Why did you come to Pellava?

Marital status

Single Married Divorced Widower (Widow) Separated

ChildrenNumber of children outside of household_____ Number of children
in Pellava_____Children in Pellava

Names Professions Addresses

Children outside of Pellava_____ Outside Hāme_____ In cities_____

Children out of Pellava

Professions:

Parents: Professions

Siblings

Number of siblings _____ In Pellava _____ Moved from Pellava _____

Siblings in Pellava

Names

Professions

Addresses

Siblings who left Pellava

Professions:

Education

Years in school _____ Last school attended _____ C. N. C.

Work history

Retired Unemployed How long? _____

Present job (or job before retirement or unemployment) How long? _____

Present employer (or last employer)

Other types of work How long?

Clubs and organizationsPositions of trust in communal or church government

Political affiliation: Which of the following parties, in your opinion, best represents your interests in local affairs? National affairs?

Coalition, Liberal, Center, Christian, Rural, Social Democratic,

Finnish People's Democratic League

Newspapers and magazines read:Shopping

How often do you shop in the following places?

	Daily 2-3/week 1/week 2-3/month 1/month Less				
The church village					
The mobile store					

	Daily	2-3 times/ week	1/week	2-3 times/ month	1/month	less
Local village store						

Church village: How often do you go to the church village?

Do you go to any other church village as frequently or more frequently than to Pellava's church village? Which? _____

Cities

How often do you go to the following cities?

	more than 1/week	1/week	2/month	1/month	6/year	3/year	less
Hämeenlinna							
Lahti							
Helsinki							
Tampere							

Note: In the following questions, when an answer required a frequency or percentage, one of the following sets of alternatives was offered. The appropriate set of alternatives is indicated in the margin of each of the relevant questions.

1. A-More than once a week. B-Once a week. C- Twice a month. D-Once a month. E-Six times a year. F-Three times a year. G-At least once a year.
2. A-More than three times a week. B-Two or three times a week. C-Once a week. D-Two or three times a month. E-Once a month. F-Six times a year. G-Three times a year. H-Once a year. I-Not once in a year.
3. A-0 percent. B-10 percent. C-20 percent. D-30 percent. E-40 percent. F-50 percent. G-60 percent. H-70 percent. I-80 percent. J-90 percent. K-100 percent.

PART 2 The following questions were asked in regard to a list of over 20 public places or events located primarily in the church village

1. K-1 Have you ever visited _____?
How often did you visit _____ in 1974?
- K-2a Have you ever in the previous five years attended the Independence Day Celebration of the Pellava Commune?
- K-2b Have you ever in the previous five years attended the Pellava May Day celebration?
- K-2c Have you ever in the previous three years attended the Pellava Flax Market celebration?
- K-2d Did you attend the celebration of Pellava's 600th anniversary as an administrative parish?
- K-2e When you go shopping for food in Pellava's church village, do you go mainly to the same store?
If yes: In which store do you go most frequently?

(The above question was followed by a list of the four grocery stores in the church village.)

3. K-3a When you go to the Pellava church village, how often do you go to a bar, coffee bar or restaurant to get coffee, food, or some other refreshments?
3. K-3b When you go to the Pellava church village, how often do you go _____?
 1. Alone
 2. With your spouse
 3. With others than members of your family
3. K-3c When you go to Hämeenlinna or Lahti, how often do you go _____?
 1. Alone
 2. With your spouse
 3. With others than members of your family
3. K-3d When you go to the Pellava church village, how often do you make an agreement to meet someone in the church village who lives elsewhere than in Rasti?
3. K-3e When you go to the Pellava church village, how often do you unexpectedly meet friends living elsewhere than Rasti and chat with them?
- K-4a Have you any relatives (cousins and closer relatives), other than siblings, that live in the Pellava church village? If yes: How many families?

Social Life

1. S-1a Did any of your friends (acquaintances) and relatives that live in the Pellava church village visit or drop in on you last year? If so: How often did they do so last year? Did they visit at some time of year more often? Less often?
1. Did you visit or drop in on any of your friends (acquaintances) and relatives that live in the Pellava church village last year? If so: How often did you do so last year? Did you visit at some time of year more often? Less often?
1. S-1b In which of the following rural villages did you visit or drop in on in 1974?

How often did you visit or drop in on the village of _____ during the last year?

(These above questions were asked in relation to a list of eight of the largest rural villages in the commune of Pellava.)

In which of the rural villages of Pellava, other than those just mentioned, have you most frequently visited or dropped in last year? How often?

1. S-1c Were you away from your home (farm) in the evening last year (i.e., attending a meeting, visiting, dropping in, or anywhere)?

How often were you away from your home (farm) in the evening last year? Were you away from your home (farm) in the evening more often during some time of year? Less often?

3. S-1d When you were visiting or dropping in during 1974, how often did you go with your spouse?
- S-1e When were you last away from your home (farm) more than two days at a time? Was this for work or for vacation? How long were you away? Where were you? Were you with your spouse?
3. S-2a How many of your relatives (i.e., cousins and closer relatives) that reside in Pellava lived in Rasti in 1974? (How many families?)
3. S-2b How many of your relatives (i.e., cousins and closer relatives) that reside in Pellava lived in a rural village of Pellava other than Rasti in 1974?
3. S-2c How many of your relatives (i.e., cousins and closer relatives) that reside in Pellava lived in Pellava's church village in 1974?
3. S-2d How many of your relatives (i.e., cousins and closer relatives) lived elsewhere than in Pellava in 1974?
3. S-2e How many of your friends and relatives that you also consider friends that reside in Pellava lived in Rasti in 1974?
3. S-2f How many of your friends and relatives that you also consider friends that reside in Pellava lived in a rural village of Pellava other than Rasti during 1974?
3. S-2g How many of your friends and relatives that you also consider friends that reside in Pellava lived in the church village of Pellava during 1974?
3. S-2H How many of your friends and relatives that you also consider friends lived elsewhere than in Pellava during 1974?

2. S-3a How often did you visit or drop in on a house in Rasti last year? Did you go more often during some time of year? Less often?
2. S-3b How often did residents of Rasti visit or drop in on you last year? Do the people of Rasti visit or drop in on you during some time of year more often? Less often?
- S-4 Which of the homes of Rasti did you visit or drop in on in 1974?
 1. More than once a week?
 2. Once a week?
 3. Once or twice a month?
 4. At least once a year?
- S-5 Which of the residents of Rasti visited or dropped in on you more often in 1974?
- S-6 Have you relatives or friends who have come (e.g., from a city) to live with you (or near you) in the previous five years for at least two days at a time? If yes: Who? From where did they come? How long?
- S-7a Have you (in the previous three years) taken part in work bees (talkoot)? If yes: What kind? Where? When?
- S-7b Have you ever had work bees on this farm (in this house)? If yes: What kinds? When?

Daily Schedule

- Ak-1 How many times a day do you drink coffee?
- Ak-2 What were your normal eating times during 1974?
2. Ak-3 How often did you go to the sauna last year? Did you go to the sauna more often during some time of year last year? Less often?
- Ak-3b What day did you go to the sauna last year?
- Ak-4a What was your normal waking up time in 1974? Did you wake up earlier during some time of year in 1974?
- Ak-4b What was your normal time to go to sleep during 1974?

In questions Ak-1, Ak-2 and Ak-4b, the interviewees were also asked about seasonal variations in their schedules.

Opinions

- Sk-1a Which of this village's residents would be, in your opinion, most competent to take care of joint matters?
- Sk-1b Who are, in your opinion, the most influential people in Rasti?
- Sk-1c The opinion of which residents of Rasti do you hold in esteem in professional matters?
- Sk-1e The opinion of which residents of Rasti do you hold in esteem in communal matters?
- Sk-1f The opinion of which residents of Rasti do you hold in esteem in the affairs of Rasti?
- Sk-1i If I wish to learn about the present (past) customs of Rasti, with whom do you recommend that I speak?

(The above questions were eventually dropped from the interview.)

- Sk-1j What is, in your opinion, the most important positive characteristic of Rasti?
- Sk-1k What is, in your opinion, the most important negative characteristic of Rasti?
- Sk2 When you go to buy goods at a local (i.e., village) store, do you go to buy from one store more often than from the other? If yes: From which of the stores?
 - a. The E-Hāme
 - b. The Pellava Cooperative Store
- Sk-3a Have you thought to remain permanently in Rasti or move somewhere else?

Alternatives:

1. Remain permanently.
2. Remain at least for the time being.
3. Move.

b. Why?

- C-2 Would you want (did you want) that at least one of your children would pursue (pursued) your profession?

Why?

Marriage

M-1 If the interviewee is married, or a widow, or a widower:

M-1a Where did you become acquainted with your spouse?

M-1b When you became acquainted with your spouse, where did he (she) live?

M-1c Where did you live?

M-1d How long were you acquainted with your spouse before you got married?

M-1e,f In what year and month did you get married?

M-g When you got married, did you own a farm, house, or residence?

If not:

M-1h Did you rent a farm, house, or residence?

M-1i When you got married, where did you live in the beginning?

M-2 Have you ever lived apart from your spouse for at least three weeks at a time in order to do work or to study (not including time in the armed forces)?

If yes:

1. Who?

2. When?

3. How long?

4. What kind of work or study?

5. Where?

M-3 Had you ever been married before you married your present spouse?

If yes:

Were you divorced or a widow (widower)?

Interests

H-1a Do you hunt?

If yes:

How many times did you go hunting in 1974?

With whom did you go?

What kinds of game do you usually hunt?

H-1b Do you fish?

If yes:

How many times did you go fishing in 1974?

With whom did you go?

