



UNIVERSITY
OF FLORIDA
LIBRARIES



COLLEGE LIBRARY

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2011 with funding from
LYRASIS Members and Sloan Foundation

NORWAY'S FAMILIES

Trends Problems Programs

NORWAY'S FAMILIES

Trends Problems Programs

by

Thomas D. Eliot

Arthur Hillman

and others



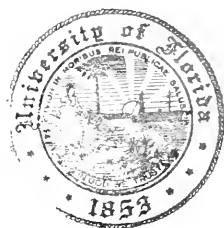
Philadelphia

University of Pennsylvania Press

© 1960 by the Trustees of the University of Pennsylvania

Published in Great Britain, India, and Pakistan
by the Oxford University Press
London, Bombay, and Karachi

Library of Congress Catalogue Card Number: 59-6672



Printed in Great Britain
by W. & J. Mackay & Co Ltd, Chatham

Preface

IN recent years, a number of independent monographs have appeared dealing with the structure, life, and problems of families in their respective national areas, under conditions of social change. The present volume, while not modelled after any of these other works, may find a place among them for comparative purposes. For Norway's families, there has been no directly comparable study. It was partly for that reason that the authors, both of them sociologists, at that time holding research grants in Norway under the Fulbright Act, chose the subject of family life and divided the field for study. The topic was also selected because, perhaps, no culture complex other than that of the familial is so central to any given society as a focus of its other institutions and as an epitome of a people's values and goals. The family life of a nation is a resultant of its social organization—economic, ecological, legal, educational, recreative, artistic, religious, medical, and protective.

We are even more convinced than we were at the outset, that to study families in their habitat is an excellent way to a synthetic and synoptic understanding of any country. The project rapidly gave us access to previously unrelated researches and documents and to a surprising range of socially-minded leaders in groups otherwise separated. The wide dispersion of many of the sources has prolonged the study, but the perspective has been thereby improved in breadth and depth as new data have been incorporated.

As one of the European areas most recently and rapidly passing from the agricultural to the industrial and urbanized modern culture, Norway shows dramatic changes, with variety and contrasts, among which not the least interesting are the changes in family patterns and family living. Yet, there are conservative elements in Norwegian

culture, and the diversity of relatively inaccessible districts has prevented much of the rapid secularization, the irresponsible experimentalism, the hectic mobility and instability of families, and the resulting increase of discontinuity and fragmentation in family life observable in certain mass societies.

The authors feel that, in order to portray and to explain the problems and programs, the presentation of data should begin with some historical perspective and some detailed descriptions of actual households and their ways of life over a range of years and in a variety of habitat areas and class levels. Temptations of authors or readers to generalize about "the" Norwegian family may thus be minimized.

We have further assumed that, once historical trends are seen and projected, measures for their encouragement or reduction also appear, or are suggested by the events and facts revealed. Such measures appear in organized programs, specific legislation, operating agencies, and observable or measurable results. In our field, the "family policy" (*familiepolitikk*) is a value system structurally implemented in Norway's societal organization. Our empirical approach has been called *habitat sociology*, the study of people operating spontaneously in their changing cultural context and in their habitat area. Families or any other institutional groups can be best understood in their societal setting. We have presented close-ups and broad views, functional and structural analyses, face-to-face and documentary sources, realistic and legal-administrative behavior patterns. From such a combination emerges a kind of description warranting frank evaluation, which we have tried to keep separate from our factual statements.

At several points comparative data from other Scandinavian countries have been introduced, since the volume is addressed to readers in both Norway and America, including those with broader interests in Scandinavian affairs.

We did not undertake elaborate conceptual distinctions, nor methodological designs, nor experimental projects, nor mathematical

manipulations. Others may discover in our findings many which lend themselves as hypotheses for intensive verification by statistical devices.

The plan of the present volume proceeds from an historical approach to family life in certain cultural and sub-cultural areas of Norway, through several aspects of present-day family formation, structure and function, and certain categories of problem-situations, to certain major preventive, supportive, or protective programs.

Our first chapter is based on an 1845 study of a family in Norway, one of the classic series published by the French social economist, Frédéric Le Play. A comparable family from the same community, studied in 1950 by a comparable method, provides the contrast. Through the accounts of these families, including daily routines, income and expenditure, and community relationships, many of the broader social changes of the century are evidenced.

Sundt's work, presented in Chapter II as it pertains to the family, is a remarkable record of pioneering in social investigation which began in the 1850's. He was a pioneer of habitat sociology.

The third chapter sums up main trends of the past century, especially urbanization and industrialization, and the rise of farmers and lately of organized labor to political power. The main themes of the book are stated in this chapter, with emphasis on understanding the changes in the family against the larger historical background.

Peter A. Munch's chapter is a generalized statement on rural families and the traditional economy of the farm. It serves to supplement the historical introduction and to introduce the case studies. The latter, in Chapters V, VI, and VII, are based on actual observations in Norwegian homes, ranging from a day or two to a week or more. Munch is a native of Norway, now professor of sociology at Southern Illinois University. Barth is a young Norwegian social anthropologist who has had graduate training in America. Stephenson was in Norway as a graduate student, specializing in industrial relations and lodging in workers' homes.

Part Three begins at Chapter VIII with a summary of the legal basis of marriage and includes the major trends in marriage and birth rates. Other chapters in this part are explained by their titles. Eva Nordland is one of the few child psychologists in Norway, and her chapter includes an interpretation of recent research.

Part Four is also self-explanatory, by reference to the titles. The international interest in Norwegian legislation concerning the non-wedlock mother and child should be noted. The treatment of alcoholism is equally significant.

Part Five describes the institutions which protect and strengthen family life. Family welfare is a goal of national economic planning; broad policies as well as specific provisions for maintaining family standards are presented in Chapter XVI. The treatment of housing, with special reference to Norway, includes the role played by co-operatives, the remarkable record in post-war rebuilding, and certain recent studies under the leadership of architects which attempt to link the design of dwelling units to actual family functions.

The chapter on the church was prepared by John T. Flint, whose doctoral dissertation at the University of Wisconsin was on a related subject, based on his recent research in Norway.

Sex and family life education have recently been subjects of controversy in Norway. The discussion and description of new developments in thought and practice serve incidentally to point up variations between rural and urban communities and regions.

At the end of 1957, Norway's population was 3,513,000 (1,763,000 women, 1,750,000 men). The country is small in total population but varied in its many pockets of settlement. The authors have throughout tried to avoid easy generalizations which would be inaccurate and would not do justice to the fascinating variety of the country.

It is impossible to list here all those whose helpfulness is gratefully acknowledged. Some persons were important as our informants or collaborators for specific chapters where their aid will be credited. As

advisers or critics for many aspects of our work, though they are not to be held responsible for opinions or facts as stated, we would thank especially each of the following personages:

General and divisional officials of the Department of Social Affairs and Cultural Relations Division of the Department of Foreign Affairs;

Dr. Sverre Holm and the University Institute of Sociology;

Dr. Julie Backer of the Central Statistical Bureau;

Max Petersen of Oslo's Office of Statistics;

Dr. E. Boyesen and other bureau chiefs of the Department of Church and Education;

Dr. Karl Evang, National Health Director, and his bureau chiefs;

Dr. Åse Gruda Skard of the University's Institute of Psychology;

Dr. Johannes Sandven of the University's Institute of Pedagogical Research;

Aksel Zacchariassen, head of the Workers' Education Association;

Dr. Tove Mohr, leader in fields of family health and health education and the care of alcoholics;

Dr. Bjarne Hareide of the Institute of Christian Education;

Dr. Gordon Johnsen, psychiatrist of Deaconess Hospital, Christian Aid, and Alcoholics Anonymous;

Judge Eivind Dahl of Oslo's Marriage Court;

Judge Kåre Gilhus of the Council of Children's Guardians and Inspektør Prag of the Relief Service;

Bureau Chiefs of Oslo's Health Council;

Bishop Kristian Schjelderup and several parish pastors;

The late Bryn J. Hovde, eminent American historian of Norway and a contemporary former Fulbright research scholar;

Bjarne Balstad, director of Norwegian Gallup Institute;

Can. Jur. Ingjerd Sørensen, Oslo Fylkeskontoret;

Gunvor Grønn, Nasjonal Kvinners Sanitetsforening, Oslo Kontrollstasjoner.

We wish to acknowledge the support of the U.S. Educational Foundation (Fulbright Program) which made our studies possible; the broad factual perspectives gained from many lecturers in the University's American Summer School; the patient assistance of librarians of the University Library, the two historical archives, and the Central Statistical Bureau's library; also the "footwork" and bibliographical help of certain sociology graduate students—Dagfinn Sivertsen, Trond Winje, and others. We thank also Nanna Michelet of Oslo's settlement house; Dakky Kiaer and Liv Kluge, directors of the two schools of social service, and Fru Giaever of the hospital social case workers' organization; Finance Minister, Erik Brofoss, and certain government housing officials; Eli Qvam of the Health Directorate for many inquiries and contacts; Fru Liv Schiødt of the magazine *Bonytt* ("Housing News") and the hospitable tenants of co-operative projects.

For a multi-dimensional perspective of changing values and relations, we wish also to acknowledge the generous counsel of such leaders as Dr. Halvdan Koht, the late Dr. Nicolai Rygg, Dr. Ruth Froyland Nielsen, Mag. Cato Hambro, Professor Sigmund Skard, Dr. Ole Olden, Cecile Blakstad, and others, who became personal as well as professional friends.

For the occasional passages suggesting a Scandinavian perspective, we acknowledge help from Professor Heikki Waris of the University of Helsinki who became pro-tem Minister of Social Affairs, and from Niilo Mannio and others in that Department; from officials of the Finnish Population League; Dr. Elise Ottesen-Jensen of Sweden's League for Sexual Education; Dr. Axel Höjer of The Stockholm School of Social Work; Dr. Henning Friis, Consultant of Denmark's Department of Social Welfare; Sven Blomquist of Sweden's Gallup Institute and Finland's Gallup Institute.

We also thank the directors of several folk high schools, and the good-natured pupils thereof, for hospitable co-operation in filling out an elaborate questionnaire. Special recognition belongs to the

late Stina Eklund Hillman's devoted labors, despite her prolonged invalidism, in tabulating the questionnaire data and in checking sources. Her personal knowledge of Scandinavian life and her professional experience in family life education were a constant help, as were the direct experiences of Jean Doyle Eliot in family friendships. To our hosts and hostesses in many homes, we feel a personal as well as a professional gratitude.

Arthur Hillman
Thomas D. Eliot

Contents

<i>Chapter</i>		<i>Page</i>
	PREFACE	v
	PART ONE: THE SPAN OF A CENTURY	
I	A Century's Contrast in Designs for Living	3
II	Eilert Sundt: Pioneer Student of Family and Culture in Norway	36
III	Family, Habitat, and Society	47
	PART TWO: PRESENT-DAY HOMES: SOME VARIATIONS BY AREA AND CLASS	
IV	<i>Gard</i> : The Rural Family Homestead <i>by</i> Peter A. Munch	71
V	Family Life in a Central Norwegian Mountain Com- munity <i>by</i> Fredrik Barth	81
VI	Family Life in an Industrial Community <i>by</i> John C. Stephenson	108
VII	Middle- and Upper-class Homes	130
	PART THREE: THE ORGANIZATION OF FAMILY LIFE	
VIII	Norms and Trends	160
IX	The Status of Women	175
X	Child Management: Trends in Urban Middle Classes <i>by</i> Eva Nordland and others	191
XI	Courtship and the Morals of Youth	222

<i>Chapter</i>		<i>Page</i>
	PART FOUR: FAMILY DISTORTIONS AND THEIR TREATMENT	
XII	Non-Wedlock Situations in Norway	240
XIII	Divorces	281
XIV	Coping with Alcoholism	295
XV	Social Services for Family Welfare	324
	PART FIVE: PROTECTIVE INSTITUTIONS AND COMMUNITY SERVICES	
XVI	Economic Security: Provisions for Maintaining Family Standards of Living	358
XVII	Housing Problems and Policies	370
XVIII	The Church in Relation to Family Life <i>by</i> John T. Flint	387
XIX	Sex-Social and Family-Life Education	407
XX	The Conquest of Venereal Diseases	427
XXI	Protection of Family Health	443
	CONCLUSION	473
	INDEX	477

Part One

THE SPAN OF A CENTURY

I

A Century's Contrast in Designs for Living¹

FAMILY STUDIES IN A HABITAT AREA

WHAT have a hundred years done to families' life patterns in Norway?

Obviously unanswerable, scientifically speaking, in the absence of nation-wide samples of intensive plane-of-living studies on the several economic class levels for each period.² Nevertheless, the question goes to the heart of our major interest: the impact of historical changes in the social context upon the lives of contemporary families. If, therefore, even one actual household study from the nineteenth century could be compared with a matching family of the same area today, there would be at least a glimpse of the past to help give perspective.

It happens that a Norwegian family provided one unit in the famous series of household monographs collected by the French mining engineer and social economist Frédéric Le Play and his disciples, published in many volumes during the middle half of the nineteenth century. It was the family of a skilled foundry worker in the old cobalt works (*Blaafarveværk*) in Modum (Buskerud province), reported by Le Play and A. de Saint-Léger in 1845.³

It seems more than a coincidence that Modum and its foundry were also a birthplace of the labor movement in Norway. Norway's pioneer labor hero, Marcus Thrane, was a teacher, hired either for the "company town" school or for the "great folks' children," at *Blaafarveværket* in 1846 (the year following the Le Play study); and, roused by what he saw of laborers' conditions during the panic and disemployment of 1847, and by the events in France, he became a

labor agitator. In 1950, the Labor party had only recently brought Thrane's remains from Eau Claire, Wisconsin, for reburial in the national cemetery at Oslo. So it was that Aksel Zachariassen, executive of the Workers' Education Association, when informed of our project, promptly telephoned the editor of Drammen's *Fremtiden* (a labor paper), who contacted the township chairman of Modum, set an appointment, and assigned an America-educated reporter as guide. Thus, a modern skilled worker's household was found; and, for a week or more, a Norwegian student, with a little coaching, studied its pattern of life. He used an outline based on the original Le Play study, supplemented by more recent schedules from Le Play House in England, which was a spiritual heir of Le Play's *Société d'Economie Sociale*.

POVERTY IN MODUM OF THE 1840'S

The first contact Thrane clearly made with the Norwegian working class was when . . . he took a school position at Modum Cobalt Works and afterward in 1848 came to Drammen [nearby industrial port]. It is, therefore, well worth while to examine into the conditions and questions that confronted him. For it was no accident that he made himself into a labor leader. The Cobalt Works at Modum, founded in 1772, had grown into one of the largest industrial plants in the land . . . It had about 700 men at work. It also had three good properties with large forests, a waterfall at Simoen with a fine timber run, and it ran two sawmills and three other mills. A quarter of all the people in Modum parish depended on the Works, and furthermore it gave support to many others in the district by way of hauling and otherwise. [Almost bankrupt in the European monetary panic of 1847-48, after the industrial expansion of the early 1840's, the Works' owners were ready to quit. They discharged 250 workers—the unmarried first—in April. The Works owed the workers their pay from February, and paid partly in grain at a price between the old price and the risen market price. The workers had to live on credit.] They had been patient month after month. But in May, Mgr. G. Benniche reported that the poverty was now so great, "There is ground to fear disorders and violence if their need cannot be helped by some other

means." The owners sought a loan from the State. The Secretary of the Interior asked advice from Drammen and was told 60,000 *speciedaler* would help.⁴

But Norway's treasury was also low, and it was a precedent to lend to private industry. He dared ask *Storting* (parliament) for only 13,000 *speciedaler*, with an emergency loan for a month so that labor's needs could be quieted.⁵

The total wage loan was 20,000 *speciedaler* for five months, which would provide an average wage of 5.7 *speciedaler* per man per month, or about six kroner per week.⁶

The cobalt company, after six decades of decadence, finally dissolved in 1898.⁷ Its troubles, labor and financial, began just about the time of the Le Play study (though no inkling of those troubles appears therein!).

It did not prove possible to find a modern cobalt worker who was actually a descendant of the earlier one. An exhaustive (and tantalizing) search of the government archives (company pay rolls, local census, parish records of marriages, births, deaths, etc.) revealed no family of the same name, dates, or precise age-and-sex pattern as that of the Le Play study, which must have been either disguised or a composite ideal-typical case.

The nearest "match" available seemed to be the household of a machine operator (pattern maker) for the foundry of a modern electrical equipment works, with skill, responsibility, and tenure fairly comparable to that of the 1845 worker. The grandfather in the family, then still occupying the second floor, had been one of the last employees of the old cobalt works; and the family name, that of the original mill hamlet, was recognized as one of those appearing often in the old company pay rolls and church records. Our informants, our student, and our advisers were told that we were not there to "prove" anything, though "improved" conditions were doubtless assumed by all parties to the inquiry.

To any modern student of families, the inadequacy of Le Play's outline coverage is apparent, especially on the functional and

“human” side. The factual classification and order we followed, which approximates Le Play's, make the comparison possible but are very different from the coverage of modern plane-of-living studies.

I. MODUM'S ECOLOGY

A. Resources, Industries, and People, 1845-1950

The Le Play study begins, as usual, with the habitat area, economic background, and population composition. Modum's peasant-owned farms provided most of the foods for workers in mines, mills, and forests. The Snarum river was full of salmon. Abundant pasturage permitted at least one milch cow per family. Wild berries were plentiful. Meats and salt fish were imported from elsewhere in Norway. Water power and minerals were ample, but the major mines and foundries were secondary to the lumber export industry. Skilled workers, though legally employed by the day, had traditionally durable tenure. Employees usually had also a bit of cultivated land and pasturage. The average age of workers was in the thirties. Population (4,504 in 1801) had nearly doubled in a half century (7,691 in 1845).⁸

Modum of 1950 still has some mines. (And uranium deposits have recently been discovered nearby.) Lumbering continues under Norway's controlled cropping system. Modum still has its agriculture,⁹ modernized and somewhat mechanized, and its garden plots. The “cotter” class (resident subsistence farm help) has disappeared, and the farm laborer, even if housed, is under collectively regulated contract for wages and rent, with vacations. The forest industries move raw material toward the local paper mills rather than to direct export. In 1946, there were 1,673 persons over fifteen years of age occupied in agriculture and forestry, and 1,862 in industry, but only 1,224 male industrial workers other than managerial and clerical.

The population density of the rural portions of the land area of the province of Buskerud is now 8.5 per km².¹⁰ (= 22.1 per sq. mile). In 1845, it was 5.1 per km².¹¹ (= 13.3 per sq. mile). Modum's popu-

lation is now about 11,400, with equal sex distribution. Over 9,000 people are over fifteen, over 200 are over seventy. Over half are married (more than 2,600 families, with more than 2,300 children). The inhabitants are a stable group; about 70 per cent were born in the commune. But, as in Le Play's day, the natural increase migrates: in 1946, there were sixty-four fewer people than in 1930.¹²

B. Family Contrasts (General)

For clarity and conciseness, we proceed in parallel columns for the families of the two periods:

Family Composition:

1845	1950
Husband: age 38 years	age 38 years
Wife: age 35 years	age 33 years
Married 13 years	12 years ¹⁴
Children: ¹³ 4	3
Ages: 12, 10, 7, 3	11, 8, 3 and intend no more. Add grandfather, 75 years (since deceased).

C. Religion and Habits

Religion:

Lutheran

Expected to bring up their children in the state church. Confirmation at 18 years celebrated as important.

Lutheran

No religious practices in home. Rarely go to church except on special occasions (Christmas, Easter, baptism, weddings, funerals, etc.). Children attend Sunday school regularly.

Manners:

Generally crude.

Courteous, open, kindly, hospitable.

Morals and Morale:

Influenced by religion and by temperance societies. (Nothing said about sexual morality. Le Play may have been a bit naive: cf. the work of Eilert Sundt¹⁵ and Nicolai Rygg.¹⁶ See also Chapters II, V, XI, XII.)

In 1841-45, non-wedlock rates for Norway as a whole were 31.1 live births per 100 marriages; in 1846-50, they were 33.3, and the number of live plus stillbirths (non-wedlock) per 100 women 20-45 years of age was 32.4.¹⁹

Use of beverages:

Influenced by temperance societies. Abjure *aquavit*.

Use small beer.

Cow provides milk. (Coffee not mentioned.)

Conventional morality.¹⁷

Self-respect and reciprocal respect. Good father and provider; good mother and excellent housekeeper. Subtle sense of humor.¹⁸ Aware of having a good life in a world where millions are in misery.

Strongly attached to nature and to handiwork.

In 1951, the comparable non-wedlock rate for Norway was 9.5 per 100 marriages, and 1.1 per 100 unmarried women 20-45 years of age.²⁰ In 1953, the rate was 3.6; in 1954, it was 3.5; in 1955, 3.45.²¹

No daily drinking. Very small amounts of liquor consumed. Perhaps two to three bottles of "hard liquor" per year, for parties, vacations, etc. Reasons:

1. High prices of liquors.
2. No official liquor store in township.
3. Township regulations:

Only one hotel has a permit to sell light beer. (A café's permit was revoked for selling more than two bottles per guest.)

Use of beverages (*continued*):

4. Every bottle must be ordered from Oslo.

Milk is purchased for factory lunch. Coffee, four times daily.

Position of Women:

1. Wives have strong moral influence.
2. Wives were under husband's authority but
3. they had high status in the family.
4. Local women are attractive and faithful. (*See above*, under C.)

1. Wife has strong moral influence.
2. All decisions made after consulting each other.
3. Wife is highly respected, has high status in family.
4. Attractive and faithful.

Child Rearing:

Paternal authority (no other mention).

A matter of mutual agreement between parents.²²

Politics:

Not mentioned. (Probably none.)

Press and radio keep them informed. Form own opinion with awareness of their limitations. (Labor party.)²³ By 1955, husband was elected to township council as chairman thereof (personal letter, 1956).

D. Health

Communal Level:

Good.

Ditto.

(But "good health" 1848 is not "good health" 1950!)

[Mortality, Buskerud:

1889-92: 14.4

1941-45: 9.9 (including war deaths). Practically average for all Norway.

[Infant Mortality—Norway:

1845: 2,633 deaths under one year.²⁴

1911-15: 66.3 (rate).

1950: 28.2.

[Life Expectation at Birth—Norway:

1841-50. men: 44.5

1945-48: men: 67.76

women: 47.9.

women: 71.68.

Industrial Hygiene:

Reasonably safe.

Reasonably safe. Legislation and inspection. Husband lost some finger joints on the job.

Factory provides handsome bath-house or quarters (Finnish type). Open to wives on Wednesdays. Regular tuberculosis tests for children at school.

Most miners and mill workers also owned or worked part-time on small farms. This kept their bodily condition healthy and energetic.

The factory workers in the area are not physically very different from the agricultural workers. They usually own and cultivate a garden.

This offsets the confinement of the job.

Personal Cleanliness:

(Not mentioned by Le Play)

Cf. Eilert Sundt on the cleanliness habits of nineteenth-century Norway. (See Chapter II, below.)

Family is clean. Wash-off daily, bath weekly at factory for parents. Friday night and Saturday for children at home.

Diet:
(See Foods, below, I.) Excellent, well-prepared, varied.

Medical Services:

Company insurance fund (joint contributory) provided "medical care."
Maternity and infancy care publicly provided. District physician, under local and state sickness funds (insurance). One child had had pneumonia and bronchitis; another, scarletina. General health good. Parents' teeth had been neglected: both had "plates" or soon would. Children's to be better cared for.²⁵ Free school dentistry. (See Chapter XXI.)

(No dental care mentioned. Probably only extractions by the physician.)

E. Social Status

Occupational Class:

Between domestic and journeyman; above the simple manual laborers. Wage considered high at the place and for the time. [Kr. 5 per week prevailed, to judge from members (700) employed, the five-month parliamentary grant (20,000 *speciedaler*) 1848, and the 1873 value of the *speciedaler* (Kr. 4.)]²⁶

Highly skilled worker. Previously a farm worker. Bookkeeper for his union. Wage considered good: Kr. 160 per week, *ca.* Kr. 7,800 per year. (Specified by union.) Supplemented by book sales, pay as union bookkeeper, friends' services, grandfather's help and dinner money, child allowances, medical services. No effort to "rise" socially: have sense of well-being. Many good acquaintances. Both sides of family in

No effort to "rise" socially.

Occupational Class (*continued*):

No habits of saving to buy land (not considered typical). Pay roll deductions for school and doctor.	area many generations. Well accepted in the community. Husband helps friends with his special skills ²⁷ or knowledge, and they reciprocate. Many relatives, with whom contact is kept up. Regular weekly savings plan for children: through school and postal bank. Payments on the house and insurances. (No household accounts kept.)
--	---

II. ECONOMIC BASIS

F. Property

Real Estate:

None (not considered typical.)	House (60 square meters) and 5 mål (1¼ acres). Two sheds. Kr. 17,000.
--------------------------------	---

Domestic Animals:

1 cow (milch), kr. 64.80.	No cow.
1 pig (pork), kr. 18.	2 pigs (original cost plus raising, Kr. 700, plus Kr. 250 for labor = Kr. 950). Probable cost of same meat retail, Kr. 1,000.

Household Capital:

Furniture (considered part of housing.)	Furniture (See below pp. 17-18). Gardening tools.
Gardening tools, guns, traps for hunting, Kr. 8.64. Fish traps, etc., Kr. 3.60.	Woodworking tools and shop. Movable insured for Kr. 12,000.

Insurance:

Pay roll deduction (added to by employer) went into a fund for medical care and sick benefit (half wage).

No membership in a society.

No accumulation. (Pensions not mentioned.)

Total personal assets: Kr. 95.04.

Social security

Sickness (company pays 45 per cent).

Unemployment (company pays 50 per cent).

Old age insurance.

Life policies for each member.

Total: Kr. 6,000.

Pension fund of factory (pays at 68 years)——— Kr. 36,000.

G. Subsidies

Schooling and Education:

Pay roll deduction (added to by employer) went into a fund which also provided school for workers' children. (One teacher for all grades probably.)

(Nothing reported about parents' education.)

Free public grade school, alternate days for different grades. Children's allowances for two younger children (Kr. 45 per quarter per child). Parents finished agricultural school; wife finished junior high school and three months sewing school.

Housing:

Company owned. (Rent free.) 3 rooms with garden.

Built 1908-9 by husband's father. (The husband was then his helper.) Purchased from father by husband, 1944, at the mother's death. 4 rooms, plus pantry, vestibule, cellar, large shed. 5 mål garden ($1\frac{1}{4}$ acres). (Use entire house since grandfather's

Housing (*continued*):

death, 1951.) If rented, the house would probably have cost Kr. 400 for one year. The actual outlay for the year was Kr. 210. The grandfather paid them Kr. 120 per year for his attic room, and gave some house help.

Common Resources:

Customary access to rivers and woods for wild foods, trapping salmon, trapping and shooting rabbits and birds, and "prodigious amounts of wild berries."

(Fishing probably spoiled by paper industry. Not mentioned.) No hunting.

Berry-picking in nearby woods in the fall.

H. Productive Activities

Wage Earner's Employments:

First employed at 18 years by the company.

First employment at 15 years as a farm hand. At 21 years learned carpentry: building, cabinet-making.

Major Job:

Smelting and processing of "white metal," cobalt blue, and blue glass.

Pattern making (wooden models for foundry molds) at an electrical equipment factory.

Work Contract:

One year, by the day. (Not paid when idle.) Employment traditionally permanent for skilled men.

Union agreements. (Pay or insurance if idle.) Skill assures stability of employment.

Work Hours:

12 hour day
7 day week
plus holidays—*when furnace is going*. Alternates day and night shifts weekly.

8½ hour day. 7-4:30 winter, 6:30-4 summer. Saturday to 1:00 P.M., Sunday free, some overtime often.

Off Hours:

12 hours between shifts. Periods when furnace idle.
Used for garden, hunting, fishing, house care.

Annual legal vacation. Saturday P.M. and Sunday. Used for household chores in winter.
Garden (small): fruits, vegetables, potatoes. Woodwork, remodelling.

Woman's Employments:

Household tasks. (Half her time.)
Processing thread.
Processing yarn.
Dressmaking.
Gardening.
Domestic animals.
Fruit gathering. Harvesting at nearby estate for wages.

Household tasks. (Hardly half her time.) Knitting, mending.
Makes her own and children's clothes.
Some gardening. Cares for pigs.
Canning fruit (garden and wild).
Canning slaughtered pork.

Son's Employments (12 years):

Helps around house.
Helps at neighbor's harvesting.

Daughters' (11 years, 8 years):

Not as duty but from interest.
Share dishwashing, cooking.
Share garden work. Help care for 3 year old. Older one knits. (Older daughter worked in nearby shop, 1956.)
Grandfather while living helped with woodwork and chores. (75 years old.)

Home Industries:

Cooking, curing, garden.

Domestic animals. Hunting, fishing, gathering berries.

Spinning and dressmaking.

[Washing.]

Cooking, baking twice weekly.

Garden.

Canning fruit and meat.

Knitting, dressmaking.

Mostly sent to laundry; some at home, Monday, Tuesday.

I. Plane of Living

1. Foods:²⁸

Rye bread.

Barley hard cake, with milk; or, re-cooked sliced with fat or meat.

Beef, salted or smoked in the fall.

Carcass or net poundage bought from Northland cattle merchants. (Common practice in northern Europe then.)

Pork, raised at home.

Occasionally, oat hardtack (*knaekkebrod* or *flatbrod*).Great variety, high quality, well prepared, different every day.²⁹

"They live well."

Shops nearby.

Bake bread twice a week.

Meats and fish purchased locally except for pork.

Pork from pigs raised on place and slaughtered and canned in the fall.

2. Health:

Personal:

(See D above.)

Sanitation, etc.:

(Nothing reported about heating.)

(Nothing reported about water closet or bathing.)

(See D above.)

Electric cooking stove. Electric hot water storage heater. Small electric space heater. Large stove in "dining room."

Water closet is in big shed.

Weekly use of factory bathhouse.

[Only 7 per cent of 20,979 domiciles in rural Buskerud province have private bath.]

3. Domicile:

(See G above.)

(Probably wooden, near foundry.)

3 rooms.

(Toilet not mentioned.)

Adjoining stable.

Vegetable garden.

4. Furniture:

"Sufficient," neatly kept.

1 bed for parents.

2 beds, 3 children.

1 cradle.

1 wardrobe.

(Not listed in budgeted properties.)

(See G above.)

Wooden, wired throughout for electricity. 3 km. (1½ mi.) from factory: slightly off main road, in loosely built up area.

4 rooms: pantry, vestibule, cellar. (Whole house used after grandfather's death.)

Running water but no bathtub (see above). [61 per cent of Buskerud rural homes have running water in kitchen.]

Adjoining large shed, former stable and barn, now houses shop and water closet. Poor condition.

Small pig shed.

5 mål garden area.

Planned remodelling of kitchen suggested by wife, "granted" by husband.

Insured for Kr. 12,000. Mostly made by husband. Some decorative pieces. Well furnished and kept.³¹ Bed for each, but stored. Couches used. Cabinets, chests, etc. Electric sewing machine. Garden furniture for summer meals. Electric water storage heater and small space heater.

Utensils:

Only the necessary copper or iron kettles and pots. Most others, wooden or earthenware.

Seem sufficient. Well kept. Aluminum and enamel. China. Rust-free table ware, little silver.

Linens:

"Sufficient." In good condition. Bedspreads, napkins, towels, etc.

Sufficient. Mostly white. Slight shortage, due not to income but to (then) rationing.

Housing Statistics for Modum parish as of December 1, 1950 (the most recent national

TABLE I. HOUSEHOLDS¹ ACCOR

	No. of households	Households							
		0 room	1 room	2 room	3 room	4 room	5 room ⁶	6 room	7 room
Altogether ³ (of which)	3675	7	205	279	1177	843	518	184	88
New Dwellings ⁴	149	1	15	20	40	36	28	7	1
Households with 0 Persons Altogether (of which) ⁴	58	8	27	17	3	2	—	1	—
New Dwellings	4	—	2	2	—	—	—	—	—

TABLE I-A. HOUSEHOLDS¹ ACCOR

	No. of households	Households						
		0 pers.	1 pers.	2 pers.	3 pers.	4 pers.	5 pers.	6 pers. ⁶
Altogether (of which)	3733	58	485	945	972	739	333	118
New Dwellings ⁴	153	4	14	26	48	32	19	6

Institutional households: 11 Residents who belong thereto: 211

- 1) Not including institutional households.
- 2) Kitchens are counted as rooms. Shared kitchen is not considered as a room.
- 3) Households with 0 persons are not included.

Clothing:

Quite convenient. Well kept. Mostly worsted. Original cut and style. Man had militia suit.

All neatly and practically dressed. Husband's clothes bought. Children use wool clothes knitted by mother. Mother sews all children's clothes (except stockings and underwear, etc.), and all her own clothes, some of which are stylish.

census) are provided herewith:³⁰

ORDING TO NUMBER OF ROOMS

			Total rms.	Households with		Households ⁶ with	
8 room	9 room	10 or more room	excl. kitchens ²	own kitchen	shared or no kitchen	over 2 inhabit. per room	2 or fewer inhabit. per room
33	21	20	9804	3443	232	92	3576
—	—	1	384	134	15	3	145
—	—	—	60	24	34	—	50
—	—	—	4	2	2	—	4

ORDING TO NUMBER OF PERSONS

with:						Resident population
7 pers.	8 pers.	9 pers.	10 pers.	11 pers.	12 pers.	
54	19	7	2	—	1	1245
3	1	—	—	—	—	498

4) By new dwellings is understood houses finished since December 3, 1946.

5) Excluding households with 0 rooms.

6) Shows where our 1950 family stands : noticeably above the average household in size.

5. Education:

(See G above.)

(See G above.)

6. Recreations:

No vacations. Little travel. Hard drinking the favorite recreation of many workers and even of farmers. Recreations of the better element morally superior to most of Europe's masses.

Men's: Bird and rabbit hunting, with rifles or traps. Salmon fishing, target shooting, militia exercises.

Women's: Berry-picking.

Evenings: (No information. Obviously no margin.)

Children's: Help with traps or berries.

Annual legal vacation—3 weeks. "Social occasions" rare. Little liquor.

Little hard drinking among workers.

Gardening, woodwork.

Evening coffee at 8:30, radio, out-loud reading, and three weekly magazines, sewing, and knitting.

(See below.)

Children's: (See below.)

Radio "Children's Hour" on Saturday. Out-loud reading by father. Girls knit and help in house.

All ski in winter.

7. Cultural Expression:

[Nothing reported except religion. (See C above.)]

Rarely leave township. Trips to Drammen, Honefoss, Oslo.

(Religion, see C above.)

Husband reads a good book out loud to wife in evening.

Afternoon meal 1¼ hrs. talking. Listen to radio plays, lectures, and music.

Cultural Expression (*continued*):

Men's choir member. Were members of a former book club. Own some 49-50 books. Well assorted. Mother and daughter draw together, and school encourages by competition. If he won 25,000 kroner, he'd take the family traveling.

Actually, so many living details of the household as a going concern are lacking in the Le Play study that much of the 1950 description will be more coherent, alive, and meaningful without parallel dissection into Le Play's categories.

Leisure

The pleasures of the 1950 family consist in major part of useful work, and are thus not especially intellectual. The husband had earlier in life (and does still have) an interest in agriculture and woodwork, so he enjoys being able to use his spare time for this. All the members of the family have an ear for music, and the husband is an active member of a men's choir in the community. (His father also was a member.) The wife is a member of the same choir's section for women, which does not sing but works for financial support of the choir and as a sewing circle. The wife, who, before her marriage, worked with sewing, still gets pleasure out of using her spare time for this.

During wintertime, when one cannot work outdoors, the long spare hours are spent in more non-material entertainment. The family buys *Norsk Ukeblad* (weekly) each week, *Alle Kvinner* ["All Women"], and the broadcasting program paper. They read this last one closely and choose ahead the programs to which they want to listen. They mostly emphasize plays, but listen also to news, lectures, and music, according to the interest. They do not get any daily paper, as the factory makes one available in the dining room for the workers.

Several evenings during the week, when time is available after the

children have gone to bed, the parents drink coffee, listen to the radio, and the wife knits and the husband reads out loud to her from a novel. Earlier, they belonged to a book club in the community which does not now exist.

The family enjoys reading, but the total time for this during the year is of course little. They do, however, own some books (Nordahl Grieg, *Norsk Dyreliv* ["Norwegian Animal Life"], dictionary, light novels, and children's books, forty or fifty altogether).

Vacation is taken in total in the summer. (Usually in the beginning of July.) This period is much used for garden work, but, as the husband said, "One has to go away for a while, otherwise one gets worn down." For eight to ten days of the vacation, they go some place, bicycling with a tent or to a cottage in Sigdal which they borrow from a friend.

During the time of the berries in autumn, the whole family often goes hiking in the nearby woods picking *tyttebaer* (something like cranberries) and blueberries.

They go to the movies (Kr. 2 = 28c.) about once a month. The family has many friends, who usually come visiting unasked, and to whom they usually go visiting.

A couple of times a year, the parents attend a social affair arranged by the men's choir or by some other public organization. The weekly dances, which are arranged by the Youth Association of the community in their House, they do not attend any more.

Birthdays in the family and among friends are usually celebrated with gifts and visits.

The amount of hard liquor consumed is relatively small.

The Children

Among the children, the oldest one especially is a good drawer. The wife also enjoys drawing, so she is following her children in this field. Presently this interest is very strong with the daughters, and they sit at the kitchen table several hours a day drawing freehand drawings. The local school also consciously tries to stimulate this

interest in the pupils. (Drawing competitions, exhibits in Oslo.) Furthermore, the oldest daughter is knitting (presently a large woolen hat for herself). The children are otherwise mostly outdoors both in winter and in summer, playing with the children in the neighborhood, and ski jumping in season. Conditions are ideal for this, as the house is drawn somewhat back from the main road and its traffic. The husband continually makes toys (chair, rocker, racing car, etc.) and other things of wood for the little son.

Among other significant omissions, Frédéric Le Play did not include the typical daily and weekly schedule of activities—the functional aspect of the plane of living.

Our Family's Daily Routine [1950]

Wife gets up at 5:45 A.M. and makes her husband's breakfast (partly prepared for him the night before) and returns to bed. Sandwiches (without spread) are in a bowl with a lid on, and hot water is on the stove. He makes the food he needs for work during the day, and goes by bicycle [in winter by "spark" (scooter-sled)] to his work which is 3-4 km. away, in order to be there at 7:00 A.M. (in summer, 6:30 A.M.). He has a lunch period of twenty minutes (from 9:30-9:50 A.M.) and a "*middag*" break of forty minutes (from 12:50-1:30 P.M.). For these meals, he buys three-fourths of a liter of milk in a dairy close by. He is home for dinner with his family at 5:00 P.M. The wife gets up at 7:00-7:30 A.M. and makes breakfast for the children. The girl who is going to school that day gets up first and eats. (They go to school every other day, each on his or her own day.) When she has finished, the other two get up and eat, while the wife has the windows open and makes the beds. The morning and early afternoon (*formiddag*) is filled with housework: floorwashing, dusting, dishwashing, carrying wood, shopping. The wife is usually through with this about noon and then has a short break. She rests or reads a magazine. About 12:30, there is lunch, which consists of bread and coffee, in the kitchen. After this meal, she does odds and

ends (washing, ironing, mending, etc.) until she starts preparing the dinner at about 3:30 P.M.

The oldest girl is indoors very much, drawing. The other children are usually out playing with the children in the neighborhood. (During the winter, this results in the children coming in for lunch and dinner soaking wet from snow.)

In the summer, dinner is at 4:30 P.M., and in good weather they usually eat outside with garden furniture. In winter, the table is set in the dining room at 5:00 P.M. The husband's father partook in this meal. They usually stay about an hour and a quarter at the table, talking. The food is very well prepared and varies from day to day without any fixed plan. (This housewife has extraordinary abilities in cooking.) When dinner is over at about 6:15, the girls help with the dishes or do it alone, while the mother puts Erik to bed and the husband does all sorts of work (in winter, snow shoveling, etc.). In summertime, most of them are busy outdoors.

The daughters go to bed together at about 8:00 P.M. (in summer somewhat later), and from 8:30 the parents sit in the sitting room for coffee (*aftens*) after the children have gone to bed. During this time, they usually listen to the radio (plays, lectures, some music), or the husband reads out loud from some book while the wife without exception is busy with sewing or knitting.

Our family's *typical weekly round* varies the daily schedule: Saturday and Sunday are different from the other days in the rhythm of the meals. Usually dinner is at 1:30 P.M. After dinner, the husband usually sleeps for about an hour, after which the coffee is served at 4:00 P.M. Then all the children are present, and the husband reads fairy tales to the smallest. On Saturdays, they listen to the "Children's Hour" (a permanent program on the radio) from 6:00 P.M. to 7:00 P.M. On these two days, the evening meal is at 7:00-7:30 P.M. The children usually eat first and then go to bed. Then the parents eat in the sitting room, listen to the radio, read, etc. On Sunday, the parents get up at about 8:30-9:00 A.M., and it often happens that the older girl serves them coffee in bed.

The bedclothes, underwear, shirts, linen, etc., are sent to the laundry. There is, however, some laundry done at home, and this is done on Mondays and Tuesdays if possible. The wife bakes bread twice a week, but not on fixed days. On Saturdays, she usually makes an extra cake.

The children get a bath at the end of the week. Erik and the one who is to go to school the next day get a bath Friday night; the daughter who is home on Saturday gets a bath that morning. The wife usually has a bath one day a week (no fixed day) in a factory nearby. The husband usually has a bath on Saturdays in the factory where he works.

For evidence of changes in the life organization cycle over the years, we revert to the parallel form:

J. Life Cycle

Typical Life Cycle for the Area, 1845:
(Family limitation probably unknown or condemned: not mentioned.)

Actual Life Cycle, Present-day Family:

Husband's father was one of seven children. Husband's mother was one of seven children. Husband was one of eight children. Wife was one of four children. Parents have decided to have only these three.

Average Span of Life:

1841-50

Men—44.5 years

Women—47.9 years

1945-50

Men—69.1 years

Women—72.7 years

1951-55

Men —71.1

Women—74.7

1946-47: 174.8

[Born living per 1,000 married women, 1889-92: 305.2]

1. *Childhood*

Exempt from industry. Participate only as capable in family tasks. Help at hired work for neighboring landowner.

Some instruction at company school.

(No report on parents' education.)

Exempt from industry. Participate only as capable in family tasks, voluntary rather than as duty.

No outside employment. (Oldest girl works in shop, 1956.)

Alternate days at public grade school.

Parents finished grade school at 15; husband agricultural school at 21, wife junior high school and sewing course at 17.

2. *Occupational Choices*

Hired to company at 18, or hired to landowners, for agriculture, factory, or hauling. (Oldest sons of farmers inherit when parents die or grow infirm.)

Militia duty.

Husband wanted to be a farmer, but did not earn enough at farm work. Not accepted by army school for subalterns. Learned carpentry and cabinet making under his father; hired by future father-in-law. Wife was seamstress for five years before marriage. At marriage, husband was pattern maker's helper at factory. After two years, pattern maker. Pattern maker for ten years.

In Home Defense, 1943-45, troop leader.

3. *Courtship and Marriage*

(Not discussed in Le Play report.) Marriage age was considered young (25 and 22).

Met his future wife when 25 years old as employee of her father, a cabinet-maker. Went

Courtship and Marriage (continued)

together for $1\frac{1}{2}$ years, then engaged for $\frac{1}{2}$ year. He married when 26, she at 23 years.

4. *Economic Goals*

The thrifty industrial workers save for land purchase and cultivation (*vs.* recruiting by industry from farmers' families).

Company's skilled men do not save for land ownership, but raise their daily standards of food and clothes.

Savings only through insurances and for children's accounts.

Apparently their own goals are satisfied, except for their children's futures.

5. *Supporting Institutions and Measures*

Aged:

Supported by children when infirm.

Grandfather (died 1951 at 75 years):

Rent free, second floor, but helped with woodwork and paid for dinners and laundry, Kr. 120 per year.

Heirs:

Oldest takes over property. Small holdings preclude partition, force ancestral system.

Income from part-time job for township property records, from old age insurance.

Other Offspring:

Get a lump sum. Seek their fortunes elsewhere with moral support of the home.

Husband would have supported his father if he had become infirm. Husband bought the home from his father at time of his mother's death; is paying for it in installments (to father, or to State Housing Bank).

K. Social Security

Skill assured steady employment (but employers shortly went broke).

Company fund and paternalism provided medical care in sickness. Half wage during illness. Children expected to support aged.

Cheap new land afforded security for unemployed. Less paternalism than other northern lands at the time.

Skill assures steady employment.

Unemployment insurance, sickness and disability insurance (local and national). Pension fund of company. Old age insurance. Child allowances for two children. Private insurance policies of 2,000 or 1,000 kroner for each family member. (The province had 1,448 relief cases, 1950.) Company has bathhouse, pension fund; shows concern for workers.

SUMMARY AND EVALUATION

The contrasts over the span of the century are obvious at almost every point and are uniformly in favor of the present-day family. One marked difference is in food, where the percentage of the expenditure, as well as the absolute amount, has gone up. The 1845 family may have been at a level below which Engel's "law" (based in part on Le Play's budgets) is not illustrated.³²

Even since Norway's industrial family budget studies of 1927-28,³³ the relative portion of expenditures for foods has fallen from 40.6 per cent to 32.6 per cent.³⁴ In the 1845 household, 72 per cent of the expenses went for foods. In the 1950 household, the proportion was 44.6 per cent. The general proportion or food percentage for comparable size of household in 1948 was 35 per cent, in 1957;³⁵ it was reported as 30.1 per cent, the lowest of west Europe, comparable with 22.1 per cent for the United States.

Another marked difference is in the sources of social security under social democratic legislation. The modern family is content,

feels secure, in the sense not of dependence, but of independence. It can spend, as Patten predicted,³⁶ on goods and services which raise its current consumption standards, with no anxiety for the future. Child allowances have not led to improvident propagation. Planning can be done with a minimum of competitive anxiety. Yet there is pride and pleasure in skill and industry and recognition.

A third notable difference is in furniture and furnishings.

But perhaps the most important changes of the century are on the cultural level. In the present family we find more schooling, more leisure, and tools of leisure, all put to good use, without competitive display.

The points at which there is at least verbal similarity between the planes of living for the two periods are found less in objects and more in matters of interests, status, and activities: in religion, in the position of women, in the combination of factory and garden work; in the role and homework of the housewife, in pig-raising, berry-gathering, militia duty, and in the channeling of free income into consumption rather than into investment or status raising.

EVALUATION OF FINDINGS

Le Play's insistence upon living at the site and upon interpreting the culture (ostensibly) through its maintenance mores,³⁷ foreran by half a century the methodologies of Sumner and Boas. Le Play's ideas (through Edmond Desmolins) also inspired the work of that versatile genius Patrick Geddes.³⁸ Quite characteristically, however, in his evaluations, Le Play (a conservative in respect to religion and family mores) more or less disregarded his facts so painstakingly gathered; he credited the alleged superiority of nineteenth-century Norwegian households to patriarchalism under inheritance by primogeniture, to industrial paternalism, and to respect for the church fathers and the paternal will of God. These were to Le Play quite as important as physiographic, social-economic, and legal-political factors. We are here interested in Le Play's facts, not in his theories

and biases and doctrines; nor in those of Thrane, his bitterly anti-aristocratic and anticlerical contemporary. But it is interesting to compare his findings with those of Thrane and Sundt, whose habitat studies were proceeding along different lines during this same ebullient period of Norwegian history.³⁹

Our findings are one example corroborative of the conclusions of Gunnar Jahn, another former director of Norway's Central Statistical Bureau, who (like Rygg) also became director of the Bank of Norway and an economic historian and ethnographer.⁴⁰ In a study of changes in workers' planes of living,⁴¹ Jahn gives the average city worker's wage in 1850 as *one krone per day*. But he warns that this gives a wrong idea and is a poor standard of measurement. A 1950 krone was worth about 14 cents; it was not possible to convert 1845 kroner to 1945 dollars. People then had far fewer needs than now: many items of present consumption did not exist. An income adequate for liberal circumstances in 1850 would not serve today's needs. But the multitude of men's "needs" is an index of a society's well-being. If anything, the Le Play family as described was better off than most of its fellows.

In 1845, Le Play's smelter (a skilled worker) got 2.07 fr. (= Kr. 1.49 of 1873) per day, 300 days per year. Foundry wages in Buskerud 1950, for 2,276 workers averaged Kr. 3.36 per hour; 1,304 electro-technical workers averaged Kr. 3.13 per hour. The hourly wage of our 1950 worker was Kr. 3.33. The following digest of current findings serves to bring our data as closely down to date as possible at the present writing:

The Norwegian Central Bureau of Statistics reports, on the basis of personal interviews, that 197 selected workers' families in Oslo and Bergen had an average income of Kr. 13,400 in 1952. The figure was Kr. 13,688 for the Oslo families, and Kr. 12,232 for those in Bergen. Only eight of the families earned less than Kr. 8,000, while half of the total made between Kr. 10,000 and Kr. 14,000.

Part of the Bureau's regular cost-of-living survey disclosed that the average income of the 197 families was Kr. 1,000 higher than shown by the last statistical survey made in 1951-52. The average size of the new "index" family was 3.1 persons.

Queries about the family budgets revealed that nearly one-third of the total expenditures was spent on food, and well over 14 per cent went to buy clothing and shoes. Rent and fuel took 9.7 per cent of the budget. Beverages and tobacco consumed about 6 per cent, and amusements and sports slightly less than 2 per cent. An average of 11.3 per cent was paid in direct taxes.

Meanwhile, the Norwegian Federation of Labor estimates that, after payment of taxes, the average "index" family had a net income of Kr. 10,998 in 1952, as against Kr. 7,929 in 1949. The 1952 figure was Kr. 452 higher than required to compensate for the rise in the cost of living since 1949.⁴²

In this chapter, some details concerning the two families have been included to point up the actuality of their existence and ways of life. Some details of statistical character were inserted to provide a degree of perspective in time and for the area. Such details may seem trivial, but were considered useful in portraying the general effects of industrialization, transportation, communication, and modern legislation upon Norwegian family planes of living. The following chapter presents the work of a pioneer Norwegian sociologist who made extensive field studies of certain aspects of family life a hundred years ago.

¹ The assistance of Dr. Julie Backer and librarians of the Central Statistical Bureau, State Archives and University Library, chairman Andreas Knive, reporter Kjell Sørhus, student Trond Winje, kand.mag. Eli Qvam, and, of course, the anonymous household is gratefully acknowledged.

² Norwegian families can still be found living, as it were, in the nineteenth century but with differences due to modern technologic and social security programs.

³ Frédéric Le Play, *Les Ouvriers Européens*, III (2nd ed.; Paris: Alfred Mâme et fils, 1877): ch. II, "Fondeur des Usines à Cobalt du Buskerud . . .," pp. 54-98.

It is claimed that Le Play was over-rosy in his evaluation of the workers' plane of living at Modum, in view of the shocked reactions at Modum's labor conditions, of

Marcus Thrane and of the German Winkelblech (Karl Georg Winkelblech (Karl Marlo, pseud.) *Untersuchungen über die Organisation der Arbeit* . . ., Tübingen, 1884: II, p. v).

⁴ Cf. Halvdan Koht, "Den Første Arbeidarklasse Marcus Thrane Møtte," *Arbeiderbladet* (February 25-26, 1949), pp. 4-5.

⁵ *Storhings Forhandlinger*, 1848, IV, No. 90.

⁶ This corresponds to Jahn's figure (see note 41).

⁷ Andreas Holmsen, "Bergverksdrift og Stenbrytning," *Økonomisk-Geografisk Atlas Over Norge*, ed. Per Nissen (Kristiania: Aschehoug, 1921), p. 25. (Transl.):

Among other Norwegian mines which had their flourishing period in the 1830's and after, must be mentioned Modum's Cobalt Works, where in 1839 not less than 840 men were occupied at the mines and about 200 men at the plant (*hytte*) and other installations. In 1848, after the discovery of ultramarine, an extraordinary fall in the price of cobalt products occurred, and this had the effect that the management became considerably cramped and the Works' position became precarious. They still carried on with some kind of management until 1898, when the old Works folded up.