H-2 Have you ever been abroad?

If yes?

Where?

What was the purpose of the trip?

When and how long?

With whom did you go?

BASIC INTERVIEW (PART 3)

Note: When relevant, the following questions were asked of nonfarmers in regard to housing and landownership.

Do you own this farm or is it rented? O R

If they own it:

Do you own it with your spouse? Y N Do you own it with any others? Y N With whom? _____

Have others ever owned it with you? Y N Who? _____
When? _____

Have you bought it or have you inherited it? B I

At what age did you buy (inherit) this farm? Husband _____
Wife _____ Others _____

From whom have you bought (inherited) it? _____

If they do not say that they have bought (inherited) it from their parents, ask them: Were the former owners your relatives? Y N

If they were the parents of the present owners, then ask:

When did this farm come into the possession of your kin? _____

After you bought (inherited) this farm, did the former owners live on your farm? Y N

If yes, then ask: Did they live in the main building with you, or did they have their own house? Main Own

After you bought (inherited) it, how long did they live on your farm? _____

Did they move away at some stage? Y N

If yes- To where did they move? _____ When did they move? _____

If after they bought (inherited) the farm, their relatives have not lived

with them, then ask: To where did the former owners move? _____

Did your other siblings or relatives have a possibility to buy (inherit) this farm before you bought (inherited) it? Y N

Who? _____ Why did he (she) not buy (inherit) it? _____

Did you pay shares to your siblings? Y N

If they did not buy (inherit) this farm from relatives-- How did you notice that this farm was for sale? _____

Do you know to where the former owners moved? _____

If they bought (inherited) the farm from relatives, or they did not buy it from relatives-- Do you know how long the former owners owned the farm? _____

Do you know at what age the former owners sold it? _____

Husband _____ Wife _____ Others _____

Do you know why the former owners sold it? _____

Do you know from whom the former owners bought (inherited) this farm? _____

Do you know at what age the former owners bought (inherited) this farm?

Husband _____ Wife _____ Others _____

Did you buy (inherit) at the beginning the whole farm of the former owners or only part of it? W P

If whole-- What size was this farm? _____

How many hectares was (were): SEE FORM F-1 FOR THE TYPES OF LAND AND LAND USE THAT THE INTERVIEWEES WERE ASKED TO USE IN CATEGORIZING SURFACE AREA.

If part-- What was the size of the part that you bought (inherited)?

_____ How many hectares were: SEE FORM F-1 FOR THE TYPES OF

LAND AND LAND USE THAT THE INTERVIEWEES WERE ASKED TO USE IN
CATEGORIZING SURFACE AREA.

What was the size of the remaining part of the farm that you did not
buy (inherit)? _____ Was any land from the farm
retained by the former owners? Y N If yes: How many hectares
all together? How many hectares were: SEE FORM F-1 FOR THE TYPES OF LAND
AND LAND USE THAT THE INTERVIEWEES WERE ASKED TO USE IN CATEGORIZING
SURFACE AREA.

Who bought (inherited) the remaining parts of the farm? _____
How many hectares of the part of the farm received by _____
were: SEE FORM F-1 FOR THE TYPES OF LAND AND LAND USE THAT THE INTER-
VIEWEES WERE ASKED TO USE IN CATEGORIZING SURFACE AREA.

Have you acquired (or received) additional land after you bought or
received possession of this farm? Y N If yes: From whom have
you acquired or received additional land? _____

When? _____ Did you buy or inherit? B I
How many hectares all together have you received from _____?

How many hectares were: SEE FORM F-1

Have you sold (given away) land after you bought or gained possession of
this farm? Y N If yes; To whom have you sold (given away) land? _____
_____ When? _____ Did you sell it or give it away? S G

How many hectares were; SEE FORM F-1

How many hectares did you own all together in 1974? _____

How many hectares were: SEE FORM F-1

How many hectares have you (yourself) cleared and turned into new fields?

Before 1945	1945-55	1956-65	1966-75
_____	_____	_____	_____

Do you plan to clear new fields? Y N How many hectares? _____

Have you put in your fields or planned to put in during the next three years covered drains? _____ If fields have already had covered

drains put in: How many hectares have covered drains? _____

If they have plans: In how many hectares do you plan to put covered drains? _____

Have you in the previous two years (1974 and 1975) rented land from others? Y N If yes: From whom? _____ When? _____

How many hectares have you rented from _____? When? _____

How many hectares were _____? SEE FORM F-1a FOR THE TYPES OF LAND AND LAND USE THAT THE INTERVIEWEES WERE ASKED TO USE IN CATEGORIZING SURFACE AREA.

Then you have rented _____ hectares all together from other people during 1974? 1975?

Have you in the previous two years (1974 and 1975) rented land to others?

Y N If yes: To whom? _____ When? _____

How many hectares have you rented to _____? When? _____

How many hectares were _____? SEE FORM F-1a

Then you have rented _____ hectares all together to other people during 1974? 1975?

At what age did you rent or own a farm for the first time? _____

Do you own property other than this farm? Y N If yes: What kind? _____

Where? _____ What is its size? _____

Do you rent this property to others? Y N If yes: To whom? _____

After you bought (inherited) this farm, have your parents, or your spouse's parents, or your other relatives, or other relatives of your spouse,

or your friends ever lived with you on your farm (either in the main building or in a separate house) more than two months at a time?

Who? _____ When? _____ How long? _____

How many hectares of _____ did you grow in 1974? 1975?

SEE FORM F-2 FOR THE LIST OF CROPS ABOUT WHICH INTERVIEWEES WERE ASKED.

How large a part (percentage) of the harvest of _____ did you sell in 1974? 1975? SEE FORM F-2

How many hectares of _____ were not harvested this fall? SEE FORM F-2.

How many hectares of _____ do you intend to grow in 1976? SEE FORM F-2.

How large a part (percentage) of the harvest of _____ do you intend to sell in 1976?

In the previous three years, have you been a contract farmer? Y N

If yes: With whom have you made contracts?

What kinds of crops and the harvests of what years do contracts cover?

SEE FORM F-2

Does this farm have a (n) _____? SEE FORM F-3 FOR A LIST OF MACHINERY If it does not: Has this farm ever had a (n) _____?

SEE FORM F-3 If it has now or has had in the past: When did this farm first own alone a (n) _____? SEE FORM F-3

Do you own now or have you ever owned a (n) _____ together with others? SEE FORM F-3 Y N If yes: With whom did you own it? _____

When? _____

Do you own now or have you ever owned together with others any other agricultural machines or devices? With whom _____

When? _____

Have you ever in the preceding three years rented agricultural machines

or devices from others (without or with a driver)? _____

From Whom? _____ When? _____ What kinds of machines or devices? _____ SEE FORM F-3

Have you ever in the preceding three years rented agricultural machines or devices (without or with a driver) to others?

To whom? _____ When? _____ What kinds of machines or devices? _____ SEE FORM F-3

Have you ever in the preceding three years borrowed agricultural machines or devices (without or with a driver) from others?

From whom? _____ When? _____ What kinds of machines or devices? _____ SEE FORM F-3

Have you ever in the preceding three years lent agricultural machines or devices (without or with a driver) to others?

To whom? _____ When? _____ What kinds of machines or devices? _____ SEE FORM F-3

Have you ever in the preceding three years exchanged services with other farmers? (Have you ever done, for example, field work for another farmer, and then he or she has, for example, lent a machine to you, or vice versa)? With whom? _____ When? _____

What kind of work did you do (he do)? _____

What kind of machines did you lend to the other farmer? _____

What kind of machine did the other farmer lend to you? _____

With whom? _____ When? _____ What did you exchange? _____

Does this farm have _____? SEE FORM F-4 FOR A LIST OF FARM ANIMALS ABOUT WHICH THE INTERVIEWEES WERE ASKED.

If it does: How many _____ does this farm have? SEE FORM F-4

Note:

If the farm has chickens: Are the chickens for slaughter or for eggs?

S E If for eggs: Did you sell eggs in 1974? Y N If yes: To whom? _____

Do you have any _____ that was not born on this farm? Y N

If yes: From whom have you bought (received) it? SEE FORM F-4.

Have you in the previous three years sold or given any _____ not for slaughter? SEE FORM F-4. How many? _____

To whom? _____ When? _____

Did you sell any _____ for slaughter in 1974 or 1975? SEE FORM F-4

If yes: How many _____ did you sell for slaughter in 1974? 1975?

Have you in the preceding three years been a contract producer? Y N

If yes: With whom have you made contracts? What kinds of animals and what years do these contracts cover? SEE FORM F-4.

If they do not have _____ on their farm:

Have you ever in the preceding ten years raised _____ on this farm? SEE FORM F-4. When did you last raise _____ for sale? For household use? SEE FORM F-4.

Note:

If the farm does not have a horse: When was there last a horse on this farm? _____

If the farm does not have dairy cattle or any other type of cattle:

Why do you not have dairy cattle? When did you sell off your dairy cattle?

Why do you not have other types of cattle? When did you sell off the other types of cattle? _____

If they have a cow shed:

When was your cow shed built? _____ From what materials was the
cow shed constructed? _____ When was the cow shed last
renovated or restored? _____

If they have a swine shed:

When was your swine shed built? _____ From what materials was
the swine shed constructed? _____ When was the swine
shed last renovated or restored? _____

If they have other than a swine shed and cow shed (e.g., a poultry coop):

When was your _____ built? _____ From what materials was
it constructed? _____ When was it last renovated or
restored? _____

If they have a cow shed and cattle:

Who on this farm did the everyday work in the cow shed in 1974? SEE FORM
F-5. How often was _____ away from the cow shed work
(either in the morning or afternoon) in 1974? _____

At what time did you go to the cow shed in the morning in 1974?

At what time did you go to the cow shed in the afternoon in 1974? Indicate
if there were seasonal changes in this schedule. SEE FORM F-5

If they have a pig shed and pigs:

Who on this farm did the everyday work in the pig shed in 1974? FORM F-5.

How often was _____ away from the pig shed work (either in the
morning or afternoon) in 1974? _____

At what time did you go to the pig shed in the morning in 1974?

At what time did you go to the pig shed in the afternoon in 1974?

Indicate if there were seasonal changes in this schedule. SEE FORM F-5.

If they have other than a swine shed or cow shed (e.g., a poultry coop):

Who on this farm did the everyday work in the _____ in 1974?

SEE FORM F-5. How often was _____ away from the _____ work
(either in the morning or afternoon) in 1974? _____

At what time did you go to the _____ in the morning in 1974?

At what time did you go to the _____ in the afternoon in 1974?

Indicate if there were seasonal changes in this schedule. SEE FORM F-5

If they have dairy cattle:

Do you send milk to the Pellava Cooperative Dairy? Y N. If no: Do
you have your own milk platform or do you have a joint milk platform with
other farms? O J If joint: With whom? _____

At what time did the milk truck or the tank truck come to your farm in 1974?

Indicate if there were seasonal changes in this schedule. SEE FORM F-5.

How many liters of milk did you send to the dairy in 1974? _____
in 1975? _____

How large a share of your family's bread did you bake at home in 1974?

How large a share of your family's vegetables did you grow in 1974?

How large a share of your family's mushrooms did you gather in 1974?

How large a share of your family's potatoes did you grow at home in 1974?

How large a share of the meat needed by your family did you raise at home
in 1974?

How large a share of your family's fish did you catch yourself in 1974?

How large a share of your family's berries did you pick yourself or grow
at home in 1974? SEE FORM F-6 FOR ALL OF THE ABOVE.

Do you plan to sell your farm (house) in the next three years? Y N

If yes: To whom do you expect to sell your farm (house)?

Would you tell me what was your household's gross income in 1974? SEE FORM F-7 (If they do not want to say: Would you tell in which of these gross income classes the income of your household was placed in 1974?)

How much of your household's gross income in 1974 came from:

a1) agriculture. a2) How much of your agricultural gross income came from the dairy industry? b) from forestry? c) from secondary income d) from business e) from other sources? SEE FORM F-7 FOR THE ABOVE QUESTIONS

When you were a pupil, did you do agricultural work during the term?

Before school? After school? On weekends?

When you were a pupil, did you do household work during the term?

Before school? After school? On weekends?

When you were a pupil, did you do agricultural work during vacations?

When you were a pupil, did you do household work during vacations?

SEE FORM F-8 FOR THE ABOVE QUESTIONS

Have you ever done agricultural work in the service of another farmer for more than one month at a time? Y N If yes:

Who? In whose service? When? How long? Where?

Does (did) your school age son (daughter) do agricultural work in the term?

Before school? After school? On weekends?

Does (did) your school age son (daughter) do household work in the term?

Before school? After school? On weekends?

Does (did) your school age son (daughter) do agricultural work on vacations?

Does (did) your school age son (daughter) do household work on vacations?

SEE FORM F-8 FOR THE ABOVE QUESTIONS

In the preceding five years, did this farm ever have workers working year-round or more than three months in a year, other than you, your spouse, and your children who were going to school? Who? When? What kind of worker? How long? From where does (did) he (she) come? When he (she) was in your service, where did he (she) live (e.g., the main house). SEE FORM F-9 FOR THE ABOVE QUESTIONS.

In the preceding three harvests, have you ever used additional workers (other than you or workers on this farm who work year-round or more than three months in a year)? Who? From where? What kind of work? When? SEE FORM F-9 FOR THE ABOVE QUESTIONS.

What is the surface area of the main building (farmhouse)? _____

When was the main building (farmhouse) built? _____

When was the main building (farmhouse) last restored or renovated? _____

How many rooms are there in your main building (farmhouse)? _____

How many people sleep in your main building (farmhouse)? _____

In your main building (farmhouse), is there see below ? When did see below come to your farm (house)?

a. Running water b. An inside toilet c. A telephone. d. Electricity

What kind of heating is there in your main building (farmhouse)? _____

Do you have:

a. An electric stove? b. A wood stove? c. A gas stove (propane)?

Does this farm (household) have a sauna? Y N Is it a wood or electric
sauna? W E

Has something been stolen from your farm (house) in the preceding three years? Y N If yes: What?_____ When?_____

Have you ever in the preceding five years owned a summer cottage? Y N

If yes: Where?_____ How long?_____

Have you ever in the preceding five years rented a summer cottage? Y N

If yes: From whom?_____ How long?_____

Where?_____

1. When you retire, what would be best?

- a. to live in your present house. b. to live in a separate building of this farm. c. to live in your own house in the Pellava church village. d. to live in an apartment house in the Pellava church village. e. to live in the Pellava old age home. f. to live in your own house in Rasti, elsewhere than on this farm. g. to live in your own house in a side village of Pellava other than Rasti. h. to live in an apartment house in Lahti. i. to live in an apartment house in Hämeenlinna. j. to live in an apartment house in Helsinki. K. to live in a side village elsewhere than in Pellava. l. to live in a church village elsewhere than in Pellava. SEE FORM F-10.

2. When you retire, where do you expect to live?

3. If you were to buy a farm (house) elsewhere in Pellava than Rasti, in which side village would you prefer to buy? Why? SEE FORM F-10 FOR THE ABOVE QUESTIONS.

4. If you would live elsewhere than in a side village of Pellava, would you want to live (assuming that you could get a suitable job and home)?

- a. in the Pellava church village. b. in a church village elsewhere than in Pellava. c. in a side village elsewhere than in Pellava.

- d. in Hämeenlinna. e. in Lahti. f. in a large city (e.g., in Helsinki, in Turku, in Tampere).
5. Which of the characteristics of life in a side village do you like most of all?
- a. nearness to nature. b. the possibility for a private life. c. slow life rhythm (tempo) d. neighborliness. e. the small amount of crime. f. peacefulness.
6. If you would win 30,000 marks in lotto, what would be best (assuming that each of the following would cost 30,000 marks)?
- a. to buy a new car. b. to buy agricultural machinery. c. to repair your cow shed (pig shed) d. to repair or renovate your main building (farmhouse). e. to buy furniture. f. to buy additional forest land. g. to buy additional field land. h. to buy good quality milk cows (pigs).
7. How near would you like your nearest neighbor to live?
- a. as near as at present. b. nearer than at present. c. further than at present.
8. In many European countries, traditionally the main buildings of farms and the houses of the other residents of the villages were near each other in the centers of the villages. Would you enjoy life in such a village?
- a. You would certainly like it. b. You would probably like it. c. You would probably not like it. d. You would certainly not like it.
9. What do you like most of all in farming (your profession)?
10. What don't you like in farming (your profession)?
11. If all of the following were equally profitable, and the income would be equally regular, and you would have the necessary equipment, etc., would you consider it best to raise:

a. dairy cattle. b. beef cattle. c. chickens d. pigs.

12. If you would get as much income and equally regularly, would you consider it best to sell off the livestock and grow only plants or vegetables, etc. (e.g., potatoes or sugar beets)? Y N.

If they have (dairy) cattle:

13. Do you expect that you will sell off your (dairy) cattle in the next five years? Y N If yes or no: Why?

14. Would you want (did you want) at least one of your children in your profession? Y N If no: Why?

If their children are not adults: Do you expect that at least one of your children will practice your profession? Y N.

15. If you had to borrow, for example, some tool or household good, to whom would you go to borrow?

16. If you needed some help in work, to whom would you turn?

FOR QUESTIONS 1 to 16, SEE FORM F-10.

F-1							
Name: Day:							
Surface area							In the beginning: Whole Part Remaining part
Garden and vegetable garden							Remaining part owners
Field							Additional land From whom? When? Bought Inherited Other
Natural meadow							Additional land From whom? When? Bought Inherited Other
Cleared pasture							Additional land From whom? When? Bought Inherited Other
Building lots and roads, etc.							Land sold by them To whom? When? Sold Gift Other
Forest I-IV							Land sold by them To whom? When? Sold Gift Other
Forest V							Land sold by them To whom? When? Sold Gift Other
Wasteland							Land owned by them at the present time
							Remaining part owners:

F-1A							
Name _____							
Surface area							All the land rented by them from others in 1974
Garden and vegetable garden							R from others: From whom? When?
Field							R from others: From whom? When?
Natural meadow							R from others: From whom? When?
Cleared pasture							R from others: From whom? When?
Building lots and roads, etc.							R to others: To whom? When?
Forest I-IV							R to others: To whom? When?
Forest V							R to others: To whom? When?
Wasteland							All the land rented by them to others in 1974

[illegible]

F-2 continued

Hay for Silage	Hectares	1974	Harvest in kilograms	Harvest/ hectare	Percent for sale	Left unharvested
	Hectares					
Hay for seed	Hectares	1975	Harvest in kilograms	Harvest/ hectare	Percent for sale	Left unharvested
Fields used for pasture	Hectares	1976	Percent for sale	1973 agreement With whom?	1974 agreement With whom?	1975 agreement With whom?
Fodder turnip rape						
Garden plants						
Other plants						
Fallow all year						
Other field area						