Cf. also Oddvar Bjørklund, *Marcus Thrane* (Oslo: Tiden, 1941), pp. 64-67. The company's difficulties may have closed Thrane's school and given him added fellow-feeling with labor's lot. Le Play, though a mineralogist aware of international markets in a world-habitat, does not mention the effects of the discovery of ultramarine, which was cheaper than cobalt blue. The 1845 census gives the following population:

Blaafarveverket: 581 persons, 107 households.

Snarums kobolt verket: 66 persons, 20 households.

Blaafarveverket's mines: 399 persons, 122 households.

(*Statistiske Tabeller for Kongeriget Norge* [Christiania: Grøndahl, 1847], p. e.c. IV.)

⁸ *Folkemaendens Bevaegelse i Aarene 1856-1865* (Christiania: Steen, 1868-69), p. 188.

⁹ For Buskerud, 452.53 km.² (= 66.13 sq. miles) out of 13,767.21 km.² (= 2,011.91 sq. miles) were cultivated in 1949 (3.3 per cent)—about the average proportion for all Norway.

¹⁰ *Statistisk Årbok*, 1952, p. 6.

¹¹ *Folkemaendens Bevaegelse i Aarene 1856-1865* (Christiania: Steen, 1868-69), p. 185.

¹² *Folketellingen i Norge*, December 3, 1946 (Statistisk Sentralbyrå, Oslo, 1951), *passim*.

¹³ The number of children to each married couple in 1920: 3.84; in 1930: 3.45; in 1946: 2.52. Crude birth rate, per 1,000 population, Buskerud: 1911-15, 26.3; 1946-50, 18.9.

¹⁴ Average ages at marriage, Norway 1841-45: Bachelors 28.16, Girls 26.02.

1846-50: „ 28.27, „ 26.21.

1856-65: „ 30.80, „ 28.20.

1950: „ 29.00, „ 26.01.

(*Folkemaendens Bevaegelse i Aarene 1856-1865*, pp. XXX, XXXI; *Statistisk Årbok*, 1952, p. 28.)

¹⁵ Eilert Sundt, *Om Saedeligbedstilstanden i Norge* (Christiania: J. C. Abelstad, 1857).

(Cf. also Troels Frederik Troels-Lund, *Dagligt Liv i Norden i det 16de Aarhundrede*, København: Gyldendal, 1904], XII, 142-50.)

¹⁶ Nicolai Rygg, *Om Børn Fødte udenfor Ægteskab* (Statistisk Centralbureau, Oslo, 1907), p. 12. The report from Modum was "much immorality," with most non-wedlock children coming from casual unions.

¹⁷ The radio play, *I nat kom våren* ("Last Night Came Spring") they did not get much out of. "But I kept thinking of it for 8 days afterwards!" Fritz Thorén's *Ekteskab*

("Marriage"), a Swedish novel which husband had purchased a year ago (a big, handsome book), he had not even wanted to finish. "Such people, only rotten affairs, and not only that, he even defended them!"

¹⁸ "My father was in the military for a while," says husband, "so he is a determined man." "Yes, that is at least more than you are," says wife joking and goes on, addressing the visitor, "They say that the kids must be allowed to go their own ways, but, I don't know, one can't bring up the children from a recipe." "What has Mrs. L. done with my blue knickerbockers?" is heard from husband in the next room, and he goes on with our conversation, "I had a friend at T——, he hated his father. His father was an ordinary good fellow from a good family, but the upbringing. . .!"—he disappears to find the knickerbockers and wife continues, "But one has to be regular with the children while they are little. Food and care and sleep, etc., have to follow a plan; then they can do more and more as they want to as they grow older."

Later, at the dinner table, little Per was standing in a corner, spiteful. Would not eat. His food was prepared on the plate at his place, and he was several times encouraged to eat, kindly. He did not come. "Then you won't grow big, Per." "The food is getting cold, Per." "But, Per, you aren't usually that shy?" He did not come. He went into the kitchen and lay down on the floor. Wife took his food out to him on the floor and he ate. Later, he went regularly between the kitchen and the dinner-table, eating three helpings of fruit dessert.

¹⁹ *Folkemaendens Bevaegelse i Aarene 1856-1865* (Christiania: Steen, 1868-69), p. XLII.

²⁰ *Folkemaendens Bevegelse, 1952*, pp. 15, 28-29. The U.S. rate per 100 unmarried females 15-44, 1950, was 1.42. (National Office of Vital Statistics [mimeo.], October 5, 1953.)

²¹ *Befolkningsstatistiske oppgaver for 1953, 1954, 1955*, (mimeo) (Statistisk Sentralbyrå, January 1955, February 1956, February 1957); *Statistisk Årbok for Norge, 1957*, p. 29.

²² See note 19, above.

²³ In the province of Buskerud, 1950, 52 per cent voted for the Labor party.

²⁴ *Folkemaendens Bevaegelse i Aarene 1856-1865* (Christiania: Steen, 1868-69), p. 203.

²⁵ "Husband just bought new teeth for his upper jaw, but says that he does not get used to them, and that the lower mouth is still to be taken care of. Wife's teeth are also very bad, and have not been attended to for a very long time. It is very usual in the country all over Norway to have false teeth. Furthermore the family says that the children's teeth are to be better taken care of. They have free dentistry at the public school."

²⁶ Bjorklund, *op. cit.*, p. 69. See also note 41 below (Jahn).

²⁷ "The hot water container is to be put up by a friend who is an electrical worker. The husband, as accountant, helps the bookshop owner, whose cottage they borrow free in the vacation."

²⁸ For full details, see "Budget des Dépenses," in *Les Ouvriers Européens, loc. cit.* (or Appendix A).

²⁹ "Wife tried to make as varied food as possible, and very rarely do they have two dinners alike during the week. Here are one week's menus (end of January, 1951):

Friday:	Boiled codfish with potatoes and carrots and butter. Fruit porridge.
Saturday:	Oatmeal with milk and sugar. Some leftovers from earlier dinner.
Sunday:	Hamburgers with peas and carrots, gravy. Chocolate custard with whipped cream.

- Monday: Meat and vegetable soup. Pancakes.
 Tuesday: Hamburgers with peas and vegetables, gravy (from Sunday). Ribs of pork. Fruit porridge.
 Wednesday: Rice soup with cinnamon and sugar. Fried herring with peas and carrots, gravy.
 Thursday: Beef stew. Hard-bread and milk.

The 'bread meals' (breakfast, lunch, evening) consist of bread with margarine (butter before this became expensive) and spread. One usually buys some spread in the shop (cheese, herring, sausage, syrup, etc.). But the major part, namely the meat, wife has kept (salted and canned) from the slaughtering in the fall. Then there is much jam, which is also canned in the fall. Some of this had to be canned without sugar because of the then sugar rationing. At special occasions and parties this family is able to eat and drink virtually whatever they want."—Report of visiting student.

³⁰ Letter of Central Statistical Bureau, November 26, 1953:

Census 1950. Housing reports for Modum. . . . As is apparent in the tables, it is the household that is the unit of counting. The concept "domiciled population" includes besides persons who are resident and present in the commune, also persons who are absent for a short time, also persons who without being resident in the commune, are staying there for a longer time. The result of this definition can lead to one's getting households with 0 persons, because a home owner for example is absent for a fairly long period.

³¹ Husband's father lived on the second floor, and had his cabinetmaker's workshop in the best part of the shed. The family thus lived on the first floor which consists of:

- a. *A small entry*, with a bureau, mirror, and room for coats.
- b. *The kitchen*, with a stove for wood, and an electrical stove (three hot plates with oven), one kitchen table with chairs, one little shelf, and a pantry.
- c. *The dining room*. Here are a nice oak table with four chairs (made by husband's father), one large cupboard made of birch, and two bed tables put together for a buffet. (These belong to a bedroom suite which husband made when they got married. The beds they did not have room for were stored in the shed.) Furthermore, there are a couch, on which the daughters sleep together, and a small, green child's bed for Erik. The walls are covered with light brown half-paneling, and the floor is, as everywhere else in the house, painted gray. A stove stands in one corner. This is the largest room on the first floor, and serves as a sitting room for the children when they are not in the kitchen, where they like to be. On the walls are photos and printed pictures. No paintings.
- d. *The parlor* (sitting room). Here are a desk, two buffets made of birch, a living room suite (round table and two chairs) made by husband's father, and a couch on which the parents sleep. Also a bookshelf with a radio, a pair of easy chairs belonging to the dining room suite, a lamp in the ceiling, and a standing lamp at the bookshelf. Rag rugs are on the floor. There is a little electric stove.
- e. *The cellar*. There is a cellar under the kitchen for the storage of potatoes, but no room for a laundry. In the house, there is running water, but the toilet is out in the big *uthus* (shed). Outside the main door, there is a porch built by husband in 1950. (A personal letter, 1956, indicates that following the grandfather's death the sleeping quarters were shifted to the second floor, clearing the living room downstairs.) The furniture, which for the most part was made by the husband and his father, is not only skilfully made, but good-looking. The bed linen is sufficient

and mostly white. There could be a little more of table linen, but rationing hampered new purchases, not the income. The kitchenware seems neat and sufficient: aluminium pans and enameled pans, china, rustfree knives, forks, etc. There is not much silver in the house. They have just gotten an electric hot water container for the kitchen, and there is an electric sewing machine and a small heater. Furniture and household goods are insured for Kr.12,000.

³² Cf. Zimmermann's findings among lowest class Siamese families: Carle C. Zimmermann, *Consumption and Standards of Living* (New York: Van Nostrand, 1936), pp. 100-16. Ernst Engel concluded that "the poorer the family is the greater the proportion of the total outgo which must be used for food."

Norway's wageearners' budgets 1958 averaged about one third for food. (Statistisk Sentralbyrå 1959, sample 4850 families.)

³³ *Husholdningsregnskaper 1927-28* (Norges Offisielle Statistikk, VII, 13 [Statistisk Sentralbyrå, Oslo, 1930?]).

³⁴ *Husholdningsregnskaper, Mai 1947-April 1948* (Norges Offisielle Statistikk, XI, 23 [Statistisk Sentralbyrå, Oslo, 1950], p. 101.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 37. Also cf. *News of Norway* (February 20, 1958), XV, 4.

³⁶ Simon Nelson Patten, *The New Basis of Civilization* (New York: Macmillan, 1910) e.g., pp. 137-43.

³⁷ On the life and social economic work of Le Play, cf. Dorothy Herbertson, "The Life of Frédéric Le Play," *Sociological Review*, XXXVIII, 2 (1946), also published as a book by Le Play House, Ledbury, 1950-51. Cf. also Ethel May Wilson, "Frédéric Le Play: An Analysis and Evaluation of His Method of Observation as a Contribution to the Development of Sociology" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Northwestern University, 1933); J. M. Moge, "The Contribution of Frédéric Le Play to Family Research", *Marriage and Family Living*, XVII (November, 1955), 310-315.

³⁸ Philip Boardman, *Patrick Geddes* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1944), pp. 41-42, 187, 192.

³⁹ Sundt and Le Play were both born in 1817. See Chapter II, below. Also cf. Arthur Hillman, "Eilert Sundt, Social Surveyor Extraordinary," *Sociological Review*, XLII, 3 (1951), pp. 49-56.

⁴⁰ Recently chairman of the Nobel Peace Prize Committee.

⁴¹ Gunnar Jahn, "Arbeidernes økonomiske kår, før og nu," in *Arbeidsfredens Problemer* (Norsk Rikskringkasting [Oslo: Stenersen, 1936]), pp. 55-56.

⁴² "Workers Earn More," *News of Norway* (Norwegian Information Service), X (April 16, 1953), 58.

II

Eilert Sundt: Pioneer Student of Family and Culture in Norway*

A SEEKER OF FACTS

THERE arose in Norway about a century ago a pathfinder in uncharted areas of social statistics and family studies. The work of Eilert Sundt, student of rural customs, of urban living conditions, and notably of the gypsies, is undoubtedly unique in his country. His long and intensive career in social research is outstanding when judged in relation to his times. Sundt's methods and scope of interest remind one in some ways of his contemporaries, Henry Mayhew and Frédéric Le Play, as well as foreshadowing more modern figures in sociology, human ecology, demography, and anthropology. His work was fact-gathering, not that of building a theoretical system.

At a time when the "morality of the scientific method" was far from being widely accepted in reference to social data, Sundt's virtues stand out—his dogged honesty in pursuing facts and not taking surface explanations for what he observed, his disciplined curiosity and imagination, his respect for people as sources of social data, and his careful use of documentary and statistical evidence. He sensed the value of accumulating and organizing information about contemporary society and the origins of social usages, and of seeking causal factors and regularities in the data assembled. Withal, there was a strong interest in the educational usefulness of the knowledge obtained. Warm humane concerns ran through his work, without detracting from his self-imposed objectivity.

* Adapted from article published by Arthur Hillman in *The Sociological Review* (England), XLII, 3 (1951), pp. 49-56, with title "Eilert Sundt: Social Surveyor Extraordinary."

Sundt was one of the strong characters who have helped to shape the development of modern Norway. It can readily be said that the times set the stage for such men and nurtured their abilities, and doubtless this is basically true. However, their rugged or towering strength, to use figures of speech appropriate to the country, in many cases gave personal and unpredictable twists to the course of social events. Possibly both the great man and the social climate can get their due in a period of romanticism, when strong individual expressions reinforce each other. The 1840's and 1850's in Norway, Sundt's formative period, were an era of national romanticism. Interest in folk songs and lore, as well as conventional historical research, developed during this time.

It was also a period of emerging social unrest, when the stable society of the past began to yield to the pressures of a changing world. Marcus Thrane, whose awakening of interest in workers' problems has been noted, had begun organizing labor societies. One such organization in 1848 was followed by nearly three hundred within two years. Against this background of awakening interest in the national culture as well as in social problems, Sundt's work is understandable, but his extraordinary qualities nevertheless stand out.¹

The youngest of twelve children in the family of a sea captain, Eilert Sundt was born in Farsund on the southwest tip of Norway, August 8, 1817. Despite the modest home circumstances, he was afforded an opportunity to study, and his *artium* examination was passed at the Stavanger Latin School in 1835. There was a delay in pursuing his university work because of ill health. His student days at Oslo came at a time of lively intellectual life, marked by the opposition between the literary figures, Henrik Wergeland and Johan Sebastian Welhaven. The latter was a vigorous poet who attracted many followers to his views, which while intensely patriotic included no sympathy for those who wished to cut the cultural ties with Denmark. Wergeland was identified warmly with his country in his poetry and prose and in his support of all causes designed to create a

national culture in the spirit of the Eidsvoll charter of independence of 1814, from which he drew his inspiration. When Wergeland died in 1845, it was Sundt who spoke on behalf of the students at the funeral.²

At home among the romanticists by virtue of his reaching out to new subjects of research, Sundt was nevertheless a realist who saw people in all their mundane, tiresome activities. It was the cycle of contemporary daily life, of the lower classes particularly, which he came to investigate laboriously, and which he also sought to improve through education. He is credited with being the inheritor of Wergeland's interest in popular enlightenment. In 1846, after passing his examination in theology, he became a school teacher and also assisted in classes at the house of correction in Oslo. It was while teaching prisoners that he noticed one whose dark appearance marked him as different; here was a gypsy. Sundt's curiosity aroused, he learned that there was a distinct language and culture represented by the individual observed, and he began to devote his free time to the study of this little understood folk within the nation. He became known because of his initial work, and even today his name is associated with that of "*fante-folket*" (gypsies).³

His study of the gypsies meant traveling throughout the country and observing conditions among lower classes which had been unknown to him. He outlined in the final chapter of his first book about the gypsies certain other studies which he felt would be socially useful, and it remained for him to heed his own recommendations. After serious consideration, he sought aid from the King in his plan for the study of the conditions and customs of the lower classes. On the strength of his initial reputation as a research worker, Sundt was granted a governmental stipend for the year 1851. It was thought that one year's investigation would be adequate, and Sundt accepted the grant although he could doubtless foresee the broad scope of the studies ahead of him. His faith in his ability to justify further assistance was proven, because his stipends were renewed yearly until 1869.

Sundt's spirit and method are revealed in his own description of his being notified of the first grant on the nineteenth of December, 1850; on the twentieth, he set forth with pack-sack on his back. He went to the iron foundry at Baerum, near Oslo, and talked to workers, spending the first night with one of them. This was at the time of the Thrane movement, and he wanted to learn with his eyes and ears about the living conditions of workers.⁴ Everywhere he went, he made note of what he saw and heard. He listened with respect to people of all classes, and used official reports and statistics whenever available. This twenty-year period of social surveys was not without its practical activity as well. Particularly worthy of note is his work with the Christiania (Oslo) Workers Society, which he helped organize in 1864 and served as president until 1870.⁵ His interest in adult education, thus expressed, is characteristic of one phase of his work. It is said of Sundt that he wrote *about* people in a scientific spirit; in his practical mission, he wrote *to* people.

The style of scientific reports today would be definitely impersonal. In Sundt's writing, one is aware of the writer, the persistent inquirer, and one can watch him work out meanings from statistical data. The personal qualities, the warmth of his interest in people, are there to be sensed, but there is also the underpinning of facts on which to rest confidence. Methods and sources are indicated in the scholarly spirit which invites people to check or to build on the work presented. Among the variety of topics reported on by Sundt were housing forms in rural areas, sanitary conditions, handicraft, fisheries, poor relief, and descriptions of local customs. His 1869 study of house-cleaning and bathing habits reported improvements during recent decades, and particularly related personal cleanliness to new concerns about health. He endeavored to show the basis in old customs for a modern valuation of sanitation, including comments on the meaning of the words for Saturday, indicating a day of weekly cleaning, and bits about ancient folk beliefs, such as those connected with fingernail cuttings.

MARRIAGE AND MORALS

A study of marriage in Norway in 1855 was followed by a series of three on moral conditions.⁶ Principally in the 1857 volume, Sundt described and analyzed the custom of night courtship (*nattefrieri*). In rural areas, and particularly where servants or other young people slept in outbuildings, visits of young men to girls were a form of week-end entertainment; dalliance and flirtation might lead to regular sexual associations. For many, over the years, this was the route, often secretly traveled, to betrothal and marriage. Betrothal need not be announced until there were some prospects of marriage, usually when there was a pregnancy involved. It was a time-honored and accepted folkway, as Sundt showed by records of many interviews and observations.

Sundt presented these findings with remarkable objectivity. It was evident that he disapproved of the night courtship practice; he implied approval of the trend towards its elimination which he found among people who had been influenced by the Haugean religious movement, or by education.⁷ At the same time, he emphasized that *nattefrieri* was a custom, one deeply rooted in rural society; this led to an attitude of understanding, if not of tolerance, as compared with the view that the practices were signs of simple immorality or promiscuity. He attempted to show historically the conventionalization of this mode of courtship. The secrecy involved and the initiative of the young people stood in contrast with parentally arranged marriages, often the result of bargaining for economic advantage. Night courtship was therefore a form of protest against inordinate parental authority; its decline was in part explained by the moderating of familial controls which young people sought to subvert.

AN OSLO SURVEY

He conducted a survey of a district of Oslo, which was then (1855) on the edge of the main, older part of the city.⁸ (Recently this district, *Pipervika*, has been partly cleared out in the building of the

great new city hall and its adjacent area of modern buildings.) This study has been reviewed appreciatively by an Oslo architect, Carsten Bøysen.⁹ An organization interested in the public schools had undertaken a survey of home conditions, and the district mentioned was chosen as one in which most children attended the common schools. Sundt, when given responsibility, proposed that the investigation should be broadened to include the economic status, the housing, and other facts of interest about families.

In the Oslo survey, 294 families were included, all of whom had children in the public school. The head of the family was a man in 224 cases, including fourteen widowers, three in common-law marriage, and one bachelor; of the seventy women family heads, fifty-seven were widows and thirteen were "maidens." Some of the data were presented in terms of a class comparison. Three classes were recognized, businessmen, including certain military personnel and skilled workers; journeymen class; and the "working" class, including a large contingent of day laborers. The data of the survey included information on housing, such as the number of rooms per dwelling unit (1.8 including kitchen) and the number of persons per room (4.2). Facts about family life were set forth, especially the age at marriage (men 26.3, women 26.5), whether mothers worked outside of the home ($\frac{1}{2}$ to $\frac{1}{6}$), the number of children per marriage, and the death rates of children. An indication of lower birth rates in the poorer classes was the length of time between births; 2.7 years in the business class, 2.9 in the journeyman group, and 3.3 in the laborer or working class. Child mortality rates, however, were higher in the lower classes (33 per cent of the children born had died, as compared to 26 per cent among the business class).

An effort was made in the survey to obtain family income data for a year, but the incompleteness of reporting made it impossible to work with the results. This suggested to Sundt that working people did not keep adequate records or else that they were reticent about revealing such information; however, it was the wives who were informants and perhaps they were simply not informed about their

husband's finances. Full information on rentals was available. Something of the cultural level of the families, related to the broad interest in the child's school progress, was indicated by reporting of the books and newspapers found in the homes. According to Bøysen, Sundt showed his objectivity here, because he was not content to judge the religious interests of the families by the number of devotional books found on the shelves; he expressed doubt as to whether the religious books were actually read. He noted with satisfaction that many read newspapers, which were a means of some enlightenment. There was special note of the lack of books which would give workers technical knowledge; also missing were certain works of Wergeland and others which were specially designed for popular use.

The comparisons of social classes in the Oslo survey suggests the broader use which Sundt made of this kind of analysis. Writing as he did as a contemporary of Karl Marx, he was doubtless aware of the philosophical and polemic treatises on classes. In his book on marriage, he noted that contemporary philosophers were occupied with thoughts of class differences, but he referred in a common-sense way to the fact that the reader of any newspaper can become aware of different viewpoints and contrasting conditions of life of broad divisions in society. In this and certain other places, he made a distinction between the owning class and the working class.¹⁰

THE MEANING OF SOCIAL DATA

Using this distinction, he presented data on marriages within and between classes in different sections of the country. He found that approximately 80 per cent of the men in the propertied class married women of the same standing; whereas 88 per cent of the men in the working class married women of similar status.¹¹ Comparing sections of the country, he found that where the working class was numerically larger, there was a greater tendency toward in-marriage. Similar data were presented for a later period in another of his reports. That study included comparisons between classes as to non-wedlock birth rates. The upper class had a lower rate, but the evidence

strongly indicated that non-marital sex relations occurred relatively frequently between upper-class men and lower-class women.¹²

Sundt was concerned with urban-rural differences, and these are part of the connections between his various works. He noted the relatively greater proportion of working class people in cities. He called attention to disorganizing effects on the young men from the farm who moved into the city, particularly because of their lack of schooling and acquaintance with city ways. Rural customs which had sufficed to define life's situations for them were not adequate for urban conditions. Sundt referred to the dangerous years between fifteen and twenty, and of the temptations of the city. In the Oslo study, there are data on the number whose parents were also born in the city, and the proportion of immigrants was found to be greatest in the working class; on the other hand, members of skilled craft groups showed the lowest proportion of recent arrivals.

Another way in which Sundt contrasted urban and rural life was to note that "vice" and "virtue" become more sharply contrasted in cities. This means that young people moving in can become more licentious than they would have been in their former homes, but also that their moral powers can be strengthened if they are able to withstand the greater temptations.¹³ In another place, Sundt noted the tendency, with improving communications, for rural districts to be affected by urban influences. Among such effects was the giving up of the practice by landed proprietors of eating meals with their servants; this adoption of city ways, he noted, tended to increase the distance between classes and to reduce the opportunity for lower peasant people to learn the ways of polite society.¹⁴ It might be added in this connection that open criticism of the night courtship customs, coming from ministers particularly, was also an instance of the diffusion of urban standards to rural areas.

Statistics were used plentifully by Sundt but with discipline and caution. One notable example of statistical evidence of the regularities of social life is the data on the age of marriage, or rather on the proportion of persons in certain age groups who married. In the

seven years, 1845 through 1851, the rate of marriages of unmarried men between twenty-five and thirty was identical, 43 per cent for each year.¹⁵ Together with similar data, this regularity was the basis for study of marriage rates, particularly in the first half of the nineteenth century. High points in the number of marriages were noted, but the tendency to account for these in terms of favorable economic conditions at the time was considerably discounted. The peaks were found to be proportionate to the marriageable age group in the population, and were the result of previous rises in the birth rate. Thus, births in 1815 were shown to influence the marriage totals in 1841.¹⁶ In essaying an answer to the question as to whether moral conditions had worsened, statistics were also carefully used to show that the number of non-wedlock children must be related to the proportion of the population in the age group twenty to thirty, and the class groups most likely to indulge in free unions.¹⁷

FINAL WORK AND HERITAGE

Sundt's last two publications were in 1873, one on the workers of Eidsvoll (a small historic town) and another on home life. The latter, *Om Huslivet i Norge*, is a continuation of earlier studies of household cleanliness, in which he showed that cleaning practices vary with districts of the country, in social classes, and with building styles. He was interested in showing that particular household practices had meaning within a cultural context. This supported the general point he made in the same report that the scientific study of folk life in time-perspective is needed for the understanding of people, and for the guiding of programs of social betterment which might otherwise be artificially imposed. He also noted, after years of experience, that the average man is inclined to be his own social scientist and to oppose the results of careful research with his own unsystematically formulated conclusions.

These last works were written in the parsonage at Eidsvoll, where he had taken up duties as parish pastor after his series of yearly stipends came to an end in 1869. On the first Sunday of June, 1875, a

company of several hundred members of the workers society he had founded and served as president came to pay their respects to Sundt. It was a happy day in the pastor's home, and it is interesting to note that the same parsonage had been Wergeland's boyhood home in 1814, when the Norwegian Constitution was drawn up in Eidsvoll. This was the last big day in Sundt's life. He felt tired after the large number of visitors had left. He died on the following Sunday, June 13, 1875.

Sundt left no immediate successors to follow on the trails of social investigation which he had ably pioneered. Effects of his work on social policy have doubtless been far-reaching, though not readily assessed. The tradition of careful workmanship in the social field and the selection of a variety of prosaic, homespun topics as worthy of investigation constitute a lasting heritage. Individuals have carried on social research in Norway over the years and have added to the body of sociological information, but in small increments by comparison with Sundt. The demographers, Nicolai Rygg and Gunnar Jahn, acknowledge the influence of Sundt in shaping their interests. In addition to heading the Central Statistical Bureau of the national government for a time, each has written a book, Rygg's on nonwedlock children, and Jahn's on marriage customs of Norwegian valleys.¹⁸ Jahn has also published studies of rural housing and on the employment of women.

It was not until after World War II that sociology in its modern forms received recognition, through the formation of a research institute and the establishment of a chair in 1949 at Oslo University. Sundt is today recognized as the forerunner of sociology in Norway. His picture is displayed prominently in the sociology office at the University of Oslo, and the sociology students in their lighter moments use the gypsy and packsack motif at parties to pay tribute to the persistent, down-to-earth work of the pioneer. In current research, refined statistical techniques are being put to use, and problems are given more or less elaborate theoretical formulations; yet modern community studies may in Norway be considered a revival

of the work of Sundt. As research in Norway continues, with various conceptual emphases and theoretical frameworks, there will inevitably, if only by indirection, come additions to the understanding of family life. Reported recent developments in the University's Institute of Sociology indicate the beginnings of systematic studies in family sociology. In the following chapters, therefore, we have at some points suggested problems worthy of further attention.

¹ Karen Larsen, *A History of Norway* (Princeton University Press), pp. 443-46; B. J. Hovde, *The Scandinavian Countries, 1720-1865* (Cornell University Press, 1948), II, 557 ff.

² Larsen, *op. cit.*, pp. 418-22; biographical note, introduction to Eilert Sundt, *Om Reulighedsstellet i Norge* (Bibliotek for de Tusen Hjem, 1887).

³ His first book, *Beretning om Fantefolket i Norge, 1850*, was followed by four other volumes on the subject, the last in 1865.

⁴ Biographical note, *op. cit.*, X-XI.

⁵ This society has had a continuous existence, marked by internal political struggles; today it is an adjunct of the Labor party, serving as an educational forum. Its modern building, *Samfunnsbuset*, houses many labor organizations and related activities.

⁶ *Om Giftermaal i Norge, 1855.*

Om Saedelighedstilstanden i Norge, 1857.

Fortsatte Bidrag om Saedelighedstilstanden i Norge, 1864.

Om samme (the same), 1866.

⁷ See further references to Hauge and his influence, Chapters III, XVIII.

⁸ *Om Piperviken og Russeløkkbakken, 1858.*

⁹ Carsten Bøysen, "Den første sosialstatistiske undersøkelse i Oslo," *St. Hallvard* (Organ for Selskabet for Oslo Byes Vel), XIX (1941), 241-61, with illustrations. What follows is based on this source. See also Hovde, *op. cit.*, p. 606; Martin S. Allwood, *Eilert Sundt—A Pioneer in Sociology and Social Anthropology* (Oslo: Olaf Norlis Forlag, 1957).

¹⁰ *Giftermaal, op. cit.*, pp. 182-4. Although Sundt made use of a class division of society for his purposes, he was not a Marxist in any sense. In his practical work, he appealed to the working class in terms of educational self-improvement rather than of class conflict. He was a moderate man, and was able to function at a time when labor organizations, after the collapse of the Thrane movement, were suppressed. Because of his calling attention to the living conditions of workers and his educational work, he can be considered a forerunner of the Norwegian labor movement, according to its historian Gunnar Ousland, *Fagorganisasjonen i Norge*, I, 32-34 (Oslo: Tiden Norsk Forlag, 1949). Sundt was not in sympathy with Thrane's program. Cf. Allwood, *op. cit.*, pp. 27-28.

¹¹ *Giftermaal, op. cit.*, p. 190.

¹² . . . *Saedelighedstilstanden* . . . , *op. cit.* (1864), pp. 31-32.

¹³ . . . *Saedelighedstilstanden* . . . , *op. cit.* (1857), p. 270.

¹⁴ . . . *Saedelighedstilstanden* . . . (1866), pp. 94-95.

¹⁵ *Giftermaal, op. cit.*, p. 65; Hovde, *op. cit.*, p. 758.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 121-23, 152.

¹⁷ . . . *Saedelighedstilstanden* . . . , *op. cit.*, 1857, pp. 252 ff.

¹⁸ See references in Chapters I, V, IX, and XII.

III

Family, Habitat and Society

FROM the comparative study of the century-separated Modum families (Chapter I), despite some difference in matching, we get a picture of improvement in the material standard of living, as well as an indication of a marked change in the conception by the worker of his role and his rights. Sundt, as we have shown, was noted for his portrayal of the heritage of courtship customs from rural society. His inquiries into urban family conditions and into areas of life little known to the reading public presented descriptions of broad changes affecting the lower classes. In these data from historic studies, we have found family-focused details of major social trends.

A CENTURY OF DRAMATIC CHANGES

We shall now review some aspects of this span of a century, as girders bridging the contemporary period with old Norway. The social changes in this hundred-year period were dramatic, even revolutionary, in broadening the base of political power, but on the whole the changes came about in an orderly way. When the Germans were ousted at the close of World War II and outbreaks of vengeful violence and disorder were anticipated, the slogan of the day was: dignity, calm, and discipline, and such qualities could obviously not be fabricated overnight. One need not abandon objectivity to recognize that this slogan evidently had a forceful appeal. That such words were meaningful and effective is evidence of sturdy qualities in the "national character," or cultural norms.

One of the leading Norwegian intellectuals, in discussing "national traits," with ample recognition of the difficulties involved, points to individualism and "self-will" as characteristic products not

only of a landscape which favored widespread, independent living, but also of the absence of a hereditary caste system. Norwegian agriculture, Frede Castberg notes, did not provide the basis for a powerful aristocracy but for farmers with even and independent status. The free position of the peasants, their certainty of status, and their pride in it were the most important preconditions for the popular democracy which had a formal foundation in the Constitution of 1814.¹

To reckon from the middle of the nineteenth century to the present mid-century is not a matter of an arbitrary period of time. The decades preceding the 1850's were marked by incipient changes which were symptomatic of the new social contours that emerged more clearly and rapidly later. The seventeenth of May, 1814, at Eidsvoll is remembered each year with fervor as the birthday of the new nation. While a loose union with Sweden ensued for nearly a hundred years, Norwegian independence is reckoned from that time, and the political movements unleashed left their mark. First was the entrance of the farmers into politics, and this new force had its parallel in the activity of merchants, contending with and replacing the bureaucrats then in power.

A religious movement of the early nineteenth century had continuing effects, not only on the church, but indirectly in favor of democratic political authority. The Pietistic lay preacher, Hans Nielsen Hauge, went about the country with simplicity and zeal, winning converts who became personal followers. With no deviation from Lutheran doctrine, he attacked the "indolence, gaiety and uppishness" of the clergy and his revival movement contributed to the "most important current in contemporary Western civilization—the rise of the lower middle class."² He won support from businessmen, some of whom were even helped by Hauge's practical abilities and the mutual aid that developed among the followers. Independent farmers were the main body of his followers, and, for them, the revolt against arbitrary clerical authority was related to their assertion of political rights.

Hauge met with restriction from the authorities, leading to arrests

for vagrancy and for the violation of the Conventicle Act of 1741, which was intended to suppress religious dissent.³ However, a change began to take place in the clergy and bureaucracy just prior to the historic Eidsvoll meeting; in the upsurge of nationalism, the support of peasants was needed. After 1814, the Haugean lay preachers met with almost no interference. The religious awakening had begun to affect the clergy themselves, and they found that Hauge's followers could be staunch supporters within the state church. Hauge died in 1824 and left no strong successor, but his influence continued in the church.

The emphasis in his preaching on the personal relationship between the believer and his Savior, and the idea that every individual is worth reaching, gave impetus to missionary work and to some conceptions of social equality. There also came out of this revival movement a fanatical assault on sinful amusements, particularly dancing, and against much that was part of folk life. On the other hand, to enhance the individual's study of the scriptures and reading of devotional books, elementary education was considered essential. This ultimately led to a wider range of reading.⁴

In the support of popular education, the zeal of the Pietists was joined by a quite opposite force. The rationalists saw in the diffusion of knowledge the key to the advancement of civilization. There were new signs of interest in more adequate schooling early in the nineteenth century, but in Norway poverty impeded substantial progress. The demands from the peasantry persisted and their interest in rural schools, coupled with resistance to taxation, led to conflict in the 1840's over the support of education. After 1848, schooling was required in urban areas of all children between the age of seven and the time of confirmation. The university at Oslo, Norway's own as distinct from Denmark, was founded in 1811. The first teachers' college was established in 1824 in northern Norway, followed soon by several others. Further educational advances, including rural schools, came later in the century. In the meantime, with the aid of ambulatory rural schools, literacy became widespread.

A NEW MOBILITY OF PEOPLE

A major change during the century span has been the growth of cities. The number of people living in urban areas increased from 12 per cent of the total population in 1850 to about 32 per cent in 1956. There are as many people living in cities now as there were in all Norway at the time of the signing of the Constitution, nearly 900,000. In addition, there are enough people living in "rural" but industrialized areas to comprise with city dwellers approximately 50 per cent of the population.⁵ Of the Scandinavian countries, Norway is the least urbanized. In both Sweden and Denmark, two-thirds of the people live in cities, suburbs, or other urban aggregations. The population density (1955) is another significant comparison: Denmark, 103; Sweden, 16; and Norway, 11 people per square kilometer.⁶

The figures on urbanization summarize a change which was reflected in many details of daily life. The more urbane manners of the people took time to develop, in the absence of a court and aristocracy. A definite effort to cultivate refined ways took place in leading Norwegian cities in mid-nineteenth century, partly to offset the glorification of peasant manners by some nationalists. This move took such forms as serving daintier portions of food and the elevation of table manners to high esteem. In rural areas, it is noted that the table fork was not in wide use until after 1865; besides the use of fingers, pocket knives were generally used at the table. The elaborate array of tableware and specialization in dishes, too, were a part of urban refinement which gradually replaced older ways.⁷

The provincial costumes gave way to "city clothes" although the former are still in use for holidays and ceremonial occasions even among urban people. New standards of personal cleanliness were attained, first among the urban upper and middle classes. Bathhouses with steam from heated rocks were commonly a part of rural households before 1800, but had passed out of use. In time, they were restored, and similar public facilities were provided for urban

workers. Interior cleanliness of homes also improved, although standards were often higher in this respect than were personal habits. Poultry and pigs had access to many rural homes, but the situation varied with the social status of the families. Local health officers and teachers worked with success in stressing new habits of cleanliness in the decades around 1850.

The period of urbanization was one of industrial development. Factories were built near waterfalls or on the edge of existing cities. Electricity was first used in a factory in 1885.⁸ The census of 1890 is the last that shows a majority of the employed people engaged in agriculture and forestry.⁹

In Norway's forests, in her deposits of ores, stone and minerals, in her rich coastal fisheries and in her unusually large water power resources lie[s] the basis of most of the country's natural industries. In some cases these industries were established several hundred years ago, but it was only in the latter half of the nineteenth century that Norwegian industries developed to any great extent.¹⁰

The beginning of modern highways dates from 1848, with a road running out of what is now Oslo. The problem of reasonable grades was not easy in a mountainous country. Christian V. Bergh, the engineer responsible for the first roads, is regarded as a memorable figure, with a statue in his honor in a hilltop location. At about the same time, steamboat traffic was begun on Mjosa, the largest lake.

Construction of the first railroad was begun in 1851 and opened three years later, in a short stretch from Oslo to Eidsvoll. It was a demonstration of possibilities which were developed after some delay: the main lines connecting Trondheim and the south were not built until after 1908. The telegraph system developed rapidly after its introduction in 1855. Postal reform meant much to the people, with lower rates and the use of stamps.¹¹ Contacts between urban industrial and rural agrarian life were thus multiplied.

The shipping fleet grew rapidly in the last century, and by 1870 only Great Britain and the United States exceeded Norway in

merchant marine capacity.¹² This was significant not only in the economic development of the country but in the greater variety of goods and the cosmopolitan contacts that were afforded. The familiarity of sailors by the thousands with distant places and the stimulus of trade relations served to counteract the isolation that existed in many localities. As an example, the visitor to Kristiansund on the west coast gets a first impression of a lands-end community, exposed to rough weather, but in this fish-exporting town, he can soon find people who know Spanish; and there are other evidences of a special relationship with distant areas.

The movement of people out of the country was significant in various ways. There were peak periods of emigration around 1870 and 1880, and again in the first decade of the present century. By 1910, nearly 700,000 people had left Norway for America.¹³ Thereafter, the emigration tapered off. An obvious result was the temporary relief from population pressure at home, but also a loss of youthful energy and skills. The outward flow of people is believed to have served as a stimulus to bettering conditions at home, so that lack of opportunities would not so sharply motivate emigration. The draining off of surplus labor supply contributed to the rise of wages and possibly to the development of labor's political radicalism.¹⁴ One can also reflect on the effects of family life of overseas relatives, many of whom kept up contacts with the home base. There was doubtless some romanticizing of life in the new world, but also a realistic give-and-take of ideas as immigrants returned for visits or to resume residence in Norway.

CHANGES IN SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

The school system of Norway was "modernized" and extended following a law of 1860, which provided for an elementary school within walking distance of each home and higher schools in each district. As this law went into effect and established public schools replaced the former ambulatory schools which were closely related to the homes, a new era was entered. School reform reflected a change

in the society: whereas instruction within the family circle had sufficed for a simpler economic and communal life, in a culture becoming industrialized a new kind of education was necessary.¹⁵

Another response to new educational demands was the growth of folk high schools, following the Danish example inspired by Bishop Grundtvig. While the methods varied with the auspices of these residential schools and with the personalities of the leading teachers, they shared a common concern in the intellectual awakening of older youth. Theirs was a revolt against academic formalities and against aristocratic traditions in education. They were not utilitarian in an immediate sense; like the Danish schools, theirs was a stimulus to cultural appreciation and to political competence which could be gained by liberal studies under the inspired teaching of "the living word."

The folk high schools in all of the Scandinavian countries are credited with a major contribution, although indirect, in the democratic political and social movements of the past century. Today, there are over ninety such schools in Norway, sponsored by religious, labor, co-operative, and other organizations. A trend toward more practical instruction has been noted, but they continue to provide for the older teen-ager and the person in his twenties an opportunity to search out answers to questions which have meaning for him in his early maturity.

The church has doubtless changed the least among the major social institutions, and, from the standpoint of religious conservatives, this is as it should be. The Hauge movement contributed to the strengthening of a Pietistic, orthodox tradition, which was further augmented by a popular organization with a missionary program, founded in 1868. Known as *Indre-Misjonen*, the Norwegian Lutheran Home Missionary Society is in large part a lay movement which works within the framework of the state church.

To understand the church of Norway, it is necessary to think of it as established in more than a legal sense. It is part of a way of life, accepted throughout the country as a contour of the social landscape.

The church thus gives a sense of belonging and of security, with a sort of legitimation derived from the longevity of tradition, regardless of the individual's personal choice or his active relationships. For many people, there is an unspoken but comforting communion between generations maintained through the church. In rural areas particularly, the holy days of the church tended to coincide with the changes of season, and the church's forms seem to many a part of the fitness or inevitability of things as they are. There are changes in attitudes evident, but on the whole, and especially in rural areas, the church continues to be established in a broad cultural sense.¹⁶

Politically, agrarian and new bourgeois elements were in ascendancy in the nineteenth century. The latter grew in numbers with the expansion of industry and shipping. As they displaced the earlier official class in power, they became the bulwark of the Conservative party. The Liberals, called the party of the Left (*Venstre*), were a mixed and shifting grouping, including farmers and enfranchised urban workers. The Liberal party took the lead in the constitutional struggles during the union with Sweden, which led to the beginnings of parliamentary government in the 1880's. When the cabinet members became responsible to parliament, democracy, or liberalism, had made important gains.¹⁷

The next frontier was that of suffrage extension. The right to vote had been denied to a large mass of low income people even after a broadening of the suffrage in 1884. Men won universal suffrage in 1898, and women in 1913. Another demand from the political "left" of those times was that of reduction of the duty on necessities and the substitution of direct taxes. In 1892, parliament, for the first time, voted to levy direct income taxes.¹⁸

The labor movement had an abortive but vigorous start about 1850 under the leadership of Marcus Thrane, as noted in Chapters I and II. In the course of a few years, he organized 273 working men's associations with a membership of about 20,000. While this was the Norwegian expression of the radical movements sweeping Europe after 1848, the program of Thrane was practical and reformist in

character. The demands, expressed through a labor paper and in meetings, included the rights of tenant farmers to buy land, better schools, general suffrage, and restrictions on the sale of liquor. A petition with almost 13,000 signatures embodying Thrane's program was presented to the King. The authorities became apprehensive, and Thrane and other leaders were arrested. After four years in prison, he gave up the struggle and left for America in 1858, but his initial success was a sign that new forces were readying themselves for organization.¹⁹

The modern labor movement dates from fresh beginnings in the 1870's, and it grew in the 1880's and in the present century as industry expanded. There was at first no class consciousness in the socialist sense, and workers were Liberals insofar as they were politically active. However, under the leadership of Christian Holtermann Knudsen, a social-democratic association was established in 1885. The first national Labor party was formed in 1887, and two years later it adopted a socialist program for the "liberation of the working class" and proclaimed its "solidarity with class-conscious workers in all countries."²⁰ Its membership did not pass the 10,000 mark until 1900; and a half-century passed before organized workers again attained the numerical strength of the former Thrane movement.

The first Labor party members were elected to parliament from districts of northern Norway in 1903. From then on, the party showed strength as well as signs of internal struggles. Its militant leader was Martin Tranmael, who had been to the United States where he was influenced by American syndicalism. The main growth of the Labor party occurred after 1927, following a radical period when it had a brief affiliation with the Moscow Communist International. This alliance was voted in 1919, and a year later, the Social-Democrats withdrew from the Labor party. It had soon become apparent that Moscow authorities would insist on dictating policies and tactics, regardless of their relevancy within another country. The break between labor in Norway and Moscow occurred in 1923; in

1927, the Labor party and the split-off Social-Democratic party were rejoined, and this left only a small Communist party outside the main body. From then on, gains in strength were notable, until in 1935 during an economic crisis, the Labor party with support from the Agrarians who had organized a party in 1921, formed the government.

Johan Nygaardsvold, who assumed office in 1935, was the Labor party prime minister during World War II; during the war years when the King and the cabinet were in exile, there was in effect a coalition government. Labor gained a bare majority in the postwar elections of 1945, and won again decisively in 1949. Despite a change in the electoral district basis of representation, the Labor party won a clear majority in 1953. It is thus clearly established that political power is in the hands of organized labor, but the results are not as revolutionary as the proclamations of the beginning of the century seemed to portend. Moderation and a conscientious sense of stewardship seem to prevail, although economic controls and protection of the wage-earning majority stand out in a program of national planning. While Conservatives generally favor a freer economy, they have been forced to support some economic planning, including the control of imports, in order to meet the problems of Norway in the period following World War II.

Despite the new alignment of political power, the "socialist philosophy," and the cleavage between classes suggested thereby, the major share of ownership of economic enterprises remains in private hands. National investments are made at strategic points, such as the development of water power and the building of a steel plant at Mo-i-Rana near the Arctic circle in the postwar period, but public ownership is not sought as a goal in itself. In fact, as one of the leaders in the planning program, Erik Brofoss (minister of commerce in the postwar period and now president of the Bank of Norway), has put it, there is a "non-dogmatic approach to the issue of means"; and public ownership of railways, public utilities, the liquor monopoly, and the like are supplemented by controls over investments. With limited resources, there has had to be, in his

words, "a settler's frame of mind: to work hard with a minimum of consumption in order to provide for a better future."

The mixed economy with its public controls has shown a notable postwar recovery, in the terms of production and consumption levels, rebuilding of devastated areas, and the restoration of the losses to the merchant and fishing fleets. Housing remains a problem despite improvements, as will be indicated more fully in Chapter XVI. Increased productivity generally and the further development of water power are the long-run economic goals. Marshal Plan aid from the United States is widely acknowledged as an important supplement to the intense efforts made by the Norwegians themselves.²¹

The whole century under review has been marked by rising standards and planes of living. Increased imports of coffee and sugar, formerly luxuries, are noted from the time of the beginnings of industrialization in the last half of the nineteenth century.²² The general economic gains have played a major role in making possible the progressive legislation enacted during this period. The political pressures in support of such laws come from the Labor party, but the basic equalitarian values are widely shared. Today, the major social welfare measures are accepted on a nonpartisan basis, and budgetary commitments for such purposes may be passed by the parliament without dissent.

The publication of books in Norway and their sales in relation to population are high by any international comparisons. This too reflects a rising standard of living. In the postwar period, there has been concern lest there be false economies that might result in a "*kulturpause*"—a lag in the intellectual and artistic life. State subsidies to research and to the theatre, which is a thriving activity in Oslo and other cities, are generally accepted as proper expenditures. This is not surprising in a country where poets and painters are national heroes. Such men have not only served as models during a culturally formative period, but they have contributed immeasurably to the building of a strong national value system in a stirring epoch of modern development.

CENTRAL THEMES

What were the major effects on Norway's families of the trends in the past century? Do the changes noted also presage further impacts upon the family? Certainly, many indirect effects of these institutional and technological transformations in Norway can be summed up by noting the overall shift under way. With all the uniqueness of its geography and history, there is evident a basic change from a typically sacred or stable society to the secular, flexible type of social organization, increasingly characteristic of the Western world.²³ The emphasis in this distinction is on stepped-up change. Secularization is thought of as involving accessibility to change far more than as a preoccupation with the things of this world. Some people in Norway speak of "the family crisis" and they seem not to refer to an acute, fork-in-the-road facing of decisions, but rather to a strong sense of transition. Those who have given thought to the family as a social institution—and it is still novel there to regard "the family" as an object for analysis—are aware of the problems of adaptation to the overall changes of society, with some anxieties associated with recognized cultural lags.

In the terms familiar in American sociology, there is evidence of a shift in functions, such as the economic, educational, and protective, which were formerly in the family domain. Earning a living tends to take place outside of the home. Basic education of children, as we noted, and many safeguards against hazards to family life have increasingly become community functions. In Norway, as well as in all Scandinavia, this has meant an assumption of larger governmental responsibilities. The major change from a sacred to a secular society has generally meant looser family ties, a new individualism keyed to the mobility and freedom of contemporary society. Thus, there have occurred an emancipation of women, a diminution of patriarchal authority, and a marked reduction of parental power over children.²⁴

Let us also give attention to personal character as affected by the broader social changes. David Riesman has described "character

types" in a way which illuminates the personal responses to the transitions in society which have been indicated. The stable society with "high growth potential" nurtures the tradition-directed type of character structure, whereas the "inner-directed" man is typical of the newer period of social and demographic expansion. The society which has emerged in many parts of the Western world, out of the bonds of tradition, requires of persons the ability to make choices in novel situations and to exercise initiative—a "gyroscopic" type of adjustment with both balance and flexibility in responses.²⁵ One can observe in Norway the strong inner-directed type which Riesman describes in generalized terms, and perhaps the typical responses are strengthened by the factors of geographic separateness and the rigors of the environmental demands, as well as by the Protestant emphasis on individual responsibility.

While control by tradition survives, both geographically and culturally, there is evidence of transition, but also probably of less social-personal disruption in the process than in most other places. There are in contemporary Norway many indications of a new valuation of the individual, which has been fostered by poets and dramatists. It has sometimes been made to seem a right, even a duty, to be one's self or to make a unique mark.²⁶ The thought of a life to be expended self-consciously and purposefully is of the essence of "inner-direction," and such strong, disciplined characters have been idealized in literature and exemplified among national leaders as well as by people in humbler positions in life. Not all Norwegians measure up to the models, but there is widespread appreciation of the strong characters whose work may be represented by cultural and civic achievements. While Riesman's concepts are of only by-and-large applicability, they are suggestive and helpful in understanding changes within the family in Norway and the demands for freedom for responsible individual participation in society, as will be noted in reference particularly to the feminist movement.

This transition and adaptation of family and personal life is the *leitmotif* for most of what follows. Within the context of this central

theme is a lesser one, an aspect of secularization in the narrower meaning of the term. Two of the major centers of institutional power in Norway are the state church and the Labor party. The church, as we have suggested and as we shall show further in Chapter XVIII, is relatively strong, at least in a formal, traditional relationship with the people. The rise of the labor movement to political power, largely in the last two or three decades, might suggest an obvious social conflict, when one considers the radicalism and the militancy of this new force. However, there is evidence that the Labor party has consciously followed a policy of accommodation or of avoiding open conflict with the formal religious values of the people.²⁷

During the short-lived alliance between the Labor party and the Communist International after World War I, one of the points of contention was the demand from Moscow that an openly anti-religious propaganda campaign should be conducted in Norway. "The majority in the Labor party opposed this view, asserting that religion ought to be a private matter, not only in relation to the community but to the party as well, and that atheism is not a necessary ingredient of a Communist philosophy."²⁸ Over the years since the severing of ties with Moscow, the Norwegian Labor party has sharply differentiated itself from the Communists, who are represented in a small, independent political party. Moreover, there is an affirmation of civil liberties and an opposition to the opportunistic, dictatorial methods of communism as practised in the Soviet Union. This was expressed by Einar Gerhardsen, the postwar Labor prime minister, who, as a youth, was one of the party's radicals: "The most important task for Norway's independence, for democracy and the security of law, is to reduce as much as possible the size and influence of the Communist party."²⁹

Thus, the competition between the major social institutions is not associated with Communist Marxism, with its assaults on personal rights and its organized attacks on orthodox religion. What there is of contravention is relatively muffled and usually does not break through to disturb the surface accommodation. It is not alway

acknowledged as a general issue, but its piecemeal manifestations have long been a matter of concern to conservatives. In the 1920's, the "radical" position of the Labor party included advocacy of a nonsectarian school system. While this stand was abandoned, there has been lingering concern over the continuance of religious instruction in the schools.³⁰

The latent conflict between the state church and the major political party is evident at times on issues related to the family. While these will be described more fully, they are stated here briefly to indicate as a theme what might otherwise be overlooked in the more detailed presentations. The conflicts which have developed over sex information being included in the school curriculum will be shown to have religious and political ramifications. Family life education has been begun in a small way by both the church and the labor movement as described in Chapter XIX. There is also an appeal of both for the allegiance of youth, through organized groups. All of this is a part of the assumption by the community of former family functions, as well as a recognition of the family's role in promoting the interests of other institutions. Folk high schools of labor leanings compete with those of religious orientation. A specific pressure point has been the beginning of civil confirmation, a program of instruction for adolescents followed by a public ceremony, first introduced in Denmark as an anticlerical gesture. The support by prominent members of the labor party of this new kind of "secular" rite makes it a symbol of significant, though often muted, opposition to the church, expressed in a field of child training.