F-3	The farm has now	Has had	First one of its own	Together with others With whom? When?	Rented from others From whom? When?	Rented to others To whom? When?	Borrowed from others From whom? When?	Loaned to others To whom? When?
4-wheel tractor								
Threshing machine								
A driven thresher								
Pulled and side thresher								
Truck								
Passenger car, van, stationwagon								
Row fertilizer spreader								
Pesticide sprayer								
Rake								
Cutter and chopper								
Baler								
Front loader								

F-3 continued

	The farm has now	Has had	First one of its own	Together with others With whom? When?	Rented from others From whom? When?	Rented to others To whom? When?	Borrowed from others From whom? When?	Loaned to others To whom? When?
Sugar beet harvester								
Potato harvester								
Warm air drier								
Cold air drier								
Pipe milking machine								
Milking machine								
Milk cooler								
Chain saw								
Loading equipment								
Household use mill								
Internal-combustion motor								
Electric motor								
Moped/Motorcycle								

[illegible]

F-4 continued

[illegible]

<u>F-5</u>	<u>Workers</u>				Morning	Afternoon	Evening	Milk truck
Cow shed								
Winter								
Spring								
Summer								
Fall								
Swine shed								
Winter								
Spring								
Summer								
Fall								

F-6		F-7									
%		Gross income 1974					Usual gross income				
		Agriculture	Dairy	Forestry	Secondary	Business	Agriculture	Dairy	Forestry	Secondary and Business	
0	Of bread										
	Of vegetables										
	Of mushrooms										
	Of potatoes										
	Of meat										
	Of fish										
	Of berries										
10											
20											
30											
40											
50											
60											
70											
80											
90											
100											

F-10 continued

12	Y N	Y N	Y N	Y N
13	Y N	Y N	Y N	Y N
14	Y N	Y N	Y N	Y N
15				
16				

APPENDIX B

THE SECOND INTERVIEW

This interview was given to a randomly selected sample of 20 adults: five male farmers, five female farmers, five male nonfarmers and five female nonfarmers. The questions were tape-recorded in Finnish by an assistant and played to the interviewees to insure that the sometimes complex questions would be comprehensible. A total of 27 questions were asked. They covered seven topics: emotions, male-female relations, the handling of disputes, humor, alcohol and drinking, economics and work, and friendship. Half of the interviewees heard the questions in one order and half in an alternative order, so as to reduce the effects of question order on the villagers' answers.

There were three different types of questions. The first involved a brief description of an event or a situation in which a villager might find himself and a list of alternative actions the villager could have taken in this situation (see questions 1-16). The interviewees were asked to rate how often (according to their own observations) villagers behaved in the ways described by the alternatives. A five point scale was used: (1) very rarely, (2) rarely, (3) sometimes, (4) often, and (5) very often. The interviewees were asked to evaluate the alternatives on another five point scale as to whether they believed the behavior was: (1) very bad, (2) bad, (3) no opinion, (4) good, or (5) very good.

The second type of question described a certain behavior or opinion of a hypothetical villager and gave several alternative explanations of why the villager might behave or think in that way (see questions 17-23).

Interviewees were first asked how frequently an alternative was a reason for a villager behaving in that way and then asked to evaluate the worthiness of each reason. The same scales were used as in the first type of question.

The third type of question presented a subject and a series of alternative opinions on that subject (see questions 24-27). The interviewees were asked to rate how general each of the opinions was in the village and then to evaluate how worthy they personally considered each of the alternative opinions to be. The same scales were used as in the previous types of questions.

Each question was analyzed in the following way. An average rating for the whole sample was computed separately for the frequency scale and the evaluation scale for each alternative to a question. Then these averages were computed separately for farmers and nonfarmers and again for men and women. The overall frequency and evaluation averages were tested for significance using a Fischer's t test and comparing the actual average with an expected mean of 3.0. Overall averages were found to be significantly different from the expected value of 3.0 at the $p=.05$ level of significance when either above 3.7 or below 2.3. They were significantly different at the $p=.01$ level when above 3.85 or below 2.15.

Comparisons were made between the frequency and evaluation ratings by computing a chi square statistic. Significant 2×1 chi squares are reported with the ratings for each alternative. A chi square of 3.84 or above is significant at the $p=.05$ level. A chi square of 6.63 or above is significant at the $p=.01$ level. The average overall ratings for all alternatives of all questions are: frequency = 3.02 and evaluation = 2.88. One asterisk indicates $p = .05$; two asterisks indicate $p = .01$.

Comparisons between farmers and nonfarmers or men and women on each frequency and evaluation rating were not tested for significance because of the small sample size. However, differences between these groups of one whole integer on the rating scale are worthy of interest. When unusually large differences were found between, for instance, farming men and farming women that are not noticeable in the reported differences between men and women, these were also noted.

In the following presentation of the interview questions and the results of their analysis, questions are ordered by type of question. Alternatives are presented in order of their frequency ratings, with the alternative rated as most frequent listed first. The frequency and evaluation scales are repeated below:

<u>Frequency Scale</u>	<u>Evaluation Scale</u>
1. very rarely	1. very bad
2. rarely	2. bad
3. sometimes	3. no opinion
4. often	4. good
5. very often	5. very good

THE SECOND INTERVIEW

1. Three villagers sold a machine to another villager:
 - a. The second wanted to sell it at a price that accorded with the value at that moment.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 3.8*		Overall Rating = 3.8*	
farm = 3.9	men = 3.9	farm = 3.7	men = 3.9
nonfarm = 3.7	women = 3.7	nonfarm = 3.9	women = 3.7

- b. The third wanted to sell cheaply because he didn't need it.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 2.6		Overall Rating = 3.9**	
$\chi^2 = 5.65^*$			
farm = 2.8	men = 2.7	farm = 3.6	men = 3.8
nonfarm = 2.3	women = 2.4	nonfarm = 4.2	women = 4.0

- c. The first man wanted a profit from the machine he was selling.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 2.5		Overall Rating = 2.3	
farm = 2.3	men = 2.3	farm = 2.4	men = 2.3
nonfarm = 2.7	women = 2.7	nonfarm = 2.2	women = 2.3

2. Two village farm families had to sell their farms, when no one in the family wanted to continue as a farmer. Two individuals made offers to each. In both cases, the first bidder was a villager but not a relative. The second bidder was a villager and a cousin of the male owner of the farm. In both cases, the first bid was 15% higher than the second.

- a. The first family sold their farm to the person offering the most money, although he wasn't a relative.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 3.8*		Overall Rating = 3.0	
farm = 3.9	men = 3.0	farm = 3.0	men = 3.3
nonfarm = 3.6	women = 3.6	nonfarm = 2.9	women = 2.6

- b. The second family sold the farm to the cousin, although the offer was lower.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 2.3*		Overall Rating = 3.4	
$\chi^2 = 4.6^*$			
farm = 2.3	men = 1.9	farm = 3.6	men = 3.0
nonfarm = 2.3	women = 2.7	nonfarm = 3.3	women = 3.9

3. Each of six individuals was angered by something that another villager had done.

- a. The fourth villager didn't go to clear up the matter; he didn't express his opinion to him, and he has behaved normally towards that person, but he has spoken to other villagers about the matter.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 3.4		Overall Rating = 1.9**	
$\chi^2 = 8.49^{**}$			
farm = 3.5	men = 2.9	farm = 2.0	men = 2.1
nonfarm = 3.3	women = 3.9	nonfarm = 1.8	women = 1.7
men nonfarmers = 2.6			
women nonfarmers = 4.0			

- b. The first one didn't go to clear up the matter or express his opinion to the man, but he has tried to avoid him for some time.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 2.9		Overall Rating = 2.2*	
farm = 3.2	men = 2.5	farm = 2.5	men = 2.1
nonfarm = 2.6	women = 3.3	nonfarm = 1.8	women = 2.2

- c. The third one didn't go to clear up the matter or express his opinion. He hasn't spoken to other villagers, nor has he tried to avoid that person. He has tried to behave normally towards the person, however, he has not forgotten.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 2.8		Overall Rating = 2.6	
farm = 3.3	men = 2.6	farm = 2.9	men = 2.5
nonfarm = 2.3	women = 3.1	nonfarm = 2.4	women = 2.8

- d. The second went immediately to clear up the matter and express his opinion.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 2.6		Overall Rating = 4.2**	
$\chi^2 = 7.42^{**}$			
farm = 2.5	men = 2.9	farm = 4.1	men = 4.3
nonfarm = 2.8	women = 2.4	nonfarm = 4.4	women = 4.2

Question three continued

- e. The fifth hasn't gone to clear up the matter; nor has he expressed his opinion; nor has he spoken to other villagers, or tried to avoid this person. He has tried to behave normally towards the person and has tried to forget the matter.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 2.6		Overall Rating = 3.4	
farm = 3.0	men = 2.4	farm = 3.5	men = 3.3
nonfarm = 2.3	women = 2.9	nonfarm = 3.2	women = 3.4

- f. The sixth one hasn't gone to clear up the matter or express his opinion; he has ignored the person when he has met him.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 2.5		Overall Rating 2.0**	
farm = 2.7	men = 2.1	farm = 2.0	men = 1.8
nonfarm = 2.3	women = 2.9	nonfarm = 1.9	women = 2.1

4. What happens when the men of the village have drunk sahti (homemade beer) together in a group.

- a. Men become loud and noisy.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 4.6** $\chi^2 = 11.59^{**}$		Overall Rating = 2.6	
farm = 4.5	men = 4.7	farm = 2.8	men = 2.7
nonfarm = 4.8	women = 4.6	nonfarm = 2.4	women = 2.5

- b. Men begin to brag

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 3.8*		Overall Rating = 2.8	
farm = 3.8	men = 4.0	farm = 3.2	men = 2.9
nonfarm = 3.8	women = 3.6	nonfarm = 2.4	women = 2.7

Question four continued

c. Men begin to argue and debate.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 3.8*		Overall Rating = 2.7	
farm = 3.9	men = 4.0	farm = 3.1	men = 3.0
nonfarm = 3.6	women = 3.5	nonfarm = 2.2	women = 2.4

d. Men begin to talk with bravado

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 3.7*		Overall Rating = 2.6	
farm = 3.6	men = 3.5	farm = 2.7	men = 2.5
nonfarm = 3.8	women = 3.9	nonfarm = 2.6	women = 2.8

e. Men begin to sing.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 3.6		Overall Rating = 3.7*	
farm = 3.2	men = 3.3	farm = 3.6	men = 3.8
nonfarm = 4.0	women = 3.9	nonfarm = 3.8	women = 3.6

f. Men become irresponsible (i.e., make crazy promises or use money too freely).

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 2.6		Overall Rating = 1.8**	
farm = 2.7	men = 2.6	farm = 1.7	men = 1.8
nonfarm = 2.6	women = 2.7	nonfarm = 1.8	women = 1.7

g. Men go in a group to another place to continue the party.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 2.4		Overall Rating = 1.9**	
farm = 2.4	men = 2.3	farm = 2.8	men = 2.1
nonfarm = 2.5	women = 2.6	nonfarm = 1.6	women = 1.7

Question four continued

- h. Men begin to put their arms around each others' shoulders in a brotherly manner.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 2.4		Overall Rating = 2.8	
farm = 2.0	men = 2.2	farm = 2.7	men = 2.5
nonfarm = 2.8	women = 2.0	nonfarm = 3.0	women = 3.2

- i. Men begin to flirt with women.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 2.2*		Overall Rating = 2.3*	
farm = 2.1	men = 2.2	farm = 2.4	men = 2.7
nonfarm = 2.3	women = 2.2	nonfarm = 2.2	women = 1.9

- j. Men begin to talk about their own and family problems.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 2.2*		Overall Rating = 2.1**	
farm = 2.2	men = 2.1	farm = 2.3	men = 2.2
nonfarm = 2.2	women = 2.3	nonfarm = 1.9	women = 2.0

- k. Men become violent.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 1.6**		Overall Rating = 1.2**	
farm = 1.6	men = 1.6	farm = 1.0	men = 1.1
nonfarm = 1.6	women = 1.6	nonfarm = 1.3	women = 1.2

5. At a local meeting, there was discussion about an important matter. The majority was clearly positive towards it, and only a few were against it,

- a. When the opponents (minority) noticed that most of the people at the meeting were against them, they became completely quiet and

Question five continued.

didn't ask for a vote so that the meeting could be officially unanimous.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 3.3 $\chi^2 = 3.8^*$		Overall Rating = 2.0**	
farm = 3.2	men = 3.2	farm = 1.8	men = 1.9
nonfarm = 3.4	women = 3.4	nonfarm = 2.2	women = 2.1

- b. When the opponents (minority) noticed that most of the people were against them, they expressed clearly that they were in disagreement, and they asked for a vote in order to show that officially.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 3.2		Overall Rating = 4.0**	
farm = 3.2	men = 3.0	farm = 3.9	men = 4.1
nonfarm = 3.1	women = 3.3	nonfarm = 4.0	women = 3.8

- c. When the opponents (minority) noticed that most of the people were against them, they expressed clearly that they were in disagreement, but they didn't ask for a vote, so that the meeting could be officially unanimous.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 3.0		Overall Rating = 2.4	
farm = 2.8	men = 2.9	farm = 2.3	men = 2.4
nonfarm = 3.2	women = 3.1	nonfarm = 2.4	women = 2.3

- d. When the opponents (minority) noticed that most of the people were against them, they became silent, but they asked for a vote in order to show officially that they are in disagreement.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 2.6		Overall Rating = 3.3	
farm = 2.6	men = 2.7	farm = 3.2	men = 3.4
nonfarm = 2.7	women = 2.6	nonfarm = 3.4	women = 3.2

6. There were three farmers that took care of their farms in different ways.
- a. The first has done the work well, but he hasn't done more than he had to.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 3.4		Overall Rating = 3.8*	
farm = 3.5	men = 3.3	farm = 4.1	men = 3.8
nonfarm = 3.3	women = 3.5	nonfarm = 3.5	women = 3.8

- b. The third has done more than was necessary, and his free time has been used for work or for thinking about it. A rich farm was his goal. He didn't have much time for his friends or hobbies.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 3.2		Overall Rating = 2.8	
farm = 3.0	men = 3.3	farm = 3.1	men = 3.1
nonfarm = 3.3	women = 3.0	nonfarm = 2.5	women = 2.5

- c. The second has done more than was necessary. His free time has been used to work or for thinking about it. A model farm was his goal. He hasn't much time for his friends or his hobbies.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 3.1		Overall Rating = 2.6	
farm = 3.5	men = 3.2	farm = 2.8	men = 2.9
nonfarm = 2.7	women = 3.0	nonfarm = 2.4	women = 2.3

(see Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck 1961:89).

7. A villager needed work. He knew of two jobs. One employer was a fair man, and he paid a little higher salaries than others, but he also demanded that you work hard, and he didn't approve of a worker being away from work without permission (i.e., on a trip or whooping it up). After such an occurrence, he would fire the employee. The second employer paid only average salaries, but he wasn't so demanding. He understood when, now and then, the worker might be away from work without permission and after such an event, didn't generally fire the worker or say anything to him.

Question seven continued

- a. The villager went to work for the second employer, although he gave only average wages.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 3.4		Overall Rating = 3.0	
farm = 3.5	men = 3.9	farm = 3.0	men = 3.2
nonfarm = 3.4	women = 2.9	nonfarm = 3.1	women = 2.9

- b. The villager went to work for the first employer, although he was more demanding.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 3.2		Overall Rating = 3.4	
farm = 3.0	men = 3.1	farm = 3.5	men = 3.4
nonfarm = 3.5	women = 3.4	nonfarm = 3.4	women = 3.5

(see Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck 1961:80).

8. There was a local meeting and an important matter was involved. Some people seasoned their opinions with humor.

- a. The second person considered it suitable, because, in his opinion, humor and important matters can generally go together.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 3.2		Overall Rating = 3.4	
farm = 3.4	men = 3.2	farm = 3.9	men = 3.6
nonfarm = 3.0	women = 3.2	nonfarm = 2.9	women = 3.2

- b. The first person thought it unsuitable, because, in his opinion, humor and important matters didn't generally go well together.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 2.6		Overall Rating = 2.6	
farm = 2.3	men = 2.6	farm = 2.2	men = 2.6
nonfarm = 3.0	women = 2.7	nonfarm = 3.1	women = 2.7

9. Villagers were discussing getting acquainted.

- a. The first said that generally villagers get acquainted and are no longer strangers after they have met a few times.

Question nine continued.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 3.8*		Overall Rating = 3.8*	
farm = 3.7	men = 3.9	farm = 3.9	men = 3.8
nonfarm = 3.8	women = 3.6	nonfarm = 3.8	women = 3.9

- b. The third said generally it takes a long time before a villager gets acquainted with another and is no longer a stranger.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 3.0		Overall Rating = 2.3*	
farm = 3.0	men = 3.2	farm = 2.4	men = 2.3
nonfarm = 3.0	women = 2.8	nonfarm = 2.2	women = 2.3

- c. The second said that villagers get acquainted and are no longer strangers after the first time they meet.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 3.0		Overall Rating = 3.4	
farm = 3.1	men = 3.3	farm = 3.6	men = 3.4
nonfarm = 2.8	women = 2.6	nonfarm = 3.2	women = 3.4

10. The question concerns family habits, in particular keeping doors shut or open.

- a. For the second family, it is the custom that one very seldom closed the door to his own room.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 3.4		Overall Rating = 3.5	
farm = 3.1	men = 3.1	farm = 3.5	men = 3.5
nonfarm = 3.6	women = 3.6	nonfarm = 3.5	women = 3.5

- b. For the first family, some of them will often have the door closed to their own room in order to not be disturbed.

Question ten continued

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 2.7		Overall Rating = 2.8	
farm = 2.7	men = 2.8	farm = 2.7	men = 2.7
nonfarm = 2.7	women = 2.6	nonfarm = 2.9	women = 2.9

11. There were two married couples. In each of the pairs, the spouses liked each other just as much. They showed this, however, in different ways when others were around.

- a. The second couple didn't generally show their attachment when others were around but only when they were alone together.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 4.4**		Overall Rating = 3.5	
farm = 4.4	men = 4.3	farm = 3.7	men = 3.4
nonfarm = 4.5	women = 4.6	nonfarm = 3.3	women = 3.6

- b. The first couple sometimes when they were around others, for example, had their arms around each other's shoulders or walked hand in hand, or used pet names.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 1.8** $\chi^2 = 10.18^{**}$		Overall Rating = 3.5	
farm = 2.0	men = 2.0	farm = 3.3	men = 3.7
nonfarm = 1.7	women = 1.7	nonfarm = 3.7	women = 3.3

Difference between frequency ratings for alternatives 1 and 2
 $\chi^2 = 21.46^{**}$

12. How do you answer an insult?

- a. You take a light attitude towards the insult, even laugh about it.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 3.4		Overall Rating = 3.4	
farm = 3.4	men = 3.4	farm = 3.3	men = 3.4
nonfarm = 3.3	women = 3.3	nonfarm = 3.5	women = 3.4

Question 12 continued

- b. You don't pay any attention to the whole matter

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 3.1		Overall Rating = 3.9**	
farm = 3.4	men = 3.0	farm = 3.8	men = 3.8
nonfarm = 2.8	women = 3.2	nonfarm = 4.0	women = 4.0

- c. You don't show the other person that you've noticed, but also, you don't forget it.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 3.0		Overall Rating = 2.4	
farm = 2.6	men = 2.6	farm = 2.3	men = 1.8
nonfarm = 3.3	women = 3.3	nonfarm = 2.4	women = 2.9

- d. You answer an insult with an insult.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 2.4		Overall Rating = 1.9**	
farm = 2.3	men = 2.7	farm = 1.8	men = 2.2
nonfarm = 2.4	women = 2.0	nonfarm = 2.0	women = 1.6

- e. You threaten and be ready to attack, if the other doesn't take back his words.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 2.0**		Overall Rating = 1.6**	
farm = 2.1	men = 2.1	farm = 1.8	men = 1.5
nonfarm = 1.9	women = 1.9	nonfarm = 1.4	women = 1.7

13. In a local meeting, the chairman led the discussion. The matter being considered raised particular interest. As a result of this, many began to talk about it to the people next to them.