Economic security for the family through government measures has been highly developed in the Scandinavian countries. Their protection against the indigence of old age and the special hazards of sickness, with its attendant loss of income, has had due notice in the United States, where such measures have been looked upon by alarmists as symptoms of dangerous trends in government, or hailed as models by sympathetic observers. Along with action in the field of housing and in special assistance to children, these developments

present potentials of conflict between church and state in the allocation of responsibility for social welfare. The state in this case has come to mean the Labor party in power, and, as a substantial portion of the population indicate by their votes that they look to it for the alleviation of anxious concerns about personal and family welfare, the church has had to review its position in this whole field. On the questions of church and state, Bishop Eivind Berggrav made a significant statement at the Lutheran World Federation meeting in Hanover, Germany, in 1952. His address was regarded as an attack on the welfare state, but there are indications of ambivalence rather than of incisiveness, despite the vigorous tone, and it develops into a general lament over some of the trends of the times.

In addressing himself to the question, what should be the church's attitude towards the welfare state, the late Bishop Berggrav declared that "we are approaching a gigantic struggle." He described the welfare state as "totally secular."

[It] does not in any way whatever acknowledge God as the Lord of all life; on the other hand, it acts as though it were Providence itself and assumes the right of entering into all the spheres of human life. The problem arises whether the Lutheran doctrine of the two régimes may be maintained under these changed conditions or whether the new state enters so deeply into the spiritual régime that there is no longer any room for the church.

He also exhorts the church to self-examination when he asks whether it is the monopoly of the church to help people in need and sorrow. "Are we really justified in asserting that deeds which *de facto* are good, or acts of kindly assistance actually rendered, are worthless and reprehensible when they are done, as it were, automatically or by reasons of state?" Further, and more positively, he counteracts the attitude that the welfare state seeks to care for all problems of citizens "down to toothaches and bath water."

The love of Christ is inventive; it will always find ways of expressing itself, even in a rigidly controlled welfare state, either in the form of cor-

porate action by the Church or in individual acts of Christian mercy. The love of Christ will never die for want of fields in which to exercise itself.³¹

As one detects a defensive note on the part of the church leadership, it is appropriate to add that in the parliamentary elections in the fall of 1953 where Labor retained a majority, the largest gains in seats were registered by the Christian Popular party. This party first appeared in 1933 and has its main strength in rural and western Norway. Its middle-of-the-road position resembles the Liberals whose strength is declining, and its platform stresses harmony between classes. The party's main public emphasis is on matters relating to "morals," notably the evils of alcoholism and the maintenance of proper religious instruction in the schools. The electoral gains may be suggestive of firm loyalties in some areas which are being expressed in new forms. The Labor party's principal newspaper in consequence expresses a sensitivity to this political development and insists that there is no conflict over the church and Christianity unless their position becomes too narrowly defined. The proper attitude, it notes, should be one of tolerance of all except intolerance.³²

SCANDINAVIAN COMPARISONS

For comparative purposes in certain of our chapters, some data from other Scandinavian countries will be presented, bearing on family conditions and on social measures designed for the protection of families. These facts are pertinent to the central theme stated, as they suggest differences in the effects of urbanization; Norway, as indicated above, has less population density and a smaller proportion of city dwellers than does Sweden or Denmark. According to Svalastoga, the degree of urbanization is a factor of central importance in understanding Scandinavian family life comparatively.³³ However, the Labor party in Norway has had a somewhat more powerful position in recent years than its Social-Democratic counterparts in other countries. The influence of this new political force in the present century also represents an aspect of urbanization in a broader sense. Especially is this significant outside of cities, as urban workers

become identified in viewpoints with those employed in industrial occupations in semi-rural areas and with landless people, farm laborers, fishermen, foresters.³⁴

In general, the degree of urbanization will be considered as suggestive rather than determinative in interpreting changes in social institutional forms. We should not forget the varying cultural influences in the past from Germany and the continent, which affected Denmark and Sweden notably, and from England, which had more effect on Norway. In more recent years, through inter-Scandinavian parliamentary conferences, there has been mutual interaction in the shaping of social legislation, which tends to reduce differences between countries. On the other hand, Norwegians, having a vigorous nationalism of relatively recent origin, strive at times to be different and to distinguish themselves from Danish and Swedish models associated with previous historical periods. The multiple factors involved suggest the complexity of making inter-Scandinavian comparisons, but nevertheless point to the importance of perspective, recognizing differences in family data between countries which are assumed to have basic cultural similarities.

In the foregoing chapter has been briefly presented the historical and social setting in which Norway's families live out their lives, in affectional interaction and in domestic routines. These will be described in a few of their typical patterns, but we turn next to the legal provisions regulating family life, and to some of the trends or central tendencies in Norwegian families.

¹ Frede Castberg, *Norske Livssyn og Samfunnsliv* (Oslo: H. Aschehoug & Co., 1949), pp. 17-18.

² B. J. Hovde, *The Scandinavian Countries, 1720-1865* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1948), I, 317, 319. See also Peter A. Munch, "The Peasant Movement in Norway, A Study in Class Culture," *British Journal of Sociology*, V (March 1954), 63-77.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 98. Private religious meetings were not entirely forbidden by this act of Christian VI, but there had to be an advance report to the local pastor.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 318-20 and II, 556-57.

⁵ Sverre Mortensen and A. Skøien (eds.), *The Norway Yearbook 1950* (Oslo: Johan Grundt Tanum, 1950), p. 180; *Statistisk Årbok for Norge, 1957*, p. 7.

⁶ Kaare Svalastoga, "The Family in Scandinavia," *Marriage and Family Living*, XVI (November 1954), 374; *Statistisk Årbok for Norge, 1957*, p. 305.

⁷ Hovde, *op. cit.*, pp. 751-52.

⁸ Karen Larsen, *A History of Norway* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1948), pp. 428, 461-62.

⁹ *The Norway Yearbook, op. cit.*, p. 183.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 324.

¹¹ Larsen, *op. cit.*, pp. 428-29, 499; Munch, *op. cit.*

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 429.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 467.

¹⁴ B. J. Hovde, "Notes on the Effects of Emigration upon Scandinavia," *Journal of Modern History*, VI (September 1934), 253-79; Franklin D. Scott, "Søren Jaabaek, Americanizer in Norway," *Norwegian-American Studies and Records*, XVII (1952), 84-107.

¹⁵ Hovde, *op. cit.*, II, 607.

¹⁶ Cf. Oscar Handlin, *The Uprooted* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1951), p. 117.

¹⁷ Bernt A. Nissen, *Political Parties in Norway* (mimeo.) trans. and ed. R. Hammer-schlag and T. Bergaust (Oslo University, The American Summer School, Oslo, 1949), pp. 17-18. See also "The important sociological analysis of the changing class structure" by Peter A. Munch, *A Study of Social Change; Rural-Urban Conflict in Norway* (Studia Norvegica, No. 9 [Oslo: Aschehoug, 1957]).

¹⁸ Nissen, *op. cit.*, pp. 13, 20.

¹⁹ Larsen, *op. cit.*, pp. 433-34; Hovde, *op. cit.*, II, 636-41.

²⁰ Nissen, *op. cit.*, pp. 17-18.

²¹ Lectures of Erik Brofoss and interview notes; also *News of Norway*, February 19, 1953.

²² Larsen, *op. cit.*, p. 462.

²³ Cf. Howard Becker and Reuben Hill, *Family Marriage and Parenthood* (Boston: D. C. Heath & Co., 1954), chapter I.

²⁴ Castberg, *op. cit.*, p. 37.

²⁵ David Riesman, and others, *The Lonely Crowd* (New York: Doubleday & Co., 1953). Cf. Castberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 26-32.

²⁶ "Be what you are with all your heart,

And not by pieces and in part."

These lines from Ibsen's *Brand* express a vigorous appreciation of personal sincerity. In this and similar expressions, Ibsen was influenced, as were other intellectuals of his time, by Søren Kierkegaard. See Hovde, *op. cit.*, I, 380-81.

²⁷ Walter Galenson, *Labor in Norway* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1949), pp. 75-76.

²⁸ Nissen, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

²⁹ At a speech in Fredrikstad, Norway, February 29, 1948, cited by Castberg, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

³⁰ Nissen, *op. cit.*, p. 28. The Institute for Christian Education has had an active campaign for the strengthening of religious orientations in the public schools.

³¹ Eivind Berggrav, *State and Church—The Lutheran View* (mimeographed copy of speech presented at the Lutheran World Federation Assembly, Hanover, Germany, 1952). For a fuller and more accessible discussion, see Eivind Berggrav, *Man and State*, transl. George Aus (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1951).

³² "Norsk McCarthyisme," *Arbeiderbladet* (October 24, 1953), p. 3.

³³ Svalastoga, *loc. cit.*

³⁴ Munch, *op. cit.*, *British Journal of Sociology*.

Part Two

PRESENT DAY HOMES: SOME VARIATIONS
BY AREA AND CLASS

Introduction

THE chapters which follow provide descriptions in some detail of family living processes in present-day Norway. Munch's generalized study of the Norwegian farm unit shows the interrelations of its social and economic functions, and it carries on the review of historic changes which have affected the family. The reports by Barth and by Stephenson, and that on middle- and upper-class families, together with the account presented in Chapter I, describe major aspects of family life, including the patterns of daily activity and the life cycles which are ordinarily taken for granted by the participants. These descriptive studies from various localities and status groups show that family forms and functions are related to the economic and social structures of local communities. Thus, families can be understood as deriving strength and form from the social and cultural context, as well as helping in turn to preserve the stability of the community.

Rural areas have resisted urbanization in various ways, as Munch (in another article) has analyzed historically.¹ The semi-urban influences of new occupations, such as truck or bus driving, have been felt, but their continuing attraction is uncertain. In some places, as Barth shows, satisfaction with old community patterns may persist. However, the accommodation which has resulted in a new stability in Sollia, the rural area he describes, is an adjustment of old rural patterns, including family forms, to the new Norway of widespread trade and centralized political controls. Sollia has achieved an integration adapted to the economic and social organization of modern Norway.

The establishment of industries in semi-rural areas has been encouraged in Norway because of the accessibility of water transportation or electric power, or both. New industrialized employment

opportunities for landless agricultural workers and their consequent identification with the mass of urban industrial workers have meant a kind of urbanization apart from cities. In economic outlook and social status, workers' families can adjust to industry and its wage system without the disorganizing effects of congested city life and, perhaps, without the full stimulation of urban influences. A comparatively high standard of living prevails in Norvik, as described by Stephenson, and family life in this community in southern Norway is not unlike that of the household in Modum, presented in Chapter I.

Some of the universals of family forms in Norway may be noted in parallel passages in the chapters of Part Two. The traces of patriarchal authority are described, and the fairly recent changes noted in this respect are in keeping with the presentation in Chapter IX of the status of women. Both Barth and Stephenson note the interest in and affection for children, and the comparative absence of harsh forms of discipline. Also presented in the several settings are aspects of social maturation and the morals of youth, with similarities evident which will be discussed in general terms in Chapter XI. Thus the case studies or locally focused family studies which are presented in the next four chapters lead into the generalized presentations of aspects of family organization in Part Three.

In each of the chapters in Part Two, the factual nucleus is based on personal observations—a Norwegian sociologist's early life in east Norway, a Norwegian anthropologist's summer among the homes of an isolated valley, an American student, adept in the Norwegian language, lodging in several workers' homes while employed in factory towns, studying labor conditions "on the hoof" for two years.

* Peter A. Munch, "The Peasant Movement in Norway, A Study in Class and Culture," *The British Journal of Sociology*, V (March 1954), 63-77.

IV

Gard: The Rural Family Homestead

BY PETER A. MUNCH

(Editors' Note: Dr. Munch had his early experience in an area of prosperous farming in eastern Norway, and received his university training at Oslo, Oxford, Halle, and Chicago. He has held research appointments of the Rockefeller Foundation and professorships at the University of North Dakota, and, since 1957, at Southern Illinois University. His field studies have also dealt with Tristan da Cunha and with Norwegian-Americans in Wisconsin. The present chapter is adapted from his paper, "*Gard*: The Norwegian Farm," *Rural Sociology*, XII (December 1947), 356-63, with permission.

—T.D.E. and A.H.)

ALL ALONG the coast of Norway runs a chain of high mountains, which in the south reaches a height of more than 6,000 feet. The coastline is cut by numerous fjords, and the adjacent land is furrowed by thousands of deep valleys cut by violent streams on their short and rapid way from the nearby watershed to the sea. The west coast of Norway, therefore, has a wild and rugged appearance. Tillable soil is scarce and is chiefly found near the inland ends of the long fjords, where streams and glaciers laid down masses of gravel, sand, and earth, and on narrow strips along the fjords. On the other side of the watershed, the land slopes more gently towards the east and south-east through Sweden into the Baltic. Here are broad valleys with a comparatively rich soil and—in the far southeastern corner—even some areas of rather level land, well fit for cultivation.

The main agricultural area of Norway, therefore, is found in the southeastern part of the country. In this area, the greater part of the

rural population depends entirely on agriculture for its subsistence. On the west coast, on the other hand, and especially in the northern part of the country, fishing is the most important subsistence of the people, and agriculture may become a sort of secondary occupation, although the majority of the rural population even in these regions appear statistically as "farmers." In the coastal districts, a much smaller part of the population depends *entirely* on agriculture.

These marked differences in the topography and, subsequently, in the ecology of western and eastern Norway may also account for certain very conspicuous differences in the culture patterns of the two parts of the country, which are even revealed in the organization of the Norwegian farm.

Certainly, even in Norway, the country districts are subject to the constant flow of culture traits from urban centers, which has lately been going on at a rapidly increasing rate owing to the recent development of communication. Great changes have taken place, therefore, in the culture pattern of rural Norway during the last fifty or sixty years, and changes are still going on, tending to break down the old pattern of the Norwegian farm. However, owing to the geographical conditions of the country, the impact of the urban culture upon rural life in Norway is of a rather local character, following the larger communication lines and leaving large districts comparatively undisturbed by the urbanization process.

From old days, the typical form of settlement in Norway has been that of the scattered farmsteads. The most important social and economic unit of Norwegian rural communities, therefore, is the individual farm, or *gard*.¹ Rural life in Norway centers around the *gard*, which is an inseparable unit of people, animals, house, and land.

According to the original pattern of a *gard*, economically, it is an independent, self-supporting unit. It is the production unit as well as the consumption unit. Naturally, this is one of the traits that have been subject to the greatest changes due to the spread of trade and commerce in the later part of the last century, which promoted the

monetary economy in rural communities of Norway. It is very rare nowadays to find a *gard* where they still spin, weave, and sew their own clothes. But the ideal type of the Norwegian *gard* was, until very recently, the one that is able to support itself with most of the commodities of life. Its economic activities are diversified, and in order to fulfil its various functions, social as well as economic, it must have a certain ecological setup, which undoubtedly is the result of a very long process of man-land adjustment.

The Norwegian *gard* centers around the *tun*, which is the farmyard encompassed by a number of houses, varying from five to ten up to twenty separate buildings, each with its specific function in the economic activities of the *gard*. Radiating from the *tun* as a center, the land is divided into various sections according to its functions in the economy of the *gard*. Surrounding the *tun* are the fields of tilled ground, where the farmer raises the food, etc., for the folks and animals of the *gard*. This is the *bø* or the *innmark*, i.e., the infield, and it is the most important property of the *gard* aside from the houses. It is always fenced in and, thereby, markedly cut off from the surrounding land.²

Outside this narrow limit, at a further distance from the *tun*, is the land of secondary importance to the *gard*, but still very important in its self-sufficient economy, and still subject to private proprietorship of the *gard*. There is, firstly, the *mark* or *utmark*, i.e., the outfield, which is mostly barely cleared but not cultivated, at least far less intensively so than the *bø*. It usually consists of poorer land which forms a kind of reserve in the economy of the *gard*. It is frequently used as pastures for cattle and sheep but may also, especially in the poorer farming districts, contribute to the winter supplies in the form of grass and leaves. The *utmark* is usually not clearly delimited from the outer woodland, which is the main source of the *gard's* wood for fuel and building material and which, again—unless it borders on the woodland of another *gard*—is bounded by the hills, the mountains, or whatever it may be according to the topographical position of the *gard*.

In the mountain areas, the *gard* usually has one or several outposts in the form of summer cheese farms (*sætrar*) and hunters' or fishers' huts. The *sæter* houses and huts are the private property of the *gard*. But the surrounding lands (including the pastures and wild life) are regarded as common: it is the *almemming* (literally all men's land) which anybody within a definite wider area has the right to use.

Even socially, the *gard* is the most important unit of rural life in Norway. It consists, as a social group, of those who have their living from the *gard*, i.e., in the first place, the owner and his nuclear family of wife and children, then very often the retired old folks, normally parents of the owner, and possibly some other close relative who lives and works on the *gard*. This group forms a distinct co-operative unit wherein each member has its very firmly designed status and role in the social and economic activities of the group according to sex, age, and relationship to the owner. It is essentially a family group and carries out all the functions that are normally ascribed to the family in a non-urban society.

These functions include, first of all, the material care of the members, especially of the young. In rural Norway, the *gard* family is an independent self-supporting economic unit with relatively little exchange of commodities and services on a commercial basis; therefore, material care of the members is conspicuously a family function in which each member takes his share.

Even the material support of the old and sick is the function of the *gard*. The retired farmer mostly continues to live on the *gard*. In some parts of the country, there is a separate building on the *tun* for him and his wife, and he is entitled to stay there as long as he lives and to receive a certain amount of supplies from the products of the *gard*, even if he does not take part in the work. In other parts of the country, there is no separate building for the retired farmer, and he remains an integrated member of the household unit.

In close connection with the material care of the young members of the family, it is also a very important function of the *gard* to provide for their adaptation to their immediate physical and social

environment. This is also a function which is commonly ascribed to the family in all human societies, although in the more modernized ones it is to an increasing degree taken over by various educational institutions. Even in the country districts, every community has an elementary school, many of them have a secondary school, and there are even a few rural communities having a gymnasium. However, all these schools, starting with the elementary school, are mainly concerned with a general education in terms of the knowledge and values of a wider society, and their function, thus, actually becomes that of adapting the individual to a wider social environment than the farm, the neighborhood, or the rural community. As a matter of fact, these rural schools in former days were the most important—and still are very important—channels leading certain aspects of the urban culture into the rural areas; and the higher schools, especially, tend to turn the rural youth away from rural life rather than to adapt them to that life. On the other hand, there are a number of agricultural schools scattered over the country, and there are the so-called “folk high schools” which have been established particularly for rural youth. But, although these schools are well attended, there is still a comparatively low percentage of rural youth attending any kind of school beyond the compulsory seven years of elementary school.

The adaptation of the rural youth to its immediate rural environment therefore still remains one of the most important functions of the *gard*. The *gard* itself, with its diversity of activities and functions, forms the most immediate environment to which the child must first adjust itself. And the training of the child for its future function in this environment takes place on the *gard* by the fact that, from a rather early age, it is put to work on the *gard* as a co-operative and co-responsible member of the *gard* family.

Although the *gard*, taken as a social unit, is essentially a family unit, there is a close connection between the *gard* and the patrilineal descent group called *aett*. Actually, the family living on the *gard* is nothing but the living representatives of the *aett*. This was still more evidently true in times past when it was not uncommon that the

entire joint family, with parents, sons, daughters-in-law, and grandchildren, lived together on the *gard*, which thus formed a socio-economic unit comprising from twenty to thirty individuals with the old patriarch at the head ruling like a king over his territory. This pattern was actually broken when Christianity introduced an individualistic ideal of personality. But in remote districts of Norway and northern Sweden, it was possible to find examples of this joint family *gard* as late as the last century.³

More explicitly, this close connection between *gard* and *aett* is expressed in the so-called *odelsrett*, i.e., allodial right, which dates as far back at least as the oldest written laws of Norway. According to the *odelsrett*, which is adapted in the modern Norwegian laws, the *odel*, i.e., the cultivated home-fields, actually is the property of the *aett* and should be preserved for the *aett*. If the owner wants to sell, the nearest of kin have the right to pre-emption, and, if the land has been sold out of the *aett*, the allodial heirs have the right to repurchase it. In modern Norwegian law, this right is limited to three years after the *gard* has been sold, and the new owner and his *aett* acquire *odelsrett* to the *gard* after twenty years of unbroken ownership.

The joint family *gard* is not found in Norway any more. The originally very large farms of pre-Christian times have been divided and subdivided until the present pattern of the nuclear family *gard* developed. There is, however, a characteristic difference in this development between the west coast and the eastern part of the country which undoubtedly is due to the difference in the ecological conditions of the two areas.

Basically—and that obtains all over the country—all sons, in the second place even the daughters, are equally entitled to the *odel*. With the pattern of the nuclear family *gard* prevailing, this means that the *gard* should be equally divided among all the sons. And this is actually the pattern that has been followed in the western part of Norway. In this way, of course, the individual farm becomes smaller and smaller. But if it becomes too small to support a family, there is always the possibility of resorting to fishing. A vestige of the original unity of

the *gard*, however, was retained by the development of a peculiar form of land ownership by which the *bø* was divided into several plots according to the quality of the soil, and each plot into several strips of land which were held in turn by the individual owners according to the principle called *årbytte*, or *årkast*, i.e., annual change, while the *mark* was held in common as *hopemark*, its hay being mown by all the owners and afterwards divided among them. Besides, in many places on the west coast, while each owner had his complete set of houses, they were all gathered around the old *tun* in a so-called *fellestun*, i.e., common farmyard, which could hold as many as fifty or more separate buildings. The principles of *årbytte* and *hopemark* were abandoned late in the nineteenth century when, on government initiation, very extensive shifts of land took place to the effect that each of the many holdings should form an established and cohesive unit of its own. In this way, the separation of the holdings into individual *garder* was fulfilled. At the same time, the old custom of *fellestun* was also abandoned, each *gard* getting its own *tun*. But still an old *fellestun* may possibly be found in existence in some remote district, reminding us of the original unity of all these *garder*.

In the more markedly agricultural districts of eastern Norway, the development took another direction. Here, the *gard* is the only source of subsistence for the family, and it is important, therefore, that it does not become too small. This consideration may be the functional background of the peculiar rural pattern of inheritance which is now known as the *odelsrett*, and which is particularly characteristic of the eastern part of the country. According to this pattern, the *gard* is regarded as an indivisible unit and is handed over in its entirety to the eldest son. Only in case the eldest son does not want to take over the *gard* does the *odelsrett* pass over to the next son, and so on. In this way, many a *gard* has been handed over from father to son through several generations, and hence, in this part of the country, the sense of unity of *gard* and *aett* has been retained very strongly. Here, the *gard* still belongs in the first place to the *aett*; both of them form an inseparable unit, and if an *odelsbonde*, i.e., an owner of an *odelsgard*,

were after all to lose the *gard*, it would be considered a disgrace if no kinsman were in a position to use his allodial right of repurchase.

This close connection of *gard* and *aett* is even revealed through the peculiar naming customs of rural Norway. Every individual *gard* has its own name which always has a definite meaning and, in its origin, may be historic, referring to the person who first cleared and owned the *gard*; or religious, referring to some deity who has been worshiped on the *gard*; or simply descriptive. Some of these names are very old, and their exact meaning cannot be traced any more. Now, with the great importance of the *aett* in this society, especially of the *odelsaett*, one should expect to find that even the individual *aett* had its own name. This, however, was not the case. According to the traditional rural pattern of naming, the individual person carried one individual name, which was the name by which he was known in the community. In addition, he carried the name of his father with an affixed *son* (or *dotter* in the case of the female), an evidence of the significance of the family in this society. And, as a further identification, as his third and last name he carried the name of the *gard*. This latter name, however, was strictly bound to the *gard* and was retained only as long as the person lived on the *gard*. If he moved away from the *gard*, he dropped his third name, and if he moved over to another *gard*, either as owner or as tenant, he adopted the name of that *gard* as his third name.

This naming custom is no more in use. Today the Norwegian farmers have adopted the urban custom with a "family name" common to the whole partrilineal descent group, using either the patronym or the name of the *gard* from which they originally came as their "family name." But less than a hundred years ago, the old rural custom was still in use, and, in some parts of the country, there may still be some vagueness as to which of the two naming patterns should be followed.

The essence of this rural naming custom is evidently that the *aett* is of no significance whatever except as the owner of an *aettegard*. In that case, however, it is of the greatest importance, but is strictly

confined to those individuals who live on the *gard*, i.e., the eldest son's eldest son forming what we might call a unilineal descent group.⁴ The many sons and daughters who have to leave the *gard* at the same time drop out of the *aett*, and any kinship connections with the original *aett* will be forgotten only after two or three generations.

Owning an *odelsgard*, or *aettegard*, carries much prestige in rural communities of eastern Norway, and the greater the number of generations during which the same *aett* has been "sitting on the *gard*" (as the expression goes), the greater is the prestige of the *aett* and its members as well as of the *gard* itself. Some of these *odelsbønder* may trace their *aett* back through fifteen or more generations of known ascendants, all on the same *gard*, and very often the origin of the *aett* is lost in the far past.

It may be that no longer is there any *gard* which has been kept in the same *aett* from its first foundation. But still, until fairly recently, the first clearer of the *gard* played an important part in certain purely social, or socio-religious, activities of the *gard* family, indicating that in these activities it was actually the *gard-aett* (including the deceased forefathers and previous owners of the *gard*), rather than the family, that came into action. In Norway, there is a very rich folklore centering around the *tomtegubbe*, *tuftekal*, *nisse*, or *gardvor*, all of which are designations (used in different parts of the country) of a supernatural person representing the first clearer of the *gard* and the founder of the *aett*. Very often, he was associated with a supposed tomb or grave on the *tun*. He was really friendly and helpful to his own *aett*, but might be a great nuisance to any new people taking over the *gard* and not observing the taboos of the sacred places. In the form of *nisse*, he is thought of as living under the barn looking after the cattle. At certain times, e.g., Christmas, offerings were brought to him in various forms, or he was thought of as taking invisible part in the common meal of the *gard* family. In many parts of the country, these customs were actually observed as late as the middle of last century, and old people may still be found in some secluded mountain valley who firmly believe in the *nisse*.

It should be remarked that the picture that is given above of the Norwegian *gard* is extremely schematic and is subject to many modifications in actuality. Many of the described customs, too, are dying out owing to the rapidly increasing urbanization of the countryside which has already been referred to. The fact remains, however, that the *gard* and the *aett*, represented by the nuclear family actually sitting on the *gard*, is still the most important social and economic unit of rural life in Norway.

¹ I would prefer to call it by the Norwegian word in order to avoid any associations with the American commercialized farms.—P. A. M.

² The word *gard* literally means "fence" and has subsequently acquired the meaning of an area of land that is fenced in. But it always includes the *tun*. A piece of land with no houses on it is not a *gard*, even though it may be fenced. A *gard* is always a living and functioning socio-economic unit, and the *tun* is the all important center of that unit. Sometimes the word *tun* may even be used to describe only the collection of houses on a *gard*. Mostly, however, the *gard* includes both *tun* and *bø*, so that the fence enclosing the *bø* is actually the limit of the *gard*.

³ Magnus Olsen, *Farms and Fanes of Ancient Norway* (Instituttet for Sammenlignende Kulturforskning, Serie A, Forelesninger, IX [Oslo, 1928]), p. 43.—P. A. M.

⁴ Cf. the "Famille Souche" or "Stock Family" of Le Play. (Chapter I.)—Eds.

V

Family Life in a Central Norwegian Mountain Community

BY FREDRIK BARTH

(Editors' Note: Mr. Barth, a native of Norway, did graduate study in anthropology in the United States. This field study report was completed in 1951 for incorporation in our volume, but some of the findings have been published separately in his article in *Rural Sociology*, XVII (March 1952), 28-38, "Subsistence and Institutional System in a Norwegian Mountain Valley."—T.D.E. and A.H.)

SOLLIA

RURAL Norway, where it has not been modified by modern industrial developments, is still divided into numerous local dialectal and subcultural areas. Each separate valley community tends to have its own peculiarities; larger cultural areas are formed through the historic and geographic connections between communities. Any specific sociological discussion of the form and function of rural Norwegian families must take this into account, and relate the family institution to the major aspects of the *local* cultural system of which the institution is a part. In the following, an attempt will be made to describe families in the upper Østerdal valleys, based on four months' field work in a fairly representative local area. The statistics offered are those for a conveniently small and homogeneous county in the area, that of Sollia, some fifty miles north of Lillehammer, along the Atna river near Rondane. Where the community studied is known to differ from other communities in the general area, this will be pointed out.

The word community is here used in a rather loose sense to designate a local group of variable size, recognized by the people themselves as a unit. No hard and fast limits can be drawn, since habitation is scattered, and the farms are interconnected by a continuous web of relationships. The county as an administrative unit tends to tie together several or many of these local communities. The area studied, lying within the limits of Sollia, consists of four local clusters of farms, each with a population of about fifty persons. These four clusters are closely enough identified with each other to make up one larger community. Each cluster of six to ten farms covers an area more than a mile long; the county stretches along about twenty-five miles of road through two branch valleys.

The upper Østerdal valleys lie from 1,500–2,500 feet above sea level. The valley bottoms and sides are covered with a coniferous forest; the timberline runs at about 3,000 feet. Above it stretches a vast, undulating mountain plateau into which the valleys have been carved by glacial action. Ecologically, the valleys are the modified, westernmost extension of the northern coniferous forest-life habitat zone, not dissimilar to the mountains of New Hampshire and Vermont.

The climate is moderately continental. Snow covers the ground from October until May with a minimum temperature of -30° F. But the summers are fairly warm. The local farmer can count on no more than two really frost-free months. These high valleys are thus outside the limits of wheat raising, and on the margin of agricultural possibility. The constant pressure of a hostile environment produces a tightly knit culture, which is relatively uniform since, with a given technology, the economically feasible adaptation will be closely circumscribed.

In the upper valleys of Østerdal, there is thus on the folk level a distinct and recognizable sub-culture. In Sollia this asserts itself all the more strongly since, of the officials and professionals that tie the area to the rest of the country, only the minister and the school teacher are locally resident. Yet Sollia shares its legal and other

formal institutional system with the rest of Norway, and most decisions vital to the community are made elsewhere, particularly in Oslo. Where Sollia differs from other parts of Norway, this is in spite of such external influences.

We will here, then, describe a folk culture that functions in a segment of Norwegian society and modifies the local expression of Norwegian family patterns; and we shall try to show how many of these modifications may be best understood, not as peasant traditionalism, but in terms of their rationality and adaptive value in their local setting.

YEARLY CYCLE OF ACTIVITIES

Life on the farm is necessarily rhythmic and seasonally differentiated. In the extreme climate, this is even more marked. Spring comes in late April; the snow melts, the road is transformed to deep ruts or mud, or a roaring stream; the ground becomes bare, at least on the side of the valley that faces south. By the middle of May, farm work can usually start. The hayfields are plowed (each field every fourth year) and seeded and fertilized. There are some restless weeks while the sheep are lambing. Potatoes are planted and the small truck gardens seeded for the year. In the first weeks of June, the sheep are let loose for the summer. Toward the end of the same month, the wife of the house, a grown daughter, or a hired girl takes the cattle up to the summer grazing on the treeless mountain plateau. There, almost every farm has a permanent annex, called a *saeter*—a small hut and barn—and traditional grazing rights. This starts the season of gay life—traveling to visit wives and girl friends on the *saetrar*, no meeting visitors and tourists from town and city, long, light, warm nights when the young people roam on the road with bicycles or on foot.

Harvesting of the main crop, hay, starts in July. On the fields around the farm and on various distant natural fields, the grass is cut, wind-dried on long racks (*besjer*), and finally stowed away in the barn or in small storehouses by the fields. Everybody is occupied with this,

from the oldest to the youngest, for many weeks, until late in August. When a fair second growth of grass has come up on the home fields and frost starts reducing the pasture on the mountains, the cattle return from the summer camp to the farm, and the whole family group is again united. Fresh milk is again available on the home farm, and the many-months-old sour milk, stored in barrels under water since last spring, is no longer the main beverage. Later, the sheep, who have roamed freely in the mountains all summer, have to be found and driven home before the snow falls.

Some rainy week in September is set aside for lichen collecting. The reindeer lichen that covers much of the mountain plateau is usually crumbly, but becomes very elastic when wet. It has high food value and is very easy to store. So the whole family trudges up into the mountains in the pouring rain, armed with pitchforks. With these, they comb the hillside, ripping off the lichen, which has no roots, and leaving the dwarf birch and heather which are more securely fastened down. Piles of lichen are stamped into loads and marked with the farmer's mark; later, they freeze solid and are brought home by sled. Lichen may account for some 20-30 per cent of all cattle fodder.

The first snow cover starts a period of heavy transportation. The roadless forest and mountain, where wheeled carts generally cannot travel, is easily navigable by sled. The reindeer lichen may be brought home, supplies hauled up to the *saeter*, etc.

But soon, the other main period of the year starts, when attention is shifted from one major crop, hay, to the other major crop, timber. From November till May, the farmer turns woodcutter, felling and stripping the trees, hauling the logs to the river. The only big break then is the social occasion of Christmas. Finally, the yearly cycle is completed with a few weeks of floating the timber in April and May, while the rivers are fed by melting snow, till the ground is bare and plowing can begin again.

FAMILY AND FARM

These activities are performed by a small group of people organized as an independent productive unit on a family farm. The family and the farm are closely related, not only emotionally but functionally. The form and structure of the one makes sense only in terms of the other.

In this area of special study, the farm is small. The unit consists of five or six acres of cultivated land, pasturing rights in the mountains, right of use in the county-owned forests to cover domestic needs, and frequently some forest belonging to the farm itself. The average livestock is one horse, four or five cows, ten sheep, a pig, and some hens. The most valuable part of the farm is usually the buildings, generally small (except for the barn) but numerous and well built, providing ample living and storage space. The average farmer also invests enough capital in machinery and implements, and controls enough money to run his farm independently.

Cows' milk is sold directly to a butter-producing private dairy some thirty miles down the valley from the north end of the community. The road to it is open in the winter, and the valley is serviced by a milk truck. Due to the present price subsidies, the milk sold fresh gives the farmer a better price than the butter he could produce from it. Thus churning at home is going out of practice. Another consequence of this truck service and price situation is a systematic shift of the cow's calving cycle. Formerly, one arranged to have the maximum milk production while the cattle were finding their own fodder on the rich mountain pastures around the *saeter*. The *saettrar*, however, have no road connections, so the milk truck cannot reach them, and butter must be made on the spot. With the present prices, the farmer wants the cow in the mountains in her dry period, and wants maximum milk production in winter when the cattle are in the barn, and the milk can be sold directly to the dairy. This again necessitates a reduction of the stock compared to the acreage of the hayfields, since the cattle need more fodder when giving more milk.

This may illustrate how closely the local economy is tied to the larger market, and how the activities of the people are constantly adjusting to changing conditions. The tenacity of other social patterns in the face of such change seems due not so much to traditional conservatism, as to their local adaptive value.

THE FAMILY

The farm is owned and administered by the family—ideally, by a nuclear family, consisting of a married couple and their unmarried children. Frequently, of course, one or both of the old people will be alive and live with them (see Table 2). This makes up the functionally significant family, and with this small group, identified by living together on the farm, are most of the individual's activities and loyalties. In the minds of the local people, this farm-family is not only an independent economic unit but also a quite independent social unit, with few obligations to outside persons or larger institutions.

TABLE 2

Type of farm and type of family living on the farm		
Farm size	Type of family	Percentage No.
Small farm . . .	single person . . .	12.8 5
” ” . . .	couple . . .	7.7 3
Farm . . .	sibling group . . .	7.7 3
” . . .	nuclear family . . .	41.0 16
” . . .	nuclear family + 1 old parent	15.3 6
” . . .	nuclear family + 2 old parents	2.6 1
” . . .	parents and married child separate households . . .	7.7 3
” . . .	parents and married child joint household . . .	0 0
” . . .	larger family group (siblings of couple, etc.) . . .	5.2 2
Total . . .		100.0 39

Within this family group, there is a systematic division of labor along sex lines. No taboos are connected with this division; the male and female roles are defined in terms of efficacy, and may be violated on the same grounds. Where the woman is sick or wants the evening off, or where there are only sons, the men may do the milking and tending of cattle, normally women's work. Too great willingness to violate these role divisions would, however, result in ridicule. And where there is a deficiency of men, male help will usually be hired, since men's work is regarded as too heavy for women.

The care of the house, cooking, washing, and making clothes, milking and feeding cows and goats, feeding the pig, chickens, and usually the sheep belong to the female role. All work in the forest and on the fields, the care of the horse, cleaning the barn, chopping wood, and all transportation are the adult male's duty. The girls help their mothers; water and wood are fetched by the children in general, although the boy is expected to be in charge. The little boy wants badly to help his father but usually cannot. Up to the age of sixteen to eighteen, he does not have many duties, but about that time he is expected to start taking on his share of the adult male's work. The whole family works together at haying, lichen collecting, and potato gathering, the man being in charge of the horse when it is active.

FAMILY STRUCTURE

The role division along sex lines extends through most phases of life. It also plays a part in the family prestige hierarchy, but may profitably be discussed without reference to prestige. The feeling is largely that male and female roles are different, and (as is, of course, true) equally important on the farm. In the family situation, they are regarded as complementary, and this mutual relation and solidarity between spouses is a fundamental principle in the local family structure.

In relations to outsiders, the sex division also plays an important role. An example taken from the pattern of formalized visiting between farms may illustrate this. If a man comes visiting the farm

while both spouses are present, the woman (because she takes care of the cooking) prepares coffee for the two men, and generally takes little part in the conversation. If the topic is of great interest to her, she is, however, quite free to talk. If, on the other hand, the visitor is a woman, the women will have coffee together, while the husband sits by himself sipping his coffee and generally talking very little. If a male visitor drops in while the husband is away, he will be served coffee, and the woman will sit by the table conversing but will not take part in the meal.

The relative prestige of the male and female spheres is indicated by the fact that women who can take part in men's conversation are well thought of, whereas the man is not supposed to be interested in what the women are talking about. Actually, he is generally quite interested in the gossip she might know (and listens intently to it), but he is not permitted in his male role to show his interest.

The adult male is then at the top of the prestige hierarchy. This is formalized in a number of ways: he is served first at the table, he reads the newspaper first, he is supposed to decide on important family matters. Actually, both spouses have a part in policy forming, and the solidarity of spouses being stressed as strongly as it is, each can exert pressure on the other. If there is disagreement, public judgment will just as frequently decide the woman to be right as the man. Thus the formal recognition of male prestige gives biased evidence on the actual power distribution. Any matter of importance is discussed by both spouses, whether it be in the male or female sphere. In a folk culture, where informal social control is so prevalent in all phases of life, this discussion insures fairly equal weight for the opinions of each. Within the functioning family, *solidarity* is thus the important characteristic of the spouse relationship, and the relative prestige difference is merely accepted and much less important.

The children are recognized as independent persons, with individual likes and dislikes. The verdict of the school teacher and the minister was that the parents usually "spoil" children; they are much loved and rarely disciplined. Any correction or show of temper by

the parent in public is criticized, and physical punishment is rarely used. The children are thus fairly unpredictable members of the family—they may be at home, may be off with friends, they may be doing what they should do, they may be doing something else. The boy, especially as he grows older, is permitted to roam around more than the girl, and there is generally more pressure brought to bear on her to make her perform her tasks. By sixteen, when the boy is just starting to do men's work, the girl should be thoroughly trained in her work role.

The old people in the family, the grandparents still living on the farm, usually constitute a difficult problem. They cannot be well integrated into the family, since they have no clear role in it, and they are generally an economic burden—the small children do not need their care, and they are not strong enough to do heavy work. An old man usually spends his time chopping wood and fishing trout; an old woman will run a separate household if her husband is still alive, otherwise she will putter around, helping in the kitchen or mending clothes. If the surviving grandparent is living in the family, as will nearly always be the case, his presence is thought of as strictly temporary and unimportant, since he will soon die.

On the farm, the nucleus of parents and unmarried children is thus the functioning family. Where there are several married sons from one farm, they will start their own farms or find other work. Where the parents are still strong and active, the married son must seek temporary employment outside and live in a separate household, preferably at some other place. The farm is thought of as the home of *one* nuclear family.

The relations and obligations of this nuclear group to more distant kin are few and unimportant. Descent is certainly kept track of, and, in this small community, practically everybody traced relationship through some common ancestor. At the "*rites de passage*" of an individual, the kin will be invited, but so will friends, and much general social activity centers around christenings, confirmations, marriages, and funerals. The special relations with kinfolk do not

extend into the economic sphere; there is no patterned lending of equipment or help, not even between brothers. Kinship furthermore does not seem to influence or regulate membership in formal or informal groups. The farm family is the functioning social and economic unit, and serves as the fundamental and most important social institution.

INHERITANCE

Inheritance is regulated by official Norwegian law; each child receives a share of equal value; but the rights of primogeniture are also recognized and codified: The oldest son has a legal right to the farm. This is further elaborated in numerous rules and privileges. The farm itself is very seldom divided among the children. The total value of the estate is computed, and each child should receive an equal fraction. Thus, the son who gets the farm, usually the largest fraction of the estate, borrows money to pay his siblings for what he has received in excess of his share. The practice is to appraise the farm at a low value, to prevent it from sinking into great debt from the transaction. In actual fact, the son who inherits the farm therefore tends to receive a disproportionate share. Primogeniture is thus important in the legal system, and it dominates as the rule of farm inheritance in most of rural Norway. In Sollia, however, it receives no attention. Of eleven farms in the neighborhood that had been inherited in the male line in the last generation, six were taken over by the only son, four by the youngest son, and only one by the oldest of several sons. This one case is still talked about, and the action of the oldest son is criticized. He is said to have taken advantage of legal technicalities (*viz.*, rights of primogeniture) to get a good farm ahead of his more competent younger brother, only to let it fall into disrepair later. On the other side of the picture, four new farms have been started. Of these, three were cleared by men with primogeniture rights on good farms, but with younger brothers. The fourth farm was cleared by a middle brother, while the youngest took over the home farm.¹

This strong tendency toward younger son inheritance, in opposition to the prevailing law, must have a functional explanation. It is clearly connected with the Sollia family pattern, which again relates to the small size of the farm. A six acre plot of land at 62° N. latitude cannot support a large number of people, even when the mountain pastures and timber forests contribute to subsistence. And, as mentioned above, the farm is regarded as the home of *one* nuclear family. The conventional roles and duties are designed to integrate no larger group than that. The unmarried children have a clear status and role; married children on the farm would be in clear conflict with the couple in charge. Their main loyalties would be to their spouses, not to the farm and parents; their great wish is, therefore, to establish an independent household, with themselves as the central, ruling couple.

When children marry while the parents are still strong, they either establish a separate household in one of the farm buildings, and the man supports his family by outside work—truck driving, wood-cutting, timber-floating, etc.—or they buy a farm or break ground for a separate, new farm. The young couple almost invariably separates off as an independent family, in contrast to the situation on the larger farms in the lower valleys, which are usually operated jointly by father and son, and where primogeniture is the rule of farm inheritance. Only one local case is known to me where a married son (the only one) stayed on the farm and worked it with his parents. This was in a very “progressive” and moderately urbanized family. Gossip tells how the difficulties were solved by the young wife working “as maid” on the farm for ten years, till the old couple grew weak enough to give up control.

The tendency is, of course, for the youngest son to be the last one to become anxious to marry. Consequently, he waits around on the farm as unmarried son, and when the parents become old and weak, he marries, runs the farm, and looks after the old ones. When they die, he “naturally” keeps the farm.

A complicating factor, causing much conflict between parent and

child, is the lack of any clear role and importance for the old people. As a consequence of this, they are unwilling to give over control of the farm and try to keep their position of power and importance as long as they are at all physically able to do so. This prevents the son from marrying and makes him impatient and dissatisfied. It also produces great emotional conflict: should he work hard on the farm, which he will eventually inherit, but thereby postpone the time he can marry and take over; or should he do little, making the parents work harder and wear themselves out quicker? It is a very real conflict, which is often resolved by the son leaving the farm and even the valley to find other work. Interesting in this connection is the fact that the only two fights reported in the valley were between father and grown son, when both were drunk.

Once the parents give up the farm, they are guaranteed by law a certain part of the farm income. Today, they will also receive a government old-age pension. They are generally by then old enough to be content with their small household duties, and the parent-son relationship becomes less strained.

The result of these patterns is a marked segmentation through time: each nuclear family tends to be separate in time and space. Somewhat irregular inheritance practices are adaptations to what seems the most practical solution in any given case, thus generally tying the family blocks together through time by youngest son inheritance.

RELATIONS BETWEEN FAMILIES

The family block, or the individuals it consists of, must also be organized in a synchronized system to regulate daily relations in the community. This is done by numerous formal and informal social groups. Actually, the family plays a minor role in this phase of community organization, as indicated by the relative lack of importance attached to kinfolk, mentioned above. Each individual tends to operate independently in the various groups; the only principle upheld is the identification with spouse. Thus, where the sex division

does not ascribe different roles to them, spouses tend to have the same status and prestige, and, in fact, the same opinions.

Community contacts between individuals are few in Sollia. In the economic sphere, they are infrequent and largely unimportant. Before a true money economy was established in the area, there was a certain amount of co-operative work (*dugnad*), regulated through an informal system of reciprocal obligations with kin, friends, and neighbours. However, the feeling that one has obligations outside the farm and nuclear family has little appeal, and, as soon as possible, money payment for services was adopted.

A number of formal groups exist: county administrative committees with predominantly male membership, and four clubs with all-women membership. The county committees have specified governmental functions, and very little social interaction goes on before or after the meetings.

The women's clubs, although organized with certain practical interests in mind, such as community health, sewing, etc., have primarily a recreational function. The rotating meetings further provide a small arena for conspicuous waste and competition. A majority vote decided that three kinds of cookies were the maximum to be served at these occasions, but everybody tries to circumvent the ruling. The clubs are mostly recent introductions, patterned after similar clubs in lowland Norway and formally affiliated with them. They, therefore, tend to function as channels for new ideas, but differ from their lowland models in their reduced formality and looseness of leadership.

A sports club existed for a while, but all attempts at introducing team competition have been unsuccessful, and the club never became popular. Shooting competitions, on the other hand, are among the greatest events in the valley.

Informal groups play an incomparably greater role than organizations, and regulate most of the social contacts between individuals. They channelize the many aggressions that seem to build up so easily in a small community. Both sexes partake, but the women are

permitted considerably greater license and overt interest. The cliques work in an everchanging net of friendship, involving visits from one farm to another. The tie of friendship is usually a common dislike of a certain person, and much of the conversation is made up of more or less well-founded stories about this person. The conversations and visits are between two persons of the same sex, or two couples. Spouses are almost always in agreement, and thus belong to the same feuding cliques; but any wider kinship patterns cannot be discerned. Even unmarried children visit freely on "enemy" farms, and are well received there.

Personal conflicts are actually frowned upon, and public expression of hostility is thought bad taste. Thus the cliques tend to stay small, and will constantly vary according to the latest grudges. For the same reason, the couples with more prestige are usually less active socially. They visit their neighbors less, and are thought wise to stay out of conflicts. Thus one farmer, quite well thought of, has literally no interaction with people for other than economic reasons. The couple never visits anyone, and people specifically remembered that they had been to a certain funeral more than a year before. Thus even the informal groups do not seem to complicate the community organization to any great extent.

The system is characteristically segmented, both in time and space; each nuclear family, living separately on its own farm, is a semi-independent social and economic unit. The family thus stands out as the basic and most important social institution, by which most of the individuals' contacts and activities are regulated.

THE LIFE CYCLE

During his life, a person passes through a series of status positions each connected with certain functions in the family and with certain relations with the larger community. In a sketch of the normal life cycle, some facets of family life and organization may be illustrated.

(1) Birth is generally at home, attended by a midwife who lives in the community. The arriving child is usually wished for or even

planned; he arrives today in a small sibling group, three on an average, due to the systematic birth control by contraceptives practiced by most couples.

Child care is generally good and rather indulgent; the mother is always present on the farm, and no strict feeding schedule is kept. Breast feeding continues through the first year. Training seems to be highly individualized and not strict; the child is toilet trained around the age of two, but frequently later.

Early childhood seems to be a very happy time; the children are active and smiling, though sometimes shy towards strangers. Most contacts are with the parents. Since the distance between agemates is so great, there is much solitary play, and much play with older and younger siblings. This is regulated by the parents, who remind the older to be "nice" to the smaller ones, and frequently give them the responsibility to look after them. But there is generally no systematic favoring of one child, and little overt sibling rivalry. Age difference ascribes different roles to them, and these roles are accepted.

Control is by explanation and admonition, with little physical punishment used. Attention centers on the parent as a source of love and encouragement. Most adults are very fond of children, so the occasional contacts with visitors on the farm are similarly gratifying.

At the age of seven, the child starts in public school. This was, until 1949, a boarding school, where the children stayed for stretches of fourteen days. Meeting the larger society and being separated from the parents was for almost all a traumatic experience. Practically everyone, when telling of their childhood, will describe how they cried secretly when they had to go off to school, how endless and dreary those long miles were to walk, and how quickly they ran when eternity had passed for this time and they were heading home again. The slower children, who also find school work very difficult, often end up with a completely rebellious fear reaction to school and are likely to try to run away or evade it. The school yard for the first three classes is a picture of ten to twelve unsocialized little things, unable to play together because they have had so little contact with

agemates. The attention centers on the teacher as a substitute parent and source of affection.

Farm work and home life, on the other hand, continue to be gratifying. The parents' attitude has not changed; love and attention are given the child. The learning process is comfortable, and roles and duties are familiar and well defined. When the mother is canning meatballs, the daughter of eight is busy making small meatballs for the dog in her own small frying pan. Most play is concerned with farm life, especially toy barns populated with cow foot bones, each bone representing a cow.

In third or fourth grade, the children discover that they have to compete with their classmates for the attention of the teacher. They become competitively oriented. They become aware of the fact that their frustration originates from their being subordinate to the group, and start trying to control the behavior of agemates. On the other hand, most competition is positively oriented toward securing love and attention; there is little teasing of the less successful and no scapegoat pattern develops. Progressively, the competitive interest comes into conflict with the adult pattern of full self-control of behavior with no overt show of personal reactions. This reverses the trend, and more social withdrawal is common in the last (seventh) grade of school.

Confirmation, at fourteen or fifteen, signifies the end of childhood and the beginning, if not of adulthood, at least of adolescence. Nowadays, most young people, at any rate the boys, are thought to need more education than the seven years of grammar school, and they leave the valley to attend secondary school (*realskole*), agricultural or forestry school, or to receive craftsman's training. During this, they are supported by their parents. Many girls go away and take work as housemaids, sometimes after more schooling; but most of them feel homesick for Sollia and return home after a year or so. By the age of eighteen, the children are expected to start work: for the boys, this is either on the farm or in truck driving or timbering; for the girls, it is almost invariably in the farm house.

(2) There is much sexual license before marriage, and an ancient courtship pattern that has been strongly modified in other parts of Norway seems to persist here. It consisted of a formalized pattern of sexual experimentation, known as Saturday night proposals. Nowadays, it takes the form of "taking the girls home" after the big dances or other social occasions.

In these matters, it is strictly the boy who should take the initiative. The strong male pattern of not showing emotion and not making a fool of oneself in front of people is therefore a great stumbling block. The inexperienced boy is very bashful about the matter, and feels he must at any price avoid having his advances declined. He thus usually prefers to watch the proceedings at a dance from the midst of a gang of agemates, occasionally venturing a dance, but not daring to go any farther. Eventually, a common understanding is somehow developed between a boy and a girl, and he will then go with her to her home. These relations are moderately few and lasting, often with the same one from the very first. Some girls, on the other hand, become very fickle, but this does not seem to reduce their prestige appreciably.

Sooner or later, such a relationship comes to be regarded as an informal engagement, especially if the partners are fairly old. The choice of partner seems to be purely personal, although some pressure is undoubtedly exerted by the parents. There being no true class distinctions in the valley, mutual fondness and ability to get along together are the most important criteria; and of them, the young ones are as good judges as their parents. The general tendency toward community endogamy is probably just a reflection of the lack of personal contacts with outsiders.

The actual marriage is usually postponed for economic reasons. If the parents are still strong, the young couple would have to break new ground, or the boy get a job driving one of the truck lines. A wedding is usually precipitated by a pregnancy. Of the last five marriages in the valley, four seem to have been decided on after a child was conceived. Formerly, this tendency was even stronger:

from 1870-85, almost 10 per cent of all children were born out of wedlock. A non-wedlock child was at that time defined as a child who was christened before the parents were married.

In some cases, a child results from an otherwise unsuccessful combination. Certainly, if one party is from outside the valley, marriage need not result, and the explanation given and accepted is that the two did not suit each other. If both parties are members of the local community, pressure is generally brought to bear through kinship and neighbor channels, and marriage results. But there is no serious stigma attached to being a non-wedlock child; numerous illustrations of this could be given.²

There are many single people in Sollia. It was indicated above that economic considerations tend to postpone the actual marriage of informally engaged couples. Sometimes, nothing comes out of it if the two wait so long that the situation changes, and at least one of them goes single for life. This willingness to wait is completely frustrating to many a well-meaning visiting matchmaker; it is connected with the fear of making a fool of oneself and the general indifferent attitude towards time.

Many attractive and nice people never get even that far. A boy may never get up the courage to court his first girl; and that first step becomes increasingly more difficult as he becomes older. Or, the first relation is a failure, as when the boy is made to look silly in front of people by a brush-off, or the girl has an unsuccessful relation which does not invite repetition. There are other difficulties that further contribute to this; the community is small, the number of eligible persons of opposite sex much smaller. Sometimes, nobody appears who is attractive enough. All these factors, when operating together, create a real problem and produce a disproportionate number of spinsters and bachelors. Where a group of siblings are all unmarried (and that is surprisingly common), they may take over the family farm together. Otherwise, single people tend to live alone on small incomplete farms, taking seasonal work on other farms.

With marriage, all sexual freedom ceases. The tie between spouses

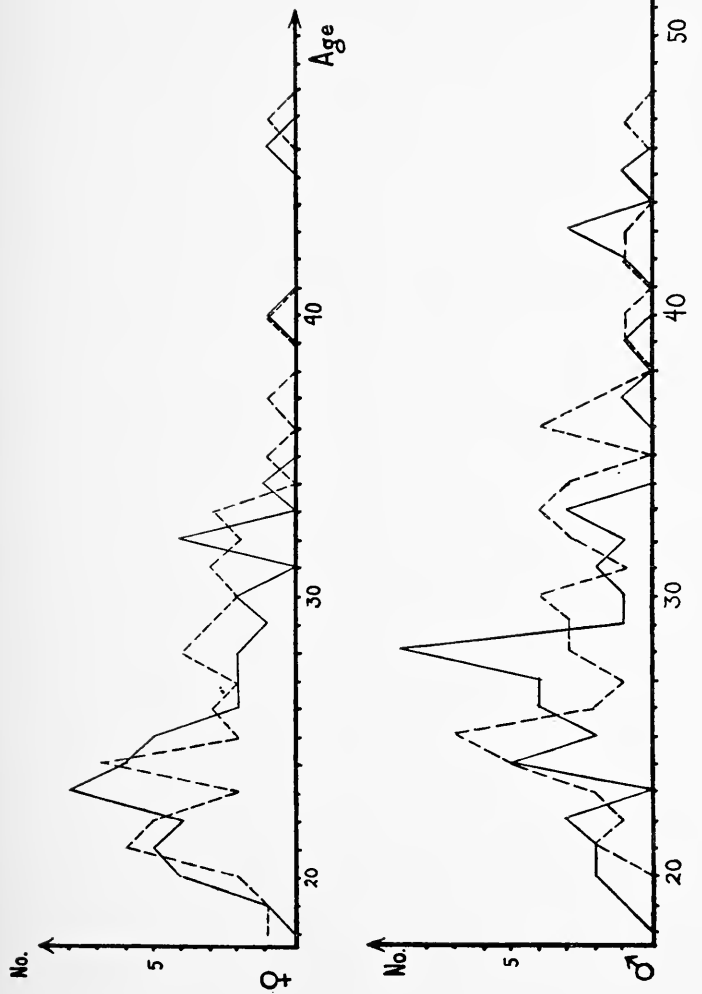


FIGURE 1. Age distribution at marriage in 1870-85 (solid line) and in 1935-45 (dashed line) for women (above) and men (below). Practices relating to age of marriage have remained unchanged in spite of great social changes. (From church records for the county of Sollia).

is thought of as complete, and there seem to be extremely few cases of infidelity. Only one case of divorce is known. The marriage that broke up was between a local woman and a man in a neighboring valley. She obtained the divorce on grounds of incompatibility, returned home, and later remarried.

Married life on the farm is well ordered and satisfying, and does not produce much conflict. As the small group of children grow older, more time is free for the woman to be active in women's clubs and gossip. Where the young people are supporting themselves by other work, such as in transport and timbering, there is more insecurity, living and housing arrangements are more temporary, and conflicts tend to develop. This type of work has considerable appeal with the young boys, who find machinery and speed much more fascinating than fertilizer and tedious work. But after the novelty wears off and all the discomforts of a long truck line on bad roads become evident, the husband's early enthusiasm for car driving fades and the result seems to be that sooner or later he gets a farm of his own.

With old age, the aforementioned conflicts with the children arise and the inevitable reduction in power and prestige looms ahead. The elders therefore try to stay strong and active, and the healthy life they lead allows them to keep going for a surprisingly long time. An old man of eighty-seven who still did his share of timbering in the forest was not unique, though he admittedly did better than most of the aged.

ECONOMY AND CULTURAL CHANGE

It has been pointed out previously (in this chapter) how government controls and subsidies modify life in Sollia, particularly in connection with milk production and dairying practices. The numerous controls of the planned society actually play a role in almost all phases of life. On an average, this sparsely populated community on the extensive margin of cultivation certainly profits from them. The local economy is today completely dependent on the numerous sup-

ports. One of the two main products, milk and derivatives, has considerable subsidy, and the prices on much that is bought for consumption (sugar, flour, etc.) are kept low by other controls and subsidies. A state through-road has been built during the last fifteen years; this has offered temporary work for many local men. Health insurance and various other forms of insurance, family supports for clearing of land and draining of marshes, free advice on cattle breeding, regular checks on fat content in milk, scientific care of county-owned forests, etc., all offer benefits that the community could not itself afford. This contributes to raising the standard of living and the effectiveness of farm work, but it has not basically altered the productive or social patterns in the community. They are unchanged since before the depression of the thirties, when most of these benefits were first instituted.

The community organization has remained segmented, and the farm-family institution has changed little. In the memory of the old people, Sollia has moved from the solitude of inaccessible mountains to integration into modern life, and this change has converted a local and isolated barter community to a money economy, closely connected with the world market. Institutions that have survived such revolutions are hardly shattered by a new price for sugar.

It may contribute to our understanding of the local family system to see how it reacted to economic change and was modified by the necessary readjustments.

Around 1880, the community had a close approximation to a subsistence economy. Trade passed over thirty miles of roadless mountain to the local market, where butter and tar were bartered or sold for grain, sugar, coffee, and metals. A local group of craftsmen supplied the community with their products, and the diet was adjusted to require a minimum of outside goods.

The social organization was more complex than today. In addition to the craftsmen, with their traditional rights and privileges, and the landowning farmers, there was a landless class. It consisted mostly of recent immigrants, who worked on other people's land on a share-

cropper basis. These three divisions, farmer, craftsman, and landless workman, were not fixed and clear; craftsmen had small farms on the side, and might devote progressively more time to them, or farmers might take up a craft. The more enterprising of the landless group were constantly breaking new ground and starting new farms, or learning trades.

The families tended to be considerably larger than today; sibling groups of six and eight were not uncommon. Today people smile at the one family with eight children, and many comment jocularly that somebody ought to explain things to them. The economic roles were the same as today, though stricter; men would probably not have been willing to milk the cows if it could be avoided. The work tended to be less efficient and less rationally planned; lack of knowledge about food values and fat contents resulted in inferior fodder and underfed cattle. Hours were longer and the struggle for life harder.

The family was more patriarchally structured; the traits that only partly survive today as formalized custom were meaningful and important. But the basic organization was the same as today, so the same checks on too much prestige inequality between the male and female were doubtless operative.

The church and the Old Testament, with their more authoritative attitudes regarding the position and training of children, had a greater influence. The minister was one of the central members of the community. But any strong religious tradition was probably lacking, and the church was more important as the social center of the community than for its religious function. Church festivals were celebrated with dancing, singing, and drinking. But the institution and the authoritarian viewpoints it stood for had a considerable prestige.³

The family institution of 1880 was thus essentially similar to what we find in Sollia today. There has been modification, but no disorganization has resulted, and the innovations have been reinterpreted in terms of the local culture. This is evident from the attitude of the old people to the modern community: there is little glorifica-

tion of the old days and no damning of the later innovations. Change that has taken place is generally regarded as "good," both by old and young. The basic characteristics of the nuclear family have remained unchanged through severe economic and social reorganization. This is not a case of cultural lag; the present family system is very closely integrated with the present economic and social system, and the culture as a whole seems to function harmoniously. It shows rather the fundamental adaptability of the segmented community organization and of the local family system, which in its structure and adaptability is not unlike the modern urban family.

POPULATION TRENDS

Some demographic data on the community of Sollia as a whole may serve to round out the picture of the Sollia family, and lead to an understanding of some of the trends and pressures operative today and in the past.

The total population has changed little in the time span covered here. From 458 in 1880 it was reduced to 407 in 1920 and increased to a total of 455 in 1949. The area called Sollia by the census is shown to have declined from 472 in December 1950 to 451 in January 1956.⁴

Since the differences in population are not too great, the number of births and deaths in Sollia during three time periods can be compared directly (see Figure No. 2). Around 1880, a high birth rate produced a constant population pressure, and a need for emigration. The community's economy was still fairly unmodified, with few connections with the world market. With growing contact with the larger society, innovations appeared. Good road connections were established and heavy transport became possible. The availability of new commodities stimulated new demands or at least new wishes.

A change in agricultural practices was inevitable. The point was no longer to produce a maximum of subsistence items. The growing money economy led to specialization and greater efficiency. The landless sharecropper no longer had an economic function in the community, and the craftsmen had to compete with machine-made

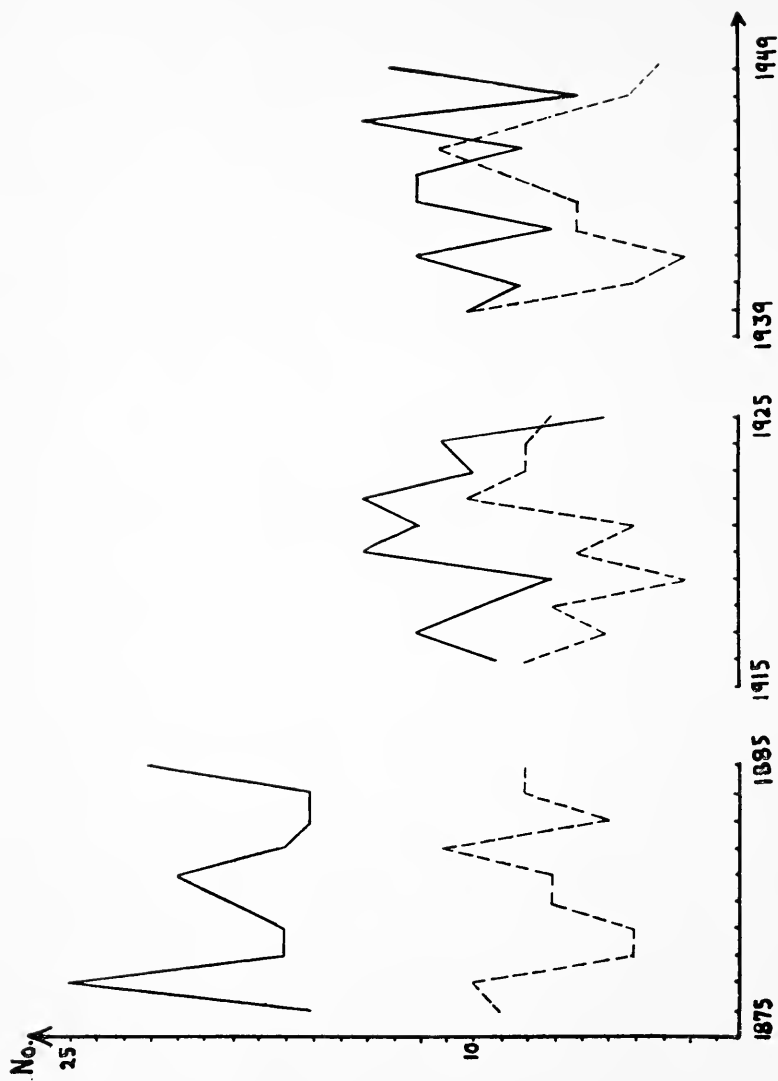


FIGURE 2. Number of births (solid line) and number of deaths (dashed line) in the county of Sollia for the time periods 1875-85, 1915-25, 1939-49. Total population has remained relatively unchanged. The drop in the birthrate between 1885 and 1915 is a result of the assumption of family planning.

goods. The result was great economic pressure and a feeling of poverty against the background of the new wants and needs.

The obvious solution was increased emigration to richer areas. This became a typical wave of fashion. Such collective behavior was called *dilla*, most closely translatable as "the bug." Beginning in the 1870's, the America bug spread like wildfire. Great numbers of people went to America; "everybody" seemed to want to go. Not only did many landless workmen and craftsmen, who felt the economic pressure hardest, migrate; the only children on big farms also left Sollia, all in a fad-like migration which greatly exceeded what the economic pressure would alone have produced. The peak was reached in 1884 when 30 persons of a total population of 450 left. The result was the reduction in total population seen between the 1880 and 1920 figures, and complete relief from population pressure in a community where most members became self-owning farmers. The landless class had been replaced by machinery and market economy, the craftsmen had been replaced by transport routes, bus routes, etc. Work with machinery and trucking now offers temporary employment for young people, as timbering, farmhand work, and crafts frequently did before.

At the same time, the man-land ratio was subjected to another type of control through the adoption of contraceptive methods.⁵ The male contraceptives are procured by mail order. The striking reduction in number of births, seen on the graph, has served to stabilize the population and to eliminate the need for migration.

By taking full advantage of the technical innovations (new methods in agriculture, money economy, and contraceptives), the local community managed to adapt to the new situation, without cultural breakdown resulting. Thus pressures that might have proved destructive to the local family system were controlled and overcome.

By 1950, the direction of migration was reversed; some immigrants contribute to the slowly growing population in the area.

There are few luxuries to spend money on, or to feel an unsatiated

need for—the local culture functions quite harmoniously without them. Both the actual plane of living and the subjective standard of living thus appear rather high in the area, stimulating immigration and discouraging emigration.

Furthermore, there is a negative prestige consideration operative against emigration. A mountain farmer, living in his separate sub-culture, has considerable prestige in his relationship to urban friends and visitors. He is regarded apart from the urban social ladder. Until recently, however, he had no more than the seven compulsory years of school, and his training and knowledge apply only to his own area and occupation. Migration to the city would place him at the bottom of the social “peck order,” as an unskilled laborer, and the less formal and certainly unfamiliar urban behavior patterns would produce insecurity and resentment.

A possible route of urban mobility for men is the occupation of truck driver, which would give some status in the urban community. But as indicated above, the reaction to driving seems to become negative with experience. In the few observed situations, this led to a wish to return to farm work. Truck driving is considered temporary work, and no actual cases of migration through this occupation were found.

A fairly common route of urban mobility for women is working as a housemaid for some city family, often arranged through personal connections. Housework in the city is regulated; there are set work hours and more free time, and the work is not as strenuous as on the farm. This seems to result in a relatively greater urban movement of young women and a deficiency of “eligible” women in the community. But a common reaction is homesickness for the valley, and married life on the farm is regarded as the best solution by the great majority of the young women.

A contemporary fad, the “machine bug,” has motivated some to acquire technical training and even to study engineering at the Institute of Technology. But it is striking that most boys do not seek practical training, but rather the general education of the secondary

school, and the reason given for extra schooling is that it develops the personality, "it is good for you."

Life in the valley seems to offer more satisfaction to most of the community's members than what they have experienced of urban life. A slowly growing population is thus contained within the valley, and economic pressures are relieved by clearing new land. The area is still extremely sparsely populated, and the many new farms have not appreciably reduced the good land available for clearing. With the discernible trends that are operative today, it would thus seem that the local subculture has completed a successful adjustment to the modern Norwegian society. Sollia can profitably remain in relative isolation, partly integrated in the modern society, and the local life seems to give considerable satisfaction to those who participate. A locally adapted and seemingly successful subculture thus exists in the area, with a distinctive family organization. Families and other organizations are clearly meaningful as local, subcultural adaptations, which may be able to resist further influences of urbanization.

¹ A study by Olav Skårdal of agricultural families in Stranda, 1949 (published by the Institute for Sociology of the University of Oslo, 1953), found that at vocational age nearly all the eldest sons decided for jobs rather than primogeniture. Odd Ramsøy, *Arbeider Offentliggjort ved Institutt for Sosiologi 1950-57* (Oslo, 1957), p. 19 (Stensilserie).

² If the question were put abstractly, as when it is summarized here, the local answers would probably be in conflict with the above. This is connected with the fact that we are describing a subculture. The general values of pan-Norwegian culture, more strongly Protestant, will always color the more theoretical and verbalized attitudes in a local community. Most local people would thus undoubtedly state that it is tragic to be illegitimately conceived; that definition of the situation is an accepted fact in Norwegian culture. But when one regards the local situation, it is striking that illegitimacy is no block to community prestige, is never used in clique criticism, etc. Thus, in terms of the local culture, there is actually little or no stigma attached to parents or child.

³ Today the social functions of the church have been taken over by a county-owned dance hall, where national, political, or club celebrations are held. The minister is not integrated into the community; the church, lying far away, is very rarely visited. Religious activities are very few. As a measure of religious interest, one might note that the few attempts at initiating revivalist sectarianism have been complete failures. The whole community belongs passively to the moderate state church.

⁴ *Statistiske Arbeke for Norge, 1957*, p. 7.

⁵ Hearsay in Oslo traced the introduction of contraceptive practice in Sollia to a physician from Bergen who was a summer resident or visitor there.—Ed.

VI

Family Life in an Industrial Community

BY JOHN C. STEPHENSON

(Editors' Note: Mr. Stephenson, when this was written, had been a Fulbright Scholar assigned to the University of Oslo, working in the field of industrial relations. Conversant in Norwegian, he lived with many worker families as a family member. This chapter describes typical family living conditions and activities in an industrial community—with disguised name "Norvik"—where he stayed over five weeks. After further graduate work in American universities he served in the U.S. Point Four Program in Egypt, Iraq and Philip-pines.

—T. D. E. and A. H.)

THE COMMUNITY

THE industrial community of Norvik, located in south-eastern Norway, is relatively new and largely rural in its setting. The workers' living standards are rather high, comparable with those of a higher earning level in a larger city. The industrial life of the community is determined by one large factory complex, and, both with regard to wage structure and social benefits, this leading corporation of Norvik has long been a leader in the Norwegian industrial field. Norvik, therefore, cannot be considered as a typical industrial community, nor is its family life presented as typical of Norway in general.

The corporation's plant at Norvik is about twenty years old. The factory was built on the site of a former farm, and the community which has mushroomed about it covers former fields and woods. The factory began operation in part with personnel who were trans-

ferred from other of the company's plants which are still in operation. But in large measure, the work force was recruited from the construction workers employed in the building of the factory. Most of those workers came from the rural communities lying around Norvik, and their work in the factory was their first industrial experience. At the beginning of operations in the plant and throughout most of the 1930's, unemployment in the district was appreciable and living standards in the rural areas were low; those who had regular employment with the company lived very well in comparison. The company has continued its policy of taking in new employees from the surrounding areas, and a number of the younger workers have also come from rural backgrounds.

The Norvik plant and its immediate community lie in really rural surroundings. Cheap electrical power is the basis for the plant operation and this is transmitted from hydroelectric stations in the mountains to the coastal location of the factory. Norvik lies on a side branch of one of the country's major fjords thus permitting direct sea access for freighters to the factory docks. The plant itself is located on a relatively flat peninsula and the community stretches itself about on the rolling, forest-covered mainland near the factory. In the residential area stretching about one-half a mile from the factory live the townspeople, chiefly in small, one-family houses of frame construction and with tile roofs. Most of the workers at the factory live within a half-hour's bus trip from the plant or within a radius of approximately five miles. A little over a mile north of Norvik lies a town center, which will be called Byen, which has a population of 9,000 and is the center for much of the community activity. Further away, about seven miles from the factory, lies the district center with a population of 15,000.

Serving the Norvik community are a large number of small shops which cater to the common household needs for groceries, fish and meat, bakery goods, and dairy products. These shops are specialized, however, each carrying only one kind of product. In addition, there are a few stores carrying electrical and plumbing supplies, a few

small clothing shops, a florist, and photographer. The largest among the stores is owned by the local consumer co-operative association which has an active membership of about one-third of the families in its effective distribution area. This store has newly installed a self-service system, the first in the area, and may attract more customers now because of the timesaving advantages this system affords. In general, however, the small local stores tend to serve the area immediately about them.

There is a local state church and a free church in the community, and an elementary school which serves the district. The high school is located in Byen and a newly instituted vocational school is to be opened in the fall for the district. A sports field and a sports house converted from a wartime barrack are available to the community, and there is easy access to the water for swimming and boating and to the countryside for hiking or strolling. In winter, there are opportunities for skating and skiing. For entertainment, for communal facilities, or for any larger purchases, the neighboring town of Byen offers a great variety of shops and stores, a motion picture theater, occasional "legitimate" theater, restaurants, cafés, a library, gathering and meeting locales, and railroad and bus connections for the whole country.

THE FACTORY

The Norvik factory has been in a continual process of expansion since it was built in 1929. The expansion has been greatest during the past decade and the factory now employs a working force of approximately 3,500 men. The chemical processing operations of the plant require that many of its divisions maintain continuous operation. About 900 of the workers are employed on a three-shift, round-the-clock basis in these divisions, with the shifts alternating every week. Other divisions in the plant have two-shift operations, but the number of workers having this work varies with the production demand and ranges from a minimum of fifty men to a maximum of four hundred. The remaining divisions have a standard

8½-hour weekday and a 5½-hour workday on Saturday, making a 48-hour work week.¹ Shift work is compulsory for all workers, although older workers and those who must be shown special consideration because of their physical condition are generally exempted. Employment is stable and the employees are generally satisfied with their work. With the exception of some temporary replacement workers during the summer vacation period, turnover is very low, well under one per cent of those employed per month even including these temporary replacements. The average age of the workers is forty years. The average length of service is nine years, which is relatively low because of the weighting effect of the large number of new workers added during the last few years.

The average worker's wage is now approximately 10,000 Norwegian crowns per year. Wages, however, are regulated by the government cost-of-living index. The wages paid to the workers have deductions made for taxes, for a company pension fund, and for health and unemployment insurance. If the worker desires, he can have further deductions made to cover house rent, interest and amortization payments on his home building loan, electricity expenses, or any of a variety of other expenses. Taxes vary according to income and the number of dependents, and cover the past year's income. The pension fund contribution is two crowns per week. Family health and unemployment insurance amounts to nearly three crowns per week and is part of national and district programs.²

THE HOMES

Of the workers employed at the factory, about 60 per cent live in houses which they own, 32 per cent live in apartments consisting of several rooms, a little over 2 per cent in a rented room or in some barracks from the war years, and about 6 per cent with their parents or relatives as members of the family. There are a few company-built houses and some company-built apartments. Houses in the community are almost exclusively of wood frame construction painted in light colors and with tile roofs. They are one and two stories high

with full basement; some of those built on sloping ground utilize the basement for one or more (useable) rooms. Many of the houses are really one and a half stories high in that the second floor is not full sized, but reduced because of the sloping roof. Generally, these semi-loft second floors provide one or two bedrooms, and have been converted into small apartments in some instances because of the housing shortage during and since the last war. For the average family (of between three and four members), living quarters consist of one kitchen and two or three other rooms.

Since the end of the war, the company has helped employees in the housing shortage by lending up to 90 per cent of the cost of new home construction including the purchase of the lot, and gives up to 5,000 crowns as a contribution to amortization payments. At present, the loan is partly shared by the National Housing Bank. The company has had a large number of houses designed for them by architects and makes these plans available to employees without cost. In addition, the company owns eight summer cottages for the use of employees' families during their vacation, gives support to many diverse community activities, awards scholarships for further study, and finances sports activities both within the company and those of the community.³

In their style and accommodation, the workers' houses vary somewhat according to the period in which the house was built. Those built at the same time that the factory was constructed consist of a living room, a small bedroom, dining room, kitchen, and entrance hall on the first floor, with space for two bedrooms on the semi-loft second floor. Often the second floor was converted into a small apartment to be rented out at first to help bear the costs of the house, and was later taken over when the children had grown up. There were neither bath nor toilet facilities in these houses and often no running water. All have running water now, and most have built-in toilets. The men have opportunity to take showers at the plant before they leave work and these plant facilities are made available to the local community at certain times during the week. Hot water in these

older houses is obtained from a large water kettle kept warm at all times on the electric stove. The house is heated by stoves located in the larger rooms, which burn either coal, coke, or wood, depending on what is available.

In the newer houses, the tendency is to combine the living room and the dining room in one large living area which, with the kitchen, bath, and one or two bedrooms, constitutes the first floor. The second floor consists of a loft area which may be made into bedrooms. Some few houses have been built for multiple family use. Newer houses are equipped with full toilet and bath facilities, usually with a shower and provision for a tub later. They generally have electric hot water heaters, although house heating is still provided by stoves located in the larger rooms burning coal, coke, or wood. The housing standard is high and would correspond to that of a much higher income group in a larger city. Every house has a yard with small vegetable and flower gardens and a few fruit trees.

Most homes have full dining and living room furniture suites and ceiling lighting fixtures or chandeliers in both of these rooms. Dining room suites consist of a table with four or more chairs and buffet, living room suites of a sofa with two chairs. There is a coffee table in front of the sofa and some bookshelves in the living room with a number of books. These often include collections of the complete works of the more famous Norwegian authors, some reference books (possibly one of the many popular encyclopedia sets), the works of some of the novelists of labor and social problems (such as Gorki and Upton Sinclair in translation), some labor history or labor organization books and pamphlets, and an assortment of miscellaneous novels. There will be a postwar radio (since all radios were confiscated during the war), and there are flowers in the windows. Older houses often have painted wood-paneled walls, but the newer houses have painted or wallpapered wallboard walls. On the walls, there are family pictures, views of Norwegian scenery, and generally some oil paintings, with perhaps a pair of hanging lamps in the living room area.

Kitchen equipment usually consists of an electric stove and oven, where a large container of hot water stands ready for use in those homes without hot water heaters. The postwar houses have more typically modern sink and cupboard arrangements and hot water heaters. There are no refrigerators in ordinary use, and food is either kept in a compartment with ventilation ports or in the basement. There are a table and stools in the kitchen for eating most of the meals, excepting possibly dinner. There are few if any washing machines in use and the washing procedure generally involves boiling the clothes on a wood-burning cooker, which is located in the basement together with washtubs and a linen-rolling machine. There is also a range of home tools and ladders in the basement inasmuch as most repair work and maintenance are done by the family itself.

THE FAMILY STRUCTURE AND HOUSEHOLD LIFE

The family unit at Norvik (consisting of mother, father, and the unmarried children) numbers usually three or four persons. The postwar housing shortage has to a slight degree changed this in that young married couples sometimes have been forced to live at home with their parents. In most cases, however, it has been possible to remodel the house so that a small-sized apartment of one or two rooms with kitchen could be built, thus giving the new family unit a largely independent status except in the use of a few common facilities such as the laundry or possibly the toilet.

Within the family unit, the husband's position is foremost, though his role is far from typically patriarchal. Decisions are generally arrived at through mutual discussion and consent, with the wife perhaps having more influence in decisions pertaining to the home and younger children, and the husband with regard to the business side of family activity and longer range policy decisions. Children have an increasing opportunity to participate in family discussions and decisions as they grow older. They have a great freedom in determining their own activities and future after adolescence.

Parents may be much interested in their children's future, but they do little more than suggest and discuss; the ultimate decision rests in the son's or daughter's own hands.

The man of the house largely determines the family timetable. Dinner is on the table and waiting for him when he returns from work, although shift routine can alter this in that dinner can be served either directly before going to work or after returning. With workers in the three-shift division, however, the weekly shift change makes a normal, regular eating pattern difficult, and, as a result, the family is not always together for the dinner or perhaps for the other mealtimes. Children can be at school or unaccustomed or unwilling to change eating habits so often, and, in the case of older children who work, their working hours may conflict with those of their father. The wife, however, prepares and is present at all of the various meals.

There is a rather sharp general division of labor within the family; the wife takes care of food, clothing, housekeeping, and the children, and the husband takes care of home repairs, work in the yard, wood for the stoves in the winter, and other handiwork about the house. This pattern can be altered in the event of illness or accident. If the wife is ill, the husband may help with some of the housework and perhaps even scrub the floors. With younger couples, however, this division of labor is a little less rigid.⁴ Some of the older wives noted with interest that they had seen young fathers out with the baby on Sunday mornings while the wife was home tending to housework. This, they noted, would never have happened when they were young.

Husband and wife get along well together; marriages are stable with little infidelity and few divorces. But together with a division of labor in the family, there is a difference of areas of interest as well. Recreation and outside activities are largely different for husband and wife. Women and men as groups have more in common in many activities than as a participating couple. The possible exception here is in Labor party activities where some women do achieve a somewhat equivalent standing with the men.

Family activities, however, are common events. Sunday in particular is a day of family activity. The family as a unit will go on a hike or tour, bringing along a light lunch and cook coffee outdoors. Summer vacations and other holiday celebrations are likewise family oriented occasions.⁵ Children participate in such activities until adolescence, at which time they tend to be together more with age-mates. As the children grow up, inter-couple visits increase with the pattern of hospitality including either after-dinner coffee with cookies and cake or an open-faced sandwich supper.

FAMILY ALLOWANCES

It is customary for the husband to give his wife approximately half of the weekly wage, about eighty crowns, to cover running household expenses. Most of this household allowance is required for food and other current essentials, but there is some left over to provide a working leeway. Needs above and beyond this allowance are either requested from the husband or in some instances taken directly from the pay envelope which is set aside somewhere in the house, readily accessible when required. A few husbands give their wives their entire weekly pay envelope, but those men are exceptions and considered by other wives to be rather henpecked. With some of the older couples, whose children have grown up and who are less "pinched" financially, it is not unusual for the greater part of the wage to be set aside for access by both husband and wife as required, without further accounting or justification.

Few families keep records of their expenses. Some have tried for a short period but have never been able to follow through for any length of time. Others say that they "know" their regular expenses and can hold themselves within a rough expenditure range by knowing what they generally use and the price of the individual items. Larger purchases are made in accord with the family feeling with regard to credit purchases. Older families in general regard debt as "the worst thing that one can have," except in the case of a house

loan, and will therefore plan larger purchases in advance and save for them accordingly. Many of the younger families may purchase on credit a number of larger items such as furniture, electric stove, a bicycle, or even book sets, and pay for them in subsequent weekly installments.

A number of things are often made at home in order to reduce expenditures. Most mothers sew all the clothes for the children because of the high cost of such clothing. In addition, they sew most of their own clothes, and some may even sew work-shirts for their husbands. The majority of those who bake bread do it because it is cheaper than purchased bread. There are a few housewives who have outside jobs, either full or part time; but they are generally not mothers, for children require full-time care and attention at home.

Although some families can manage to pay for insurance, and a few even carry policies for their children, little saving seems possible. Family needs or wants greatly exceed the limited weekly wage. Families are limited financially in what they might like to do in and about the house and in the garden. Many expense items are highly elastic and are generally adjusted according to the family's means. Food costs, for example, depend on the items chosen for the menu. Good, healthful, and nourishing food can be purchased relatively cheaply, and the economical menu will include more fish and margarine, with fruits and vegetables only when in season. A more expensive menu will be richer in meats, will perhaps provide butter instead of margarine for table use, and will include fruits and vegetables the year round. That the food standard is adequate and the diet balanced is indicated by the routine medical examinations of pupils at the local elementary school. During many years of such examinations, no serious diseases or nourishment deficiencies have been uncovered and there is a very high standard of general health among the children. The use of alcoholic beverages by the family is extremely limited, is found only in those families less "pinched" financially, and is limited to a few holiday celebrations and perhaps an occasional party.

Housing, too, is an extremely variable expense item and is often critical in determining the family financial balance. Those living in older houses or renting apartments in them have appreciably lower expenses than those living in buildings built after the war. Interest and amortization payments are low because debts incurred in pre-war crowns are now being paid off with a more inflated currency. Furthermore, during the war period with few consumer commodities available for purchase, home loans could be greatly reduced. Those living in newer houses, however, will often rent out a small apartment if possible, or a room or rooms in order to help cover the expense. In some of the new houses, a room originally designed as a storeroom in a side wing can be rented out. The initial cost of the newer houses can be reduced by the owner's own labor, consisting chiefly of the manual labor of clearing the foundation and basement area, digging sewer and water connection ditches, and a varying amount of construction work in the house itself depending on the time available and the skill of the owner. Such work generally contributes substantially to the 10 per cent contribution that the owner must make to the cost of his house in addition to the 90 per cent loan obtained from the company and the National Housing Bank.

Families with children of school age and living in a postwar house have the greatest difficulties financially, despite a state children's allotment of 180 crowns per child per year after the first child, reductions in income taxation depending on the size of the family, and a comprehensive social insurance covering medical and dental care for children at practically no cost. The financial pressure on such a family with three school-age children may be such that it will require several years of careful saving for the husband to buy himself a new suit, and clothes purchases for the children must always be carefully planned in advance and "staggered."

The weekly budget shown in Table 3 is that of a worker's family (1950) with two school-age children living in a postwar house but without any additional income either from work outside of factory hours or from renting out one or more rooms in the house. The

TABLE 3

WEEKLY BUDGET OF A WORKER'S FAMILY AT NORVIK
(WITH TWO SCHOOL AGE CHILDREN)

Gross wage		Kr.195
less: Income tax	28	
Pension fund contribution	2	
Health and unemployment		
insurances	3	
	—	
	33	
Net weekly wage		Kr.162
plus: State child allowance		3
		—
Total net weekly income		Kr.165
Regular expense items:		
Food and general household items	65	
Home interest and amortization	25	
Fuel (year-round average)	5	
Electricity	5	
Union dues	3	
Transportation	3	
Water	1	
	—	Kr.107
Variable expense items:		
Clothing and textiles	25	
Time payment purchases	15	
Tobacco	5	
Entertainment	5	
Newspapers and magazines	3	
Miscellaneous	5	
	—	Kr.58
		—
		Kr.165

figures are given in Norwegian crowns and not in their dollar equivalents because the real purchasing equivalents of the crown vary greatly with individual expense items. At the time of writing, however, the official exchange rate was about 7.15 crowns per dollar.

In 1957, Norwegian average families spent 30.1 per cent of their income on food, less than in any other west European country, according to the Organization for European Economic Cooperation.⁶ The present family spent 39 per cent, with an income probably slightly below the average for electrochemical workers.

LIFE CYCLE

Today it is an exception for a child to be born at home although this was more the rule a generation ago. The mother now is at the hospital for ten days for the first delivery and generally seven days for later children. Breast feeding is on the decline and in many cases there is an insufficiency of mother's milk. Swaddling is not practiced. Toilet training varies, depending on the time available and the attention given to it by the mother, the age varying from the first to the third year with the average somewhat over two years of age.

The first years of a child's life are marked by care, concern, and love not only from the mother and the immediate family alone but from others in the community. People seem child-oriented and considerate of children. The child generally accompanies his mother on errands and otherwise during the first few years, though he later is left more to his own devices with regard to playmates and outside activities. There is no special pattern of child discipline and spankings are infrequent. There are no young children's supervised playgrounds or nurseries such as are more common in the larger cities, although there are plans at present for both company and community support for such an undertaking. There are some children who look after the youngest children, however, and often take them for walks in the neighborhood. The company is now working out plans to give temporary house help to young mothers who become ill or are temporarily incapacitated.

At seven years of age, the children begin at the local elementary school and continue there for seven years. During the morning eating recess, the pupils get a version of the Oslo breakfast, including some raw vegetables and fruit when it is available. During these years, an increasing part of the child's out-of-school time may be spent on school work, but otherwise the time is free for play with other children and for sports. There are many opportunities for outdoor life the year round, with boating, swimming, and general outdoor sports in the summer and skating and skiing in the winter. There are few if any home chores for the children during this period. Possibly there are a few errands for the boys and a little help with the dishes and floorwashing for girls, but otherwise the children are left on their own initiative. There is an air of confidence and understanding between parents and children. Soon after they have finished the elementary school, most pupils have a church confirmation which is prepared for by religious instruction once a week for almost half a year. Except for this period of religious instruction, there appears to be little formal contact with the church.

At fourteen to fifteen years of age at the completion of elementary school, the children have the choice of continuing with school or beginning work. Parents in general will encourage further schooling as far as their economic situation permits, but the decision is largely left up to the child himself. Approximately 40 per cent of the students have continued with school, but this figure has been dropping somewhat during the last few years because of an increased desire to get a job and to begin to earn money. Further schooling can be for either three years (*realskole*) or five years (*gymnasium*), the latter involving a moderate tuition fee for the last two years although there are a number of scholarships awarded to cover tuition costs. Most of the students elect the five-year course which carries them somewhat beyond the level of the American high school. This training is chiefly preparatory for higher education, however, although very few of the graduates go to the University or to technical colleges in actual practice. Rather, they will take an office job or possibly take a course in

a local business school. Beginning in 1951, a newly established vocational school was to give a finishing program, after the elementary school, more suitable and practical for the majority of the students. This will probably increase the number of students continuing with school after the seven elementary years and reduce the number continuing with the five-year college preparatory course at the secondary school.

Of those not continuing with school, the boys generally get some type of office or messenger job and the girls will either help out at home, begin as sales help in a store, or possibly take a job as house help in the local area. After a few years, about 10 per cent of the boys will attend a trade school either conducted by one of the factories in the area or at one of the independent state supported trade schools. A few may attend some elementary courses at a business school, or take jobs on ships and go to sea, but the majority begin directly in factory work. Some girls may also take some of the business school courses, but few go to domestic science schools for cooking and household training.

During their free time at this age, the children participate in local sports activities, may have hobbies such as model airplane building, and are out with agemates. The nearby town (Byen) is the center for many of their outside activities, with restaurants, cafés, a motion picture theater with three or four different films a week, occasional drama, a number of clubs and activities, and (at least on Saturdays and Sundays) opportunities for dancing. Movie-going is a regular and frequent habit. Those not continuing with school have more time and money with which to take part in these town activities. Those studying usually have the opportunity only on weekends, for there is a great amount of school homework during the week. From the last year of elementary school and upwards, boys begin going out with girls more frequently. Such meetings can take the form of informal dating, and activities can range from companionship and walks to going to restaurants, movies, or a dance. Those working and thus earning money will generally pay for the girl; those studying

may "go dutch," each paying for himself. During this period, "steadies" can develop which can last for a half year or so. Dancing is a more usual activity after eighteen or nineteen. Sexual license varies, but most boys have had sexual relations before marriage. There has been a relative loosening of moral attitudes and habits in the past years, dating from the war and occupation period.

At the age of nineteen, there was (at the time of the study) compulsory military training for men for a period of one year although this may sometimes be postponed in the case of those continuing with schooling. In general, there is little emigration from the area. Industry has been expanding at Norvik and Byen, and since the war period there has been a shortage of workers. Father and son combinations at the Norvik factory are not uncommon. An older, unmarried child who lives with his family and has a job generally pays his parents twenty-five to thirty crowns a week as his contribution toward board and lodging expenses. Family members as a rule are seldom greatly separated from one another throughout life.

Formal engagement is the normal procedure before marriage and generally takes place during the age range from twenty to twenty-two years for the boys and somewhat younger for the girls. Parents are seldom if ever consulted or asked to give their consent to the engagement, and there is no formal church or family ceremony for betrothal. Engagements almost always last for at least one year, although since the war the housing shortage has tended to stretch them out much longer. During the engagement period, furniture and other household items may be purchased while both partners have jobs and while expenses are comparatively low. Such purchases are considered to be very "sensible."

Almost always the engagement leads to marriage. Most marriages consist of a full church wedding at the girl's local church. There are some civil marriages, but few marriages are celebrated at home. Marriages tend to be stable, with little infidelity and very few divorces in this community. There have been a few cases of non-wedlock children, and, though there was a great deal of talk about it

at the time, the situation is now largely accepted and the mothers are working and supporting their children.

Before the war, the "two-child" system was largely in effect, but since then there has been a tendency for somewhat larger families. The family average, however, is approximately that for ten-year marriages in Norway as a whole, or about two children per family.⁷ Although the economic conditions have improved considerably for a working family in the past few decades and social insurances and family benefits are advantageous, a larger family still entails sacrifices by the parents and rather tight budgeting. Birth control is in common practice, principally through the use of condoms, which are available on a mail-order basis. Sexual knowledge is gained chiefly from contacts with agemates and gangs, with little if any sexual education within the family or in school. A variety of books on sexual education and birth control is readily available, and these books represent an important source of information, especially as the child grows older. Sexual instruction was soon to be introduced in the seventh or last year of the elementary school.

ACTIVITY PATTERNS

The shift-system of work and the steady alternation of the shifts make a stable daily and weekly family schedule difficult for shift workers. The housewife, however, does have a number of things to do which must fall into an orderly time pattern. Daily activities aside from meal-making include a trip to the local dairy outlet for milk and generally to a local shop for the purchase of fish or meat and perhaps some other items for the day's dinner. The number of items purchased on a daily basis may increase especially in the summertime because of the absence of refrigerators. During this period, food for Sunday dinner is often precooked on Saturday or before to assure that it will keep without spoiling. Grocery purchases are limited to one or two times a week and generally take place on Friday. Washing at least some of the floors is a daily task, and most often in the kitchen, hall, and living room. A general housecleaning is reserved

for one day at the end of the week and often includes washing of doors and windows. Washday falls on either Monday or Tuesday and often is almost a two-day operation involving soaking, boiling, and drying the clothes outside, then rolling the linens and ironing the remaining items. A trip to Byen may be made once a week or less frequently for other than routine household purchases.

In general, the housework plan is rather flexible, adjusted to the time available rather than following a strict time or day schedule. The breakfast and dinner hours are determined by the working hours of the husband. He eats breakfast before he goes to work and dinner is waiting on the table for him when he returns. If the children leave for school at a later hour, they will probably eat breakfast later, but the family will generally be together for dinner which takes place sometime after four o'clock for most of the workers. Supper is at about eight in the evening. The radio may be turned on for the eight o'clock weather report and newscast in the morning and is almost always on for either the seven or ten o'clock reports in the evening.

There is always sewing to be done, especially where there are children, and the housewife generally knits for the whole family. In many homes, there is baking of bread in addition to the baking of cakes and cookies. Bread-baking is generally done twice a week, on Tuesdays and Fridays. Preserving is done in the fall as far as available sugar allows. Potatoes and vegetables can be bought up in the late summer and early fall when prices are lowest, and stored in the basement for use during the winter, but this practice is not common.

Very few people attend church on Sunday. Often religion is considered to be "not something to show off." A church service is broadcast every Sunday, but few listen to it. There is compulsory Bible instruction in the elementary school, and a few of the younger children may attend Sunday School. There are a few women who read the Bible every day. In general, though, Sunday is a family day with the family often going out together for a long walk or hike, taking along a picnic lunch and cooking coffee outdoors. In the

summertime, they may go to one of the bathing beaches or go out in the motorboat if the family owns one. Sunday dinner tends to be more elaborate than usual and so too are the cakes and cookies served with the coffee afterwards. The family may occasionally listen to the radio on Sunday evening, or frequently there are visits from friends or relatives which are reciprocated. Monday is often a club or organization evening for the women.

Menus are simple though nourishing. Breakfast and the supper consist essentially of open-faced sandwiches. There are generally two or more of a variety of spreads, cold cuts, cheeses, jam, or jelly. In the morning, sandwiches are served with milk and coffee, and occasionally there is a soft boiled or fried egg (at least every Sunday). At supper time, sandwiches are made again and served with milk or tea. Dinner generally consists of two courses, the main dish and either a soup or a dessert. Fish is more common than meat and sausages, and either the fish or meat is served together with boiled potatoes and perhaps an available vegetable, which is infrequent during the winter months. Vegetable soups are made from a prepared powdered mix, and desserts are most often puddings, porridge, or a fruit and corn starch compote served with sugar and milk. Coffee and cookies or cake are generally served an hour or so after dinner, the husband often taking a short nap in between while the wife cleans up and does the dishes.

Although parents generally have enough to do in the care of children and in house repairs and household duties, there is a wide range of activities open to them especially during the winter months if they so wish. There is a comparatively low participation in outside activities, however, limited to perhaps an average of one activity each for husband and wife. The trade union is actively participated in by relatively few men, although all the workers are members. In the community, there are men's and women's glee clubs, a horn band, sports groups, a local chapter of the Labor party with a special women's section, the co-operative association managing the local co-operative store which has a participation of one-third of the families

in its service area, and a special women's section of the co-operative association. In the cultural field, there is a popular academy meeting every other week during the winter season with lecture and film programs. There are a number of reading circles with each member buying at least one book during the year and circulating the books among the members. Then there are a number of housewives' groups, a Red Cross group, several gymnastic groups for women, bridge clubs, and more informal sewing circles. The women are generally more active than men in organizational life, especially the older women in the social and political activities. Many of the women's groups end their season's activity in the late spring with a day's outing, visit, or bus trip.

Free time home activities for adults may include reading newspapers, magazines, and books; hobbies; or occasionally listening to the radio. There is little sports activity except possibly a little skiing in the winter and swimming in the summer. Many families have a summer cottage by the water or have motorboats. A few have an older model used automobile. On outings, on Sunday walks, and on vacations, the children are generally with their parents until they reach the confirmation age. After that time, they tend to be more together with agemates on the weekends, for holiday celebrations, during the Easter vacation, and for their summer vacation. Christmastime, however, is a family celebration with all members together on Christmas Eve and on Christmas Day. Inter-family visits can vary, but generally take place on the weekends, most often Saturday nights. Motion picture-going is an infrequent activity for most parents, more frequent for the younger couples, but rarely exceeding a maximum of once a week. Vacations are generally spent away from home except possibly during the Easter vacation. During the vacations, the family are usually at their summer cottage if they own one, or at one belonging to a friend or relative. Those not having a summer cottage will often go "home" to their families living out in the country where they can live with little or no cost. Older children are usually away for a bicycle or camping trip in the summer and go

skiing with agemates at Eastertime. These trips with adolescent agemates are usually in groups which can number as many as eight and are without adults in the party.

As the children grow up, the parents' time can increasingly be spent in activities, clubs, hobbies, or other leisure time pursuits. The parents keep close contact with the children after they are married and often help out in many little ways during the initial financial difficulties. If grandparents live locally, they are often called on to mind the baby or small children, and buy toys, candy, and other things for the children that the budget would not otherwise allow. Grandparents who have worked at the Norvik plant most often live in their own homes at Norvik. Otherwise, grandparents live on the family farm in the surrounding area.

The retirement age at the factory is sixty-five years, although in a period of labor shortage they may in practice stay on until sixty-eight years. The company pension is granted after fifteen years of employment and the amount increases proportionately with the number of years of employment up to twenty-five, at which time the full pension of 3,600 crowns per year is paid. This pension, however, is adjusted to the cost-of-living index. The pension actually includes the national pension allotment which is supplemented by the company's pension program. If the couple have been able to pay for their home during the working years, the pension is sufficient for them to live on, but, if they have been renting or have no regular place to live, it may be considerably more difficult.

Burial is in the family plot in a church graveyard. Cremation is infrequent although it is increasing somewhat in the past years. The nearest crematorium lies in the county center.

¹ A Gallup poll (September 9, 1950) gave Norwegian choices as between more wages and shorter working-time. Note that the lower economic group tends to prefer wages to shorter hours:

	Total	Women	Men	Upper Incomes	Lower Incomes	City	Country
Prefer more wages	64	61	67	58	68	62	65
Prefer shorter time	21	20	22	27	18	25	19
Other	2	2	2	2	2	1	3
Don't know	13	17	9	131	2	12	13

² About 4,000 industrial pension plans provide a total of Kr. 850,000,000 in pension insurance for 110,000 Norwegian workers and their families.—*News of Norway*, XV (February 20, 1958).

³ As in the matters of housing and pensions, corporation paternalism here takes precedence of township provision or other governmental aid.—Eds.

⁴ In a Gallup poll (April 2, 1949), 31 per cent of wives say that the husband helps regularly with the housework; 40 per cent say he helps now and then; and 23 per cent say he does *not*. Of the husbands, 28 per cent admit they help regularly, 43 per cent claim "now and then," 29 per cent "do not." But of those under thirty-five years, 42 per cent do help, and 36 per cent in the cities.—Eds.

⁵ The Gallup poll cited above (September 9, 1950) indicated that, if Norway's workers *were* given shorter work time, 53 per cent would prefer a shorter work week rather than a longer vacation, and that the preferred month for vacation is July. But 29 per cent of the industrial workers have no vacations—as against 62 per cent of the self-employed and 71 per cent of the farmers.

There is a considerable array of camps for working class family vacations, which are provided by the popular organization known as *Folkehjelp* (see Chapter XV).—Eds.

⁶ *News of Norway*, XV (February 20, 1958). Average proportion for food in Norway's wage-earning families, 1958, is now about one third. *News of Norway*, XVI (September 24, 1959).—Eds.

⁷ Cf. *Statistisk Årbok for Norge 1957*, p. 16.—Eds.

VII

Middle and Upper-Class Homes¹

WERE there sharper differences between Norwegian and American cultures, this report would have been less difficult to write. Or, if all Norwegian families were alike. Having been appreciative guests in some fifty homes from Aust-Agder to Vesterålen would seem to qualify us, as "participant observers," to describe Norwegian middle and upper-class households.² Yet we were aware that the homes of even one "class" differ widely.

Our description is based on direct observations of homes of the following:

Southeast coast: An editor, two physicians, a dentist, a forest supervisor, a mill engineer, a school principal.

Oslo and environs: Three professors, a widow in a prominent family, two well-known physicians, a retired cabinet member, a prominent engineer, a foreign office employee, a writer with wife in civil service, two prominent clergymen (parsonages), a self-supporting widow, a director of a service school, a psychologist with teacher wife, an aviation company employee, a retired music teacher, an unmarried school principal, an educational psychologist, a fund secretary with wife in profession, an actuary, a chaplain with wife a public official, a widow of a diplomat, a retired banker, a retired insurance broker, a journalist, a school teacher, a principal.

Eastern Norway: Two gentlemen-farmers (diversified production), a district sheriff, a prominent clergyman (parsonage), a middle-class widow with lodgers, a principal of a school, a folk high school teacher.