- a. The chairman allowed the situation to calm itself and after that continued the meeting or speech turns.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 3.6		Overall Rating = 3.0	
farm = 3.6	men = 3.4	farm = 2.9	men = 2.6
nonfarm = 3.5	women = 3.7	nonfarm = 3.1	women = 3.4

- b. The chairman tried to preserve silence for the speaker with commands and with the gavel.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 2.7		Overall Rating = 3.3	
farm = 3.0	men = 2.7	farm = 3.5	men = 3.5
nonfarm = 2.4	women = 2.7	nonfarm = 3.1	women = 3.1

14. Two men met at a celebration. They hadn't had much to do with each other in the past. During the evening and after having something to drink, they became friendly. A few days later they met. What happened?

- a. They greeted each other and exchanged a few words

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 3.5		Overall Rating = 3.8**	
farm = 3.6	men = 3.8	farm = 3.8	men = 3.9
nonfarm = 3.4	women = 3.2	nonfarm = 3.9	women = 3.8

- b. They exchanged friendly greetings and chatted.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 3.4		Overall Rating = 4.0**	
farm = 3.7	men = 3.4	farm = 4.3	men = 4.2
nonfarm = 3.2	women = 3.5	nonfarm = 3.8	women = 3.9

- c. They did not greet each other.

Question 14 continued

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 1.8**		Overall Rating = 1.8**	
farm = 1.6	men = 1.7	farm = 1.6	men = 1.6
nonfarm = 2.0	women = 1.9	nonfarm = 1.9	women = 1.9

15. In four families, the husband has done something that has angered the wife.

a. The wife has refused to talk to her husband.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 3.6 $\chi^2 = 4.25^*$		Overall Rating = 2.0**	
farm = 4.0	men = 3.5	farm = 2.6	men = 1.8
nonfarm = 3.2	women = 3.7	nonfarm = 1.5	women = 2.3

b. The wife has openly and immediately gotten angry.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 3.4		Overall Rating = 3.4	
farm = 3.2	men = 3.3	farm = 3.4	men = 3.5
nonfarm = 3.5	women = 3.4	nonfarm = 3.5	women = 3.4

c. The wife didn't say anything to her husband and hasn't shown her feelings in any way,

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 2.4		Overall Rating = 3.0	
farm = 2.7	men = 2.5	farm = 3.1	men = 2.9
nonfarm = 2.1	women = 2.3	nonfarm = 2.9	women = 3.1

d. The wife didn't say anything to her husband or show her feelings in any way, but she has spoken to her friends about it.

Question 15 continued

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 2.2*		Overall Rating = 1.6**	
farm = 2.2	men = 2.0	farm = 1.4	men = 1.6
nonfarm = 2.1	women = 2.3	nonfarm = 1.7	women = 1.5

16. Three men went to a good friend's funeral. All were equally upset.

- a. The second one tried to control himself completely and didn't show his feelings.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 3.6		Overall Rating = 2.8	
farm = 3.6	men = 3.7	farm = 2.9	men = 2.8
nonfarm = 3.7	women = 3.6	nonfarm = 2.7	women = 2.8

- b. The first one tried to control himself, and there were only a few tears of emotion in the corner of his eye.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 3.3		Overall Rating = 3.3	
farm = 3.2	men = 3.5	farm = 3.4	men = 3.2
nonfarm = 3.4	women = 3.1	nonfarm = 3.2	women = 3.4

- c. The third showed his sorrow openly (i.e., he cried).

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 2.7		Overall Rating = 3.2	
farm = 2.7	men = 2.7	farm = 3.3	men = 3.2
nonfarm = 2.7	women = 2.7	nonfarm = 3.2	women = 3.3

17. The question being considered was men drinking together in a group. Why do men like it or take part?

- a. Then people's sense of humor is better.

Question 17 continued

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 3.3		Overall Rating = 3.2	
farm = 3.4	men = 3.1	farm = 3.3	men = 3.4
nonfarm = 3.2	women = 3.5	nonfarm = 3.0	women = 2.9

- b. Then there is a feeling of community (solidarity) among the men.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 3.2		Overall Rating = 3.2	
farm = 3.6	men = 3.0	farm = 3.2	men = 3.3
nonfarm = 2.8	women = 3.4	nonfarm = 3.1	women = 3.0

- c. Then you can talk and show your mood without any obstacle.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 3.0		Overall Rating = 2.4	
farm = 3.3	men = 2.8	farm = 3.1	men = 1.7
nonfarm = 2.9	women = 3.4	nonfarm = 2.6	women = 3.0

- d. You can forget your worries, responsibilities, and troubles.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 2.6		Overall Rating = 2.2*	
farm = 2.7	men = 2.4	farm = 2.5	men = 2.1
nonfarm = 2.5	women = 2.8	nonfarm = 2.0	women = 2.4

- e. Other men drink, and if you didn't drink also, you would be separating yourself from the group.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 2.0**		Overall Rating = 1.7**	
farm = 2.0	men = 1.5	farm = 1.7	men = 1.4
nonfarm = 2.0	women = 2.6	nonfarm = 1.7	women = 2.0

Question 17 continued.

- f. Your wife doesn't approve of it, and you want to annoy (tease) your wife this way.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 1.8**		Overall Rating = 1.4**	
farm = 1.8	men = 1.7	farm = 1.4	men = 1.3
nonfarm = 1.7	women = 1.8	nonfarm = 1.4	women = 1.5

18. The question is why do you think visiting by others who aren't invited is unpleasant?

- a. Maybe work won't get done.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 3.0		Overall Rating = 3.0	
farm = 3.2	men = 3.0	farm = 2.8	men = 3.0
nonfarm = 2.8	women = 3.0	nonfarm = 3.1	women = 2.9

- b. It could be that there isn't anything to offer (food).

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 3.0		Overall Rating = 2.1**	
farm = 3.0	men = 2.5	farm = 2.3	men = 2.1
nonfarm = 2.9	women = 3.4	nonfarm = 1.9	women = 2.1

- c. The house could be messy.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 2.8		Overall Rating = 2.1**	
farm = 2.6	men = 2.4	farm = 2.3	men = 1.9
nonfarm = 2.9	women = 3.1	nonfarm = 1.9	women = 2.3

Question 18 continued.

- d. The visit could occur when you are in a bad mood or tired.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 2.6		Overall Rating = 2.9	
farm = 3.0	men = 2.6	farm = 3.0	men = 2.9
nonfarm = 2.3	women = 2.7	nonfarm = 2.8	women = 2.9

- e. It could be that your clothes or hair are untidy.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 2.4		Overall Rating = 2.2**	
farm = 2.3	men = 2.3	farm = 2.1	men = 2.1
nonfarm = 2.6	women = 2.6	nonfarm = 2.2	women = 2.2

- f. It could disturb private life.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 2.3*		Overall Rating = 2.6	
farm = 2.4	men = 2.5	farm = 2.5	men = 2.5
nonfarm = 2.2	women = 2.1	nonfarm = 2.6	women = 2.6

- g. Everyone should have the right to decide themselves who visits them.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 1.6**		Overall Rating = 2.0**	
farm = 1.7	men = 1.5	farm = 2.0	men = 1.8
nonfarm = 1.6	women = 1.8	nonfarm = 1.9	women = 2.1

- h. You could have things to do elsewhere and because of the visitors, you can't leave.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 2.6		Overall Rating = 3.2	
farm = 3.0	men = 2.7	farm = 3.5	men = 3.3
nonfarm = 2.3	women = 2.6	nonfarm = 3.0	women = 3.1

This alternative was asked of only 13 interviewees

19. Why do you consider visiting in the village without an invitation pleasant?

- a. You can go when it best suits you (for example, when you are in a good mood or feeling lively).