West coast: A retired secondary school principal, a secondary school teacher, an editor, a Quaker widow, a woman physician, a widow with lodgers, a folk high school principal.

Northern Norway: Owner of a whale station, two owners of fishing industries, a lumberyard owner, a shipping manager, a parish pastor, a general store proprietor, three fishing industry managers, an electrical engineer, a military commandant.

For the dozen homes where we visited as house guests (from one night to forty), the channels of introductory "contact" were various: to thank, we have (directly and indirectly) (1) a former secretary and her Norwegian friends, (2) the Experiment in International Living, (3) the Quakers and the Woodbrook Reunion, (4) the American Summer School at Oslo University, (5) Bishop Kristian Schjelderup, (6) a settlement-workers' conference, (7) a Winnetka friend.

In the matter of approachability, middle and upper-class homes in Norway seem far more open and accessible to new friends than (by reputation) those of, for example, Switzerland, France, or even Sweden. If persons you meet in professional relations happen to like you, they may shortly ask you to their homes socially. No large percentage of those we met invited us, but enough so that before we left Oslo we had more invitations than we could afford to accept. The welcomes received may have been accentuated by our being foreign visitors, but there were hundreds of Americans, and several reported to us similar experiences and feelings.³

In several homes, we visited as household members. Our proposal was to ask for families where there was a wish for inter-cultural understanding. We stated: that we had enough Norwegian to help their English if they had enough English to help us in our poor Norwegian; that we wished to share the family's regular routine and do our share of the household duties; that, if treated as conventional guests at a higher standard of living, we would not be experiencing what we wished, viz., Norwegians' own ways of life at home. At six such homes, we first met the family as strangers, save for the initial introduction and correspondence.

To educated Americans reared in a subculture at second or third remove from New England, the "atmosphere" of these homes was immediately congenial. There is a warmth and directness like that of

one's own friends of all kinds in America; one feels spiritually at home. In nearly every case, we felt that we wanted to see more of our new friends, that the friendship was personal, loyal, durable; they seemed to reciprocate our feelings. We feel that such channels of confidence and understanding are an intangible but priceless pay-off of the Fulbright Act program of travel grants. The tastes, values, and standards encountered even in simple homes were such as exponents of the best in American family traditions would feel that they themselves want to represent, or to defend against current threats. High among such family-borne values are sincerity, personal integrity, loyalty and liberty, family and communal responsibility, honor in public service, and welcoming hospitality. In several cases, we are proud and happy to have been able to return the hospitality.

T. D. E. and J. D. E.

THE HOMES

The reader is probably aware that the picturesque log dwellings featured in tourist publicity are seldom built nowadays even in rural areas, and certainly not by or for middle-class Norwegians, to whom they look as sentimentally quaint as they do to American travelers. Most middle and upper-class Norwegians live in villas (i.e., separate homes or two-family dwellings) or in apartments of urban type. The former were largely built before the recent shortages of housing, labor, and materials. They would seem ample in roominess except for postwar conditions which obliged many families to "double-up" or to split a house with married children. Upper-class families who had moved from villas to apartments seemed crowded with heirlooms.

Architecture is plain, though of considerable variety. There are many similarities and a few characteristic forms, such, for example, as the centered, two-story porch in rural villas. There is perhaps less outright ugliness or bad taste than in the United States. The newer dwellings and apartment houses are in the modern styles which we owe largely to Scandinavian designers.

Middle and upper-class homes ranged from the extremely rare

mansions of fifteen or more rooms⁴ to three-room apartments with kitchenette, in which the living room could obviously do double duty as a bedroom.⁵ Most people in Oslo live in apartments, and many of the older streets seem drab and bleak. The middle-class apartments are, however, for the most part, well groomed inside and well furnished, except for a shortage of such gadgets as were affected by import restrictions (refrigerators, etc.). Comforts and décor, whether Victorian or modern, are much like their opposite numbers in the American middle class, with fewer observed cases of what to us seem crude tastes, and with less of deliberate ostentatious luxury. In the main, the dwellings are attractive but solid.

A sample of 156 folk high school students was asked a series of questions about their families of orientation. We grouped all these families by certain "class" criteria, such as family income, family property, size of home, occupation of father. The total sample represented a cross section of all but the topmost and lowest strata, from many parts of Norway. If one lumps the twenty-one folk high school responses from the "upper" levels of the class scale and compares them with seventy-two from the "lower," one finds 62 per cent of the "upper" (as against 12.5 per cent of the "lower") class families possessing a *hytte* or summer cabin.⁶ (Two-thirds of these "lower" families were from rural areas.) However, possession of a *hytte* was itself one of the factors used in rating the class levels of these students. Two upper-level families had two cottages apiece. Cross-visiting at others' summer cabins is frequent.

Stability of residence has been affected by the housing shortage. In our sample of students' responses, seven (33.3 per cent) of the top four classes had lived in the same house all their lives, two more for sixteen years to twenty years, and altogether fifteen (71.5 per cent) had lived in one house for at least five years. These facts are compared with 50 per cent of the lower classes for lifetime residence, plus 6.9 per cent over sixteen years; altogether 84.7 per cent over five years—mostly rural. Urban middle-class homes were thus found to be more mobile.

MIDDLE-CLASS STANDARDS, CONSUMPTION HABITS, AND LUXURIES

The total impression of the middle-class way of life is that of solid comfort, neat simplicity, and contentment. Even among wealthy homes, there were few where anything that might be called honorific display was conspicuous. Many durable consumption goods are so similar to those of the United States that an American feels "at home" at once in a middle or upper-class Norwegian household. A few characteristic culture traits may be noted by an American visitor.

Oil paintings of varying quality, often the work of "amateurs," are everywhere in middle-class homes; even working men's homes often have a few. Obviously, paintings are a part of the middle-class standard of living, and betoken a wide market for the artists but not fancy prices. The custom may also have been accentuated by the Nazi Occupation, when many felt thrown back upon inner cultural values, expressed in arts, literature, and religion. Import and product restrictions prevented expenditures for other luxury objects that would have been bought. The artistic subjects reveal love of native scenery, but also, in sophisticated households, a flair for the modern and abstract. Often, a comment elicits the remark that a particular painting was done by some family member or relative. Occasionally crude, seldom outstanding, the paintings, whether or not "modern," are usually attractive, well placed, "good to live with," and better than most paintings noted in the "art stores."

Norwegian homes go in for window boxes; long days grow flowers rapidly in the short summers.

Books are in evidence in most middle and upper-class homes. This is natural for professional people, but it was true even in some of the businessmen's homes. The Norwegians are a reading people: an incredible number of book stores and study circles seem to thrive.

Another widespread trait observed is a grouping of ancestral portraits and family photographs on a panel of the wall in some part of the living quarters. This is perhaps a recent style, superseding generations of and with the "family album."

In the matter of clothing, there are, of course, economic differentials in quality and quantity, which appear especially on ceremonial occasions.⁷ But one seldom sees conspicuously expensive clothing worn: Norwegians, if well-to-do, seem to enjoy not showing off their wealth in public. In Hambro's studies of adolescents' worries, there was no significant percentage of pupils in any social-economic class who reported worries over clothes.⁸

For their personal needs, Norwegian wives usually receive money from their husbands when and as needed. There is little use of joint or separate bank accounts or regular monthly allowances, though more (18 per cent) in the income groups above \$1,000 than below that level (10 per cent). The husband seldom asks the wife how the money was used.⁹ Whether an "allowance" for the wife is to be considered equalitarian or dependent might be questioned. Be that as it may, it is not frequent in Norway, if the students' families in our sample are indicative (21 per cent of the total sample). The practice is more common in "upper" class families than in "lower" class families.

It is a familiar principle of rising standards and planes of living that margins of income not committed to such staples as are required for class-status maintenance tend, on the upper-middle and upper-class level, to be used (if spent) on an increasingly wide range of goods and services emerging from urbanization, and from the opportunities for individualization of tastes as incomes rise. This principle seemed to be operative in Norway. We observed a great variety of special objects representing particular wants and needs. As examples: an array of ceremonial objects commemorating special occasions in the family history, a library, a Finnish bath, a formal dinner service, imported bric-a-brac, a modernized kitchen or bathroom, a separate coffee room, a corner fireplace (old Norse style), handsome rugs, outstanding paintings, an automobile. With few exceptions, these "plus" items might severally have been duplicated in certain American homes; but most middle-class American homes contain a mass of miscellany which one does not see in Norway; and many of the items

mentioned are considered in Norway's middle class as definitely costly luxuries.

As for the savings item in family standards, social insurance and taxes reduce them for the lower classes, while for the middle classes, taxes reduce savings but social insurances probably serve to free some income and some savings, which purchase-restrictions then divert into investments. Currency restrictions tend to limit such investments to Norwegian enterprises.

BUDGETS AND DIVISION OF LABOR

The authors made no attempt to collect information on middle-class and upper-class family budgets. Only recently (1952-53) has Norway's Central Statistical Bureau¹⁰ studied the consumption accounts of seventy-four upper-level urban employees (managerial and bureaucratic). All but nine of these families had incomes over Kr. 15,000 and under Kr. 30,000 (average, Kr. 21,506). Wives' jobs provided only 2.4 per cent of the combined income, social insurance benefits only 1.4 per cent. Expenditures averaged as follows:

Food—23.5 per cent. (Lowest income group, 30.9 per cent; highest, 19.6 per cent, but varying directly with number of children. National average, 1957, 30.1 per cent.)

Housing—12.2 per cent.

Furniture and house maintenance—1.3 per cent.
10.5 per cent.

Clothing—12.1 per cent. (Lowest income group, 14.9 per cent; highest, 9.8 per cent, but varying directly with number of children.)

Travel—9.1 per cent. (Varying directly with income, 6.7 per cent to 14.9 per cent.)

Beverages and Tobacco—1.5 per cent.

Gifts—3.0 per cent.

Recreation—2.8 per cent.

} Approximately the same for families of all income levels and sizes.

Organization and insurance dues—1.9 per cent.

Sundries—8.5 per cent. (Including periodicals, education, personal care, health, telephone, postage and telegrams, vacations.)

Taxes—13.1 per cent. (Lowest incomes, 7.6 per cent; highest, 15.3 per cent; childless, 13.3 per cent; three or more, 12.3 per cent.)

If we assume that practically all households cook and sew or knit, we may consider that homes from which more than three productive or creative activities are reported are largely diversified homesteads. Of the students from seventy-two "lowest" levels twenty-two or 30.1 per cent report five or more such activities. From the twenty-one reports of the "highest" level families (mostly urban), only three (14.7 per cent) showed homes with more than five such activities. One of these was rural. Ten prepared their own food, including baking in nine. There was sewing in eight homes, music in four, writing for publication in three, gardening in three, farming in four. Most middle-class and upper-class families do their productive and creative work as employees *outside* the home, and purchase all goods and services.

Large estates (*storgårder*) in Norway usually have diversified production: logging, gardens, hay, potatoes, fruit, dairy, meat, cheese, egg and poultry production, besides cooking, curing, and storing. Such an estate as we visited for two weeks has many long-time employees (who in the nineteenth century would have been "cotters") settled on the place in separate, "rented" cottages; often a manager, housekeeper, and house servants. The latter live in the main house or a connected wing. This *storgård*—comprising some 250 diversely cultivated acres, 150 acres of pasture, 500 acres of forest, a herd of cows, sheep, hogs, poultry, and a dozen out-buildings—provided a challenging task of administration for its owner and heir.¹¹

The scarcity of domestic help, and its legally regulated wages,

vacations, and other conditions, are such that, except in very well-to-do homes, wives do "their own work," or most of it, and in a few middle-class homes the husband helps with housework either regularly or in emergencies. (See also Chapter IX.)

Barnevakt (baby sitting) is provided by women available (at least in Oslo) through a municipal registry under specified reciprocally responsible conditions. This enables the parents who can afford it to "step out" with or to friends for public occasions, organization meetings, or amusements. *Barnevakt* supervision is under the Child Welfare Committees.

Park Tantene (park aunties) are also utilized by middle-class families in Oslo. These are also untrained but reliable and publicly licensed women (of varied degrees of skill), who collect each a group of preschool children from a neighborhood and for a small sum care for them at some nearby park, where sandboxes and simple apparatus are supplied. Each child comes with a little red knapsack containing a snack, a change of underwear, a housekey, etc., and is returned to the neighborhood rendezvous at 2 P.M.—an hour which usually excludes the working class (employed women) from utilizing the *park tante* system.

Public health nurses and *housemother-substitutes*, where available, are theoretically accessible to the whole population, but middle-class people seldom utilize them except perhaps in an emergency. On the other hand, even conservatives, who fuss over the taxes or economic restraints imposed by a social-democratic régime, seem to have no hesitation in accepting social security benefits for their own families, such as medical care insurance and child allowances (cf. Chapters XV, XVI, XXI).

FAMILIES' ROUTINES AND CALENDAR

Middle-class families' daily regimens are both cause and effect of the larger routines of economic organization. Dominant is *middag* (which means the main meal rather than the noon hour); but it occurs anywhere from 1 P.M. (in some parts of Norway) to 8 P.M.

for certain formal occasions. In the latter case, however, it replaces *aftens*, the evening supper, and is probably preceded by a light meal at the usual *middag* hour. In Oslo, *middag* is usually somewhere between 4 and 6 P.M., possibly followed by a nap for the husband. (Three-thirty is the rush hour on the streetcars and buses, and only shopping can be done thereafter.) After-dinner coffee, with or without drinks, is served in an alcove or separate room, some time after an interval from *middag*; and *aftens* falls between 6:30 and 8:30. (These hours vary, however, from family to family so that it is apt to be socially embarrassing for foreign acquaintances to attempt residence calls between 3 and 8 P.M. Some families dispense with the separate after-dinner coffee hour and have coffee with an earlier *aftens*. Most families listen regularly to the 10 P.M. radio weather reports, as to a Delphic oracle.

Time between breakfast and *middag* is called *formiddag*, even though it includes the period from noon to 4 P.M.; and *ettermiddag* (after the main meal) runs from 4 P.M. and blends with *kveld* or *aften* (evening) from 7 or 8 P.M. to 11 or 12 P.M., and *natt* (night) from then on to the rising hour—which, in the middle class, is 7 A.M. to 8 A.M. For all, there is a coffee-lunch at home, desk, or snack bar at 10 to 11:30.¹²

It has been said that, at any given hour between 6 A.M. and midnight, some Norwegian families are eating. But each family's routine, and the average diurnal patterns, seem fairly steady.¹³

Guests for most Norwegian families are a major form of recreation, and Norwegian hospitality is famous. The generosity of meals for guests may represent some sacrifice in the intervals, at least in respect to generally scarce commodities; but the occasion itself is a luxury which the family as such obviously enjoys for itself and is glad of. There is less of formality, or at least of formal reserve for non-family guests, than is often found in Sweden. For some more or less formal occasions, there are indeed some bits of ritual, but once learned they do not feel too formal; their smooth performance with light variations is a sincere pleasure to all concerned.¹⁴ Middle-class

families use liquor sparingly, ceremonially, for holidays and guests. Upper-class families, able to afford it, may also have it daily at after-dinner coffee and with or after dinner, but glasses are not refilled unless for guests.

Holidays and vacations mean quite as much to the higher class families as to other Norwegians. While upper-class families may tour on the continent, middle-class families go to their summer cottages (*hytter*) in the mountains, lakes, or fjords. As with us, the mother and children may have the whole summer while the father has two or three weeks plus weekends. (Travel fares, especially for vacations and for children, are relatively cheap in Norway.) And (except for some children's camps) vacations are not often an opportunity for a parent to escape from the family. Rather, vacations are taken by the family *as* a family. Vacations and holidays are family affairs; they are planned for, and nothing interferes. *På ferie* ("on vacation") is a clear alibi for any delay. It is simple and final: rarely does one take along, or expect others to take along, any task from the city when on vacation. Seldom does one postpone or break into a vacation to fulfill a prior obligation. The rhythm of the year is the pulse of holiday seasons, of high points of family ritual, reunion, and hospitality. Where we have one day, Norwegian families have several for certain holidays: Easter, for example, providing a continuum of social ritual from Thursday through Monday.

A Gallup poll (December 30, 1950) showed that 89 per cent had their Christmas "at home," with no significant variations from class to class or by areas, age, or sex. Responses from secondary school pupils corroborate this poll: all but two families celebrated Christmas together. As family festivals, birthdays are second only to Christmas: 90 per cent of the "upper-class," as against 80 per cent of the "lower-class" students reported them as occasions for family reunions.

Only two-thirds of our higher class student group celebrated Easter *en famille*, as against 80.1 per cent of the "lower-class" group. Many families make an Easter trip to their *hytte*. Norway's Independence Day (May 17) was a family festival for one-half the upper

group, two-thirds of the lowest groups. Summer vacations, on the other hand, were family shared by 40.6 per cent upper, 23.6 per cent lower families. Here, money and possession of a *hytte* would affect the difference.

Weddings and funerals were family occasions practically as much as Easter: 60 per cent and 70 per cent on the upper level against 72.2 per cent and 70 per cent on the lower. Confirmation Day, much referred to as a family festival, was named as such by only one of the twenty-one "upper-class" students and by two of the seventy-two "lower-class" group. No upper-class families (and few others), in our sample, celebrated New Year's Day, Midsummer Day, Labor Day, or christenings. But one-half the upper-class families had four or five family festivals per year, as against 36 per cent of the lower seventy-two families.

Relatives share Christmas, birthdays, weddings, and funerals in many families, as in the United States; but this is not so general as is immediate family participation. The differences are also a function of mobility and money. For the "upper-class" families, our reports of relatives' sharing gave 60 per cent for Christmas, 50 per cent for birthdays, 46 per cent for weddings, only 23.7 per cent for funerals. For the "lower class," the percentages were noticeably different—32 per cent for Christmas, 55.6 per cent for birthdays, 57 per cent for weddings, and 61 per cent for funerals.

Even if a family stays in Oslo during the vacation season, it will spend days on the fjord or in the parks, or pedalling or knapsacking in nearby hills. It is a sign of adolescent break-away when the young people take their holidays in peer-groups or pairs, hiking, fishing, boating, skiing, etc.

It should be noted that, while the legal vacation with pay applies to employed farm hands, it does not apply to the self-employed. Urban employers of small concerns may close down entirely for their employees and take their own vacations simultaneously. Owning farmers, however, get no vacations unless they be wealthy enough to hire a manager.

Sunday is a day of leisure, but, for other than the devout, it is not a church day but a secular day of recreation. Often there are guests, or there is a family stroll, ski hike, bicycle trip, or boat ride to beach or cottage.

Even middle-class families who conventionally take their religion by proxy may make a family occasion out of the *rites de passage*: betrothal, marriage, christening, confirmation.

FAMILY FORMATION

Initial contacts leading to courtship in middle- and upper-class families may occur in many ways; for example, skiing, hiking, boating, *hytte* visits, house parties, travel, visits in homes of friends of the same sex where there are brothers and brothers' friends, attendance at secondary and vocational schools, and friendships at the University.¹⁵ Automobiles and commercial recreations are used increasingly for dating in Oslo, but not to anywhere near the extent observable in the United States. Engagement is a more important event for upper than for lower-class families. Sometimes a betrothal is celebrated at an inter-family occasion.

Church weddings in middle and upper-class families have none of the "picturesque" character of folkways traditional, for example, in Hardanger or Vesterålen. The traditions are rather those of urban Lutheranism, with an elaborate church ritual; but home celebrations are similar to those of the United States.

In the 156 families represented in our student questionnaires, we found civil marriages nearly twice as frequent in the upper half of the class scale as in the "lower" levels. Civil marriage is often the recourse of divorced persons, since the church is reluctant to accept divorcés (see Chapter VIII).

FAMILIES' STRUCTURES AND FUNCTIONS

Turning now to middle-class families' functional structure, one finds it similar to the American, subject to such differences as may be

due to differences in legislation (see Chapter VIII). The position and roles of women in general are being discussed in Chapter IX. Here, it is sufficient to say that, in middle-class families, traces of the patriarchal are no more marked but perhaps are more frequent than one can find occasionally in the United States. There is a division of labor similar to that in American families, and this may limit the growth or activity of some able women in ways that give them feelings of frustration. But the equalitarian type of structure, however difficult to attain and maintain, is a popular aim, especially where the women also have paid work or public duties.

The prevalence of equalitarian patterns of control is indicated by the reported administration of family income in our sample of folk high school students' families. Of one hundred and thirty complete families, the cash income was managed by the father in forty-five cases, by the mother in four cases, by both in sixty-two cases and by several members in fifteen cases. But equalitarian control was found in nineteen of the twenty-nine complete "higher-class" families, 65.5 per cent; while of one hundred and eight complete families on the "lower" levels, 52 per cent had equalitarian or distributed control of income.

Decisions seem to be made in as many ways as they are in American families, but tend to be made jointly, as one newspaper column relates:

'As a rule we are agreed,' [said one husband]. 'Often she goes along, but when it comes to a jamb, well, then perhaps it's I who accommodate myself most.' A wife married thirteen years expressed herself: 'As a rule, it turns out to be he who decides, but the food I decide, and even if it can't be a banquet every day with the prices we have, he has to take what he gets. . . . I buy shirts, socks, and small things for him and he is contented with that, but larger things he buys himself, and there, in general, I agree with his taste. The only thing is, I think he is a little too scared of colors—in ties and scarfs, for example. . . . When I'm through in the evening I'm so tired that I go and lie down whether my husband wants to sit up or go to bed, too. . . . I think family affairs are easier every year.'¹⁶

In upper-class families, one notes a bit more of the patriarchal role than in middle-class families. The man's affairs are too serious, pressing, and absorbing to be crossed in any way: the household revolves around his needs, and his wish or definition of a situation is accepted without question. The business may descend to the oldest son, and other sons may be taken care of by life positions in the firm or the headship of its subsidiary enterprises or be trained for jobs in specialties of estate management or production.

Children may be sent to schools in nearby cities where there are superior opportunities for formal education, general culture, and marriageable companionships.

Farm estates of old families are subject to *odelsrett* (allodial inheritance) which gives special status and structured roles to the oldest son in relation to brothers and sisters and in relation to parents at different stages of the family life cycle (see Chapter IV). As *bestefar* and/or *bestemor* (grandparents), the parents retain a claim for support and may be separately housed (*føderåd*).¹⁷ With the lengthening life span, an oldest son may weary of waiting for independence and waive his rights in favor of a younger brother. Old age pensions, however, lighten the burden for all concerned: some get both *føderåd* and state pension.¹⁸

A large estate is a small community, retaining a trace of the traditional squires' *noblesse oblige* on the part of the proprietors, despite modern labor laws and monetary economy.¹⁹ One such *storgaard* had sixteen male employees (including a manager), eight of whom had houses on the place; and four women employees. Such an estate is unusually large for Norway, and is widely known.²⁰ Its owners have high status in the rural commune, and the place itself has some of the communal quality of a baronial manor—modified nowadays by democratic attitudes and by labor legislation. The country gentleman exercises a responsibility for the welfare of this miniature community and for its qualitative and quantitative standards of productivity. He must be acquainted with many skills. At the same time, the family at the manor house maintains a high level of genti-

lity, education, culture, and personal, professional, political, and recreational contacts.

A bureau chief in charge of old age pensions stated that there had been no investigation of whether pensions (1) lead more aged people to continue to live at their own homes or (2) make it easier for more married children to have their aged parents live with them. However, we noted a seeming tendency on the part of parents to maintain their own old homes so long as possible, and it may be assumed that this would be more frequent for middle-class families than for the lower class. Indeed, upper-class parents (like many in other class levels) often housed their married children rather than vice versa during the postwar housing shortage. A journalist discussed such situations:²¹ "It is a rather common phenomenon nowadays that people marry very young. And in this time of housing shortage, they have no places to live other than where they lived before—therefore, with their parents."

[Such mothers were heard "comparing notes" at a party]: 'It goes fine. My daughter and son-in-law have lived with us for five years. At first, my husband didn't like it, but it wasn't long before we were very good friends with our son-in-law. My husband genuinely misses him if he's away in the evening. Many times we go to the theater or movie, all four together.' . . . 'It is easier to have a son-in-law in the house than a daughter-in-law. I've had a daughter-in-law in the house, but it didn't last many months. She was very lively, the young people constantly had a house full of visitors. It was very disturbing for my husband.' . . . 'My daughter lives with her in-laws. The room they use is quite separated, so it ought to go well. . . . His parents are nice, that isn't the trouble, but it seems they have to look in on them constantly. The son doesn't feel it as a constraint, I suppose, but my daughter does. The parents ask regularly, "Where were you yesterday?" "Are you going any place tonight?" and so on.' . . . 'My son . . . wanted to marry and asked if he could live with us. Maybe it seemed mean of me, but I said I just couldn't do it. We have only our two bedrooms and privacy is difficult. . . .'

'It is not easy [remarks the journalist] for . . . a mother to have her son's wife in the house. . . . The son is used to doing what he likes in

his home, telephone when he likes, bathes when he likes . . . in short, the home is *his*. Now comes one more who is to treat the home as *hers*—that's what it amounts to. And it's hardest for those who are older and have always had it as *their* home. . . .'

This journalist ignored the frictions in two-generation households, engendered when grandchildren are being brought up with a freedom which shocks the grandparents.

Middle-class parent-child relations are treated elsewhere in this volume (Chapter X), but, here again, there is in all classes equalitarianism among siblings except for spontaneous differentials of age and temperament. Boys, however, are less "sheltered" at an earlier age than girls.

IMPACTS OF THE OCCUPATION PERIOD

Some families were, of course, sharply hit in one way or another by the war and the Occupation. Our sample of 156 folk high school students' families offers a range of such problems or crises—thirty-five kinds—of which those mentioned oftenest were imprisonment of a family member (21), escape to other lands (15), children matured earlier (13), membership in the quisling organization²² (4), family dismemberment (8), "underground" participation (3), evacuation to rural area (4), house destroyed (3). Of all the problems, however, only imprisonment, earlier social maturity, and escape to other countries showed any noticeably higher frequency in the upper-class levels. A smaller proportion of "upper-class" students than of "lower-class" students report that the war increased their family solidarity. Other middle and upper-class respondents noted effects of the war and postwar periods upon families sometimes combined with the foregoing:

"Father and mother were divorced in court."

"Stayed more at home and got better acquainted with my own and my family's friends."

"Changes in father's business."

"Mother's difficult position as head of the family."

“Nervousness.”

Among families actually met by us, there had been (as war crises): escape to Sweden, escape to England, internment of husband in north Norway, internment of man in concentration camp, home commandeered for German commander. A few home owners who fled Norway had their houses destroyed by the Nazis. Reconstruction grants were 150 per cent of 1940 replacement values. But since there was a *maximum* war-reconstruction grant per home, a few upper-class families took a sharp fall in housing.

A family record of opposition to the Nazis is a badge of honor.

Some “upper-class” industrialists, etc., went “N.S.” (*Nasjonal Samling*, i.e., “quisling”), and formed an isolated in-group, many of them groping for social rehabilitation. In most institutional relationships (school, legal rights, etc.), former quisling families are not officially discriminated against. But there is still some informal discrimination in jobs and social relations, even against children in some cases.

CRITERIA OF SUCCESSFUL FAMILY LIFE

A Norwegian Gallup poll of 1951 reported only 4 per cent of families considered “not happy” or “not very happy” by the respondents; 19 per cent “fairly happy”; 73 per cent, “happy” or “very happy.” There were no important differences between men and women, town and country, or parts of Norway. Between income classes, however, it is noticeable that the middle and upper bracket showed 36 per cent “very happy,” the lower bracket only 24 per cent—the difference being drawn from the “fairly happy” and “not very happy” levels.

The same poll took people’s views as to what *makes* a family “happy”:²³ Items most frequently named were good economic condition (30 per cent) and understanding (23 per cent); but most of the other points, each named by a few per cent only, are such as might be subsumed under a bracket of “understanding and inter-personal relations.”²⁴ Housing and health were named by 7 per cent and

8 per cent respectively. Of middle and upper-class responses, 33 per cent gave economic condition, 9 per cent housing; against lower class, 26 per cent economic and 6 per cent housing. On other points and on other breakdowns of groups, there were no very important differences of opinion.

Our sample of 156 folk high school students were asked to rate criteria for "successful" families. The ratings of the twenty-one highest in "class" level were compared with an equal number from the bottom of our array, by adding their first, second, and third values (giving inverse weights). Between students of "higher" and "lower" classes, there was no substantial difference in rankings, except in respect to health. The relative ratings are shown:

TABLE 4

PREFERENTIAL BALLOT OF TWENTY-ONE "UPPER" AND TWENTY-ONE "LOWER" SOCIAL CLASS PUPILS AT FOLK HIGH SCHOOLS, ETC., ON CRITERIA OF SUCCESSFUL MARRIAGES²⁵

	Class Levels			
	"Higher"		"Lower"	
Loyalty and solidarity	36	. . . . .	22	
Persistence of affection	33	. . . . .	14	
Comfort	13	. . . . .	14	
Health	5	. . . . .	17	
Enrichment of personality	10	. . . . .	9	
Sexual satisfaction	9	. . . . .	10	
Wealth, economic success	5	. . . . .	8	
Social mobility, status	3	. . . . .	4	
Quality of children	3	. . . . .	3	
Number of children	2	. . . . .	1	
No reply	3	. . . . .	4	

These findings seem to indicate (1) a similar scale of value judgments in all classes regarding goals of marriage and family living, with exception of (2) the low votes of "upper-class" students for

family health and wealth as goals. Perhaps upper-class young people have grown up without frustration in these fields, and are less conscious of them as needs. That "higher-class" students put heavier votes on loyalty, solidarity, and persistence of affection than did "lower-class" students is also apparent.

It is noticeable that the responses in the Gallup poll from older persons and from married persons show different ratings and criteria for family success from those of the students, especially on child-bearing, on health, and on wealth. One sees many opportunities for inductive field studies here.

It may be asked at this point, are the "good families" of Norway affectionate and happy? Aside from the poll cited, there seem to be no dependable field studies of such intimate, subjective, and incommensurable facts. It can be assumed that we personally would be unlikely to receive invitations to homes which were under severe tension. For only two was there even hearsay suggestion of any such strain, and, in one, a few inconspicuous symptoms. Loyalty and understanding, division of function, and co-operative attitudes seemed quite a matter of course. The divorce rate for the middle class is low (see Chapter XIII). On the other hand, husband and wife do not often "register affection" by endearing gestures or words when others, even family members, are present.²⁶ A few wives may find their husbands indifferent or too absorbed in their work, but the reverse is probably more frequent. One widower (married for twenty-two years) was about to remarry. He expressed a philosophy of marriage which is typically Norwegian in its restraint and deliberate understatement, "A marriage brings with it both good and evil, like most things in life, but it isn't well to be alone."

VERTICAL SOCIAL MOBILITY

Access to middle-class status is, as in the United States, through moneymaking and through professional or governmental rank. Norway had more university students in ratio to population than

other Scandinavian countries. Matriculation as student carries some prestige. Many families save, sacrifice, and invest in education for their children.

But social security, the equalizing effects of hardships during the war, and the values of leisure seem to have mitigated in some degree the competitive urge to overwork or to indulge in expenditure for honorific display. Hospitality seems direct, not competitive. There is little evidence of social climbing such as is represented in American "society pages." The only widely accepted symbols of "upper-upper" family level seemed to be (1) shipowning, (2) large forest and land ownership through many generations, and (3) ancestry of high appointed officials (*embetsmenn*) or cabinet rank.

Money made in other fields is occasionally invested in ship shares: one becomes thus a "shipowner."²⁷

Family pride is still attached to the possession of a place, an estate or *gaard* which is "theirs," at least as an ancestral rootage, and carries a name. This pride is evidenced in two published works in which the pictures of such estates appear with a brief history of the family and its members' achievements.²⁸ These are the "landed gentry," new and old. Ambitious families may occasionally buy a place in order to feel that they have "arrived," or may buy *back* an ancestral place which had been sold outside the family.²⁹

The professional class has been more than proportionately recruited from urban parentage or ancestry of the "intellectual" occupations, especially of the religious and teaching professions, which had relatively high status even in the century of Swedish suzerainty.³⁰ But increasing economic and educational opportunities have produced professionals in increasing numbers from clerical, trade, industrial, and rural families: the majority of professional graduates no longer come from professional parents.

Over the last one hundred years or so, the professional class has been produced preponderantly by city families of middle or upper class; but the proportion drawn from families of the rural area (upper class) has increased, and the urban upper-class families

which formerly contributed 80 per cent or so of the professionally trained, to the middle class's 13 per cent, contribute now less than 40 per cent to the middle class's 41 per cent. The urban lower-class's production of professionals rose from .8 per cent to 6.3 per cent in a century, and since 1900 it has twice doubled.

The "recruiting of the élite" is well demonstrated by Palmström's figures. The professionally trained still produce a larger fraction of their own ranks than does any other population group, but they "are not a closed population group whose recruitment occurs only from its own membership, but a population group which is increased by mobility from other groups."

Over the century, the families of "intellectuals" have come to produce proportionately less of the professionally trained class than formerly. This is especially true of the clergy, whose contribution has fallen from 24.7 per cent to 2.4 per cent. The difference has been made up from families of the white-collar class, and (to a small extent) from the working class.³¹

The landed gentry blend into the professional, industrial, and shipowning élite, the latter group now being recruited in part from the former, and also purchasing estates of their own as symbols of their independence as founders of families with a name. Estates themselves are known by name and have proud histories of family occupation, valued by their owners whether hereditary or recent.³²

The stresses of social capillarity are shown in a Gallup poll³³ on fathers' ambitions for their sons. Half of those in income groups above \$1,000 wanted them trained for the same work, while two-thirds of the lower class wanted them in a different occupation. Landowners, managers, public employees, and other upper-class groups were much more frequently prepared to give sons the training for the work wished by the fathers than were industrial, clerical, and rural and marine workers, and were prevailing similar to the lower paid occupations in their preference for "brain work" for their sons or in their willingness to let the son choose his own work. Managers and foremen showed preference for technical jobs for their

sons; and almost all of them (92 per cent) were prepared to give them the needed training, as against 64 per cent of craftsmen and of clerical workers and 35 per cent of industrial workers. Of landowning farmers, 37 per cent wish their sons to continue as farmers: 45 per cent think they can afford to train them for this or other preferred work.

In so far as quality of home indicates class levels, about one-third of our folk high school students' families were "on the rise": of eighty-seven who had moved since the student's childhood, 61 per cent claimed to have moved to a "better" home, 18.4 per cent to one of similar quality.

We encountered little snobbery, though it was apparent that, in one urban school district which cut across ecological class lines, it was not always easy to mix in a parent's organization, "upper-class" parents (who were too busy) with "lower-class" parents (both of whom often had jobs). In this neighborhood organization, a Labor party cabinet member's wife once served as chairman.

ELITE FAMILY GROUPS

There is in Norway no hereditary nobility such as persists in Sweden and Denmark, and social classes are open.

One phenomenon of a few upper-class families in Norwegian culture is their relations to each other in public affairs. There are family linkages of influence and responsible leadership which run from generation to generation and interlock in the present social structure. This is in some respects true in many other cultures, whether feudal or plutocratic, but is perhaps accentuated in Norway by the relatively small population (yielding a correspondingly small number of potential élite), by the absence of many large cities, and by the traditional absence of a caste of nobility. Certain families with a proud heritage from the days of the Danish or Swedish officialdom, or from the building of Norway's own governments, industries, or intellectual culture, seem to continue to contribute to Norway's public life and to intermarry—though without pomp and rarely with

any snobbishness. For the most part, their members, even if specialists, show in conversation a level of general cultivation beyond that of most specialists in the United States.

For "lower-class" people, one motive of personal advancement is the hope of being founder of a leading family. Currently, most Norwegian leaders have thus succeeded without the support and prestige of a family tradition. Certain of the leading families have come up rapidly from rural homesteads via education and city migration. Others have been "established" for generations.³⁴ Close personal inter-acquaintance in a democratic nation of small population has doubtless not only led to their occasional relationship by marriage but has reinforced their tradition of integrity, mutual confidence, and public service.

¹ Points weighted for placement in (or above) the "middle-class" were: housing (bath, inside toilet, refrigeration, washing machine, summer cottage); father's occupation (academic, official, managerial, merchandising, artisan); income (over Kr. 10,000 urban, over Kr. 5,000 rural). There is no hereditary "noble" class in Norway. The upper class includes well-to-do capitalists, large landowners and shipowners, and certain families of long and outstanding reputation. In view of the relatively open class system and "democratic spirit" of Norwegian culture, these criteria must be considered very tentative and approximate. Recent studies in the United States, e.g., by S. Stansfeld Sargent, Stanley A. Hetzler, Thomas E. Lasswell, give evidence of what E. A. Ross called *gradation* and the *social circulation of individuals* (*Principles of Sociology* [3rd ed.; New York City: Appleton-Century, 1938], pp. 422-33, 457-68) rather than of close stratification. There is also some claim that artificiality or non-validity characterizes some of the rigid categories of class position or procedures of classification invented or utilized by some recent methodologists of the American "class system." (Cf. Paul Hatt, review of W. L. Warner and Associates, *Democracy in Jonesville* [New York: Harper, 1949] in *American Sociological Review*, XIV [December 1949], 811-12; Thomas E. Lasswell, "A Study of Social Stratification . . .," *American Sociological Review*, XIX [June 1954], 310-13.)

² For critique and corrections, we thank Dr. Ruth Frøyland Nielson and Mag. Cato Hambro; but for the facts and opinions expressed, they should not be held responsible.

³ Sociologists rigidly limited to methods of quantification will doubtless find the impressions here recorded "subjective," "selected," "biased," "untested as to representativeness, reliability, or validity." As sociologists, therefore, they may ignore such materials, but perhaps they may read them as human beings interested in other human beings.

⁴ In one such case, a banker's suburban estate inherited by the oldest son had proved too costly to keep up. Sections were subdivided, leased for the building of villas. The mother occupied a few rooms in one corner of the deteriorated mansion, cousins were in upper corners: apartments could not be found and alterations were too costly.

⁵ Families' structures and functions, being similar to those in the United States, called for much the same assignments of space in Norwegian homes: a receiving lobby, except in some small apartments; a living room, often wide open to the dining room; occasionally a coffee alcove, used also for supper; bedrooms. The picture window is rare, but balconies are frequent.

Some parsonages are rather large, also.

⁶ These are located in the mountains or by the sea.

⁷ It is a recent fashion for women to have a *bunad*, i.e., the expensive but durable and handsome ancestral provincial costume (*nasjonal-drakt*) for festive occasions, even where they can well afford the current commercial modes. Such costumes are always acceptable as "formal," yet they are very practical because native jewelry and a fresh blouse always make them beautiful at a moment's notice. One hears also of exceptional, narcissistic women of wealth, e.g., one who made three or four changes per day.

⁸ Cato Hambro, "Skoleungdommens syn på oppdragelsen: En undersøkelse blant skoleungdom i Oslo i alderen 12-18 år ('Adolescents' View of Their Upbringing: An Inquiry Among Oslo Pupils 12-18 Years of Age)'" (Oslo, Pedagogisk Forskningsinstitutt, 19. (Abstract later published.—Ed.)

⁹ Norsk Gallup poll, July 12, 1947.

¹⁰ *Aktuell Statistikk* (mimeo. release), October 13, 1953: "Forbruksundersøkelse for høyere funksjonærer." Informants procured through *Norges Akademiker Samband*. Central Statistical Bureau reports for a sample of middle-class family budgets (1958) an average of 26.6% for food. The proportion for housing (all classes) was only 10%; the percent for clothing had decreased; that for taxes and security had increased notably. *News of Norway*, XVI (September 24, 1959).

¹¹ The widow who owned has built herself a cottage, and the oldest son, after a year with his wife in the United States (as "trainees"), has taken over the *storgaard* in traditional fashion. Cf. Chapter IV, above.

¹² On a large estate, there were two breakfasts, one at 7:00 for the active management, and one at 9:30 for all; but no morning snack at 11:00.

¹³ The long summer days and long winter nights make these schedules flexible in some areas. Twice we had midnight *aftens*. One learns that north of the Arctic Circle the social life may take place at all hours of the summer nights.

¹⁴ Some customs of urban hospitality are amusingly described for Americans in Philip Boardman's *How to Feel at Home in Norway* (Oslo: Aschehoug, 1949), pp. 56-70; but much of the account seems to apply only to the social drinking set, "entertaining" or "celebrating."

¹⁵ Courtship and youth morals are further discussed in Chapter XI.

¹⁶ "Avgjør han eller hun hvor skapet skal stå?" *Arbeiderbladet*, March 20, 1953. "Hun vet hvor skapet skal stå" ("She knows where the wardrobe is to stand") is a punning proverb meaning "She has a will of her own in *ekteskapet* (the marriage)."

¹⁷ Since rural parsonages provided a farm which descended not to a deceased pastor's family but to his successor, a comparable widow's claim on the parsonage for support was recognized, but can be satisfied in various ways. Cf. also Chapter IV.

¹⁸ Reported from Ringsaker. Cf. also Chapter V.

¹⁹ For example, older employees cannot be used with modern machine equipment, but are employed uneconomically at hand labor rather than discharged.

²⁰ Cf. Axel Johannes Coldevin, *Norske Storgaarder* (Oslo: Aschehoug, 1950), I, 475-

²¹ Cf. Charlotte Kolderup Lund, "Nygifte Som Bor Hos Foreldrene," *Urd*, LIV (July 29, 1950), 495, 504.

²² This fact reduced certain higher-class families to lower-class status.

Stuart Hoyt, recently with the *Milwaukee Journal*, made a study in Norway of former "quisling" families.

²³ Sexual adjustment as such was not listed; the question, after all, concerned family, not marriage.

²⁴ As several points could be named by each respondent, one cannot cumulate these percentages.

²⁵ In this group, there were several who listed two (or more) "first choices," hence the discrepancy.

²⁶ The American wife of a Norwegian-American recently sought a divorce on grounds of husband's lack of affection. The man pleaded that he had made the house over for her, and the divorce was denied.

²⁷ In one case (Arendal), it was reported that the oldest families still refused status to such a new arrival. Arendal is an old shipping center.

²⁸ Axel Johannes Coldevin, *Norske Storgaarder* (Oslo: Aschehoug, 1950), 2 vols. See also Chapter IV, above.

On changes in agrarian class structure and ethos, see especially Peter A. Munch, *A Study of Social Change, Rural-Urban Conflict in Norway* (Studia Norvegica, No. 9 [Oslo: Aschehoug, 1957]).

²⁹ The law gives to an allodial descendant certain priorities of repurchase. Cf. Chapter IV.

³⁰ Henrik Palmstrøm, "Om en befolkningsgruppes utvikling gjennom de siste 100 år," *Statsøkonomisk Tidsskrift* (1935), pp. 223-39, 333, 335.

³¹ Palmstrøm, *op. cit.*, p. 230 *et passim*.

³² As examples might be mentioned, the following, pictured and described in Coldevin, *op. cit.*:

"Grefsheim" (I, 430-31), family Mellbye;

"Eidsvoldvaerk" (I, 301-19), family Matthiesen;

"Hovelsrud" and "Hol" (I, 449-74), family Hoel;

"Thorsø" (I, 115-28) and "Rød" (II, 55-67 *et passim*), family Anker-Møller;

"Gjævrån" (II, 485-88), family Qvam (900 acres, of which 750 acres in woodland).

³³ July 16, 1947.

³⁴ Merely as examples of such families, not necessarily the most outstanding, one notes the following family names reappearing often in Norway's historic and current leadership: Anker-Møller, Bull, Forfang, Gruda, Hambro, Hoel, Johansen, Jahn, Kiær, Lange, Løvenskiöld, Mellbye, Michelet, Mohr, Munch, Oftedal, Qvam, Roede, Schjelderup, Skard, Sverdrup, Thommesen, Wedel, Winsnes. Cf. also *Norske Gaardsbruk* (Forlaget Norske Gaardsbruk, Oslo, 1943); Axel Johannes Coldevin, *Norske Storgaarder*, I, II (Oslo: Aschehoug, 1950); *Hvem Hva Hvor*, 1948ff. (Oslo, Aftenposten Opplag).

It should be stressed that the continuing influence and position of such families is not dependent upon formal hereditary class structure or political oligarchy and nepotism, but upon talent, favorable environment, and traditions of achievement and service.

Part Three

THE ORGANIZATION OF FAMILY LIFE

Introduction

SOCIAL norms or prescribed patterns for the formation, structure, and functions of families and their member roles are found in law and in custom (mores, folkways, class standards). Law, morals, and conventions may differ from time to time, and actual practices may fall short of any or all three, or may represent ambivalent attitudes. How a people reacts to its formal rules for family patterning will ultimately show up in the trends of family statistics. Families' reactions within the framework of norms will, of course, be affected by economic and political change, by the position of women and children in the culture, and by basic habits of boy-girl and man-wife and parent-child attitudes and relationships.

These are the fields to be discussed, in their Norwegian contexts, by the chapters of Part Three which follow.

VIII

Norms and Trends

THE basic laws on marriage and on mutual responsibilities of family members not only reflect social norms but also serve to direct the behavior of individuals. As a background for understanding the unique variations in family life, it is essential to consider the general institutional forms. The pertinent laws will be summarized, together with some statistical data which help to describe central trends in family life.

BETROTHAL AND MARRIAGE

The marriage law enacted in 1918 includes no regulation of betrothal. The practice is for a couple to exchange rings as public evidence of their intention to marry. There is no legal provision for compensation for any losses due to a broken engagement. However, a definite obligation is incurred if a man is responsible for the pregnancy of his betrothed. He can be punished if he is over twenty-one, has impregnated one whom he has promised to marry, and does not fulfill his troth without valid reasons.¹

The legal age for marriage is twenty for men and eighteen for women. Before 1918, the latter was sixteen years, but it was raised in consideration of the need of greater maturity in coping with responsibilities of child rearing, as well as in the actual decision to marry. Exceptions are permitted but the authorities require special proof of mitigating circumstances.²

The actual average age at marriage is considerably higher and has remained fairly constant over a long period of time. We noted earlier (Chapter II) that Sundt showed that the modal period of marriage a century ago for men was between twenty-five and thirty. Data for the years from 1886 through 1954 show that, for persons previously

unmarried, the age at marriage for men averages around twenty-eight or twenty-nine, and for women, twenty-six. There is a remarkable uniformity in these figures, with a slight upward trend for men being suggested in recent years. For women, the five-year averages in 1886-95 are identical with the three five-year periods from 1936 to 1950. The variation between single years is minimal.

The following data are the average ages of persons in first marriages in Norway for the periods indicated:³

TABLE 5

Period	Males	Females
1886-90	28.3	26.4
1891-95	28.2	26.4
1896-1900	27.8	25.9
1901-5	27.7	25.7
1906-10	27.9	25.7
1911-15	27.8	25.6
1916-20	27.6	25.4
1921-25	28.1	25.6
1926-30	28.7	25.9
1931-35	29.1	26.3
1936-40	29.3	26.4
1941-45	29.2	26.4
1946-50	29.3	26.4
1951-55 ⁴	28.5	25.5
1953 ⁴	28.6	25.6
1954 ⁴	28.3	25.5
1955 ⁴	28.2	25.2

A study was made by the Central Bureau of Statistics of Norway of the relative ages of brides and grooms. In a comparison between 1881-85 and 1916-20 periods, a tendency was found towards greater evenness in marriage ages. However, bridegrooms in the typical age bracket of twenty-five to thirty followed the pattern, even to an increasing extent, of marrying girls in the next lower age grouping.

An age differential with grooms in the modal group marrying brides some few years younger is confirmed; such a difference is suggested by the averages above, but they are affected by the whole range of ages of people involved.

There are certain legal restrictions on permission to marry. Particularly included is insanity in a legal sense. It is recognized that not all mental disturbances come in the category of psychoses, but some may be the grounds for annulment of a marriage. Insanity, or "mental sickness" for this purpose, also includes persons with gross mental deficiencies (*bøygradig åndssvake*). These limitations are justified on grounds of potential environmental as well as hereditary damage to the family. There are also physical impairments that are legally defined barriers, including contagious diseases such as tuberculosis and syphilis, and others, like epilepsy, where the negative hereditary factors are considered.

The marriage of blood relatives is forbidden, and this extends to half-siblings, and to stepchildren or stepparents. The restrictions apply to persons in a vertical line of relationship, and, before 1918, they were more inclusive, extending to the nephew-aunt relationship. Persons in some in-law relationships now must have special permission to marry. These legal provisions go beyond biological considerations into moral proprieties, expressing disapproval of the mixing of sexual and family relationships, whether the latter are consanguinal or conjugal.

Monogamy is also enjoined in the marriage law. A woman who wishes to remarry may be required to wait ten months. While this had its origins in old customs of a mourning period, now the consideration is that of covering a period of possible pregnancy from a previous marriage. Therefore, the waiting period is not required if a child has recently been born or there is other evidence of her not being pregnant. There is also a restriction on remarriage until community property has been accounted for, which might benefit the former spouse's heirs.⁵

The 1918 law defined and limited conditions under which a

marriage might be annulled. If the restrictions noted as to monogamy and exogamy have been violated, the marriage is considered not to have existed; annulment (*ugyldighet*) is thus reserved for extreme situations. It is also possible to "cancel" a marriage (*omstøtelighet*) as of a given time, and this is a less severe type of control, since a legal union is acknowledged to have existed for a time. The latter provision applies to physical or mental deficiencies which were not known at the time of marriage. It also includes conditions where there has been gross deception about matters which would have kept the partner from agreeing to matrimony. The provision for "canceling" a marriage may be invoked if an incurable physical defect makes intercourse impossible. This does not, however, include impotence, nor is sterility an acceptable reason for breaking up a marriage.⁶

Marriages in church, as compared with civil ceremonies, are the prevalent form. Until 1845, only established church marriages were legal, and thereafter exceptions were allowed under special circumstances. Since 1891, the clergy or heads of dissenter congregations can also perform marriages. In 1918, civil marriages became optional. Marriages may now be solemnized in the state church or in recognized congregations of dissenters or by civil officials, usually local judges. It should be noted that marriage is not a sacrament of the church. Thus a marriage performed in church is a public ceremony, with religious approval and blessings invoked, and it is semiofficial inasmuch as the officiating pastor in the state church has an official status. There was a proposal before the 1918 law was enacted that all marriages must be civil ceremonies, and this had some support from within the church; there were those who felt that persons indifferent to or only nominal adherents of the church should not have the benefit of ecclesiastical rites.

There is a provision for a prior public announcement or banns which must be made fourteen days before a wedding. This may be an officially published notice or it may be made in church. If there be hindrances to the marriages, they must be made known to the pastor

or official, but not every objection can prevent a marriage. The contracting couple must furnish the officiant with proper identification, usually a baptismal certificate, and they must certify that the proper conditions are being met, such as freedom from certain known contagious diseases, absence of close blood relationship, and no existing marriage.

A pastor must perform a wedding if both parties are church members, although one may be a member of the state church and the other of a dissenter congregation; moreover, a state church pastor may officiate even when none of the parties belong to his parish. Questions have arisen concerning the right of a pastor to deny a religious ceremony, which applies particularly to divorced persons whose former spouses are living. A 1937 revision explicitly stated that pastors cannot be required to officiate under such circumstances against the dictates of their own consciences. The practice of pastors varies in this respect. There is no such option for civil officials.⁷

Immediately before World War II, about 10 per cent of the marriages were civil ceremonies. These occurred mostly in cities; in rural areas, civil marriages are exceptional occurrences. During World War II, an abnormal situation prevailed; during the Occupation, the church was in conflict with the Nazi authorities and most pastors were deprived of their official status. As a result, civil marriages increased, often with added but unofficial religious services.⁸

TABLE 6

Recent data on total marriages, and on civil marriages, follow:⁷

Year	Total Marriages	Civil Marriages	Percentage of Marriages to Total
1947	29,923	3,826	12.7
1948	29,558	4,040	13.6
1949	27,469	3,761	13.7

TABLE 6—*continued*

1950	27,222	3,767	13.8
1951	27,180	4,075	15.0
1952	27,499	4,378	15.9
1953	27,032	5,589	16.9
1954	26,977	4,647	17.2
1955	26,156	4,529	17.3

While these figures indicate a percentage gain in civil marriages from prewar years, we must be cautious about concluding that there is represented a real trend away from adherence to the church and its forms. There is evident, from the same sources, a rise in the number of marriages of widowed and divorced persons, particularly the latter, and it is among these that civil ceremonies are most likely to occur. Not only is there pastoral objection or even refusal to officiate in the remarriage of divorced persons, but also, as with widows, they are usually somewhat older persons and may not want a second church ceremony. The fact of increase in divorce, which will be discussed in another chapter, is undoubtedly an indication of secularization even though the data on civil marriages, which are indirectly affected, may be subject to various interpretations. The totals of those marriages including a divorced person increased from 601 per year in 1936-40 to 1,390 in 1955.

The rate of marriages per 1,000 population by five-year periods is as follows:¹⁰

TABLE 7
MARRIAGES PER 1,000 POPULATION

1851-55	7.84
1856-60	7.54
1861-65	6.90
1866-70	6.39
1871-75	7.30
1876-80	7.18
1881-85	6.66
1886-90	6.35

TABLE 7—*continued*

1891-95	6.38
1896-1900	6.81
1901-5	6.08
1906-10	5.99
1911-15	6.26
1916-20	6.93
1921-25	6.27
1926-30	6.05
1931-35	6.51
1936-40	8.49
1941-45	7.91
1946-50	8.99
1951-55	8.02
1955	7.63
1956 (est.)	7.15

In the last period, a postwar rise is due in large part to delayed marriages. Other fluctuations, as Sundt noted in the last century, are related to trends in the birth rate in a period about twenty-five years before.

MUTUAL OBLIGATIONS

There have been legal provisions in Norway since 1927 requiring husband and wife to support each other and their children, although it is recognized that this obligation insofar as monetary expenditures are concerned is usually that of the man. The law recognizes work in the home as contributory to family support. The partners in a marriage have a right to expect an exchange of information about income matters. Ordinarily, married couples work out these arrangements to mutual satisfaction within the customs of their community, yet a legally enforceable claim for maintenance exists. If the couple is not living together, the obligation to support is more limited; this applies to cases where there is a breach of relationship, not such separations as may be required by circumstances, such as an occupation which requires travel.¹¹

The obligations of support exist regardless of the status of property of a married couple. The partners have the choice between community property or individual rights of ownership. The former is the case in about 90 per cent of all marriages, including people with property, and it is considered to exist unless there is special proof of other agreements having been made. Community property rights apply mainly to inheritance, or to settlement after a divorce, not to complete mutuality during the lifetime of a marriage. An individual has the right to sell or dispose of property which he or she has contributed to the joint holdings but this does not limit the mutual use of common dwellings and the like; moreover, such disposal by one must not be detrimental to the other's interests.¹²

Parental obligations toward their children have long been recognized in the law, but the community responsibility for easing the burdens of parenthood has been enlarged in recent years. Thus, the expenses of schooling and the responsibility for it have ceased to be a primary home responsibility. Obviously, the law cannot spell out all obligations of parents, especially the non-economic responsibilities for care and nurture of children, and legal powers cannot be invoked unless there is gross neglect. Parents are expected to support the requirements of compulsory school attendance, and, if they are part of the state church, they must bring their children up in the same faith. However, after the age of fifteen, children can determine their own religious affiliation.¹³

More direct economic aid to families takes the form of rent and children's allowances. The "poor laws" recognize a mutual responsibility between parents and children in case of destitution. The special status of non-wedlock children, especially since 1915, will be treated separately.

In the matter of inheritance, the position of men and women is equal. Sons have, however, precedence in the *asetesrett*. As described earlier this is the right of the closest male descendant of the owner to take over a farm undivided on the owner's death at a fixed and reasonable price. Sons also have precedence in the *odelsrett*, which is the right of a

relation to buy back at a fixed figure landed property which has been in the family for a certain number of years, in the event of the property having passed out of the family or having been taken over by a more distant relative. The two laws governing these matters date from 1821 and are based on ancient Norwegian legal practice.¹⁴

[Upon the death of one party in a marriage, the survivor has the] right to take over all the previously jointly owned property (undivided inheritance) provided the other heirs are mutual or adopted children. This is an ancient tradition in Norwegian law and it now applies equally to men and women. The heirs retain the right of inheritance, but the surviving parent has, practically speaking, full right of disposal over the inheritance. A division of the inheritance must be made if the surviving party remarries or is declared by law incapable of managing his or her affairs.¹⁵

STATISTICAL REGISTRATIONS¹⁶

Since 1916, the registration of births has been complete and more uniform than in previous periods. In Norway, birth registration is a complex process, retaining the traditional church-state interrelationship. The church needs the registrations for baptisms and membership; the state needs them for military service and for civil statistics. Each uses the other. The people need birth registrations for legal status, rights, and obligations. Under rules of 1877, there is a church register in every parish, the books being separate for town and rural births. Records are kept of live births, stillbirths, confirmations, marriages, deaths, immigration, and emigration. Dissenters' records must be sent to the state-church register by the civil officers. The dissenting congregations also keep records and were supposed to report through the magistrates who send to the parish pastor a list to be entered in the church register; but this procedure was apt to lapse, so that only the "regularly" baptized got registered. Non-churched registrations are notified to the magistrates by the medical personnel (or by the persons concerned) and by the magistrates to the pastors.

The law of April 10, 1915, set up a special Birth Register, and

introduced compulsory registration, under penalty, for all births—including still, non-wedlock, and non-church. The church register for live births was then reserved for baptisms; but the state's civil Birth Register is still kept separately by the pastor, *qua* civil registrar. Secular personnel would be more consistent, but Norwegians' habits were not ready for a complete shift.¹⁷ It is the duty of midwives and practitioners to notify the pastor of all stillbirths¹⁸ and neo-natal deaths. Responsibility is also placed on parents to report all "legitimate" births within a month: if church members, to their pastor direct; if dissenters, to the head of congregation. The latter must report through the magistrate to the pastor at place of birth within a second month. Un-churched individuals must report likewise directly to the magistrate who immediately forwards the notification to the pastor at place of birth.¹⁹

TRENDS IN BIRTHS

"The birth rate in Norway remained fairly level throughout the 19th century, at a little over 30 per thousand. From the turn of the century to the middle thirties, there was an even decline to a little under 15 per thousand."²⁰ From a low point in 1935, births increased during World War II to a high in 1946. After this bulge, a stabilizing is evident, but the long-run trends are problematic, as in other countries. The rate for the early 1950's was above that of the 1930's: 18.38 per 1,000 population in 1951, 18.80 in 1952, 18.75 in 1953, 18.50 in 1954, 18.53 in 1955, 18.67 (est.) in 1956.²¹

The net reproduction rate has been above 1 since 1946 and in 1956 stood close to 1.02.²² The decline in the birth rate in the 1930's, most marked in Sweden, moved the political leadership of that country to adopt a comprehensive child welfare program. In Norway, population considerations were not prominent as motivation in the enactment of measures for economic security for families and children, as will be indicated in further descriptions of these policies in Chapter XVI. However, the easing of the financial burdens of child-rearing might be expected to have an effect on the

birth rate, and there is room for speculation as to whether fertility has been affected by social-economic welfare programs.²³

In the period since 1915, crude birth rates have been markedly higher in rural compared with urban areas, as the following table prepared by Anders S. Lunde shows. A sharp decline in fertility rates was evident in Oslo particularly, but also in smaller cities, between 1890 and 1930.²⁴

TABLE 8

RURAL AND URBAN NATURAL INCREASE, NORWAY, 1901-55²⁵
(CRUDE RATES)

Period	Rural			Urban		
	Birth Rate	Death Rate	Natural Increase	Birth Rate	Death Rate	Natural Increase
1901-5	27.1	14.1	13.0	31.3	15.2	16.1
1906-10	25.7	13.5	12.2	27.0	14.1	12.9
1911-15	24.7	13.0	12.7	25.2	13.7	11.5
1916-20	25.5	13.9	11.6	22.5	14.4	8.1
1921-25	23.8	11.4	12.4	18.4	11.7	6.7
1926-30	19.9	10.9	9.0	13.2	11.1	2.1
1931-35	16.8	10.3	6.5	11.1	10.6	0.5
1936-40	16.9	10.2	6.7	11.9	10.7	1.2
1941-45	19.9	10.3	9.6	15.6	11.1	4.5
1946-50	21.7	8.9	12.8	17.9	9.9	8.0
1951-55	20.1	8.2	11.9	15.4	9.1	6.3

Norway, like other countries which have had declining birth rates, found that the voluntary control of parenthood started in the upper income or occupational status groups. This resulted in a differential, which was evident in 1920 as between factory owners (and wholesale merchants) and factory workers. The difference had decreased by 1946. The decline between 1920 and 1950 in the number of children in marriages of eighteen years or more duration, with the age of the wife at the time of marriage twenty-four and twenty-five years, was 3.32 for factory workers but only 1.96 for factory owners.²⁶

These data by occupational categories suggest that the differential birth rate may be in process of being wiped out or even reversed. This possible trend is also indicated by birth data differentiated by family income. Data for Oslo show that the west side areas of higher rentals and the suburbs have a higher percentage of families with three or more children, and some income data suggest a similar positive relationship between higher income and family size.²⁷ As the planned limitation of families becomes more general throughout the population, it seems likely that higher incomes will result in the voluntary choice of a larger average number of children. The factor of crowded housing, while associated with lower income, may be a special factor in the postwar period in the limitation of families.

RELEVANT DEMOGRAPHIC DATA

The steady decline in the infant mortality rate during the past hundred years in Norway is attributable to effective health controls and reflects the rising standard of living generally. The marked reduction in the rate of infant deaths since the turn of the century helps offset the decline in the birth rate. Norway and the other Scandinavian countries have among the highest expectations of life at birth to be found anywhere in the world. The expectation of life for adults in Norway is higher than in comparable countries, a tribute to the health conservation habits and practices of the Norwegian people (cf. Chapter XXI).

There are more women than men in Norway. In all age groups above forty, the proportion of women in the population is greater. The excess was greater in 1920 when there were 1,053 females for each 1,000 males and women outnumbered men in every age group above twenty. By 1950, this ratio had become 1,017.²⁹ The disproportion in 1920 reflected the earlier heavy emigration, which reached a peak in the 1880's. More men than women left the country in search of economic opportunity. (In 1920, there were 1,118 women per 1,000 men in the thirty to thirty-nine age category.)

TABLE 9

INFANT MORTALITY RATES PER 1,000 LIVE BIRTHS, NORWAY,
1841-1955²⁸

Period	Total	Male	Female
1841-50 (a)	118.0	130.5	105.5
1851-60	111.5	121.5	101.5
1861-70	113.3	123.0	103.6
1871-80	112.1	122.2	102.1
1881-90	106.3	113.1	99.5
1891-1900	103.3	105.6	92.4
1901-5 (b)	80.8	88.2	72.5
1906-10	70.2	76.4	63.0
1911-15 (c)	66.3	72.6	59.8
1916-20	61.9	68.4	55.0
1921-25	51.7	56.8	46.3
1926-30	49.5	55.4	43.3
1931-35	44.9	50.6	39.0
1936-40	39.4	44.3	34.2
1941-45	37.3	40.6	33.6
1946-50	31.1	35.2	26.6
1951-55:—			
1951	25.7	28.9	22.2
1952	23.7	25.8	21.4
1953	22.0	24.9	18.9
1954	21.4	24.2	18.4
1955	20.6	22.8	18.2

In 1955, the number of single men (over fifteen) exceeded the total of single women by more than 43,000. Excess of men appeared in all age brackets between twenty and thirty-nine, whereas, above forty, the number of women exceeded that of men. The imaginative reader can readily see through the census totals to the problems of personal adjustment experienced by thousands of people. The excess of women in the total population is accounted for by a much larger

number of women widowed and divorced, 145,681 in 1955, compared with men, 65,371.³⁰ Widowers tended to marry single women, as did also those who had been divorced.³¹

The idea that a scarcity of women in the population tends to generate respect and elevate their status may well be illustrated in some places. But in Norway, an excess of women has not retarded the development of a strong women's rights movement, as will be noted in the next chapter. That movement was part of larger demands for political and economic rights, which, as suggested in Chapter III, were favorably affected by emigration and the draining off of surplus labor supply in the home country.

¹ Carl J. Arnholm, *Laerebok i Familierett* (Oslo: Johan Grundt Tanum, 1945), pp. 121-23. This recalls the reference in Chapter II to the background of social acceptance of sex relations of betrothed people, and anticipates later discussion of courtship practices (Chapter XI) and of protection for mothers of non-wedlock children (Chapter XII).

² *Ibid.*, p. 129.

³ *Folkemengdens Bevegelse 1921-1932* (Norges Offisielle Statistikk, IX, 70 [Statistisk Sentralbyrå, 1935]), p. 8; *Folkemengdens Bevegelse 1950* (Norges Offisielle Statistikk, XI, 112 [Statistisk Sentralbyrå, 1952]), p. 10.

⁴ *Statistisk Årbok for Norge, 1956*, p. 30; *1957*, p. 30.

⁵ Arnholm, *op. cit.*, pp. 131-40.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 126-27, 133, 238-40.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 143-53. But also letter of Kirke og Undervisningsdepartement, Kirkeavdeling, January 9, 1958.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 144 n. Interview with Julie Backer, Central Bureau of Statistics of Norway.

⁹ *Statistisk Årbok for Norge, 1951*, p. 24; *1952*, p. 28; *1953*, p. 28; *1954*, p. 30; *1955*, p. 30; *1956*, p. 30; *1957*, p. 30.

¹⁰ *Statistisk Årbok for Norge, 1952*, p. 27; *1955*, p. 28; *1956*, p. 29; *1957*, p. 29.

¹¹ Arnholm, *op. cit.*, pp. 161-66.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 175-76.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 37-40.

¹⁴ *The Status of Women in Norway Today* (a survey) (Oslo, Norwegian Joint Committee on International Social Policy, August, 1953), p. 13.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

¹⁶ Details are drawn from Julie E. Backer, "Population Statistics and Population Registration in Norway. Part I. The Vital Statistics of Norway: An Historical Review," *Population Studies*, I (September 1947) 212-26.

¹⁷ Since 1946, there is a secular registrar in every township—but only for migration, occupational, and general population statistics.

¹⁸ Live birth is defined as showing life even if death occurs immediately. A dead embryo before the twenty-eighth week is not to be reported to the pastor.

¹⁹ Backer, *loc. cit.*, p. 218.

²⁰ K. J. Øksnes (Undersecretary of Social Affairs), "Assistance to Mother and Child in Norway" (lecture at United Nations European Social Welfare Seminar, Paris, December, 1949) (mimeo.).

²¹ *Statistisk Årbok for Norge, 1957, op. cit.*, p. 29. Cf. Gunnar Jahn, "Befolkningsspørsmål og Familiens Størrelse," *Statistiske Meldinger*, 7: 165-207 (Oslo, 1952).

²² *Statistisk Årbok for Norge, 1957, op. cit.*, p. 29. This is the average number of live-born daughters born to a woman passing through the child bearing period (15-44 years), exposed at each age to the then existing fertility and mortality rates.

²³ Cf. Kaare Svalastoga, "The Family in Scandinavia," *Marriage and Family Living*, XVI (November 1954), 376-77. This Danish sociologist concludes that welfare measures have had no clear effect on marital fertility. But Shirer notes that "Swedish policy is not concerned primarily with increasing the population but in bettering the welfare of the family so that a normal and healthy rate of procreation is maintained." (William L. Shirer, *The Challenge of Scandinavia* [Boston: Little, Brown, & Co., 1955], pp. 148-49.)

²⁴ *Folkemengdens Bevegelse 1921-1932* (Norges Offisielle Statistikk IX, 70 [Statistisk Sentralbyrå, 1935]), p. 27. Lunde's thesis is accessible through the Library of Congress, in microfilm.

²⁵ From Anders S. Lunde, *Norway: A Population Study* (New York City: Columbia University, 1955): (Table XXIV), "Births, 1901-20," *Folkemengdens Bevegelse 1933* (Norges Offisielle Statistikk, IX, 83, p. 6; "Deaths, 1901-20," *Folkemengdens Bevegelse 1941* (Norges Offisielle Statistikk), X, 58, p. 22; "Births and Deaths, 1921-50," *Folkemengdens Bevegelse 1950* (Norges Offisielle Statistikk), XI, 112, pp. 16, 25; "Births and Deaths, 1953-54," *Befolkningsstatistiske oppgaver for 1955* (mimeo) (February 1957), pp. 3-5.

²⁶ Data prepared by Anders S. Lunde, from official statistics. Cf. Jahn, "Befolknings-spørsmål," *loc. cit.*, p. 186.

²⁷ *Saertrykk V. av Statistisk Kvartalsbifte for Oslo* (3 Kvartal, 1950, Oslo Kommunes Statistiske Kontor), p. f.

While the "lower classes" over Norway as a whole are still more prolific than the upper, an interesting reversal in size of families has occurred in Oslo, comparable to what happened in Holland and Sweden, after a generation or so of access to contraceptives legally and medically controlled: Oslo's West Side (middle and upper class) had more children per household than the East Side (industrial). The laboring class is no longer *proletarian* in the etymological sense of the word. There were, however, a larger percentage of childless households in the West Side (36 per cent to 42 per cent or more) than in the East Side (39 per cent to 30 per cent or less).

²⁸ *Statistisk Årbok for Norge, 1957*: pp. 32, 35; (a) 1841-1900, *Statistiske oversigter 1914* (Kristiania, 1914), p. 14; (b) 1901-45, *Statistiske oversikt 1943* (Norges Offisielle Statistikk), X (178), Table 20; (c) 1946-55, *Statistisk Årbok for Norge, 1957*, p. 35; *Befolkningsstatistiske oppgaver for 1954* (mimeo.), p. 6.

²⁹ *Statistisk Årbok for Norge, 1957*, p. 13.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

IX

The Status of Women

WOMEN'S RIGHTS

“TODAY the expression ‘head of the family’ with reference to one partner in a marriage has no basis in family law, and it should be removed both from official forms and daily speech.”¹ Thus writes Liv Kluge in a workers’ education manual. She refers to the law enacted in 1927 which provided for equal rights and duties of husbands and wives in the economic support of families, as noted in the last chapter (VIII). In actual practice, something short of absolute equality exists, according to informal reports and public opinion polls;² nevertheless, a marked change has occurred in the past century.

The married woman was completely dependent upon her husband in all matters of finance and property until 1888 when a law was passed which gave her certain rights.

Before 1845 a Royal Letter of Majority was necessary before a woman could be regarded as having “come of age.” In that year spinsters over twenty-five were granted by law the same status as “minors of the male sex”, i.e., boys between the ages of eighteen and twenty-one. In 1863 spinsters were granted the same status as men from their twenty-first year. . . . In 1854, daughters were granted the same rights of inheritance as sons, whereas formerly they could inherit only half as much as sons.³

In the long period of history when agriculture prevailed as the means of livelihood with only crude tools at hand, the housewife had a strenuous job along with her husband merely to maintain existence. This was doubly true if the husband went to sea as fisherman or sailor. The question for most people in Norway, as elsewhere, has not

been whether women should work, but where. With industrial development in the last half of the nineteenth century, there were more women who began working in factories.

Thus, in the main, they were still grossly overworked. As far as the working class was concerned the most important aspect of the emancipation of women in this period was a general improvement in living conditions.

By degrees women found employment in offices, shops, banks, and insurance companies. The State also offered work in the telegraph service and the post office. It was of great importance that women at a comparatively early stage were allowed to become teachers in the elementary schools. This was expressly laid down in the Acts of 1860 and 1869 for rural and urban elementary schools respectively.⁴

An earlier legal extension of women's rights had been the law of 1842 which made it possible for widows, wives living apart from husbands, and spinsters with majority status to operate a business.

The demand for women's rights began in the same period of the last century to go much beyond rights of occupation. A broader conception of equality was evoked by a novel, *Amtmandens Døttre* ("The Daughters of the Regional Governor"), published in 1855, written by Camilla Collett, who thus became the first spokesman of feminism in Norway. This dealt specifically with the plight of women of the upper class, the daughters of civil servants, who were without education or practical training and thus without means of support, outside of marriage or a modest existence as maiden aunts in the households of relatives. In her writings, Camilla Collett pleaded for the right of women to marry for love, but retained respect for the institution of marriage, unlike her contemporary, George Sand, who is said to have influenced her.

"By breaking down inhibitions and opening horizons Camilla Collett prepared the way for the emancipation of women, which, after the movement had been started, was accomplished with great rapidity in all the Scandinavian countries. Gradually she came to realize that her ideal—

liberation of women's hearts and souls—could not come to pass without first changing their whole status in the community. She lent her support to the efforts of younger women looking towards specific reforms, such as the admission of women to the university and the professions. . . .⁵

Her ideas won acceptance in a period of economic changes; and as more women began to work outside of the home, they came to have a new image of themselves as persons and as citizens.

Henrik Ibsen stands out among the writers who were stirred by the feminist movement and who in turn helped to provoke ideological changes. However, he was the exponent of self-expression, of human and personal freedom rather than of women's rights as such. His drama, *A Doll's House*, published in 1879, won international acclaim which was a tribute both to his skill and to the significance of the theme in many countries. Nora, the wife and mother, unconventional and controversial, in the climax of the play, rejects her immature role as the one who must always "lean" on her husband, amuse him as a "song-bird" in a secure home. Her husband reveals his conception of his wife's place when, after flaunting his forgiveness of her, he says that a woman "honestly forgiven . . . becomes his property in a double sense . . . at once his wife and his child." The play ends as she leaves to find herself as a human being, to be able to decide if "what most people say" is true. Here is the theme of the individual over against society, which represented a new kind of questioning of conventional proprieties. Basically, it showed an awareness of the social-economic changes which were reshaping Norway in that period. Just as in other countries, individualism was being asserted against traditionally accepted values.⁶

The women's movement was given organized form in 1884 when the Norwegian Association for Women's Rights was founded. It continues to be active and is now affiliated with the International Alliance of Women. The Association from the first concerned itself with strengthening the economic independence of women. While this meant opportunities outside of the home and advocacy of equal

pay for women, there has been parallel work toward elevating the status of the homemaker, specifically through improved and extended domestic science instruction in schools.⁷ (See Chapter XIX.)

Opportunities for secondary school education began to be open to girls in the 1870's. In 1882, women were allowed to matriculate in the University, and, two years later, they were admitted on an equal footing with men students to all divisions of instruction. They were admitted to teachers' training colleges in 1890. Despite the freedom which has been granted, not as many women as men enter or complete university work, since families tend to favor their sons in the help they can give. However, a higher proportion of girls is found in the folk high schools and in private colleges. Thus, there is evidence of growing appreciation of education for women, in spite of the traditional idea that women are destined to marry and need less schooling than do men.⁸

WORK OF WOMEN IN THE HOME

Caring for the home is still the most important job for women in Norway. . . . Norway has been among the first countries to value domestic work in relation to its importance to the national economy. As early as the 1890's the statistician, A. N. Kjaer, clearly pictures the values of several aspects of the housewife's work—housework, child care and upbringing, and the financial management of the household. In 1912 Kjaer estimated the value of the housewives' work at 15 per cent of the national income. Housework has been included in the economic budgets of the nation which have been prepared each year since World War II. In 1947 and 1948 the value of the housewives' contribution was estimated at 1,165 million kroner, or about 14 per cent of the national income.⁹

Considerations of national economic efficiency have entered into current thought about domestic work. The concern about improving overall productivity per capita in this as in other respects is reflected in the statement of relatively long-range goals for the country, prepared by the national administration in 1953. Specifically, the objectives for the period 1954-57 included more washing machines and

other household appliances. Only about 15 per cent of households had washing machines in 1952. The questions of extending electricity to unserved areas and the whole housing shortage are related questions which are included in national economic planning.¹⁰ By the end of 1950, 90 per cent of the population was supplied with electricity; it is widely used for heating homes as well as for cooking and household appliances. Homes without electricity are largely those that are scattered and isolated. The provision of community aids to the household, such as deep freezers and laundries, are also considered of great importance in the projected rationalization of domestic work.¹¹

Despite the trend towards urbanization, about half of the people live outside of towns or built-up areas.

The farms are as a rule isolated, each surrounded by its land, some of them situated far up in the mountains or deep in the forests. Only 19 per cent of the farms have more than $12\frac{1}{2}$ acres as home fields. The remainder are termed small holdings. Country housewives normally take a full share in the work of running the farm, and theirs is a specially heavy burden. On the small holdings the farmer's wife and children manage between them a good deal of the farm work. The husband often has another job in addition to his farm work. He may be a forestry worker, a fisherman or employed in building or construction work.¹²

This means for the wife, tending the cows and doing field work, as well as the traditional woman's work of carrying water. While there has been improvement, in 1947 only 49 per cent of the farm homes had running water in the kitchen, and slightly more in the barns. The building of waterworks in the country areas is continuing, with the objective of putting an end to the heavy work of water carrying.¹³ Public works or national capital investments have thus a close relationship to the daily life of women, particularly in rural areas; the status question for a large segment of the population has to do immediately with liberation from drudgery rather than from conventional cultural restraints.

The emphasis on the more rational organization of domestic work in cities includes enlarged training for household responsibilities. Domestic science became a compulsory subject for all children in elementary schools in towns in 1936. There are also courses in continuation schools for those who do not enter the academic secondary schools. There are sixty-five domestic science colleges, supported by municipalities and counties with national assistance; at most of these, the course lasts for five months. "The aim is to have at least one college in each county giving 10 months' courses." In addition, there are courses in vocational training schools and in some private colleges. There is a State College of Domestic Science Teachers.¹⁴

In recent years, government domestic science teachers have been introduced, comparable to the Department of Agriculture's home demonstration agents in the United States. There are forty such functionaries throughout the country, who assist housewives through lectures and demonstrations and home consultations. Pamphlets and films are available through a national Information Office on Household Management. Models of modernized kitchens have also been prepared by the same office, which in its research work co-ordinates with similar work in the State College of Domestic Science Teachers (cf. Chapter XIX).

Compared with other workers, women at home are unorganized, and obviously they cannot develop a system of collective bargaining. However, there is a Norwegian Housewives' Association which had a beginning in an Oslo "women's institute" (*Hjemmenes Vel*), founded in 1898. Membership is reported as 34,000 or more and thus it is one of the largest women's associations in Norway. The organization has supported domestic science instruction, and, through its own meetings and publications, it has promoted health and nutrition, fostered handicrafts and various home arts. Its program has also included protective legislation for domestic workers, and kindergartens.

HOUSEWIVES' VACATIONS

In order to equalize the status of the housewife, special attention has been given to vacations, since most wage earners are guaranteed by law a three-weeks annual "holiday" with pay. The national government provides a fund to be used to subsidize holidays for housewives. Kr. 270,000 were appropriated as long ago as 1953, and Kr. 400,000 in 1958. This was augmented by local authorities and by voluntary efforts, such as that of *Norsk Folkehjelp*, a trade-union sponsored organization, and *Norsk Folkeferie*. A joint committee from the State Vacation Board and Fund and the housewives' organizations was formed.

Norsk Folkehjelp owns a camp and has plans for the acquisition of others. It has operated housewives' vacations since 1940. An increasing number of housewives, some 11,000 up to 1953, 10,000 for 1957, have had two weeks' vacation, with travel, food, and lodging paid through the special funds. This assistance is limited to low income families with at least two young children, selected by local committees. The objectives are both physical and mental health, the thought of leaders being that not only will a vacation be refreshing to the tired body but that it will have mental hygiene values.¹⁵ (See Chapter XXI.) A leading health authority was heard to justify this program largely in these terms, as a contribution to family harmony: her renewed interest in life and the world at large would serve to maintain the housewife's attractiveness to her husband and her effectiveness as a mother.

JOBS OUTSIDE THE HOME

Three-quarters of Norwegian housewives are more interested in home work than in a paid job; but this majority falls to 68 per cent in the upper and middle classes and in cities (where most of the upper classes live). Of upper-class women, 21 per cent would prefer a job. The reason given by the upper class, or by all who prefer jobs, is that housework is more monotonous and fatiguing.¹⁶ Almost one-

third of women with preschool children would seek a job if day nurseries were available: this was true for the middle as for the lower-class families. The poll indicated that nearly one-quarter of Norwegian women interviewed had jobs outside the home, but for incomes over \$1,000 only about 18 per cent had such jobs.¹⁷ Of these, 47 per cent would prefer part-time jobs. Of those who do not work outside the home, one-quarter would do so if jobs were available for three, four, or five hours per day.

"Since 1900 the percentage of women seeking jobs outside the home has been falling."¹⁸ Of all women fifteen years of age or over, the percentages in paid employment or self-employment have decreased as follows:

TABLE 10

1910	35.2
1920	31.4
1930	29.9
1946	26.9
1950	26.0

For unmarried women, the percentage employed is fairly constant between the ages of twenty and sixty. "It is the married women who reduce the total employment percentage for women, as their employment percentage is only 3.5 to 5.6 per cent for all age groups under sixty."¹⁹

The general downward trend in employment of married women is most marked in the postwar figures. In fact, before World War II, there was unemployment and some women were seeking work, so that the percentage employed would have been higher than if jobs had been available. In those years, discussions of women's work for pay often revolved around competition with men for jobs. Now, the full employment opportunities have meant that more women could afford to stay at home, despite the fact that a general labor shortage has pointed up the alternative potentials for housewives as wage earners.

At present, so few married women are employed outside their homes that the marriage rate must be regarded as determining the number of women in industry. For the next few years there will be fewer women of marriageable age than there are men, and we must, therefore, expect an increase in the marriage rate and a fall in the number of women in industry.²⁰

Next to farming, the largest number of employed women are in industry and handicrafts (82,421 in 1950) and in commerce (53,977). In the clothing and textile industries, women comprise more than one-half of the employees.

In most branches of industry there is a sharp distinction between women's and men's work, and even in industries with a majority of women workers certain jobs are traditionally done by men. In recent years the demand for female labor in industry has exceeded the supply, and this has given rise to the somewhat surprising development of men taking over women's jobs. In the whole field of industry there are, as yet, few women doing what are traditionally men's jobs. . . . Business, various service occupations and professions are comparatively speaking, important employment sectors for women. In these sectors more than 40 per cent of the total number of employees are women. As in industry, there are typically men's jobs and typically women's jobs. Typists, stenographers and telephone and telegraph operators are almost exclusively women.²¹

A marked decline is evident in the proportion of women doing domestic work. In 1948, a special law was passed to regulate the conditions of domestic service in Norway. The working day was fixed at ten hours, with provision for holidays and weekly rest periods. The worker or the employer can require a written contract. A recent study made by Vilhelm Aubert and others, as part of an interest in the sociology of law, indicates from interview data that more than one-half of domestic workers were occupied more than the legal ten-hour day and that only a small fraction of the five hundred employers interviewed fulfilled all the requirements of the law. These findings suggest caution generally in interpreting legal provisions as descriptive of actual practice.²² It is understandable that

domestic service cannot compete with other employment opportunities for women.

At the other end of the occupational status ladder are those whose work is motivated more evidently by desires for self-expression and the use of trained talents. The higher grades of civil service have been open to women since 1912, and in 1938 they were allowed to become heads of national ministries and members of the diplomatic corps. Even in the ministry of the state church, since 1956, women can be appointed whether or not the local congregational council agrees. In other professional fields including medicine, dentistry, high school teaching, men and women are doing the same work.

Most of the skilled women in the service occupations, however, are engaged in typically women's jobs—in health service as nurses, midwives, dental assistants, in education as elementary school teachers and handicraft teachers in craft schools, and in domestic science schools and colleges. In the elementary schools, however, women teachers are gradually becoming interchangeable with men teachers. Hitherto, it has been the practice for women teachers to instruct only the first three grades, while the men instructed the upper grades.

The income of women is in general considerably lower than men's. This is partly due to the fact that most employed women are in lower positions than men or work in the lower paid trades. But very often they receive lower wages than men even when doing the same work. . . . Full wage equality is almost entirely limited to public administration and academic positions, to handicraft trades after taking a journeyman's test, and to industry after taking a trade test. In other fields, women are mostly paid much less than men.²³

The average hourly wages paid to women in 1956 were in general lower, approximating, in industry, 67 per cent of what is paid to men.²⁴ This is largely "due to tradition." It is also claimed that the contribution of women workers is less than that of male workers and that there is a greater turnover of female labor. Young women, especially, change their jobs frequently, and there is always a certain time lag before new labor is fully effective. Women are also more

often absent from their work than men. This becomes especially noticeable if absence due to pregnancy is included. An investigation in 1950-51 showed that women workers were absent from work almost twice as much as men. However, this figure includes all age groups and both married and unmarried women workers. Absenteeism is, however, much higher for the young unmarried workers, male and female, than it is for the older worker with maintenance responsibilities. And the above unfavorable figure may be due to the fact that in industry there are comparatively few older women with maintenance responsibilities. In the over-forty age group, there has proved to be comparatively little difference in the distribution of absenteeism between the sexes. It must also be remembered that if both husband and wife are working outside the home, it is inevitably the wife who must stay away from work if help is needed at home.

In any case, more frequent job switching and a higher absenteeism percentage cannot completely account for the difference in wage rates for men and women. Another reason is commonly given, namely that a man must be paid so that he can support a family. It is true that a bare 10% of the women in employment are family supporters, while between 40 and 50% of all employed men are responsible for families. Nevertheless, wages for men are not fixed in relation to their maintenance responsibilities.²⁵

The question of equal pay has been prominent in discussions of women's rights, especially when there is a demand for increased employment of women. A Gallup poll in 1947 found 85 per cent of the men and 90 per cent of the women favoring the principle of equal pay for equal work. The whole question is tied up with that of children's allowances, which have been put into effect not only as a child welfare measure but as a means of separating family support from wage considerations.²⁶

A public opinion poll in 1953 inquired about the rights of women to be admitted to occupations with this question:

“There are no provisions in Norwegian law to prevent women from getting public or private positions. But because of present forms of family life, education, training, the wage-system, etc., women do not actually have the same possibilities as men of choosing positions. Do you think we should try to change society in such a way that men and women to a greater extent than now get the same possibilities of choosing between positions?”

63 per cent answered, “No, do not change society.” Of the 23 per cent who favored change, the most frequent indication of what should be done was: equal wages for equal work. Perhaps the mention of the wage system in the question suggested this answer. But the equal pay issue is clearly a prominent one in thinking about women’s rights.

In the same poll, people were asked if they thought there were any positions women should not have the same chances as men to choose. Almost one-half (48 per cent) said there were no such jobs. For those who replied affirmatively, “heavy work” was mentioned by 17 per cent and the clergy by 12 per cent. Policeman’s work and the armed forces were noted in lesser proportions. These answers suggest that other factors besides equal pay were being considered as barriers to the employment of women.²⁷

Harriet Holter, who has made studies of women in industry, has taken up the problem of the role conflicts of married professional women. A study of occupational problems and choices among women, under the auspices of the national Department of Social Affairs, is planned in relation to other studies of sex roles undertaken by the Institute of Social Research at Oslo.²⁸

To measure Norwegian women’s own opinions and attitudes about women’s role, especially in political affairs, sixty housewives in a southwest area of industry and agriculture were interviewed for the University of Oslo’s Institute for Sociology.²⁹ In general, women who favored greater political influence for women were those who showed more radical opinions on a range of questions about women’s positions in community life. They were the younger

women and were more independent toward their husbands on political questions, wanted more favorable economic equality, were critically disposed toward the present division of labor in the home, supported equal educational opportunities for boys and girls, and were more active in organizations. On the other hand, both these women and those who had a lower concept of women's roles were equally critical toward equality of women in such matters as the questions of women's being in the clergy or smoking.

COMBINING PAID EMPLOYMENT WITH HOUSEWORK

In the years of reconstruction following World War II, the problem of increasing the labor force in the interest of national productivity has pointed to other factors besides pay in the extent of employment outside of the home. For many, it is chiefly the difficulty of combining paid employment and housework. The American reader needs to consider that even in cities like Oslo, household appliances are not common and that chores, including shopping when stores are specialized, necessarily consume more time and energy than in the United States; some canned foods have tended to be in the luxury class, and frozen goods and prepared foods are, like other American gadgets, items that may come in the future.

Do husbands help with housework? This question in a Norwegian poll brought replies indicating that less than one-third did so regularly. Among younger married people and those in cities, a greater proportion of men reported helping regularly, and this suggests that the situation is changing.³⁰ Perhaps there is a strong heritage from rural ways, although the heavy work of women on farms would argue for some sharing of work in the house. This vestige of a patriarchal order has its other side in the pride associated with the husband's ability to support his wife, part of a leisure-class or comfort standard of living.

For some time, part-time work has been advocated as an answer. "Half-day positions for married women should be the slogan."³¹

However, a public opinion poll in 1947³² indicated that among women not working, two-thirds or more would not seek employment if part-time jobs were available. Among those employed, about 40 per cent would prefer part-time work. In another poll in the same year, a majority of women said that housework was more interesting and comfortable, or (37 per cent of those who favored home work) that it is natural for a woman to sacrifice herself for her home. These replies we can interpret as individual expressions of cultural patterns which are resistant to change, however much other aspects of the status of women have yielded to the "acids of modernity."

A Danish sociologist offers this comment with special reference to urban and middle-class wives:

The social responsibilities weighing upon the married female are so many, so time consuming, and even contradictory, as to provide fertile soil for nervous tensions. She should be a skilled cook, an efficient housekeeper, a representative hostess, an attractive spouse, a patient, loving, and enlightened mother. But even if she excels in all these respects she will reap slight social esteem, because dominant middle-class opinion will insist on the superior value of choosing a career outside the home and of cultivating literary and artistic interests.³³

CONCLUDING COMMENTS

This chapter has been concerned largely with the legal and economic aspects of the status of women, although the typical roles played by husbands and wives in Norwegian families have been touched on incidentally. More will be said in later chapters about roles within families, but there are many nuances which remain for analysis by others. It is perhaps evident that despite changes in legal bases and in practices, which are most marked in cities, a hard core of patriarchal role conceptions persists as a carry-over from the recent past. Detailed and intimate studies of family interaction, going much beyond the limitations of the present work, might be fruitful in many respects; at this point, we call attention to the possibilities of case analyses of harmony or conflict, especially as they include differential

notions of women's place in the home and the world at large, in view of the fairly rapid transitions which have been surveyed.

As we consider the response patterns of individuals as typifying or lagging behind the dominant values in a culture, we must leave room for the inevitable mixture within any personality of parts which belong to different cultural frames of reference. There is ambivalence, and the problem of inter-personal adjustment in any changing society is the sensitive interplay between seemingly contradictory parts of the other's stock of ideas and expectations. This has been called the gyroscopic type of adjustment by Riesman as he describes the successful "inner-directed" personality type.³⁴ It is not surprising that there are strains on the individual, or difficulties in marriage, in a time when new choices are available and alternative patterns of adjustment are tolerated. However, the heritage of traditional controls and the strength of inner-direction have helped to make the new individualism in Norway less disorganizing than in many places.

¹ Liv Kluge, *Sosial Trygging av Mor og Barn* (Arbeidernes Opplysningsforbund, Oslo, 1947), pp. 16-17. Liv Kluge headed Oslo's Municipal School of Social Work.

² A Gallup poll in July, 1947, indicated that only a minority of housewives received a regular monthly allowance for personal use; 88 per cent reported getting money as needed. However, nearly 80 per cent of the men said they did not ask their wives what they used monies for.

³ *The Status of Women in Norway Today* (a survey published by the Norwegian Joint Committee on International Social Policy, Oslo, 1953), p. 6. This report was written by Ellen Bonnevie Seip in co-operation with an editorial committee representing Norwegian women's organizations. (See note 20, below.) Its publication is under the auspices of the Ministry of Social Affairs.

Sons retain certain advantages in the ownership of farms, as noted in Chapter IV.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

⁵ Hanna Astrup Larsen, "Camilla Collett," *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1937), II, 637.

⁶ The quotations are from Act III, and the emphasis on Ibsen's interest in individualism rather than feminism is from the introduction by Asbjørn Villum to *Et Dukkehjem* (Oslo: Gyldendals Skoleutgaver av Norsk Forfattere, 1950).

⁷ *Norske Kvinnesaksforening Gjennom 65 aar, 1884-1949* (report by the Norwegian Association for Women's Rights).

⁸ *The Status of Women in Norway*, *loc. cit.*, pp. 7-8, 27-30.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

¹⁰ *Arbeiderbladet*, July 10, 1953.

¹¹ *The Status of Women*, *loc. cit.*, pp. 43-44.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 42. See also Chapter XVII, section on rural housing.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 43.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 37-39.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

News of Norway, XV (May 1, June 26, 1958), 66, 100; *Family and Child Welfare in Norway, A Survey* (Joint Committee on International Social Policy, Oslo, 1949), pp. 32-33. But cf. the following: "In Norway a private organization, 'Norsk Folkehjelp,' which receives subsidies from local authorities, maintains arrangements for providing housewives of small means with summer holidays, but the number of beneficiaries is still relatively unimportant." (George R. Nelson, [ed.] *Freedom and Welfare* [sponsored by the ministries of Social Affairs of Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, Sweden, 1953], p. 276.)

¹⁶ Gallup poll, June 6, 1947; also Gallup poll of 1956.

¹⁷ Gallup poll, May 16, 1947.

¹⁸ *The Status of Women*, *loc. cit.*, p. 48.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 49-50; *Statistisk Årbok for Norge, 1957*, p. 20.

²⁰ *The Status of Women*, *loc. cit.*, p. 48. There are certain seeming errors in this report's Chapter VI. See also a report by Signy Arctander, *Kvinnen i Ervervslivet*.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 53-54 (corrected from *Statistisk Årbok for Norge 1957*, pp. 20-24).

²² *Arbeiderbladet*, April 11, 1953.

²³ *The Status of Women*, *loc. cit.*, p. 56.

²⁴ *Statistisk Årbok for Norge 1952*, pp. 227-28.

²⁵ *The Status of Women*, *loc. cit.*, pp. 57-58. Cf. A. P. Østberg "Er lik lønn for menn og kvinner urett?" *Arbeiderbladet*, March 28, 1953. This is the employer's viewpoint on the relative productivity of male and female labor, arguing against equal pay.

²⁶ Margarete Bonnevie, *Familiekrisen og Botemidler mot Den* (Oslo: H. Aschehoug, 1935), pp. 64 ff.

²⁷ Norsk Gallup Institutt, April, 1953.

²⁸ *A Brief Summary of Activities, 1950-1958* (The Institute for Social Research, Oslo, 1958) (mimeo.), p. 12.

²⁹ Karl Herredsvela, *Sex Role Pattern and Political Level of Aspiration . . .* (Oslo: Maschinskrevet, 1954).

³⁰ April 2, 1949, reported in *Hvem, Hva, Hvor*, 1950, p. 56.

³¹ Margarete Bonnevie, *Ekteskap og Arbeide* (Oslo: Some Forlag, 1932), p. 73. In this book, she compared housework to an accordion which could be stretched out or pressed together at will (p. 61). See also her *Patriarkatets Siste Sjaanse* (Oslo: H. Aschehoug, 1948).

³² Gallup poll, June 6, 1947.

³³ Kaare Svalastoga, "The Family in Scandinavia," *Marriage and Family Living*, XVI (November 1954), 376.

³⁴ David Riesman, *The Lonely Crowd*, *loc. cit.*

X

Child Management: Trends in Urban Middle Classes

By EVA NORDLAND AND OTHERS

(Editors' note: The authors of this volume abandoned any idea of reporting on "the child-rearing" of "The Norwegians" as a whole. The numbers of subcultural, class and age groupings, to say nothing of differing rates of change in theories and habits of child management and the shortage of reliable inductive studies of child-rearing by qualified Norwegian experts, make it wise to limit our offering on the subject largely to specific areas, with samples drawn chiefly from the urban middle classes. Dr. Eva Nordland, a child psychologist who has authored books in this field,¹ prepared her report specifically for this volume. We have drawn upon a few additional reports relevant to the general topic of current child-rearing practices, theories, and researches in Norway. American readers should know that such topics are frequently discussed in Norwegian newspaper commentaries, but should not overestimate the liberalizing influences of such debates. They reach few farmers or working-class readers. The reader is also referred to a useful summary statement by Svalastoga, for Scandinavian comparisons.²—T. D. E. and A. H.)

CHILD-REARING IN TRANSITION

AMONG Norwegian middle-class parents, there is a vivid interest in problems concerning education and child treatment. The bringing up of children is characteristically no longer taken as a matter of fact, as something that you know once and for all because you do it as your father and mother did. Fathers and mothers think they do *not*

know what is the right way to treat their sons and daughters. They read books about it, they discuss it, they ask teachers and educational psychologists to lecture on the problem at parent and school meetings, they share the newspaper protests and controversies on the subject.

On the bringing up of older children, the divergence of views is more obvious and more widespread than on methods of baby care. Discussion in the newspapers as a whole concerns *freedom* as contrasted to *authority* in child management. The discrepancies between opinions have brought forth strong feelings, and there have been controversies between those defending freedom for children and those attacking the idea.

This situation is certainly a consequence of changes in society and has its parallels in other countries. In the past, boys and girls had a fixed pattern: they had to behave like their fathers and mothers to be real grownups. In these days, the norms of behavior are not evident to the youngsters, and very often the mothers and fathers themselves want their children to be different, to do better, and to behave like "others" and not like themselves.³

ESTABLISHED PATTERNS OF BABY CARE

The treatment of young children is greatly influenced by a very special factor: the accepted teachings of physicians and hospitals directly to almost all mothers in cities and to a large number of mothers in the country. This teaching has been assimilated because of the social prestige of the physicians and because it is received through many channels.⁴ The daily program of the child is in every way to be strictly regulated by the mother.⁵ This is in the cities so uniformly done that a mother usually feels ashamed to tell that she gives her newborn baby milk more than once in the night, and a mother also feels ashamed if she gives her baby a sucker to soothe him.

In the last few years, new voices are heard concerning the treat-

ment of babies. The idea is that the child's life must be regulated in accordance with what is natural to the individual child. We should not adjust the baby to our world but we *and* the baby should adjust to each other—concerning meals and all other things of importance in the baby's life.⁶

To the baby the change to fixed times (for meals) is not necessarily natural—therefore during the first months the baby should get his food when he himself wants it, that is, when he cries with hunger. The need for food will soon regulate itself to a certain rhythm, that may be individual to each child.⁷

The divergent teachings of conservative and "modern" physicians and child psychologists have been confusing to mothers who encounter both views. It is probable, however, that the teachings of physicians, generally conservative, are much more widely accepted because of their greater opportunities in reaching the mothers and because of their established professional prestige. Thus, most mothers tend to follow what still is the "traditional" way to handle babies: regular meals, fixed healthy food, fixed sleeping times, much fresh air; the emphasis is on physical hygiene and adjustment to the world of the grownup.

As to the problem of toilet training, much discussed in child psychiatry, we do not know much about common practices in Norway. In general, the physicians' books recommend early habit training. But more and more mothers will read articles and books by modern child psychologists and therefore try to wait with toilet training until the child seems mature enough for it. But it seems that many still feel ashamed when their two or two-and-one-half-year-old child cannot keep dry and clean.

RECENT MANUALS OF CHILD CARE

In the last ten or fifteen years, Norway has had a large increase in books on child care and management. Representative of the popular books of advice for mothers on the care of children is Sundal's

Mor og Barn ("Mother and Child") which had gone into fourteen editions by 1950.⁸ Sundal is neither "traditional" nor "modern" but middle of the road. For example, in prescribing accepted physical regimen for infants and stressing regularity of daily schedule, he does not recommend use of the pot before one year of age, and it is not to be insisted on. "We know now that it can be injurious to force a child to cleanliness. If forced, they may resist later." Masturbation is not to be made much of, but is to be dealt with by distractions, and outgrown. A middle ground is taken between the predispositions of hereditary constitution and its modifiability by parental or other efforts.

Sundal lists twelve principles of child management in which one sees simple, common-sense advice stated in general terms that are not always so simple in practical application. In view of the increasing proportion of mothers who have used this and similar books to guide their own family regimen, it is appropriate to summarize Sundal's advice:

1. The child's regimen should avoid shocks, frights, shouting, but this does not mean that the child is to "do what he pleases." Occasional use of "rules," but friendly attitudes, use of distraction, and stress on positive rather than on negative control.
2. Let the child feel the security of affection; meet the child's affection halfway but don't "smother" the child.
3. Don't be afraid to warn the child of danger in an understandable, unexcited way.
4. Do not lie or fib to the child. Let it get information when big enough to understand.
5. To deal with boredom, restlessness, headstrongness, spite, find outlets for the child's energy in something that captures his interest. Let it discover or run its own project but be willing to help.
6. Let the home be peaceful. The child learns from good examples.

7. Don't force the child; enlist its interests as your co-worker.
8. Ignore children's tantrums, at least don't lose self-control and flare back.
9. Be consistent and logical: it gives the child a sense of security.
10. Show courtesy and respect as to an adult.
11. Avoid complex speech and also baby-talk.
12. Encourage contacts with other children, to avoid shyness and to produce considerateness.

Sundal also lists suggested games and toys by appropriate age levels.

Sundal's advice is against "the upbringing of olden days," viz., ordering, forbidding, and punishing. Wishes and feelings forcibly suppressed can apparently disappear but reappear as conflicts in adult life. Substitution and distraction are stressed. A good habit is really learned only when it is done freely and from a relevant interest. "Look upon children as small personalities who often make mistakes but whom we are to guide. To this end the home is the best means for developing what the child's physique, talents and individuality (*saerpreg*) are suited for."

NEO-LUTHERAN PARENTAL EDUCATION

A vigorous propaganda of parent education for the bringing up of children in the Lutheran frame of reference, invoking religious sanctions for conformity and conscience, is recently being programmed by the Institute for Christian Education. Its program is neither "fundamentalist" (*Indre Misjon*) nor official (national Church and Education Department, or Council of Bishops); but it would be considered church oriented in its leadership. It has published a number of pamphlets for parents on Christian upbringing and has held institutes and lecture courses for parents and teachers. Among its publications should be listed:

Eli Piene Hågå, *Familiekunnskap* ("Family Knowledge"), Oslo: Fabritius, 1956.

Ruth og Per Sommer, *Vi oppdrar småbarna våre* ("We Bring Up Our Small Children"), Oslo: Institutt for Kristen Oppseding (Institute for Christian Education, Holbergsplass 4), 1956.

Elizabeth og Egil Nielsen, *Vi oppdrar skolebarna våre* ("We Bring Up Our School Children"), Oslo: Institutt for Kristen Oppseding, 1956.

Correspondence course, *Fra spebarn til tiåring* ("From Baby to Ten-Year-Old"), Oslo: Institutt for Kristen Oppseding, 1956.

These writers would not be called advocates of reactionary methods; rather, the techniques actually suggested seem moderate and considerate.

A representative publication of the "modern" trend is a little book by Harald Schjelderup on neurosis and education. Schjelderup defined two ways of bringing up children, the authoritarian and the so-called "free education" (*fri oppdragelse*).⁹ You can punish your child and suppress those energies that do not suit the world of the grown-ups—or you can channelize the forces and lead the child through understanding. It is important to bear in mind the long-run results of your handling of a child and its problems. Through authoritarian treatment you make your child do the things you want him to. He may be obedient and "good"—but possibly at great costs. He may develop into an openly aggressive person *or* into a submissive, passive human being with repressed hostility.¹⁰

But as always happens, when one succeeds in fighting against one extreme, those who agree go to the other extreme. What happened this time was that to a great many of those "free educationists" of the thirties and forties the chief—or even only—goal in bringing up children was *just to make them free*.¹¹ The extreme of *fri oppdragelse* seems to have been to let the children do as they wanted at the cost of others, and—as a last resort—to let them out of the house so that father or mother could calm down and have a little peace while "the tyrants" themselves found someone else to dominate outside.