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 4.0**		Overall Rating = 4.0**	
farm = 3.8	men = 4.0	farm = 4.1	men = 3.8
nonfarm = 4.1	women = 3.9	nonfarm = 3.9	women = 4.2

- b. You don't need to do so much to prepare ahead of time as you would if there had been an invitation.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 3.6		Overall Rating = 3.8*	
farm = 3.3	men = 3.3	farm = 3.6	men = 3.7
nonfarm = 3.9	women = 3.9	nonfarm = 4.0	women = 3.9

- c. It is possible to keep up connections with more people that way.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 3.6		Overall Rating = 4.0**	
farm = 3.5	men = 3.4	farm = 3.8	men = 3.9
nonfarm = 3.6	women = 3.7	nonfarm = 4.1	women = 4.0

- d. People aren't as stiff as when they are invited.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 3.2		Overall Rating = 3.7*	
farm = 3.3	men = 3.3	farm = 3.4	men = 3.7
nonfarm = 3.2	women = 3.2	nonfarm = 4.0	women = 3.7

- e. It provides a break in your work.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>	<u>Evaluation</u>
Overall Rating = 2.8	Overall Rating = 3.5

Question 19 continued

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
farm	= 2.9	farm	= 3.2
nonfarm	= 2.8	nonfarm	= 3.8
men	= 2.7	men	= 3.4
women	= 3.0	women	= 3.6

20. Women have proportionally fewer responsible positions in organizations. Why?

a. Women have less free time than men.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 4.6**		Overall Rating = 2.4	
$\chi^2 = 14.03^{**}$			
farm	= 4.5	farm	= 2.5
nonfarm	= 4.6	nonfarm	= 2.2
men	= 4.5	men	= 2.6
women	= 4.6	women	= 2.1

b. Women consider these jobs as less important than men do.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 3.9**		Overall Rating = 2.0**	
$\chi^2 = 12.2^{**}$			
farm	= 3.5	farm	= 2.2
nonfarm	= 4.3	nonfarm	= 1.8
men	= 4.0	men	= 2.0
women	= 3.8	women	= 2.0

c. Women don't consider these jobs interesting and pleasant.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 3.6		Overall Rating = 2.2**	
$\chi^2 = 7.31^{**}$			
farm	= 3.6	farm	= 2.3
nonfarm	= 3.6	nonfarm	= 2.0
men	= 3.5	men	= 2.2
women	= 3.7	women	= 2.1

d. Women are more emotional than men.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 3.3		Overall Rating = 2.2*	
farm	= 3.0	farm	= 2.3
nonfarm	= 3.3	nonfarm	= 2.2
men	= 2.9	men	= 2.3
women	= 3.4	women	= 2.2

Question 20 continued.

- e. Men are more straight forward than women and can get things done quicker.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 3.2		Overall Rating = 3.0	
farm = 3.4	men = 3.3	farm = 3.2	men = 3.0
nonfarm = 3.1	women = 3.2	nonfarm = 2.7	women = 2.9

- f. Women don't want other people to criticize them for neglecting their family.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 3.0		Overall Rating = 2.4	
farm = 3.1	men = 3.0	farm = 2.7	men = 2.4
nonfarm = 3.0	women = 3.1	nonfarm = 2.1	women = 2.4

- g. Women don't know how to present matters as clearly as men.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 2.6		Overall Rating = 2.1**	
farm = 2.2	men = 2.6	farm = 1.9	men = 1.8
nonfarm = 3.0	women = 2.6	nonfarm = 2.3	women = 1.8

- h. Other women are jealous if a woman dares to take care of these kinds of jobs.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 2.6		Overall Rating = 1.7**	
farm = 2.2	men = 2.7	farm = 1.8	men = 1.7
nonfarm = 2.9	women = 2.4	nonfarm = 1.6	women = 1.7

- i. Women aren't able to keep quiet about things as well as men.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 2.4		Overall Rating = 2.2*	
farm = 2.6	men = 2.6	farm = 2.1	men = 2.4
nonfarm = 2.3	women = 2.3	nonfarm = 2.4	women = 2.1

Question 20 continued.

- j. Women don't want other people to criticize them and say they're the head of the family.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 2.4		Overall Rating = 2.2**	
farm = 2.3	men = 2.1	farm = 2.4	men = 2.1
nonfarm = 2.4	women = 2.6	nonfarm = 1.9	women = 2.2

- k. Women don't want their husbands to get an inferiority complex.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 2.0**		Overall Rating = 2.1**	
farm = 2.2	men = 2.0	farm = 2.3	men = 2.0
nonfarm = 1.9	women = 2.1	nonfarm = 1.9	women = 2.2

- l. Women are more frivolous than men.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 2.0**		Overall Rating = 2.1**	
farm = 2.3	men = 2.1	farm = 2.0	men = 2.2
nonfarm = 1.6	women = 1.8	nonfarm = 2.2	women = 2.0

- m. The tension between the sexes (sexuality) can disturb these jobs.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 1.7**		Overall Rating = 1.9**	
farm = 1.7	men = 1.6	farm = 2.2	men = 2.0
nonfarm = 1.6	women = 1.7	nonfarm = 1.6	women = 1.8

21. On what basis do you become close friends?

- a. Being together during childhood and youth.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 4.0**		Overall Rating = 4.2**	
farm = 4.2	men = 4.2	farm = 4.1	men = 4.2
nonfarm = 3.9	women = 3.9	nonfarm = 4.2	women = 4.1

Question 21 continued.

b. It is easy to converse.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 3.8*		Overall Rating = 3.8*	
farm = 4.1	men = 3.3	farm = 3.7	men = 3.5
nonfarm = 3.5	women = 4.3	nonfarm = 3.8	women = 4.0

c. A common group of friends.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 3.7*		Overall Rating = 3.7*	
farm = 3.7	men = 3.4	farm = 3.8	men = 3.4
nonfarm = 3.7	women = 4.0	nonfarm = 3.6	women = 4.0

d. The same profession.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 3.6		Overall Rating = 3.7*	
farm = 3.5	men = 3.7	farm = 3.6	men = 3.5
nonfarm = 3.7	women = 3.5	nonfarm = 3.6	women = 3.7

e. Kinship.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 3.6		Overall Rating = 3.6	
farm = 3.8	men = 3.7	farm = 3.9	men = 3.6
nonfarm = 3.3	women = 3.4	nonfarm = 3.4	women = 3.7

f. You can trust the other will keep secrets.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 3.4		Overall Rating = 4.0**	
farm = 3.4	men = 3.2	farm = 3.6	men = 3.9
nonfarm = 3.4	women = 3.7	nonfarm = 4.4	women = 4.1
		male farmers = 3.0	
		male nonfarmers = 4.8	

Question 21 continued.

g. Same age.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 3.4		Overall Rating = 3.4	
farm = 3.5	men = 3.3	farm = 3.4	men = 3.4
nonfarm = 3.4	women = 3.6	nonfarm = 3.4	women = 3.4

h. You can often meet.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 3.4		Overall Rating = 3.6	
farm = 3.6	men = 3.0	farm = 3.7	men = 3.2
nonfarm = 3.3	women = 3.9	nonfarm = 3.4	women = 3.9

i. Same sex.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 3.4		Overall Rating = 3.2	
farm = 3.1	men = 3.1	farm = 2.9	men = 3.1
nonfarm = 3.7	women = 3.7	nonfarm = 3.6	women = 3.4

j. Similar ways of spending free time.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 3.4		Overall Rating = 3.7*	
farm = 3.5	men = 3.2	farm = 3.6	men = 3.7
nonfarm = 3.3	women = 3.6	nonfarm = 3.8	women = 3.7

k. Spouses are friends.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 3.4		Overall Rating = 3.9**	
farm = 3.4	men = 3.2	farm = 3.9	men = 3.8
nonfarm = 3.3	women = 3.6	nonfarm = 3.9	women = 4.0

Question 21 continued.

l. Similar family structure.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 3.3		Overall Rating = 3.6	
farm = 3.5	men = 3.1	farm = 3.6	men = 3.5
nonfarm = 3.1	women = 3.5	nonfarm = 3.6	women = 3.7

m. School chums (i.e., high school or farm school).

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 3.2		Overall Rating = 3.6	
farm = 3.5	men = 3.0	farm = 3.5	men = 3.6
nonfarm = 2.9	women = 3.4	nonfarm = 3.6	women = 3.5

n. Similar political outlook.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 3.2		Overall Rating = 2.9	
farm = 3.3	men = 3.0	farm = 3.1	men = 2.7
nonfarm = 3.1	women = 3.4	nonfarm = 2.7	women = 3.1

o. You know the other one likes you.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 3.2		Overall Rating = 3.1	
farm = 3.0	men = 3.2	farm = 3.1	men = 3.1
nonfarm = 3.4	women = 3.2	nonfarm = 3.1	women = 3.1

p. Similar amount of schooling.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 3.2		Overall Rating = 3.2	
farm = 3.4	men = 2.8	farm = 3.1	men = 3.1
nonfarm = 2.9	women = 3.5	nonfarm = 3.3	women = 3.3

Question 21 continued.

q. Similar sense of humor.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>				<u>Evaluation</u>			
Overall Rating = 3.1				Overall Rating = 3.6			
farm	= 3.3	men	= 3.0	farm	= 3.6	men	= 3.6
nonfarm	= 2.9	women	= 3.2	nonfarm	= 3.6	women	= 3.6

r. Same religious outlook.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>				<u>Evaluation</u>			
Overall Rating = 3.0				Overall Rating = 3.3			
farm	= 2.9	men	= 2.7	farm	= 3.5	men	= 3.1
nonfarm	= 3.2	women	= 3.4	nonfarm	= 3.1	women	= 3.5

s. Similar degree of wealth.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>				<u>Evaluation</u>			
Overall Rating = 2.8				Overall Rating = 2.0**			
farm	= 2.9	men	= 2.3	farm	= 2.1	men	= 1.7
nonfarm	= 2.7	women	= 3.3	nonfarm	= 1.8	women	= 2.2

t. Similar drinking habits.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>				<u>Evaluation</u>			
Overall Rating = 2.8				Overall Rating = 2.6			
farm	= 3.1	men	= 3.0	farm	= 2.9	men	= 2.5
nonfarm	= 2.4	women	= 2.5	nonfarm	= 2.2	women	= 2.6

u. Parents were friends.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>				<u>Evaluation</u>			
Overall Rating = 2.4				Overall Rating = 3.2			
farm	= 2.5	men	= 2.1	farm	= 3.2	men	= 3.3
nonfarm	= 2.3	women	= 2.7	nonfarm	= 3.3	women	= 3.2