Naturally, these are arguments from a partisan discussion, and evidently not representative of the current actual practices. But one

obvious effect has been that some school children of the cities are very difficult to handle; and it is not to be wondered at that many teachers are among those who have protested against what is called *fri oppdragelse*.¹² The argument most often heard is that it "breaks down discipline."

After the war, more young delinquents seem to have had the so-called better homes as their background, and recently many voices are heard putting the blame on "free education."¹³ Norway's protagonists of free education have defended their views against these charges and pointed out what they call misunderstandings of their principles.¹⁴ Even in the 1930's, Harald Schjelderup had tried to clear up a difference between a healthy and an unhealthy "freedom." When real reasons exist, the child must learn. He must keep to a schedule, adjust to important rules of cleanliness, and have consideration for others. The point is, *how* this is done:¹⁵ "The authoritarian attitude is to force the child to behave in a certain way through the awakening of feelings of shame and of anxiety. Free education is the building up of healthy habits from the beginning, by being a good example to the child and by showing approval of every sound tendency in the child."

An over-view of after-war literature on the bringing up of children shows that by now many points are stressed besides freedom: security, acceptance, love, contact, understanding, interest, stimulating activities, approval of positive tendencies, democratic policies in the home, and the educator's example.¹⁶

First of all, security for the child and acceptance of the child seem to be given weight. In much of Johannes Sandven's writings, we find this point stressed: Whenever we have to criticize, we should do it in a friendly, accepting way: point to the questionable act as something unallowed or unkind and at the same time show care, love, and acceptance of the child itself.¹⁷

It is also important (maintains Sandven), if the child is to feel secure, that standards and policies in the home be not vague and fluctuating.¹⁸

In Norwegian writings on education in recent years, we should also mention the great interest in the general philosophy of education. The stress is put on how to help the children grow into healthy human beings. As Sandven puts it,¹⁹ "What we have to do is to help each one . . . to *develop* and to keep inner harmony . . . and also to help him . . . to develop his abilities to solve those problems he will meet in his daily life."²⁰

INFLUENCES OF THE CONTROVERSIES ABOUT UPBRINGING

Neither those parents who want to be "radical" in bringing up their children, nor those parents who want to do it as their forefathers did, can easily practice their opinions consistently. They are influenced by the expectations of friends and neighbors, and are under pressure from the society they live in because others demand certain manners and behaviors from their children.²¹ Urban newspapers reach and speak for the middle class. Books like Sundal's, Aarek's, and Sommers' are probably more widely influential than the newspapers.

If one read only the newspapers, one might be led to believe that Norwegian children are either free, self-centered, and subject to no rules at all, or that they are over-restricted and over-regulated with no possibility to choose or plan for themselves, even in details. But just as we cannot know from the books for parents how they actually treat their children, we could also not know, from what parents and others interested in children write about their problems (especially in newspapers), *what are their usual, actual practices.*

STUDIES OF ACTUAL CHILD MANAGEMENT AND ATTITUDES THEREON

We do have a few glimpses of what actually are the present ways of handling children in Norway, though the samples available are, so far, a rather small basis for statements of trends.

Nic Waal, for instance,²² recounts, from her examination of seventy-eight "unselected" children in Oslo, that twelve of this tiny

sample had had a *fri oppdragelse*; thirty-eight of the children had been brought up with the main stress on obedience, and twelve of these thirty-eight parents had marked authoritarian attitudes. About four of the children, there was no information; and of the rest, twenty-four, it was reported that their upbringing was moderately free: obedience was to some extent claimed, and corporal punishment was sometimes used in handling most of the twenty-four.

Norwegian Gallup asked in 1947: "Have you ever punished your child corporally?" Forty-eight per cent answered "yes" and 50 per cent answered "no" on the question.²³ But here, the wording of the question may have made the responses unreliable.

In a study by Cato Hambro, between six hundred and seven hundred adolescent Oslo school boys and girls were asked to write a brief essay on how each (if he were a parent) would treat his or her own adolescent son or daughter.²⁴ Afterwards, all the subjects were individually interviewed; each was asked to pick out his own essay from the pile and answer a few questions. They were asked, for example, *how they themselves were treated by their parents*. Of the boys, 61 per cent had at some time or other been corporally punished, and 54 per cent of the girls. Most of the pupils, and especially the girls, had been punished corporally before school age and not after school age. (The schools do not "use the switch.")

Hambro's study showed that corporal punishment occurred for girls less than for boys in all but the top professional group, where before school age it was practically the same for both sexes. But, by class groups, he found corporal punishment (at least for boys) in a smaller percentage of families of the middle class, especially in professional families, than of the lower classes. In general, use of corporal punishment varied inversely with class level: the two lower classes showed more than the average use of corporal punishment. Hambro found the tendency to be "mild" more typical for the higher socio-economic groups.²⁵

Three-quarters of all pupils were opposed to corporal punishment, boys (71 per cent) less than girls (82 per cent). Roughly, 29.6 per cent

in the 379 middle and upper-class families (22 per cent of boys, 38.5 per cent of girls), and 23.3 per cent (12 per cent of boys, 32.2 per cent of girls) in the 210 lower-class families had been raised with no punishment other than scolding.²⁶ For those who had had corporal punishment, the figures were: 70.4 per cent in the middle classes (78.9 per cent of boys, 61.5 per cent of girls); 76.7 per cent in the lower class (88 per cent of boys, 76.3 per cent of girls).²⁷ Children of the two sexes are treated more nearly alike by upper upper-class than by lower-class families. Hambro suggests²⁸ that this can mean that parents of the upper class take more to heart the bringing up of their daughters than do those of lower groups. They may have less traditional taboo against "striking a girl." Objections to the use of corporal punishment increase, however, toward upper-class levels.

There is some discrepancy between Hambro's findings and those of a Gallup poll:²⁹ Norwegian parents were asked if they had ever "taken a switch" to their child, and one-half of the sample answered "no"; slightly more of those of the income groups above than below \$1,000 had done so, but less than one-third of the younger parents.³⁰

Of Hambro's adolescents who approved the use of corporal punishment, 85.9 per cent had had it. Of those who do not expect to use it on their own children, 54.4 per cent had had it. Of boys who have had corporal punishment, 38.73 per cent would use it for their own children, 61.27 per cent would not. Of boys who had not had corporal punishment, 11 per cent would and 89 per cent would not use it for their own children; for girls, these percentages were: 28.47 *vs.* 71.53, and 4.76 *vs.* 95.24. The use of corporal punishment seems to be decreasing from generation to generation.³¹

A felt lack of confidence or of comradeship between child and parent was mentioned at every class level, by significantly more girls than boys; this from 7 per cent of twelve-year-old girls to 89 per cent of eighteen-year-old boys. But Hambro's third class ("middle-middle") showed the highest percentage of this lack.³²

The problems of sex education are considered elsewhere (Chapter XIX). Here, it should be noted, however, that while the majority of

parents (Gallup, 1947) had not tried to give their children correct explanations of their physical origin, the percentage was 64 per cent in the income group over Kr. 6,000, 75 per cent in those below that level.³³ Hambro's findings on this point were that while Oslo adolescents were widely familiar with physical sex facts, many of them were not getting from their parents either facts (67 per cent of boys, 44 per cent of girls) or trusted guidance (40 per cent).³⁴

CHILDREN'S VIEWS OF UPBRINGING

Of interest is Hambro's comparison between what the boys and girls tell about their own parent-child relationship and *what they purpose as their own way of bringing up children*. Of the girls, 7 per cent want to be "severe"³⁵ towards their daughters, and most of these girls have themselves had "severe" parents. Thirty-six per cent of the girls want to be "mild"³⁶ towards their daughters and most of these girls have themselves "mild" parents.

Of the boys, 16 per cent want to be "severe" and 35 per cent to be "mild," and here we find the same tendency for those who have "severe" parents, themselves to be "severe" and for those who have "mild" parents, themselves to be "mild" towards their own future children.³⁷

EXAMPLES OF CHILDREN'S ATTITUDES

Illustrative bits from the children's reports and interviews by Hambro seem to show (a) certain children accepting "strict" discipline and ready to impose it on the next generation, (b) others reacting against it and expecting to be more permissive, more reasoning, or less harsh, (c) still others appreciating their own "free" discipline and proposing to perpetuate it, (d) and (rarely) a child mildly reared but intending to be more strict with his or her own child. The following cases illustrate the foregoing types. Yet these groupings are by no means sharply distinguishable:

(a) Children who accept "strict" discipline and would be strict with their own offspring.

An upper middle-class girl of fourteen has three older sisters with whom she shares a room.

"We have been treated rather strictly at home. We have all been spanked a lot till we were 10 or 11." [She would treat her children the same; thinks it is wrong, but states it has had no ill effects. She thinks maybe it is healthy in a way. Her sisters are of the same opinion. She thinks she will spank her children till they are three to four years old. She has now very cordial relations with her parents.] "Have you been slapped also?" "I'll say we have! Dad is very short-tempered, and slaps our faces even now. I rise above it, but it thoroughly revolts me. I can be very cold for a while afterwards. I would never do that." This girl wrote: "If I had a girl of 14 I know she would get a strict upbringing. I would never try the way of so many parents nowadays, that children must not be corrected because they might get complexes and inhibitions. I often think that in the old days children were not allowed to do what they liked, like so many kids nowadays. But they grew into good people all the same."

A boy of fourteen of lower-middle or upper lower-class family, had been whipped until he was ten; since that age he is punished by being confined to his room. He wrote:

If I had a son of 14, I would treat him exactly as my parents treat me. If he had not done what I had asked him, he would be scolded. I would not have spoiled him the way so many other kids get spoiled, mostly 'only' children. Often we can see a gang of boys at a street corner, smoking, and maybe using foul language also. If I were grown up and had a son and saw him in such a gang, I would have taken him right home and given him a sound whipping, and confined him to his room and told him not to be together with those boys any more.

Another case (twelve years, lower class) where confused conflicts are suggested is reported by Hambro. His father spanked him until he was eleven. Now he is slapped and scolded. He wrote:

I would bring him up this way: I would scold him when he was small, and whip him until 10 or 12, but not after he has developed a little. Then it would be embarrassing if his mommy started to pull down his pants.

When he has reached the physical [sic] age he will understand how to behave. I heard of a case the other day about a little boy who had been out picking up such twigs as you find in the street when they have been cutting the trees in the avenues. He had perhaps gotten his clothes a little dirty, and then he was whipped three times by each twig. There were 6 or seven of them. Now he is scared, afraid of his mother, plays about with the girls and drinks. It pays to bring children up in another way than just scolding and beating them. [In the interview, it transpired that the story about the boy who was whipped and got nervous was all made up, for what purpose I do not know.—C. H.]

(b) Children reacting against "strict" discipline and expecting to be more permissive.

An upper-middle-class boy of eleven reacted somewhat from harsh punishment. All he wrote was:

Well, if my boy had been naughty I would not whip him, I would sooner talk to him, for it is painful to spank them. It is only when they are 6-7 that I would whip them, for when they are 6-7 they haven't got nearly the sense they have when they are 12. Otherwise I would treat him the same as other kids. [The interview revealed that he was whipped by his father until he was eleven, now is slapped occasionally, and is confined to his room occasionally.] I would rather be confined to my room than be spanked. For when I was whipped I had to go to bed afterwards.

A girl of fourteen, of lowest economic class level, wrote:

Young girls are often sassy. It is only because they are scolded and slapped. [Her father slaps her face.] I try to get away from him, but don't succeed. Dad is so big . . . he is stricter than mommy. [She was spanked by him till she was ten, and thinks it is bad for her.] One gets hard. [She would not spank her own children, but would slap them.]

(c) Children under "free" discipline who propose to raise their offspring mildly.

A boy of fourteen, of upper class, who is considered typical of those raised without corporal punishment, believes in discipline through understanding:

If I were grown up and had a son 14 years old, I would treat him as much as possible like an equal, answer all his questions to the best of my ability, and otherwise be as nice as I could to him. I would explain *why* he must not do wrong—that since we are so many people together, we cannot all do just as we like. And I think he would understand this, so it would not be necessary to punish him.

An upper-class girl (eleven) who had been slapped occasionally but never locked up or spanked, wrote:

If my daughter is not good and obedient I will try to make her by using kind words only. I do not think a child will become good by beating it. Nor do I think children become good by being locked up in dark closets and cupboards.

A girl of lowest economic class had never been punished; her parents just talk to her. Of her own imaginary daughter, she wrote:

She would never be not allowed to go out, and would never be spanked, for that is just silly. A girl of 12 should never be spanked, for it is enough to talk to them, and they must listen when one speaks to them.¹

(d) Children mildly reared who would be stricter with their own offspring. While no child advocated harsh treatment, a few proposed stricter measures than they had experienced. An upper-class girl of thirteen had never been spanked herself, but her two younger brothers get whipped. She wrote:

I would whip boys until they begin school, but not girls. . . . [A little later]: I think children get more obstinate from whipping. [Writing of her own child]: Nor would I spank her. I think [13] is too big for that. . . . Everywhere you can read about the new child-rearing, which aims at making all children into experimental rats. All this talk about all the inferiority complexes they get if they are spanked. If my 13 year old daughter had been smaller, for instance 9 years old, I would spank her if she had done something really wrong.

One upper-class boy (thirteen) who had never been spanked, but occasionally slapped when he answers back, imagined that he would spank his own son now and then. He wrote:

If my son had broken a window or done some other wrong, he would have to pay the expenses himself. That would perhaps teach him not to be so careless. And if he was very forgetful, for instance, I would finally make him save up for a new pullover.

Folk high school student groups were also asked by Eliot whether they expect to bring up their own children in the same way they themselves were brought up, and if not, how? Of the students from the upper groups fifteen (71 per cent) by this criterion accepted their own bringing up, and only four (19 per cent) would do it differently.³⁸ By contrast, 45.8 per cent from the lowest groups of families would follow their parents' methods (plus another 4.2 per cent, "perhaps"); 40.3 per cent would do it differently.³⁹

RECENT STUDIES OF "TRENDS," BY NORDLAND

About seven hundred children were asked by Eva Nordland to answer (anonymously) the question: "How do you think a boy (a girl) your own age should be?"⁴⁰ One of the main points in most of the essays was their relation to their parents. While the younger boys and girls, twelve years or less, characteristically maintained that a child should be obedient to the parents, the older children more often stressed that a boy or a girl should be independent: about one-half the boys and girls of fourteen talked about the conflicts with the parents, their need for more freedom, and their need to oppose their parents. For instance:

Boy, fourteen: "The parents should on the whole give him a free hand." Girl, fourteen: "But she [the fourteen-year-old girl] is a bit contrary at this age; and then it isn't easy to be our age. The parents ought to understand that she is in a difficult age and treat her accordingly." Girl, fourteen: "Must be allowed to move about a bit without being kept in too tight reins."

When Nordland asked the children how they are treated by their parents, she got very subjective answers. This is also true when parents themselves are asked about how they handle their children.

Another method of inquiry has been used by Eva Nordland since 1949:⁴¹

Teachers of kindergarten were asked to rate the children's social behavior and then to rate the home and the mother's attitudes toward the child, using rating scales for thirty variables of parent behavior. In all, 105 mothers were rated in the two largest cities of Norway, Oslo and Bergen (with suburbs). Using the same scales, fifty-four teachers' college students from all parts of southern Norway rated their own parents' child-rearing practices (and were themselves rated by their classmates as to social behavior). These students, it was assumed, could give more objective information about their parents than children will do because they would better understand the research situation: that the examiner has an *objective* interest in the information they can give, and that he will keep the data anonymous. These students are also more able to be objective than children are, because most of them at the time are living away from their parents.

Although the information offered about the parents' behavior towards these groups of children and young people does not give us a fully representative picture of "Norwegian child management," it may give us a part of the total picture: the groups are not *unrepresentative* for their areas and class status. But the data from teachers on pupils' parents are secondary and inevitably of questionable reliability.

At the time of the study (1949), the students interrogated were between twenty and thirty years old. Their parents we may thus call *parents of the 1920's* because they started as parents in these years (or earlier). The kindergarten children studied were, in 1950, between four and six years old. We may, therefore, call their parents, *parents of the 1940's*.

We shall study the reports of the parent behavior of these two groups of parents: (A) to what extent the parents are accepting or rejecting and (B) to what extent they are democratic or autocratic.

(A) Seven variables were used in the definition of accepting attitudes as against rejecting attitudes of the parent.⁴² Studying the scale

for each of the seven variables, we find the *descriptive cue* that is nearest to the mean of the group as a whole. By using all seven descriptive cues, it is possible to give a picture of *how accepting or non-accepting* the average "1920" mothers and fathers were in their attitudes towards the child. In this way, we find that the students as a group give the following composite picture of their "1920" parents:

(1) The child's welfare got slightly more attention than the welfare of others in the family. (2) The child received "balanced criticism" (parent's criticism of child shows no special tendency, positive or negative). (3) The parent clearly accepted the child. (4) The parent was fond, forgiving, kind. (5) There was a moderate degree of rapport in most situations. (6) Parent-child clashes occurred now and then but they were exceptional, superficial, or mild.

(B) In the same way, we get a picture of how democratic or autocratic the average "1920" parent was. From the student ratings, we get the following information by using the descriptions that are nearest to the mean rating of the group:

(1) Restrictions were moderate and practical, but parents show little concern for the child's freedom as an end. (2) Parents attempted to explain policies to the child, as a general rule. (3) They were neither deliberately democratic nor deliberately dictatorial in their policies. (4) Their policies were—on the whole—clear-cut and consistent. (5) Parents' criticism of the child showed no special tendency, positive or negative. (6) They usually tried to satisfy the child's curiosity. Mothers usually showed thorough understanding of the child. Fathers especially had a good grasp of everyday situations. On the autocratic side of the scale, both parents were rated for a tendency to be coercive when giving suggestions. They averaged as *more* coercive than the following cue: (7) "Parent coercive in major affairs, but uses optional suggestions where there is no important issue."

These are the main trends in the material. Typical of the accepting, democratic parents are the parents of Åse. According to her own description:

My parents had their absolute fixed principles in the way they brought me up, but their way did not feel in any way strict or unreasonable to me. Really I had no pressing feeling of being brought up. Little by little we 8 brothers and sisters were taught in actual situations to do things in such and such a way and were taught not to do other things. Regulations were clearly formulated and we *knew* what we might do and what not. We might for instance never take anything without permission, cakes, sugar and so on. But when we asked we were always permitted, within reasonable bounds, and to ask became a habit just as to thank. Mother and father wanted always to know what we did and where we went, but they never did it in an obtruding way. Almost always I told unasked what I had in mind, that too became a habit, a matter of course. I wanted them to know where I was. Really I very often asked them if they permitted one thing or the other, but as they always gave permission when they did not see a valid reason against it, I did not feel that I was begging. I understood that it was best to do it in this way so that my plans should not interfere with those of the others: it was a means of adaptation.

Unnecessary warnings or measures of precaution my mother used very little. We might try for ourselves and learn to take a blow. . . .

Mother did not interfere with our play, nor take part in it except when we asked her (to visit us in the doll house for instance). We had a wonderful playing room where we were the only rulers, using our imagination and initiative undisturbed by the grownups. Here we might take our playmates as we pleased. Mother even invited us to do it, to play with others and show regard for them. She taught us this best, however, by doing it herself. Really we got an example of everything that mother taught us in what she herself did. When there were conflicts between us sisters and brothers and playmates mother was the objective judge. Did I complain of someone, mother always asked what *I* had done wrong, since the other one did such and such. She asked us to try to become friends again but left it to us to clear it up in our own way.

It seems to me that there has been a certain *line* for my parents in bringing up their children. When I was little they were more authoritarian (without my feeling it in that way). But as I got older more and more was left to me. "You have to make up your mind yourself," was the answer I got when I became older.

Most of the "1920" parents' attitudes then, as seen by the students, their grown-up children, approximate the foregoing profiles of acceptance *and* democratic control. But some few parents are rated distinctly non-acceptant and non-democratic. Typical of the less accepting and less democratic parents in this study are the parents of Randi. She writes about her childhood:

My parents as a whole agreed in their way of bringing up their children. They were rather strict. The obedient child was their goal. They did not use much of strict and disagreeable punishments, a slap on the ear now and then. Sometimes whipping, the last time when I was six years. Unjust treatment occurred. The grownup took little time to hear what you had to say in your defense. Mother had little time to read or to make things cozy for us. Much of noise was not tolerated. More than everything I have learned . . . I think, to take into consideration the interests of others and to submit to others. My parents have shown a tendency not to praise their children. They had as a rule some "paragon of virtue" that was held up to us. We children early got "grown-up" and "sensible"—a little too much, I think. As I was the only girl among 5 boys I think they especially tried to make me as "feminine" as possible, inside and outside. Inside they did not succeed, fortunately.

It seems, then, that some of the "1920" parents, but not many of them, showed autocratic tendencies, and fathers showed these tendencies more obviously than mothers. The most frequent situation was for both fathers and mothers to show a "moderately democratic" attitude towards the children.

The sample of *mothers from the 1940's* is larger and is probably rated more objectively, but not with as close knowledge as were the "1920" group. A point to have in mind in evaluating this material is that the "1940" mothers are rated as mothers of small (kindergarten) children, while the "1920" group are rated as mothers of older children, since the time of childhood the students remembered best must have been from five years on.

(A) When we examine the means (averages) for the *1940 mothers for acceptant attitudes*, we find that *the means are close to the means for the*

1920 group of mothers. Only as regards disciplinary frictions and effectiveness of policy are there notable differences. Of the two groups ("1920" and "1940"), we find that the "1940" mothers have more frictions with their children and this, we should suppose, may be explained by the fact that the latter were mothers of small children.

The deviations in the material are greater in the "1940" group. It seems as if more of the small children are especially warmly accepted, but also that more of them are *less* accepted than in the other group. This showing may, however, be due to the different basis of selection or to the attitude of the raters.

(B) As to democratic attitudes in the "1940" group of mothers, we find that the descriptive cues nearest to the means for the group give a picture that is very like the picture of the "1920" group. Using the descriptions nearest to the means, we find for the "1940" group the following picture: (1) Restrictions were moderate and practical. (2) There was no apparent tendency favoring either the peremptory or the rational approach to child control. (3) The parents were deliberately democratic in certain safe or trivial matters, but dictatorial when there was a sharp conflict between the child's wishes and other essential requirements. (4) There was a core of reasonable consistency about parents' policies. (5) The parents were coercive in major affairs. (6) The parents' criticism of the child showed no special tendency, positive or negative. (7) They usually tried to satisfy the child's curiosity. (8) They had a good grasp of everyday situations.⁴³

The main tendency seems to be in this group, as in the "1920" group, a *moderately democratic attitude*.

The parental behavior as we see it in the examination of the "1920" mothers and fathers and the "1940" mothers is essentially accepting for most of the parents, moderately but not consistently democratic for the great middle group, but with some clearly non-democratic tendencies for a not negligible part of the parents. The fathers in the "1920" group are less democratic than the mothers.

It would not seem, then, so far as we can judge from this material,

that the bringing up of children has markedly changed in the last ten to twenty years, that is, when we examine broad groups of parents. The two groups in our material ("1920" and "1940") are, however, so unlike both as regards selection and as regards rating method that we are not entitled to draw from their data more definite conclusions in connection with this problem. The chief result from the one group of our material will, however, support the chief result from the other, just because of the *common tendencies we have found with two such unlike groups*. We are then justified in concluding that the typical southern-Norwegian (middle-class) way of bringing up children does not differ much from what this material has shown us. *The typical parent in the towns of south Norway* seems to be *rather acceptant and democratic* and not at all rejecting and autocratic.

FINDINGS FROM OTHER MIDDLE- AND UPPER-CLASS SAMPLES⁴⁴

In matters of child-rearing, there seems to be evidence that professional and "upper-class" families are (as in the United States), in some respects, more permissive and flexible in their practice than are those of lower middle and laboring levels; except that urban children, especially boys, of grammar school age and of working parents, seem to be given much unsupervised freedom of the streets. The butt of newspaper protests seemed to be in terms of middle-class and younger urban families; but it was implied that the newer practices were percolating downward in the class structure, through news articles, books, study groups, and direct imitation; that they are a cause of delinquency or at least are to the detriment of habits, character, and family stability. Middle-class parents were accused of fearing to deny their children lest suppression create "complexes," Nazi sadism, etc.

In twenty-two middle-class families near the top of the class scale used for Eliot's 156 folk high school questionnaires, discipline was imposed by both mother and father in ten cases, and in three more by mother, father, and children (together, 62 per cent). In four

families (19 per cent), discipline was ascribed to father alone. The remainder are scattered exceptions. These proportions are similar to those found in the families of the "lower-class" students, where, for example, the lowest seventy-two cases yielded 48.6 per cent with joint parental discipline and 18 per cent with paternal discipline, and the thirteen families with matriarchal control are explained by the death or other absence of the father. In so far as there is a class difference, it indicates a slightly more frequent sharing of child discipline at the "upper" level.

Eighteen students (86 per cent) from the top levels considered that their upbringing had been less strict than their parents', and none answered "more strict." At the lower end of the status scale, eight did not know, eight (11 per cent) felt it was about the same, only five (7 per cent) thought it more strict, and forty (55.6 per cent) thought it less strict than their parents' upbringing. While these replies must be discounted for the impressions that parents often deliberately convey to their children, there is a noticeably greater proportion of apparent mitigation of discipline in the higher than in the lower groups.⁴⁵

Methods of disciplinary control reported in the top twenty-two families of the folk high school groups show eight cases (36.4 per cent) of reprimand, four (18.2 per cent) of spanking, two of staying at home, seven (31.8 per cent) of various rewards (including praise, approval, or affection), and three (13.6 per cent) reporting little or no punishment or reward. These proportions contrast with the lowest class groups as follows: 8 per cent without punishment or reward, 25 per cent using rewards, five (7 per cent) using advice and explanation, twenty-five (34.8 per cent) reprimand, and eighteen (25 per cent) spanking or boxing.⁴⁶

GENERAL EVALUATIONS

Undoubtedly, as with us, principles of "free upbringing" have occasionally been so misapplied as to reinforce neurotic or antisocial habits.⁴⁷ Some writers, blaming upon "modern," liberal upbringing

many of the troubles of the thirties, from nazism to neuroses, had also attributed the vogue of liberal upbringing, in turn, to the Freudians. A brilliant Norwegian psychiatrist and essayist, the late Trygve Braatøy, defended both the Freudians and liberal upbringing.⁴⁸ He pointed out that many of Norway's great divines, savants, and patriots sprang from middle-class families in which the children's individuality, fearlessness, and independence were encouraged by liberal principles of "talking back," respect for the child's opinion, tolerance of youthful revolt, etc. :—

In the middle-class home where the radical intelligence grew up in the first place, the optimism of rebellious young intellectuals had as background that, when it came to freedom of opinion and expression, they belonged by tradition to a respectable environment. . . . The Freudian circles, seen in perspective, were not agitators. Their wishes and dreams of the future were a continuation of good middle-class wishes and plans and efforts. . . . In so far as psychoanalysis and child psychology have taught that repression of the emotions in the childhood years has injurious results, one will take care that the child is not all tied up inside or is not too early overtrained with demands about cleanliness or being well brought-up. In respectable circles with favorable attitudes toward knowledge and fellow-men, there occurs a cultivation of good manners and social conventions from generation to generation, materially and psychologically. This cultivation has reached the point of recognizing an "age of negativism" in childhood as a natural stage of development and not as "wickedness," and one recognizes that youth between 13 and 23 have a right to attack the opinions and ideology of the parental generation. *This right was not created by psychoanalysis nor by the Freudian intellectual milieu.* It was implicit earlier, in an intellectual tradition. . . . All through the previous century curiosity's open tolerance became a part of the way of life and a form of sociability among scholars, officials and jurists. They continued the tradition from the clergy of the period of the Enlightenment to their successors among physicians, engineers, natural scientists, teachers.

The Freudians could proudly claim that it meant a revolution when this tradition was carried over to psychological research, and through

that to child rearing (and morals). Actually, this "revolution" was a continuation of the tradition within fine and established families. In Norway we can quickly pick out examples: bishop's sons Harald and Kristian Schjelderup, minister's son Paul Gjesdal, teacher's son Sigurd Hoel. Their youth's revolt was a revolt *within* the family. It has as premise that human beings in principles and opinions are decent and tolerant so far as they are behaving with their good will. But decency and good will do not grow out of nothing or a mere decision. They need biological, material and cultural preconditions. . . .

The Freudians . . . failed to recognize that one can wage the struggle [against patriarchal restraints] with "mental" weapons, thanks to belonging to a class where words and argument were accepted. In businessmen's families money is often the final argument: "father pays!" In manual laborers' homes, more often a blow on the table, or — a blow! Among intellectuals the *word* is a means to desired ends. The children of the public official (*embetsmann*) and of intellectuals have to a greater extent than children in general had the experience that mother and father *yield to arguments*. . . .

If one goes back a generation or so one will, in nearly all Norwegian academic families, run into the clergy. . . .⁴⁹ This may explain why the stress between the intellectuals of the last century and their forefathers had to get such an anti-clerical twist. On the other hand, it may be fair to point out that the sons have in their essential purposes carried out the father's tradition. In the proclamation of the Good Gospel is the wish: "Peace on the earth . . . Good will towards men!"

This wish is carried out by the bishop's grandson Karl Evang in the Directorate of Health and World Health Organization, as daily duty. It is carried further as to technique and theory in the work of the bishop's son Harald Schjelderup when he emphasizes, as the foundation of psycho-analytic treatment, giving the patients the love and security they never received, or which they lost, in childhood.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

If such trends of child management as have been indicated in the foregoing pages are widely operative in Norway, this may help to account for the notable ease, freedom, and relaxed independence

shown by Norwegian youngsters as they grow up, despite some patterns of school discipline that do not seem to have outgrown regimentation and traditional methods.

It may be that one would not find any marked differences in the ways of managing children in more widely representative groups of Norwegian parents over the last ten or twenty years, even if a more thorough and careful study of just this problem were made. It is highly probable, however, that such differences will be found in specific groups, such as intellectual people, who read and study much, or among people who in more special ways are all-round, well-informed people—for instance, those who are much involved in the informational activity of some political party or vocational group.

It is further probable that the attitudes of parents differ in different parts of the country and in different socio-economic groups. It is held, for instance, that parents in the northern and western part of Norway are more permissive in their attitudes than parents in southern and eastern Norway. About this, however, we do not really know much, although the questions have been casually discussed in Norwegian essays and fiction.⁵⁰ These questions might also come into the scope of the study of the present change of peasant culture into industrialism being done by the Sociological Institute of the University of Oslo.⁵¹

It may be that the possibilities of influencing greater parts of the population in matters of child management are more marked today than, for instance, ten or twenty years ago, because of the ever increasing use of mass communication, cheaper and more easily read books, more widespread and numerous women's weeklies, the special Norwegian broadcasting system in every home, with selected programs for parents, the extended lectures, clinics, and literature of the National Women's Health Association, the Norwegian Mental Hygiene Association, and so on. Because of this, and especially because of the greater knowledge of child development mediated through university institutes for psychology and education, the

need is by now more widely than ever felt for a systematic, responsible orientation in child development for every parent and future parent. Physicians, child psychologists, and educational psychologists, as specialists on physical hygiene and mental hygiene respectively, should *together* take the responsibility for teaching young people about child care and management before they get fixed habits in treating their children.

RESEARCHES IN PROCESS

Under the direction of Åse Gruda Skard, a team of psychologists at the University's Institute of Psychology has been pursuing an exhaustive longitudinal study of working-class Oslo children in family interaction, in a pilot project to frame hypotheses regarding the relationship of parental attitudes (in a Norwegian setting) to the personality development of the children.⁵² The research began with co-operative parents at a prenatal clinic, and coverage ranged from attitudes of parents toward each other, toward childbearing and specific aspects of child-rearing, and toward levels of aspiration for the child, to actual routines, techniques, problems, emerging attitudes, and the child's development. The materials gathered are massive, and analysis proceeds slowly on a project which, while more psychological than sociological, will be culturally oriented and conclusive for its decade and milieu. The data are from structured interviews transcribed verbatim, from an elaborate battery of tests, and from home observations by a second psychologist. The families have been contacted for relevant data at twelve intervals during the first year, at three-month intervals during the second year, twice in the third year. These later home observations were not taped but carefully and promptly recorded.

The three-year appraisal was in an observational laboratory at the Institute, with two psychologists, three observers, and photography. A separate interview with each parent was tape-recorded. The child's play was observed in a familiar neighborhood situation, often photographed.

At four years, another laboratory session usually for the child alone is standardized and recorded. The tests are of the projective kind. A questionnaire for comparison with a group in the United States and with families of other classes or areas in Norway is also administered to each parent.

The Institute is to continue this longitudinal study with annual interviews, new tests, and group observations, and the methods and findings are scrupulously designed and stated, both for each case and for the group findings. One wonders only if the families' processes are being so often pulled up to see if the roots are growing that data observed may not continue to be representative of average child-rearing among workers' families; and whether the findings, by the time they are published, will be valid for the then generation; i.e. what constants can be assumed in such populations on the basis of a sample of not more than twenty families? No guidance or pay has been given, and the informants' motivation has been that of public-spirited contribution to knowledge, plus friendly personal gestures such as greeting cards and snapshots.

At the Institute for Sociology, Bjørn Christiansen has been carrying on a study of possible effects on a child when there is in a parent a doubt or conflict of theories or attitudes about policies of child-rearing.⁵³

¹ Eva Nordland, *Ungdomspsykologi* (Oslo: H. Aschehoug, 1949); *Sammenheng mellom sosial atferd og oppdragelse* (Akademisk Forlag, Oslo, 1955).

² Kaare Svalastoga, "The Family in Scandinavia," *Marriage and Family Living*, XVI (November 1954), 378.

³ Cf. the well-known author, Magnhild Haalke, who is concerned about the problem and puts forth a view that is shared by many parents: M. Haalke, *Kan vi bygge en bedre menneskeslekt?* (pamphlet). See also Åse Gruda Skard, "Barn, Foreldre, Besteforeldre. Nokre Mentalhygieniske Synspunkt," *Verdens Gang* (October 5, 1953), and the excellent restatement by Cato Hambro (per Finn Carling), "Foreldre i vår tid er ikke klar over sin rolle," *Morgenbladet* (November 25, 1958). Hambro heads *Norges Landsforening for Mentalhygiene*.—Eds.

⁴ We have, for instance, pamphlets called *Guidance in Children's Regimen*, published by the National Health Service; and A. Ødegård, *Veiledning i småbarnsstell* (1949).

⁵ Of widest circulation are probably Alfred Sundal's (14 editions), and perhaps the books by Aarek (seenote 19, below), by Sommer (see page 196), and by Leif Salomonsen, and Roald Rinvik, *Barnet, dets ernæring og stell* (Oslo: H. Aschehoug, 1943).

⁶ Åse Gruda Skard, *Psykisk utvikling og oppdragelse i spebarn og småbarnsalderen* (pamphlet) (Norske Kvinners Sanitetsforening, Oslo, 1946), which has had a very wide circulation.

⁷ Åse Gruda Skard, *Barn i dagliglivet* (Oslo: Cappelen, 1947), pp. 32-33.

⁸ Alfred Sundal, *Mor og Barn* (14th ed.; Oslo: Fabritius og Sonner, 1950), pp. 135-52. Cf. also Leif Salomonsen, and Roald Rinvik, *op. cit.*, pp. 103-4. The latter is largely similar, but a little more favorable to strictness; some prohibitions, the use of rewards and penalties (but not overdone) to follow through consistently on the necessary prohibitions. They add the importance of explaining to a child the "why" of prohibitions, rewards, and penalties. A child "must learn to be resigned."

⁹ H. K. Schjelderup, *Nevrose og oppdragelse* (Oslo: Cappelen, 1937), pp. 110 ff.

¹⁰ See also Harald K. Schjelderup, *Nevrosen og den nevrotiske karakter* (Oslo: Gyldendal, 1940).

¹¹ Finn Havrevold says about this: "We made up our mind . . . to be the ideal father. . . . The answer seemed at that time evident. Doubtless one had to become something between the Trobrianders at that time so popular—and the mystical Dr. X of the thirties—the psychoanalyst." (*Dagbladet*, October 16, 1952.)

See also Anna Sethne, who in work and writings has been one of the campaigners for more freedom in child management in home and school; for instance: "Fri oppdragelse betyr ikke uavkortet frihet." ("Free education does not mean unabridged freedom.") (*Arbeiderbladet*, April 6, 1951.)

¹² Among many articles from teachers we could mention J. Selvåg, "Barnehagene og skulen," *Norsk Skuleblad*, August 29, 1953.

¹³ See, for instance, the front page of *Verdens Gang* (October 10, 1953), where it is put forth as news that the young offenders had had very much freedom in their homes. Cf. also Th. Kjølstad, "Ungdomskriminalitet og kriminell ungdom," *Verdens Gang*, October 21, 1953.

¹⁴ Anna Sethne, *loc. cit.*, *supra*.

¹⁵ H. Schjelderup, *op. cit.*, pp. 108-9.

¹⁶ See, for instance: Johannes Sandven, *Pedagogisk Idébrytning i U.S.A.* (Oslo: Fabritius, 1949), pp. 63 ff.; Harald K. Schjelderup, *Nevrose eller Sannhet* (Oslo: Cappelen, 1948); Åse Gruda Skard, *Barn i Dagliglivet*, *loc. cit.*; Åse Gruda Skard, *Ungene Våre* (Oslo: Tiden, 1948).

¹⁷ Johannes Sandven, *Pedagogisk Idébrytning*, *loc. cit.*, pp. 69 f. Sandven headed the University's Institute of Educational Research (Pedagogisk Forskningsinstitutt).

¹⁸ W. Aarek, *Barnet og de Voksnes Verden* (Stavanger: Stabenfeldt, 1950), pp. 171 f.

¹⁹ Johannes Sandven, "Målsetningen i Folkeskolen," *Skole og Samfunn*, March, 1953, p. 69. See also E. Rasmussen, "Det Pedagogiske Dilemma," *Verdens Gang*, February 18, 1953; S. Tang, "Et Nytt Trekk i Barnevernsarbeidet," *Dagbladet*, July 4, 1951.

²⁰ W. Aarek, *Barnet og de Voksnes Verden*, *loc. cit.*, pp. 194 ff.; *Psykologi i oppdragelsen* (Studentersamfundets Fri Undervisnings Forlag, Oslo, 1949), pp. 9 ff.; O. Storstein, *Fremtiden Sitter på Skolebenken* (Oslo: Tiden, 1946), pp. 7 ff. There is also in current writers a strong emphasis on "democratic" ideals in child-rearing.

²¹ Cf. Jo. M. K. Sandvik, "Problemer med Barn og Ungdom," *Aftenposten*, June 22, 1953.

²² Nic Waal, "Er 'Normale' Mennesker Normale?" *Dagbladet*, October 5, 1953. (Dr. Waal is psychiatric counsellor of a well-known mental hygiene clinic. Her theories are in part controversial.—Eds.)

²³ Norsk Gallup, in *Hvem, Hva, Hvor* (1948).

²⁴ Cato Hambro, "Skoleungdommens syn på oppdragelsen: En undersøkelse blant skoleungdom i oslo i alderen 12-18 år" (unpublished thesis), pp. 48-61. Hambro's "social classes" are described as follows:

1. Higher education, professions: jurists, physicians, dentists, officers, pastors, other appointed civil servants.
2. Engineers, architects, directors, managers, wholesalers, ship managers, shipping business.
3. Higher civil service, certain artists, big merchants, other independent earners, contractors.
4. Lower civil service, teachers, small businessmen and independent earners, certain artists.
5. Office workers, inspectors, foremen, trained skilled workers.
6. Non-trained workers, hand labor.

That which we have called middle and upper class corresponds roughly to Hambro's top four groups.

An abstract of this thesis has been published in *Forskning og Danning* (Universitetets Pedagogisk Forskningsinstitutt, Samskrifter), 1, pp. 143-67. The data indicate good rapport and insight; the adolescents themselves presumably share some biases in their interpretations of parent-child relationships.

Cf. Hambro, *op. cit. supra*, note 3.

²⁵ Apparently contrary to some findings indicating more rigorous treatment of children in the lower classes, Dr. Skard's recent (unpublished) studies of mothers in Oslo's factory districts seem to discover in them a spontaneous sort of mother-earth affection in discipline, tolerance in moral judgments, and common-sense intelligence in respecting the child's emotional integrity.

The Hambro tables also show that a few more families used corporal punishment in the preschool period than after the children started school. But also that a few more of the professional and upper-class families than of the lower classes continued corporal punishment *after* school age.—Eds.

²⁶ Hambro, *op. cit.*, MS, pp. 67-70. This group was not overweighted with girls as was our student group.

²⁷ Between boys of the top professional families (58 per cent corporal punishment) and those of the unskilled laborers' families (87 per cent), the difference was significant on the 1 per cent level (C. R. 293).

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 71.

With regard to the girls it is curious to note that this tendency does not prevail. It appears that the girls are treated more similarly to the boys in the higher socio-economic groups than in the lower. This may be because parents in the higher groups take greater care of the upbringing of their daughters than do parents in the lower groups. It may also possibly be caused by the parents being of the opinion that corporal punishment may be used on boys, but not on girls. But we see in all groups that the boys receive corporal punishment until a higher age than do the girls. This was to be expected on both social and biological grounds; the girls mature before the boys and situations which call for corporal punishment in the eyes of the parents will have a tendency to cease earlier for girls than for boys. *As the girls mature physically, it seems as if the socially and ethically conditioned reluctance to hit women applies with practically equal strength in all socio-economic groups*—C. H.

²⁹ April 25, 1947.

³⁰ The discrepancy is very likely due to the fact that Hambro asked the *children*, the Gallup poll asked the *parents*. Very often, a rough handling, or an irritated slap on buttocks or cheek, is not registered as corporal punishment by the parent, but may be so felt and reported by the child.—C. H.

³¹ Hambro, *op. cit.*, MS, pp. 61–62.

³² Hambro, *op. cit.*, MS, p. 76.

³³ Gallup poll, May 9, 1947.

³⁴ Those who wrote about sex information according to age groups:

	Age	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	In all
Boys	no.	—	3	—	7	11	22	10	53
	percent	—	5	—	13	24	42	33	16
Girls	no.	6	6	4	6	6	7	12	47
	percent	10	11	9	15	14	18	33	15

According to socio-economic groups:

		(Expressed by percentage)					
Group		1	2	3	4	5	6
Boys		13	12	5	15	26	33
Girls		10	16	6	17	14	26

About 50 per cent of the boys and 88 per cent of the girls in the high schools (ages fourteen to eighteen, roughly) were asked if they had received sex instruction. The answers were not analysed further.

		(Expressed by percentage)				
		At school only	At home only	Both	Neither	
Boys		28		29	4	39
Girls		22		20	36	22

Note that this is the students' impression in retrospect.—C. H.

³⁵ By "severe" is here meant the stress on obedience and the use of corporal punishment or threats to enforce obedience.

³⁶ By "mild" is here meant much of freedom and few restrictions, no severe punishments or threats, no strong disapproval but suggestions and explanations.

³⁷ The following illustrative material was provided by Mr. Hambro and interpreted by the editor.

³⁸ How?—"Stricter," "Not lose my temper," "Let them develop freely, try to inspire them to take part in sports, love books, music, etc., and how to get along with others," "Tell about sexual life."

³⁹ How?—In general, less strict (a few more strict): more insight; no favoritism; more affection, companionship and confidence; no corporal punishment; sex instruction; freedom and responsibility; less repression; free choice of vocation.

⁴⁰ Eva Nordland, *Ungdomspsykologi* (Oslo: H. Aschehoug, 1949), Chapter III. Several questions in our folk high school questionnaire were modeled (for comparability) to parallel questions asked by Nordland and Hambro.—Eds.

⁴¹ Eva Nordland, *Sammenheng mellom sosial atferd og oppdragelse* (Akademisk Forlag, Oslo, 1955), esp. pp. 234–72. One notes that in this study data from students' memories of their parents are compared with teachers' reports of adults' current practice. The evidence is indicative, therefore, rather than conclusive, and the comparisons may not be reliable.—Eds.

⁴² For these variables, see:

A. L. Baldwin, J. Kalthorn, and F. H. Breese, "Patterns of Parent Behavior," *Psychological Monographs*, LVIII, 3 (1945), 1–75.

⁴³ The foregoing describes sympathetically the sort of relationships we independently sensed in the homes personally visited (Cf. Chapter VII).—Ed.

⁴⁴ The next several paragraphs have been included here by permission from sources other than Dr. Nordland's findings.—Eds.

⁴⁵ About three-quarters of the entire student group felt that discipline in their homes was about the same as in other Norwegian homes; 12.8 per cent thought it more strict, 7.7 per cent less strict.—Eds.

⁴⁶ Of course, there is overlapping in the foregoing figures, since most students mentioned more than one device of discipline.

⁴⁷ E.g., cf. Sigrid Aaberg, "Hvad med Peter?" *Dagbladet*, October 19, 1950.

⁴⁸ Trygve Braatøy, *Psykoanalyse og Moral* (Oslo: Cappelen, 1949), pp. 16-22, *passim*.

⁴⁹ Cf. Henrik Palmstrøm, "Om en befolkningsgruppes utvikling gjennom de siste 100 år," *Statsøkonomisk Tidsskrift* (1935), pp. 33-334.—Eds.

⁵⁰ See, for instance, the psychological fiction and essays of Hans E. Kinck.

⁵¹ See, for instance, *Bygdesosiologi, Syn og Segn*, No. 1 (1951). Current studies by Skard of attitudes toward child-rearing among Oslo's working-class mothers may also reveal significant class differences.—Eds.

⁵² *Scope and Methods of the Oslo Project* (1950-1956) (Institute of Psychology, Oslo, 1957) (mimeo.).

⁵³ *Report of Activities, 1950-58* (Institute of Sociology, 1958) (mimeo.).

XI

Courtship and the Morals of Youth

INSTITUTIONAL PATTERNING OF ADOLESCENCE

IN turning our attention to young people, we need to note first what marks the change from childhood to the assumption of adult roles in Norwegian society. There is a period of compulsory schooling for seven years starting with the age of seven. Thus, fourteen becomes a time of differentiation in education. While a minority go on to secondary schools which prepare for the University and other higher schools, most young people enter an apprenticeship, or perhaps a trade school in connection with some job. The continuation schools make possible some continued schooling beyond fourteen for those who do not enter the trade school or the academic *realskole* or *gymnasium*, but in any event, there is, at this age, some sense of having entered upon a new and more mature phase of life. This attitude is strengthened by the church practice of confirmation at about the same age, in which instruction is provided by the church in preparation for the first reception of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. Confirmation is not obligatory but most people in Norway have received this instruction.

The impression we get is that young people are expected to settle down and assume more mature roles in society sooner than their counterparts in the United States. Doubtless, adolescence as a process of social maturation has its Norwegian variety of stresses and strains, and it is difficult to make precise comparisons because of the differences between the two societies. However, there does not seem to be a prolonged period between childhood dependency and adult responsibilities, although, in this respect, too, there are changes under way in the general urbanization of life. Despite an earlier

settling on adult economic roles, there is a marked lag in the age of marriage (Chapter VIII).

A Norwegian study (400 male students of average age 20.5 years, in a German concentration camp, 1945) showed that 58 per cent had had sexual intercourse. Kinsey found the same percentage for twenty-two-year-old American students. Frequencies of various other sex behaviors as reported by Kinsey are similar as between the United States and certain German and Swedish groups.¹

Such facts suggest that there is a longer period of sexual "freedom" or of courtship or of actual engagement than in the last century. Generally, betrothal is considered a rather serious obligation, socially recognized as nearly as binding as marriage. This is controlled by custom, since in betrothal no new legal status is acquired, and there is no contract except in an unwritten sense. There is a pattern of stages in the pre-marital period: keeping company (dating, but not exclusively with one person); "going steady" (*fast følge*, dating by a couple to the exclusion of others); engagement in the sense of an "understanding"; finally, engagement or betrothal, with the exchange of rings. The wearing of the ring by both the man and the woman is the public symbol of the new relationship. The ring is worn on the same finger of the right hand during both engagement and marriage.

TRAITS DESIRED IN AND BY PROSPECTIVE SPOUSES

As a part of our questionnaire study, young people in folk high schools were asked what traits were desired in a spouse. As their answers indicate marriage expectations, they throw some light on courtship. The following table indicates responses from young men as to traits desired in a wife and from girls as to husbands. Considering the first three choices, weighted and combined, it is evident that the males consider domestic skill, sexual compatibility, strong body and health, and intelligence most highly. For girls, the highest ranking traits are the following: strong body and health, intelligence, good habits, and sexual compatibility.

TABLE II

RESPONSES FROM 156 FOLK HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS ON DESIRABLE TRAITS IN SPOUSE

<i>Traits Desired</i>	Male			Female		
	Ranking of Choices					
	1	2	3	1	2	3
Good looks	2	2	3	3	0	4
Good income	1	0	0	3	10	14
Good habits	3	3	8	10	18	15
Sexual compatibility	7	8	10	11	11	9
Religion	0	1	1	5	3	3
Education	1	1	4	4	6	9
Conversational charm	5	4	2	3	5	5
Domestic skill	10	9	3	1	3	4
Strong body and health	4	7	5	29	14	10
Occupational efficiency	0	1	1	3	13	2
Intelligence	8	1	3	13	9	12
Interest in sports and out-of-doors	0	1	0	0	0	5
No choice or no response (13)				(16)		
Total	52			104		

Class differences are evident in a significantly greater emphasis on intelligence in husbands, as checked by upper-class girls, compared with the stress on strong body and health in the lowest class group. Urban-rural differences are indicated by the following comparison of responses from girls. (There were not enough males from urban areas to make comparisons possible.)

TRAITS IN HUSBANDS MOST OFTEN DESIRED BY GIRLS

Rural Areas
 Strong body and health
 Intelligence
 Occupational efficiency

Urban Communities
 Sexual compatibility
 Intelligence
 Strong body and health

In the rural areas particularly, there is a high valuation of solid, practical virtues. This is also true of the few added, open comments, including "patience" and "honesty toward his wife."

BEHAVIOR STANDARDS OF COURTSHIP AND ENGAGEMENT

Engagement is usually considered a serious matter in Norway, like marriage in the earnest attitudes invoked. Two people dedicating their lives to each other find the sense of mutual responsibility sobering. The same two people can enjoy each other's company nonetheless, and we should not overlook the excitement and pleasure associated with the pre-marital period. Young people in Norway have fun, obviously. But, as the questionnaire data just presented indicate and as other observations confirm, a romantic conception of marriage is far from strongly entrenched, at least in the glamorized American sense. There seems to be, generally, a greater sense of prudence and commitment about marriage than in a more mobile, heterogeneous society, although neither the attitudes nor the stable homogeneity is as strong as in the past. The relatively late age at marriage is in some ways a cause as well as an effect of such attitudes.

Admittedly, we should guard against straining to compare cultural traits outside of their contexts. Perhaps there is in Norway something peculiarly attractive in the valuation of outdoor life and of rugged bodies, which is missed in the artificial atmosphere of sentimental songs and stylized expressions of infatuation which are associated with the "glamor" concept in contemporary American life. Perhaps in a much larger population, there is more chance of finding and idealizing some stranger as the "one and only." In America, by and large, with its cultural diversity, there would not be nearly the same possibilities of readily establishing common interests, and hence more emphasis tends to be placed, romantically, on the togetherness of the couple.

Thus, we might expect romance of a sort, but of a more realistic

kind in Norway, with fewer disillusionments. There is also the factor of differences in the emotional expressiveness of people generally. One Norwegian lady, who has had an opportunity to make international comparisons, has expressed the difference with emphasis on the reticence of her countrymen: "The romantic note is the usual one in Norway. But there is a tradition in our country of not talking too much about it. In general, Norwegians have difficulties in talking of their emotions, being shy about personal matters, and this may give a false impression."