22. Why don't people visit more frequently in the village?

a. You're tired and don't feel up to going.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 3.8*		Overall Rating = 3.3	
farm = 4.0	men = 3.9	farm = 3.5	men = 3.1
nonfarm = 3.7	women = 3.8	nonfarm = 3.1	women = 3.5

b. Always a hurry, there isn't time.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 3.6 $\chi^2 = 7.19^{**}$		Overall Rating = 2.2	
farm = 3.5	men = 3.5	farm = 2.4	men = 2.1
nonfarm = 3.8	women = 3.8	nonfarm = 2.0	women = 2.3

c. You're happy amongst your family or by yourself.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 3.6		Overall Rating = 3.4	
farm = 3.6	men = 3.6	farm = 3.5	men = 3.6
nonfarm = 3.5	women = 3.5	nonfarm = 3.2	women = 3.1

d. Everyone has his own "crowd", and you don't want to intrude.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 3.4		Overall Rating = 2.4	
farm = 3.5	men = 2.9	farm = 2.7	men = 2.3
nonfarm = 3.2	women = 3.8	nonfarm = 2.1	women = 2.5

e. It is difficult to get around, especially in the winter.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 3.0		Overall Rating = 2.8	
farm = 2.8	men = 3.0	farm = 2.8	men = 2.6
nonfarm = 3.3	women = 3.1	nonfarm = 2.8	women = 3.0

Question 22 continued.

- f. There is often a television or radio program that you want to see.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 2.8		Overall Rating = 2.3*	
farm = 2.6	men = 3.0	farm = 2.3	men = 2.5
nonfarm = 3.1	women = 2.7	nonfarm = 2.3	women = 2.1

- g. If you go often, people will criticize you for having time for such things.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 2.6		Overall Rating = 2.0**	
farm = 2.6	men = 2.4	farm = 2.1	men = 1.8
nonfarm = 2.7	women = 2.9	nonfarm = 1.8	women = 2.1

- h. People always talk about the same things.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 2.4		Overall Rating = 2.0**	
farm = 2.2	men = 2.8	farm = 2.1	men = 2.2
nonfarm = 2.6	women = 2.0	nonfarm = 2.0	women = 1.9

- i. Your own affairs don't become so well known if you stay at home.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 2.2*		Overall Rating = 2.0**	
farm = 1.8	men = 2.4	farm = 2.0	men = 2.2
nonfarm = 2.7	women = 2.1	nonfarm = 2.0	women = 1.8

- j. If you stay at home, you won't get into quarrels with other people.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 1.8**		Overall Rating = 2.1**	
farm = 2.0	men = 1.8	farm = 2.2	men = 2.2
nonfarm = 1.7	women = 1.9	nonfarm = 2.0	women = 2.0

23. Why do villagers go visiting?

- a. It's a chance to chat and exchange opinions.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 4.3**		Overall Rating = 4.3**	
farm = 4.3	men = 4.2	farm = 4.1	men = 4.2
nonfarm = 4.3	women = 4.4	nonfarm = 4.5	women = 4.4

- b. To keep up friendships.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 4.1**		Overall Rating = 4.1**	
farm = 4.2	men = 4.1	farm = 4.1	men = 4.0
nonfarm = 4.0	women = 4.1	nonfarm = 4.1	women = 4.2

- c. It's pleasant to be in a group.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 3.7		Overall Rating = 4.0**	
farm = 3.7	men = 3.7	farm = 4.0	men = 3.9
nonfarm = 3.7	women = 3.7	nonfarm = 3.9	women = 4.0

- d. To pass the time away.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 3.6		Overall Rating = 3.6	
farm = 3.9	men = 3.8	farm = 3.9	men = 3.7
nonfarm = 3.3	women = 3.4	nonfarm = 3.4	women = 3.6

- e. To get information about what's happening in the village.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 3.2		Overall Rating = 3.2	
farm = 3.1	men = 3.4	farm = 3.0	men = 3.1
nonfarm = 3.4	women = 3.1	nonfarm = 3.3	women = 3.2

Question 23 continued.

f. You feel energetic and able to go.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 3.2		Overall Rating = 3.8*	
farm = 3.0	men = 3.4	farm = 3.8	men = 3.8
nonfarm = 3.3	women = 2.9	nonfarm = 3.7	women = 3.7

g. To get a change of environment.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 3.0		Overall Rating = 3.6	
farm = 2.9	men = 2.7	farm = 3.4	men = 3.4
nonfarm = 3.1	women = 3.3	nonfarm = 3.8	women = 3.8

h. You don't get along with your own family or don't like to be alone.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 2.0**		Overall Rating = 2.2*	
farm = 2.0	men = 2.1	farm = 2.1	men = 2.4
nonfarm = 2.0	women = 1.9	nonfarm = 2.4	women = 2.1

i. So you don't get a reputation for being aloof or proud.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 2.0**		Overall Rating = 2.1**	
farm = 2.1	men = 1.8	farm = 2.2	men = 2.1
nonfarm = 1.8	women = 2.1	nonfarm = 2.0	women = 2.1

j. In order to avoid work.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 1.6**		Overall Rating = 1.8**	
farm = 1.8	men = 1.8	farm = 1.9	men = 2.0
nonfarm = 1.5	women = 1.5	nonfarm = 1.8	women = 1.7

24. Why is it considered pleasant or unpleasant to live in a village in which there are relatives?

- a. It is pleasant to live in such a village because you can expect to get help and support from them when you need it.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 3.3		Overall Rating = 4.0**	
farm = 3.4	men = 3.1	farm = 4.0	men = 4.0
nonfarm = 3.3	women = 3.5	nonfarm = 4.0	women = 4.0

- b. It is pleasant to live in such a village because you can be more open and closer to relatives.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 3.1		Overall Rating = 3.5	
farm = 3.3	men = 2.8	farm = 3.6	men = 3.2
nonfarm = 2.9	women = 3.4	nonfarm = 3.4	women = 3.8

- c. It doesn't make any difference because relatives don't usually have any special position or responsibility.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 2.4		Overall Rating = 1.7	
farm = 2.2	men = 2.3	farm = 2.8	men = 2.8
nonfarm = 2.6	women = 2.5	nonfarm = 2.6	women = 2.6

- d. It is unpleasant to live in such a village because relatives feel they have a right to interfere in your business, even if they are not asked.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 2.0**		Overall Rating = 2.0**	
farm = 2.2	men = 1.8	farm = 2.0	men = 1.8
nonfarm = 1.9	women = 2.3	nonfarm = 1.9	women = 2.1

Question 24 continued.

- e. It is unpleasant to live in such a village because you feel it necessary to help or support relatives who need it, even if you don't want to or have the means to.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 2.0**		Overall Rating = 1.7**	
farm = 1.8	men = 1.9	farm = 1.8	men = 1.4
nonfarm = 2.1	women = 2.0	nonfarm = 1.6	women = 2.0

25. When talking about the forming of friendships.

- a. As an adult, you can never form as close friendships as you do in childhood or in school.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 3.4		Overall Rating = 3.8*	
farm = 2.9	men = 3.0	farm = 3.4	men = 4.1
nonfarm = 3.8	women = 3.7	nonfarm = 4.2	women = 3.5

- b. As an adult, you can form just as good friendships as you can as a child or in school.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 3.0		Overall Rating = 2.4	
farm = 3.2	men = 3.2	farm = 2.6	men = 2.2
nonfarm = 2.9	women = 2.9	nonfarm = 2.1	women = 2.5

26. Two villagers talked about life and about work.

- a. One said that achievement in his work is the main content of life. He wants to work better or at least as well as others.

<u>Actual Frequency</u>		<u>Evaluation</u>	
Overall Rating = 3.4		Overall Rating = 2.9	
farm = 3.4	men = 3.4	farm = 3.1	men = 3.1
nonfarm = 3.4	women = 3.4	nonfarm = 2.7	women = 2.7

Question 26 continued.

- b. The second said that achievement in work is not the main content of life. He wants to enjoy life and not compete with the achievements of others.

Actual Frequency

Evaluation

Overall Rating = 3.2

Overall Rating = 3.4

farm	= 3.3	men	= 2.9	farm	= 3.4	men	= 3.2
nonfarm	= 3.1	women	= 3.5	nonfarm	= 3.4	women	= 3.6

(see Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck 1961:87)

27. What kind of women's clothes are suitable for a village celebration?

- a. A woman should dress in such a way that she will add to her attractiveness to men.

Actual Frequency

Evaluation

Overall Rating = 3.9**

Overall Rating = 3.7*

farm	= 3.6	men	= 3.9	farm	= 3.7	men	= 3.7
nonfarm	= 4.2	women	= 3.9	nonfarm	= 3.7	women	= 3.7

- b. A women should dress stylishly, but attractiveness to men is not important.

Actual Frequency

Evaluation

Overall Rating = 3.6

Overall Rating = 3.6

farm	= 3.5	men	= 3.9	farm	= 3.6	men	= 3.3
nonfarm	= 3.7	women	= 3.3	nonfarm	= 3.6	women	= 3.4

- c. Women should dress neatly but respectably.

Actual Frequency

Evaluation

Overall Rating = 2.7

Overall Rating = 3.0

farm	= 2.8	men	= 2.9	farm	= 3.3	men	= 3.3
nonfarm	= 2.6	women	= 2.5	nonfarm	= 2.7	women	= 2.7

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