Matters of morals in the field of sexual freedom for engaged couples are viewed with notable tolerance. There are indications of a pattern of mutual expectation of sexual relations on the part of such couples. Pastors in parishes with stable middle-class families report many marriages of girls who are already pregnant. Elders, including professional people, seem to accept this with considerable tolerance. One person close to young people, a folk high school principal, defined the attitude of older people toward pre-marital sex relations by saying they are not considered good or bad but rather as "not bad." We do not wish to overlook variations that must exist in attitudes, but rather to emphasize the general pattern associated with the socially defined period of engagement.

A comparison is available of attitudes of comparable samples of University students in Oslo and in Madison, Wisconsin. William C. Simenson² obtained questionnaire responses from 275 Wisconsin and 145 Norwegian students; the latter averaged 24.7 years of age compared with 22.9 for the Americans. His study included various attitudes relevant to student life and compared leisure-time patterns generally. On the questions of sex freedom, he found that in "the early stages of courtship, the American students advocate slightly more liberty of action than the Norwegian. In the final stages, the Norwegians advocate more sexual liberty."³ This generalization is based on responses to a question about the "degree of intimacy" considered right for different relationships ranging from the first "date" to engagement.

For engaged people, the following table⁴ summarizes responses on the standards set by the respective groups:

TABLE 12

	Americans		Norwegians	
	Male 186	Female 65	Male 106	Female 30
	(Percentages)			
Good-night kiss	1.6	6.2	.9	
Necking	22.6	21.5	4.7	18.0
Heavy petting	42.5	58.5	13.2	33.0
Full relations	33.3	13.8	81.2	39.0

No sharp distinction is drawn between "necking" and "heavy petting," but it is obvious that for Americans such behavior represents a norm for the engaged, compared with the large majority of Norwegian men students and the dominant responses among Norwegian women that sex relations are the expected behavior for engaged couples.⁵

The folk high school students responded as indicated in the following table to the question as a part of a long questionnaire, which asked: "Have you ever had sexual intercourse outside of marriage?"

TABLE 13

RESPONSES OF FOLK HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS, BY AGE AND SEX

Age	Yes		No		No Reply		Totals		Per Cent of Yes Responses	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women		
16	2	1	3	14	1	1	6	16	22	14
17	2	7	5	26		1	7	34	41	22
18	1	6	5	13		1	6	20	26	27
19	2	4	2	6	1	1	5	11	16	38
20	3	6		6			3	12	15	67
Over 20	14	3	3	4	1		18	7	25	68*
Not Given	6	1	1	1		2	7	4	11	
Total	30	28	19	70	3	6	52	104	156	37

* The comparatively small number of negative answers of men over twenty is striking. Cf. note 1, above.

The factor of age is evident from the percentage of "Yes" answers for males and females combined in the final column.^{5a}

When asked in the same connection whether sexual intercourse was ever justified, 54 of the 104 girls, and 42 of the 52 young men responded affirmatively. Their comments indicated that such relations are regarded as customary and "natural" for people who are engaged, or seriously in love and "going steady." Some said that it was natural after the age of eighteen or twenty. The only response of "romantic" type was that of a nineteen-year-old girl, who said the behavior was justified if the two were "on the same wave length."

Even with the frank acceptance of sex relations before marriage as inevitable or not improper, there remains for many young couples the practical consideration of finding a place to be together. Young people who are seriously in love, whether formally engaged or trusting in an "understanding," do not have ready privacy, especially under the crowded urban housing conditions and with the scarcity of automobiles. Therefore, in this connection, the importance of mountain huts and of hiking in the recreation and vacation pattern and in companionship generally in Norway, has a special significance.⁶

PUBLIC DISCUSSIONS

"I Take My Woman (girl-friend) Along" was the title of an article written by a young man in one of the Oslo papers.⁷ It referred to the emancipation of women and to their freedom to join men in outings, and particularly to the writer's defiance of conventions by inviting his girl-friend to join him in a summer trip. This evoked a response in a series of letters to the editor, no less than thirty-six of which were printed. Many were favorable, but there were also defenses of traditional conceptions of women's right to be set apart and treated with fine respect. One letter on the subject even appeared in another newspaper, devoted to a conservative religious viewpoint, and this criticism of the original writer was couched in terms of "Christian" norms of behavior.⁸

A glimpse of the ultimate in women's rights was seen in a letter⁹ which was nearly the final one published in the series. A woman writes:

I will take my man along. Not because . . . this can have its practical side, in that he can chop wood and carry water. But simply because I love him. To be able to go out to a place and be completely alone with him, go on hikes, fish, discuss, to be comrades and at the same time to be loved. To be able to show him that I simply worship him. A man is not such a monster that he thinks only of satisfying his instincts. As a rule a man is much more considerate, honest and kind than a woman. A man's love is for his woman, while the woman often loves herself as highly.

The writer strikes a defiant note against those, particularly women, who are prone to criticize their sisters who wish to live their own lives as they think best. She does not wish to be confined to women's traditional narrow circle of interests, and she urges freedom in general as part of the full use of energies and intelligence in society. That she is not unaware of the risks involved is indicated by her saying:

If we come to have children, then we will marry our men, and try to nurture our own lovely children to understand that they will choose their own lives and take the responsibility for their own conduct. . . . And we will lay particularly on the hearts of our daughters to have a special faith in the men they choose. Yes, I shall take my man along, and I am proud and happy that he has chosen me among all the women of the earth.

Another article with the caption "Legalized Love" was written by a psychology student, a girl who advocated, for couples who were unable to set up their own households, early marriages with living together on weekends.¹⁰ This assumed the co-operation and sanction of parents, and had as its object a reduction in sexual tensions and a greater honesty in sexual relations. The article brought forth a series of letters, with mixed responses, some directed against the pseudo-sophistication of students, others in agreement lamenting the long periods of engagement. A practical objection noted was the

encouragement to premature decisions on marriage, or in the choice of a life partner. A thoughtful answer by Sverre Lysgaard¹¹ pointed out that the guilt feeling which the weekend marriage arrangement was meant to eliminate might remain as a psychological fact in spite of the legalization of such marriages. Moreover, he reasoned that the total blending of interests cannot be achieved by intermittent periods together, and that the opportunity for the sexual interest to assume its place within a larger common life would not be achieved. He noted too that the unsatisfied tensions of the engagement period may be a bond of unity, and possibly a source of happiness, although he recognized that this point might be carried to romantic excess.

These articles cannot be dismissed as mere sensational journalism. Obviously, they have reader appeal, and they also brought responses from the public. The interest indicated, even allowing for the self-conscious posing of some "free spirits," is a symptom of thoughtful current concern with questions of the morals of youth. This is partly the age-old worry of elders but it is more than that, it would seem. There is a churning of thought, a working out on an urbane basis of new standards and codes of conduct.

CLASS DIFFERENCES SUGGESTED.

The cultural roots of morals are strong, but what is developing in large cities, Oslo particularly, is possibly a new pattern ambiguous in form at present. In the most urbanized areas, we can see a confusing combination of peasant tradition and modern urban sophistication, with a backlog of theologically oriented morals. To use the concepts of Riesman again, we have combinations within individuals and conflicting cultural patterns within communities, of the tradition-directed and inner-directed types of character structure. These types are associated with demographic and social changes in the whole society.

Riesman has also delineated the "other-directed" type, which he finds to be characteristic of a society with relative material prosperity and large-scale organization. The adjustment of this type of people is

to the peer-group, with attention to all that makes for "popularity," and thus a special sensitivity and susceptibility to control by the mass media of communication and less response to and influence by the contacts of continuity with church or family tradition. Riesman indicates that this type is to be found in large American cities, in the upper middle class, and neither he nor we would say that the other-directed type is frequently found in Norway, although there is some reflection of the behavior of sophisticated people in other countries. However, to follow this analysis, the place to look for suggestions of such reorientation of behavior patterns would be in the upper middle-class group.¹²

A postwar book in which "youth had its say" threw some light on the behavior of young people in Oslo, with special interest in those of the West End, that is, the better housed, middle to upper-class people.¹³ Written by a newspaper man, the book quoted young people interviewed somewhat casually and at random, and many impressionistic statements were made. The concerns expressed by youth in their late teens and early twenties ranged from questions on leisure-time and vocational interests to sexual problems and thoughts about philosophy and religion. He found their free expression readily turned to the question of sex, despite attempts in interviews to open up other themes. This, together with a nervous tendency which he noted among youth, were not traits mentioned for condemnation, for the author thought of them as signs of the times. Young people of today were described as flexible, with possibilities for behavior both wise and foolish.

Parmann found that to a great extent the working-class youth had better morale, more firmness of purpose than those of the West End in Oslo, and we need hardly add that the latter represent the more urbane, possibly "other-directed" elements of the population. Less concern with successful bourgeois careers than their forebears, and a light and cynical attitude toward life among students and the middle-class youth, stand in contrast with the outlook of the East Side youth from working-class homes. We caution that this description is

written by the reporter with freedom in interpretation and without thought of the representativeness of a sample; but Parmann's comment that labor youth are becoming purposeful and respectable citizens might be a reflection of Labor party leadership. Anyone talking with leaders among young people in the Labor party and trade unions is quick to sense a feeling that the future looks bright and that they are conscious of a part in building a new Norway. This, too, is an impressionistic judgment, but it points to possible class differences in individual morale. It also suggests the possibilities of intensive research into youth attitudes.

The Institute for Social Research (Oslo) has made a study of youth behavior in conflict between friends and parents, and Sverre Bruun-Gulbrandsen has also recently studied a number of teen-agers about the behavior and attitudes considered appropriate or permissible for boys and girls respectively. The hypothesis that aggressive and nonconforming behavior is less unacceptable in boys was supported by the findings.¹⁴

Another kind of public interest focused on students and middle-class youth comes with the annual "Russ" period when secondary school graduates who have taken matriculation examinations for the University are awaiting results. They literally paint things red and wear clothes in keeping with the red-letter days. It is not unlike graduation flings in the United States, but there is more ritual involved, and features that bring the celebration to public attention: a "Russ" parade which is part of the May 17 (Independence Day) festivities; a humorous ceremonial homage to one of the national literary heroes, Wergeland, "the poet of youth"; old jalopies with "flaming youth" slogans; a special newspaper which is widely read for its youthful satire, ribaldry, and thrusts at convention. This is all mentioned in passing, because sometimes tongues have been set to wagging about the moral lapses that are suggested by the public expression of free love sentiments. The behaviour of the "Russ" youth might be worthy of a special study to note variations in the cultural patterns over the years, but the point to be emphasized is

that this is not a spontaneous outburst of flamboyant defiance of conventions but a traditional routine to be gone through—a scheduled sort of letting off steam, like Hallowe'en in America or the Saturnalia. Whatever other insights might be gained from the meanings expressed in printed word and paraded slogans would possibly throw some light on the outlook of youth as it varies in different periods, but the persistence of the pattern is itself indicative of adherence to a specialized, age-related cultural form.

PUBLIC OPINION

A newspaper in Oslo directed attention to young people's characterization of themselves in sex morals. The results show that youth in the ages of eighteen to twenty-five expressed more conservative attitudes than their elders would have supposed. The question and the distribution of responses by age groups is as follows.¹⁵

TABLE 14

“Would you describe yourself as an opponent or an adherent of a development in sex morals which would permit freer relationships outside of marriage?” (Older people were asked how they thought young people could be characterized.)

	18-25	25-56	45-60	over 60
	(Percentages)			
Opponent	70	42	38	37
Adherent	11	26	25	28
Both, in part	12	25	27	25
Do not know	7	7	10	12

Thus, while elders thought that less than 40 per cent of youth would oppose a looser morality, actually 70 per cent stated their opposition.

Another and more recent opinion poll was directed to a similar question: “It is now illegal for a man and a woman to live together if they are not married. It has now been proposed that this law which has never been enforced shall be abolished. Are you for or against?”

The great majority (74 per cent) were against abolishing the legal provision. When asked why, they tended to say that "the law ought to be retained," or to refer to the dangers of "moral decay" or the importance of marriage. On the other hand, those who favored the proposed change seemed to be impressed with its being an unenforced law, since most of them said it was of "no practical importance." More women than men (82 per cent compared with 66 per cent) opposed change in the law and more older than younger people were on the conservative side. However, 68 per cent of persons in younger age groups were against the proposed change,¹⁶ which is consistent with the other poll results cited above.

There was also considerable public concern about the morals of Norwegian soldiers stationed in Germany as part of the occupation forces following World War II. In 1953, when the Norwegian brigade was relieved of occupation duties in the British zone, it was revealed that 150 children had been born of extra-marital unions of soldiers and German women. This was a total for a period of over six years, during which about 50,000 Norwegian soldiers had been in Germany at some time. The proportion is only a fraction of one per cent, and might be considered reassuring to those who had been worried about the behavior of boys away from home.¹⁷

Social contacts between Germans and Norwegians in Germany were limited to some extent by the carry-over of wartime resentments against the Nazi forces occupying Norway rather than by moral restraint or other inhibitions. Another explanation of the low rate of offspring might well have been the use of contraceptive measures by soldiers. The army was known to issue condoms as part of a campaign against venereal disease. This fact had brought forth a public protest in the form of a petition to the parliament. Early in 1948, a *Folkebrev* ("letter from the people") expressed regret and indignation that the government had permitted a practice which served to undermine the moral foundations of marriage and the home. It referred to the military policy, and also to instruction in contraception said to be available under public auspices to unmarried women. The original

petition was signed by bishops and pastors, professors, and leading business and professional people. Hundreds of individuals added their names, and scores of organizations, particularly parishes and women's groups, endorsed it in meetings. No evident change of public policy resulted, but the *Folkebrev* is noteworthy in indicating a capacity for moral indignation, thus offsetting any impression of extreme indifference or tolerance which other discussions which have here been reviewed might suggest.

PROSPECTS OF NORWAY'S YOUTH

The topic of the foregoing chapter has led us into evidence bearing on social maturation, especially in courtship and sexual selection, and on sex relationships of the unmarried or still-to-be-married at various class levels, and on the attitudes of both the young and the public toward such relationships. Differences between Norway and its neighbors in Scandinavia are not notable, although its lag in urbanization suggests hypothetically such a difference. Differences from American youth, in general, can only be surmised from the small samples of University and folk high school students reported. The authors are inclined to conclude, in the absence of more formidable evidence, that, while characteristic cultural traits render Norwegian young people different, these differences are not in any quantifiable scale of "morals" on which comparisons could be made, nor are they of a sort which very sharply sets them off from the various kinds and levels of young people found in, for example, England or the United States.¹⁸ They seem to move into the married state with at least as great (and statistically greater) probability of durable and productive marriages as people of more industrialized, urbanized, and migratory habits.

¹ Cf. Alfred C. Kinsey, *et al.*, *Sexual Behavior of the Human Male* (Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders, 1948), Table 137; Udo Deutsch, "Comparative Incidence of Premarital Coitus in Scandinavia, Germany, and the United States," in *Sexual Behavior in American Society*, ed. Jerome Himelhoch and Sylvia Fleis Fava (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1955), pp. 360-63. See also Gottschalk, Anken, Jonsson, Karlsson, and Mellbye, cited by Kaare Svalastoga, "The Family in Scandinavia," *Marriage and Family Living*, XVI (November 1954), 377.

² William C. Simenson, "A Comparative Study of the Social Activities and Attitudes of Students at the University of Wisconsin and the University of Oslo" (unpublished M.A. thesis, Scandinavian Area Studies, University of Wisconsin, 1951).

³ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Table XXV. This thesis has been summarized: William C. Simenson, and Gilbert Geis, "Courtship Patterns of Norwegian and American University Students," *Marriage and Family Living*, XVIII (November 1956), 334-38.

⁵ These findings on the acceptance of petting as the "norm" of pre-marital behavior are confirmed by the Kinsey reports. In a discussion of them, particularly the study of female sex behavior, Ingjald Nissen writing in *Arbeiderbladet*, February 20, 1954, suggests that more attention be paid to petting as a form of sexual expression, rather than thinking of it as play to be condemned for its harmful effects. He notes that a pattern of incomplete sex relations cannot have the harmful effects sometimes indicated inasmuch as so many Americans thus get "satisfactory expression." Petting can be a solution to the problem of delayed marriage, and indeed be a preparation for married sex life, in Nissen's opinion.

Other Norwegians would probably object to the distinction between the propriety of heavy petting and of sexual intercourse. They have been known to question the premium placed on technical virginity when, as in the Kinsey data, it is known that petting may include lying in appositional nudity.

^{5a} Cf. note 1, this chapter.

⁶ This is not just a matter concerned with heterosexual relations. One Norwegian businessman remarked that if a friend or neighbor comes over for a chat, the two of them are likely to go off on a hike rather than slump down in easy chairs. A young Norwegian who had been away from his home for a year described his first ski trip as giving him the same kind of satisfaction that he assumed men he had seen in the United States were getting from driving a Cadillac. Compare in this connection *Fritidsundersøkelsen*, the report of a study of the leisure activities of youth by the Oslo Municipal Statistical Office for the Municipal Youth Commission (*Ungdomsnemnda*), 1949-50 (Oslo: 1950).

⁷ *Dagbladet*, July 8, 1950.

⁸ *Vårt Land*, August 22, 1950.

⁹ *Dagbladet*, August 24, 1950.

¹⁰ Eva Seeberg, *Dagbladet*, May 27, 1949.

¹¹ *Dagbladet*, June 8, 1949.

¹² David Riesman and Others, *The Lonely Crowd* (New York: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1953), pp. 32-40. See also references in Chs. III and V.

¹³ Øistein Parmann, *Ungdommen har ordet* (Oslo: Dreyer, 1946).

¹⁴ *News of Norway*, XII (March 3, 1955), 34.

Cf. *A Brief Summary of Activities, 1950-1958* (mimeo.) (The Institute for Social Research [Oslo, 1958]), p. 9. See Sverre Bruun-Gulbrandsen, *Kjønnsrolle og Ungdoms kriminalitet* (Universitetsforlaget, 1958); "Innlæring av Kjønnsroller og Moralnormer i Barndommen" (to be published).

¹⁵ *Verdens Gang*, April 13, 1946.

¹⁶ Norsk Gallup Institutt, poll release, November 13, 1954.

¹⁷ Cf. evidence of venereal contacts by the then so-called "Germany Brigade," cited in Chapter XX.

¹⁸ Cf. also William C. Simenson and Gilbert Geis, "A Cross-Cultural Study of University Students," *Journal of Higher Education*, XXVI (January 1955), 21-25.

Part Four

FAMILY DISTORTIONS AND
THEIR TREATMENT

Introduction

THE authors were persistently impressed by the vigor and thriving qualities of home and family living in Norway. Norwegians would themselves not claim 100 per cent perfection, but the following chapters, dealing with some of the categories of acute family troubles, should not be allowed to loom too large in any overall appraisal of Norway's families.

Veneral diseases, usually a symptom (both cause and effect) of an acute family distortion, are discussed not in Part Four but in Part Five, because of their close relation to other aspects of family health and the evidence of victory in protecting families from this threat.

Family social work might have been included in Part Five, but as discussed in Part Four it is related to the variety and effects of existing family distortions and their rehabilitation, rather than to preventive programs.

Parts of our Chapter XIII were adapted and published by *The Journal of Human Relations*, III (Fall 1954) 95-103, by permission.

XII

Non-Wedlock Situations in Norway¹

THE PROBLEM

FOR any nation or epoch, ostensible figures of "illegitimacy" and of non-wedlock relations and offspring must be cautiously appraised. The local figures are affected by many variables of society and culture. The institutional and value patterns of mating, whether indigenous or borrowed, are major factors in the occurrence, frequency, and degree or type of recognition of "illegitimacy." A difference or change in the laws and/or sanctioned mores of liaison, betrothal, marriage, and legitimation can modify the recorded proportions of legal and non-legal matings and families. A wide pyramid of economic class structure, with high fees or expensive customs for the celebration of a formal marriage, as in parts of Latin America, may leave most couples of the lower classes legally out of wedlock until savings permit (or perhaps a pregnancy induces) a formal wedding. Again, one jurisdiction may have procedures and habits of reporting and recording non-wedlock births sufficiently different from those of other districts or nations to make the apparent differences meaningless. The degree of inaccessibility (physical or moral) of contraceptive means will have obvious effects on the birth rate both in and out of wedlock.² Insofar as modern contraceptives have reached even "backward" areas and laboring classes, a non-wedlock birth rate can no longer be taken as index of the frequency of non-wedlock relations.

Americans have in the past occasionally remarked upon the relatively high proportions of non-wedlock births in Scandinavia, as

reported in the official records.³ It is not our purpose here to try to prove how much of this apparent difference is actual⁴ and how much is a matter of accuracy in reporting. However, rates are high enough to invite analysis.

THE TRADITIONAL BACKGROUND

Scandinavian experts agree that one has to do here with characteristic cultural patterns of family and pre-marital mores, combined with a Lutheran moral standard. In rural Norway, as in some other parts of rural Europe, there are in the native subcultures survivals of non-Christian elements. There may be either competition or accommodation (or both) between the Christian code and the ancient folkways. In 1846-50, one-third of all live births were non-wedlock (see Chapter I). Sundt's studies of mid-nineteenth-century pre-marital mores⁵ have been reviewed (Chapter II). Norwegian novelists, like those of other cultures, have portrayed non-wedlock situations vividly.⁶ Fredrik Barth's study of Solli, a hill community (Chapter V), shows accommodation of both indigenous and Christian mores to modern technology (contraceptives).⁷

The customs differ from section to section and class to class. No figures which merely average the reports from a rugged country which stretches as far as from Minneapolis to New Orleans can be used for generalizations about its people's family structures. The prevailing overt patterns are conventionally conservative or moralistic. But lower non-wedlock birth rates may be partly due to differences in degrees of concealment or acceptance of the facts of intercourse or its products—or differences in attitudes of guilt or of stigma, of fear or relaxation, of spontaneity or pseudo-sophistication, as well as to a difference in numbers of actual pre-marital intercourses (if it were possible to establish such facts). Tolerant attitudes toward pre-marital sex contacts presumably have their effects in the "accidents" of pregnancy, unless contraception is general. Hambro's interviews with Oslo male adolescents indicate that contraceptives were seldom utilized by those who indulged.

Betrothal, as has been noted (Chapter XI), is in Norway a responsible relationship, less binding than marriage only in that it requires only mutual consent for its dissolution. If there is pregnancy, marriage may be expedited for "legitimation" of the offspring—a procedure apparently regarded without approval, but practically without social stigma. In peasant areas, it formerly was easy to dissolve such "trial marriage" if it proved sterile. Betrothal has even been rationalized as having the function of a fertility test.⁸ Thus, a most significant distinction should be made between non-wedlock relations of a casual sort and those of couples responsibly engaged, or at least *glad i hverandre*⁹ and intending marriage. It would be important to learn the current proportions of non-wedlock children springing respectively from the two types of contact.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

The nineteenth century showed a marked decrease of non-wedlock rates in the rural districts and a marked absolute increase in the cities—though even this was still a relative decrease in view of the growth of the cities.¹⁰

Recent figures indicate a continuation of the downward trend, especially in cities:¹¹

TABLE 15

	Live Non- Wedlock Births	Per 100 Live Births	Per 100 New Marriages
Rural			
1948	2,330	4.9	13.1
1949	1,996	4.3	12.0
1950	1,917	4.2	11.5
1951	1,766	4.2	10.6
1952	1,745	3.8	10.2
Urban			
1948	892	4.9	7.5
1949	693	4.1	6.4
1950	660	3.9	6.3
1951	670	4.1	6.4
1952	585	3.5	5.6

Urban and rural rates in relation to total live births have thus converged as they did in Sweden. But the ratio of non-wedlock births to new marriages in rural areas (10.2) was almost twice that of the cities (5.6). General non-wedlock rates from 1771 to 1865 are available.¹²

TABLE 16

Year	Number of non-wedlock live births per 100 marriages	Number of non-wedlock births (live plus still) per 100 females 20-45 years	Year	Number of non-wedlock live births per 100 marriages	Number of non-wedlock births (live plus still) per 100 females 20-45 years
1771-74	14.1		1846	31.0	32.9
1775-79	17.4		1847	36.0	33.3
1780-83	19.0		1848	31.6	29.9
1801-5	21.9		1849	33.2	32.4
1806-10	25.7		1850	34.9	33.4
1811-15	22.4		1851	38.7	36.3 ¹³
1816-20	29.2		1852	41.5	37.4
1821-25	28.7		1853	36.8	36.5
1826-30	29.5		1854	36.3	39.9
1831-35	28.7		1855	38.2	39.3
1836-40	29.5		1856	36.1	35.7
1841-45	31.1		1857	35.8	34.8
1846-50	33.3	32.4	1858	36.5	36.9
1851-55	38.2	37.9	1859	37.2	38.5
1856-60	36.9	36.9	1860	38.8	38.4
1861-65	36.3	35.8	1861	37.2	35.0
			1862	35.6	34.7
			1863	35.3	36.4
			1864	37.1	36.7
			1865	36.3	36.4

TABLE 17

LIVE BIRTHS

Year	Total	Non-Wedlock	Per Cent
1808	25,335	1,697	6.7
1809	20,172	1,373	6.8
1812	26,612	1,771	6.7
1813	23,525	1,557	6.6
1814	22,085	1,374	6.2
1815	27,650	1,845	6.7
1816	32,259	2,585	8.0
1820	32,309	2,380	7.4
1821	34,166	2,709	7.9
1835	38,780	2,615	6.7
1836	35,367	2,499	7.1
1837		2,383	
1838		2,518	
1839		2,332	
1840	34,548	2,474	7.2
1841	37,372	2,683	7.2
1842		3,277	
1843		3,257	
1844		3,150	
1845		3,357	
1847	41,610	3,561	8.6
1848	40,554	3,220	7.9
1849	44,113	3,527	8.0
1853	46,039	4,144	9.0
1854	49,896	4,533	9.1
1860	53,074	4,433	8.4
1861	49,546	4,073	8.2

Figures for certain years from 1808 to 1861 are provided from an official Norwegian census report,¹⁴ supplemented by figures from the 1845 census tables.¹⁵

The average number of non-wedlock cases over the decades since 1850 had held rather steady—between 4,000 and 4,700 annually—but this represented a gradual decline in relation to total population.¹⁶

TABLE 18

	Numbers	Annual Averages	Approx. Av. Total Pop.	Approx. rate per 100 Thous. Pop.
1851-70	85,356	4,168	1,600,000	267
1871-90	95,658	4,783	1,900,000	252
1891-1905 (15 years)	68,984	4,599	2,200,000	209

The corresponding figures for various subsequent comparable periods are as follows:¹⁷

TABLE 19

	Numbers	Annual Averages	Population	Rate Per 100 Thous. Pop.
1906-10	20,629 (5 years)	4,126		
1911-30	81,572	4,078		
1920-39	69,405 (prewar years)	3,470		
1930-49	66,642	3,332		
1941-45	20,488 (Occupation)	4,098		
1946-49	13,589 (postwar four years)	3,397		
1946-50	16,166 (postwar five years)	3,233		
1951		2,436	3,295,559	74
1952		2,330	3,310,821	70
1953		2,269	3,375,870	60
1954		2,181	3,408,161	64
1955		2,192	3,445,673	63.6

The years since the Occupation show the lowest rates in history.

The types and extent of non-wedlock births were studied at the turn of the century by the late Nicolai Rygg,¹⁸ then secretary in the Central Statistical Bureau, later the director of the Bank of Norway and its financial historian. Rygg secured direct reports from informants in every province, which confirm the survival of traditional mores of pre-marital tolerance, almost a general assumption of intercourse:¹⁹

The relationship . . . is consistent with usage and custom, it has old and visible roots. . . . A pastor in one parish writes: "What does it matter, if they have a child or two?" It is reasoned there, after all, it has gone that way with many before. . . . If the parents remain not married within three or four years after the child's birth, it is something unusual.

From inner Romsdal (west central): It is the general custom to begin conjugal relations before marriage in over 80 per cent of all cases. All is "regular," if they marry before the child's birth. Where that does not happen, it is a sign of a somewhat lower level in social and moral respect; likewise the 20 per cent achieve a higher level. Below all three levels lies a fourth, where marriage has never been considered. But here, the father has been from the city or outside the community area.

From inner south Norway: "The parties consider themselves halfway married when they are betrothed. On this ground, not much weight attaches, as to whether the marriage happens before or after the birth." Marriage is considered only with a new pregnancy.

From Opland (central), Sogn (west), and especially from the northernmost provinces: The attitude is that the child is to be recorded as legitimate when it is merely brought to baptism after the marriage has taken place.

From a pastor in a workers' parish in Kristiania (now Oslo): "The people, especially the country folk, who so often move into the suburbs, think that a child is legitimated if only the parents are married. They are amazed that it is to be recorded as a non-wedlock child, when they since have come together into married status."

In Norway, a couple, who have produced a non-wedlock child and who subsequently marry, may thereby recognize and accept it; but this does not change the original registration of the birth as a unit in the statistics of non-wedlock births. Rygg noted that the clergy as registrars are conscientious, but that responses to his inquiry indicated that some couples would sneak their pre-marital babies in for baptism as "legitimate."²⁰

Such "legitimation" by marriage was studied by Eilert Sundt for the period 1856-60.²¹ In a population of 58,264 married pairs, he compared the number of married couples who had had a child of their own before their marriage with the total living non-wedlock births for the same period of years.

TABLE 20

1856-60	Rural	Urban
Married pairs	49,039	9,225
Had a child before marriage	16,130 = 14½ per cent	793 = 8.6 per cent
Total live non-wedlock births	17,619	3,871
Percentage of births "legitimated" by marriage	34.8	20.5

The census analyst of 1865²² also cites Sundt's work:²³ "Of every 100 rural district couples of the labor and cottager class (Class II) married in the years 1855 and 1856, not less than 50 bred children before the wedding, of which 16 children were born before the formal marriage, 22 in 4 months and 12 between 4 and 8 months after it. In the rural upper class, 34 of every 100 produced children in the eight months after marriage." For cities, the figures were 19 per 100 for Class I and 37 per 100 for Class II.

Rygg²⁴ found that, in 1899, of 1,603 non-wedlock births in cities,²⁵ 175 or only 10.9 per cent had been "legitimated" by marriage of the

couple. The rest were presumably based mostly on casual or irresponsible unions. It would prove interesting were Norwegian students to work out comparable ratios for the present decade to determine whether marriage as a "solution" of non-wedlock birth situations is still on the decrease. There was a time when social workers in the United States were supposed to consider this "the answer."

Often postponement of marriage was attributed to military service, or to straitened circumstances. The couple was not prepared to set up housekeeping or "throw" a wedding party. In northern provinces, marriage might wait upon "The Fish Luck."²⁶ Non-wedlock offspring were found largely in the farmer and laboring population.²⁷ Illegitimacy was a class phenomenon: virginity at marriage might be considered a privilege of wealth and an item of prestige. Non-wedlock births among upper-class rural girls of 1906 were far less frequent than were reported a half century earlier by Sundt.

TABLE 21
AGES OF NON-WEDLOCK PARENTS, BY PER CENT²⁸

	1871-75		1881-85		1899-1900	
	Fathers	Mothers	Fathers	Mothers	Fathers	Mothers
Below 19 years	3.86	4.79	4.64	6.05	5.66	9.52
20-24 „	33.43	38.11	34.78	38.25	37.70	40.07
25-29 „	29.27	32.26	30.06	31.14	27.46	27.15
30-34 „	15.28	14.74	14.42	14.60	12.40	13.04
35-39 „	6.96	6.64	6.44	6.80	7.45	7.28
40-44 „	4.92	2.79	4.01	2.73	4.15	2.55
45 years and over	6.28	.67	5.65	.43	5.18	.39
	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Rygg found that the age of non-wedlock parents is in general very little below the average age of marriage. That average age levels for marriages and non-wedlock parenthoods decreased in the period

studied is again attributed to industrial migration, and presumably was a factor in lowering the percentage of "legitimation" by marriage. The younger the parents the less likely they are to act responsibly in respect to a pregnancy.

Rygg considered the ratio of non-wedlock births to the number of new marriages contracted to be a more significant measure of moral conditions than the ratio to unmarried women of childbearing age. This is true if the marriage and birth rates are fairly stable, which was the case *at the time*.

In considering the limitations of the several non-wedlock ratios as sound indices of "morality" or of threat to family structure, Rygg recognized most of the variables (concealment, pregnancy-marriages, birth rate, marriage rate, birth control, moving to the city, prostitution) but does not include abortion as such,²⁹ nor does he consider the possible changes of marriage age, especially for girls.

In proportion to the numbers of unmarried men in the several occupational groups, Rygg found more non-wedlock parents among fishermen, independent enterprisers, handworkers, and seamen than among factory workers and servants. A larger proportion of workers and especially of urban workers (29 per 1,000 unmarried) than of other classes were non-wedlock fathers.³⁰

Non-wedlock mothers were more numerous (per 1,000 of unmarried women in the several occupations) among rural workers, notably the servants (35.2 per 1,000), and among urban workers, especially factory workers, servants, and seamstresses.

Rygg's local reports indicated that sometimes girls who went to town for an industrial or domestic job returned to the country pregnant or with a baby to be raised by the girl's mother. (Myrdal also referred to this former role of the rural maternal grandmothers in Sweden.)³¹

The effects of urban-industrial mobility and de-communalization of moral responsibilities may perhaps be seen in Rygg's record of the increase of contested paternity suits from 30 in 1886 to 198 in 1904—with a more rapid increase in the cities.³²

Rygg found that non-wedlock fathers of the upper class mate with girls of the lower class especially in the cities, while those of the middle-class level or lower kept to their own class. Sundt had noted half a century before that a "lower-class" girl who became pregnant had slight chances of marriage if her "night courtier" was from the upper class. This pattern seems to be trans-cultural in all peoples with marked class structure. To the extent that it has persisted, it doubtless accounts partly for the concentration of non-wedlock situations in the "lower" classes. Since Sundt's study of fifty years earlier, there had been a sharp drop in the proportion of upper-class rural men becoming non-wedlock fathers with upper-class rural girls—from 38 per cent to 22 per cent. Rygg claimed that upper-class rural girls were no longer letting themselves become pregnant.³³ We do not have current figures which break down the present employed population or non-wedlock parents into the same occupational categories used by Rygg. The authors wish that the present facts, another half century later, were accessible for comparison with several of Rygg's findings. A valuable comparative study might be made of present-day occupational and class distribution of non-wedlock parentages.

Since official records give no indication of the quality of responsibility in the partners or their attitudes, Rygg inquired directly of the district physicians whether non-wedlock children were to any great extent supposed to be results of betrothal or similar understandings, as contrasted with looser or casual connections without thought of marriage. Details are quoted from many rural districts from which it appears that where the non-wedlock babies are chiefly those of casual unions, it is largely *because the bulk of pregnancies between other couples are promptly followed by marriage*. In many districts, however, relations starting irresponsibly were forced into marriage by pregnancy. This would be less easy with modern mobility and city life.³⁴ "Engagement" itself was occasionally used as a cover for the results of unions which actually were "casual" at the time. Some districts reported rather general immorality (1907).

In rural districts, Rygg's canvass of medical opinion indicated that most non-wedlock births were from casual unions rather than from betrothed couples: the latter tending to "cover" by marriage.

A real distribution of ratios of non-wedlock to total live births is available for 1949, 1950, 1951, 1952, 1953, and 1954:³⁵

TABLE 22

	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954
	(Expressed in percentages)					
Norway:	4.26	4.13	4.02	3.73	3.60	3.48
Rural:	4.32	4.21	3.98	3.81	3.67	3.52
Urban:	4.10	3.91	4.14	3.50	3.41	3.34
Oslo:	4.44	4.13	4.03	3.89	3.56	3.62
Rural East:	3.74	4.00	3.39	3.24	3.23	2.88
Rural South and West:	2.07	2.02	1.99	1.79	1.84	1.72
Rural North (incl. Trøndelag):	8.19	7.59	7.57	7.51	6.98	7.05
Urban East (with Oslo):	3.00	3.74	3.78	3.47	3.32	3.34
Urban South and West:	3.03	2.92	3.54	2.81	2.84	2.47
Urban North (incl. Trøndelag):	7.02	6.17	6.86	5.42	5.07	5.45
General East (with Oslo):	3.84	3.97	3.53	3.32	3.25	3.04
General South and West:	2.32	2.25	2.38	2.05	2.09	1.90
General North (including Trøndelag):	8.02	7.37	7.46	7.16	6.65	6.77

The northern provinces were (and are) so sparsely populated that they do not markedly affect the national rates.

The traditional conception of contrasting areas in Norway in respect to religion, morals, politics, etc., seems confirmed by these figures. But if low rates in Norway's "Bible Belt" (south and west) register conservatism, that conservatism may represent merely a territorial lag: the small proportion of non-wedlock births may still (as in Rygg's reports) be due to communal pressures for marriage of pregnant mothers, or to "sneak registrations." Lower rates in the

cities are more apt to have resulted from access to contraceptives or abortion. If we had figures by provinces showing pre-marital pregnancies, the answer would be clearer. The rates should also be considered in the light of age distributions in the several areas.

The rates as reported for the other Scandinavian lands are available, but current American non-wedlock rates are perhaps more interesting: The American rate per 1,000 unmarried females fifteen to forty-four years of age, 1954, was 18.3. In 1953, the rate was 3.91 per 1,000 live births; in 1954, 4.4.³⁶ This rate is very similar to the latest percentages of non-wedlock births available from Norway—1952: 3.73; 1953: 3.60; 1954: 3.48; 1955: 3.45.²⁷

COMPARABLE SCANDINAVIAN CONDITIONS

The Norwegian cultural syndrome of pre-marital relations and legitimation is comparable to that which survives in "ring engagements" (or pseudo-ring engagements) in Denmark.³⁸

In Denmark, as in Norway, the mores have gone through a cycle of medieval custom, religious condemnation and stigma, popular tolerance, and urban sophistication. A few of the Danish clergy have gone further in explicit tolerance than any in Norway or Sweden; but the attitudes of Denmark's Inner Mission are as rigidly puritanic as Norway's. The law and the public in both countries show attitudes of equalization, without actual approval. (Much public debate arose over whether a professional educator who openly elected to have and support a non-wedlock child, should be continued in public employment.³⁹)

As an outlet for unmarried pregnant women, the bearing of an illegitimate child apparently is becoming increasingly permissible. Although not praised for her behavior, the unmarried mother is not the object of opprobrium in Denmark today that she was fifty years ago, nor is her child. . . . Although better protected by law and less criticized than ever, the unmarried mother is none the less subject to numerous problems and strains.⁴⁰

Illegitimacy has long been high: A fairly steady 11% of all children born, from the turn of the century to 1930. Since 1930 the figure has

declined, and in 1947 was 8%. On the other hand, the statistics for first-born born within nine months of marriage show that the improved illegitimacy rate has little to do with chastity. . . . A more likely explanation is increased practice of birth control.⁴¹

Actually a large share of the illegitimate children are later legitimized by marriage, this having been the parents' intention all along but it having been economically impossible earlier. A certain number of illegitimate babies, however, are born to lonely, aging women who see no prospect of marriage but decide they want to have babies anyway.⁴²

Harold Christensen has carefully compared pre-marital conceptions in Denmark and in Indiana, for 1955, reporting his findings in 1958:^{42a}

TABLE 23

SELECTED INDICES OF PRE-MARITAL CONCEPTION

Indices	Denmark		Indiana U.S.A.
	Entire Country	City of Copenhagen	
I. Illegitimacy Rate*	6.6	11.2	2.9
II. Pre-marital Conception Rates†			
A. Child Born Within First 6 Months of Marriage	32.9 (33.8)	24.2 (28.4)	9.7
B. Child Born Within First 9 Months of Marriage	44.3 (46.8)	30.5 (35.8)	23.9

*Percent of all births occurring outside of wedlock. Calculations based upon official reported statistics for the year 1955.

†Percent of marital first births occurring within six and nine months of the wedding, respectively.

First column figures were derived from Table 25, page 35 of *Statistisk Aarbog* 1956 (Copenhagen: Bianco Lunos Bogtrykkeri, 1956), and are for the calendar year 1955. . . .

Figures in parentheses are adjusted indices, derived by using only those births which occurred during the first five years of marriage as the base for calculation. This is for the purpose of making them comparable in this respect with the Indiana indices shown in the third column.

TABLE 24

AVERAGE NUMBER OF DAYS THAT CONCEPTION OCCURRED BEFORE
THE WEDDING

(Pre-marital Pregnancy Cases)

Type of Average	Copenhagen, Denmark	Tippecanoe County, Indiana, U.S.A.
Mean	138.4	92.6
Median	137.2	77.6
Mode	140.0	56.0

In Denmark, by contrast with Norway's reduction of illegitimacy and encouragement of adoptions, the increasing support and tolerance of non-wedlock situations is apparently offset by increasing availability of abortions and contraception.

Before World War II, Sweden's non-wedlock rates were surprisingly high (e.g., 15 per cent in the 1930's) and Myrdal attributes the apparent excess over other countries to more accurate registration and to urban-radical sophistication. The urban rate had, to be sure, dropped in a century from one in four of all children born to one in eight. The rural rate had risen from one in seventeen to one in eight and a half.⁴³ Rural mores were similar to those of Norway and Denmark: non-wedlock experimentation on certain recognized occasions was tolerated because marriage could easily be enforced in cases of "accident." "Night courtship," the girl picking her boy for the night from a visiting festive group, was supposed to operate, under elaborate rules, self-restraints, even punishment for errors. This led to presents and "going steady": the greater the known intimacy, the greater the obligation and responsibility. As in Norway, the accessory farm buildings and the summer pasture houses played a role as sleeping quarters for youth.⁴⁴ All this had to be rationalized or winked at because of the co-existence of church morals, dominant youth clubs, and parental status interests. But marriage and the family were not felt threatened by "immorality" until industry mobilized the males and later the females. Implicitly "immorality"

is defined here by Myrdal as irresponsibility. Extra-marital unions contracepted, child-rearing without ceremony, and pregnancies later "legitimized" are not called immoral.

In Sweden (1942), 42 per cent of the non-wedlock births were to betrothed couples, and of such babies (1940), 59 per cent were legitimated by later marriage, as compared with 17 per cent of the other cases. Norway has no corresponding records of "legitimated" non-wedlock children.

In Sweden (1949), the non-wedlock rate had dropped to 9.16 per cent. In 1952, the rate was 9.4 (*Statistisk Årsbok för Sverige 1952*, p. 59).

Iceland's 21.6 per cent of non-wedlock births (highest in Europe) arises in part from the specific legalization and relative frequency of what we might call "common-law marriages." Iceland granted rights of paternal name and inheritance in 1921, Denmark in 1937. In Finland and Sweden, the question of granting such rights was a recent issue.⁴⁵

COPING WITH NON-WEDLOCK SITUATIONS

In Norway as early as 1772 (under Danish rule), the formal humiliations heaped by medieval custom upon non-wedlock mothers were removed (Denmark decreed paternal support in 1763).⁴⁶ There was, however, continuing opposition to placing non-wedlock offspring on an equality, on the ground that marriage would be threatened.⁴⁷ Twentieth-century policies of equalization have not borne out these fears. . . . "There has been no evidence to prove that there have been any unfortunate moral consequences arising out of full rights to the children of unmarried mothers."⁴⁸

The earlier attitudes toward paternal responsibility were those of relieving the public of a load of poor relief, and of providing a sort of restitution of damages to the mother, rather than economic justice for the child. Paternal responsibility was imposed gradually (1740-1821), then remained substantially unchanged until 1892 and 1902 when liberal, labor, and feminist interests secured stronger support

laws.⁴⁹ Inheritance from the mother's side was also introduced in 1892; inheritance from the father was rejected at that time.

In the 1900's, liberal forces were reinforced by a new movement, justifying legislation primarily in the *child's* interest, regardless of its origin, as being for the collective welfare. Both parents were to be equally responsible for the child, in every respect. This agitation, reinforced by the new Social Department under Johan Castberg, was not consummated until 1915, when the laws bearing his name were passed.⁵⁰

The Castberg legislation was, then, not altogether new. Laws of the eighteenth century, of 1821, 1851, and 1892, foreshadowed some of its provisions: support by the father, by distraint, garnishment, or forced labor if necessary; the burden of proof was put on an accused father. The demand for inheritance of name and property arose in the eighties, backed by certain feminist, labor, liberal, and literary leaders. The newer attitude was not that of class or sex antagonism, but of the rights of the child as an individual to equality of opportunity, without suffering injury for his parents' mistakes; and it was considered in the interest of society that every child have optimum conditions. It was also equalitarian as to the rights and responsibilities of both the parents, married or unmarried. It became the mother's legal *duty* to name the father—so that the child may be adequately provided for. On a voluntary basis, only 40 per cent of paternities had been legally established, and then usually on the initiative of the poor relief authorities.

RECENT LEGISLATION

The nuclear statute of the Castberg program was enacted April 10, 1915. This law has since been repeatedly amended, but the following are its essential principles:

1. A non-wedlock child has the same legal status in relation to its father as to its mother.
2. Both parents have the duty of its support, care, and education as if it were born in wedlock.

3. The child is to be reared at the standard of living of the more prosperous parent.
4. The mother has custody unless it is adjudged contrary to the welfare of the child.
5. The child's interests are paramount.
6. Publicity is to be avoided.
7. Initiative in legal procedure is a duty of the local authorities.
8. Arrangements are to be settled early and promptly.

As of 1949, these principles are implemented as follows:⁵¹

1. Certification of the birth to the local "bailiff,"⁵² required of the mother, midwife, or physician. The mother is required (but with no effective sanction) to file three months before the expected birth, a declaration, (a) of the pregnancy and (b) of the alleged father's name. Birth registration is required under penalty, within four weeks, even for stillbirths; including a statement whether the pregnancy is of normal length, for use in case of disputed paternity. The mother is obligated at this point to report on the case.
2. Penalty on any adult concerned for failing to warn mother to report her condition.
3. Penalty for false declaration of paternity.
4. No writ served if paternity is voluntarily admitted.
5. Writ of maintenance is issued by the County Governor, served on declared father, operative unless contested (normally within four weeks).
6. Burden of proof is placed on declared father.⁵³
7. If the latter defaults, court process ensues to establish paternity and support is made mandatory and automatic. (Article 2.)
8. The mother's and child's names are omitted in posting reports and notices of hearing.
9. Any or all men with whom the court finds evidence of sex relations at the appropriate time are placed under full liability

for maintenance. Paternity is considered established if such relations are found with one man only, or if a combination of blood tests make it extremely unlikely that the man named is not the father.⁵⁴

10. Costs of proceedings are met from public funds, but may be charged to the loser in a paternity suit.
11. Determinations of paternity and maintenance are made revocable for new evidence by new legal proceedings brought by the bailiff, guardian, or parties to the suit within two weeks of appearance of the new evidence. Monies spent may then be claimed.
12. If mother declares relations with more than one putative father, writs for maintenance issue equally to all such. Each is made technically liable for the full amount, unless he successfully contests.
13. Guardian is appointed by the bailiff for the child of any mother admitting relations with more than one putative father, or in other cases of unfitness or neglect by the mother.
14. Obligation of support is extended normally to eighteen years; fifteen years in special cases; more than eighteen years if child is handicapped or if situation permits further education. Burden is allotted to one or both parents in proportion to ability to pay. Under the Act of December 21, 1956, maintenance orders cannot be imposed except upon men legally declared fathers. Standard maintenance and other allowances are determined by the national Social Affairs Department, based upon age and locale, modified within limits by local authorities in view of relevant circumstances.
15. Special allowances are provided for pre-natal care, childbirth, infancy care (nine months), illnesses, and burial costs; each is specifically required. Also, there are allowances for baptism and confirmation expenses.
16. Decisions involving change of custody, support, etc., are made by the Governor of the County unless legally contested.

17. A parent's pay can be garnished to meet maintenance allowances if other means of recovery fail, but the parent must be allowed to keep enough for self (and family, if any.) Employers, bankers, and assessors must give information to the bailiff regarding parents' earnings and assets.
18. Nonpayment of the assessed allowances, etc., despite ability to pay, is made punishable by fine or imprisonment, if parent is over twenty-one and fit to work.
19. The Act of April 26, 1957 (in effect October 1, 1957) grants Kr. 600 per year to any child under eighteen with no legal supporter. This includes non-wedlock children. If an admitted or adjudged non-wedlock parent fails to pay the child's maintenance allowance when due, he may be punished if shown able to pay. But meantime, the allowance and expenses may be claimed from the local township and advanced to the child at Kr. 50 per month.
20. If one parent dies, the non-wedlock child is entitled to his share of the estate or of maintenance from the estate equally with the children born in wedlock.

PATERNITY PROCEEDINGS

Of the alleged fathers, approximately two-thirds now accept actual fatherhood and one-third contest. There are between 800 and 1,000 paternity cases annually, now subjected to blood tests—ABO, MN, Rh, and (1953) P tests being used.

In court proceedings for determination of paternity, official medical reports based upon laboratory examination of blood groups involved⁶⁵ have been given increasing weight in the decisions. The expert findings are usually worded either "Excluded from fatherhood" or "Not excluded. . . .," the latter with varied degrees of unsureness. Occasionally, the medical report is "Positive evidence of fatherhood": when some blood constellation extremely rare in the general population is found in both the child and its putative father, but not in the mother. Theoretically, if all the alleged fathers were

actually non-fathers of the child, one could exclude about 50 per cent on the basis of the blood tests. Actual results have excluded only 20 per cent of the biological case units (i.e., one man plus one child) investigated. Thus, 40 per cent of the alleged fathers are not the actual sires according to the medical authorities.

Of all accused, about one-fifth are freed.⁵⁶ For the group with fatherhood legally established by evidence or default, the child has a right to inherit the father's name and property. In 1923, it was provided that such a child's name shall be *chosen* at the time its birth is registered, and determined by whichever parent has the care of the child, and regardless of the father's wishes.⁵⁷

The Castberg laws have special interest for the United States as they soon became a model for imitation by several states, notably the "Scandinavian States of America" in our middle northwest. It is also of interest to note that Chicago's great pioneer of demonstrations in the psychological welfare of children—Ethel Sturges Dummer—consulted Castberg, and brought back his bill to the United States just before it was enacted. Mrs. Dummer was one of those most active in spreading the news and doctrine of the Castberg Acts in America. She wrote:

Castberg granted me an interview and was kind enough to go through with me paragraph by paragraph the bill which he was introducing into the Storting to secure justice for the child born out of wedlock.

According to this bill . . . it is not left for the mother to bring suit for the support of her child. . . . A further section of the bill frees the legal wife from the marriage tie, if she so desires, upon the discovery of a child born to her husband out of wedlock.

Upon thinking it over I said to Herr Castberg: "There remain still two doubts in the back of my brain. Are you not lowering the standard of morals for women; and are you not eliminating the family as the unit of society?" The great old Minister of Justice shook his head and brought his fist emphatically down upon the table: "No, no," he said, "That is Nature. The love of a man and a woman to care for their own child—you cannot destroy it."⁵⁸

The "scandals" feared by Norwegian conservatives from the public inheritance of name and property have not occurred.⁵⁹

A recent revision of Norway's legislation for children with serious problems guarantees the advancing of current minimum maintenance allowances for the non-wedlock child from public funds (as in Sweden and Denmark), whether or not recovered or recoverable from those legally liable. The administration of this law, together with other problems and procedures such as those involving neglect, delinquency, adoption, placement, is placed under general county or community child welfare boards, replacing in those matters the former functions of *bidragsfogde*, lord lieutenant, health authorities, boards of guardians (juvenile courts), etc.

Rannveig Anderssen-Rysst of The Norwegian Joint Committee on International Social Policy writes:

By Act of 26 April 1957 . . . Maintenance Allowances for children who have no supporters have been introduced, granting any child under 18 years of age an allowance of 600 Kroner a year. The same amount is to be provided for illegitimate children in cases where there is no supporter legally liable for the child's maintenance.

By another Act, of 21 December 1956, it is no longer possible to issue a maintenance order in the absence of legal conditions of paternity. Conditions of paternity or no responsibility must be established. This Act went into force 1 October 1957, as did the Act of 21 December 1956 which deals with family rights, and the Act of 26 April 1957 respecting Advance Payments of Maintenance Contributions, providing that such contributions as are not paid when due, may be claimed from the local commune, which shall bear the expenses.⁶⁰

Sweden's child allowances include the first child and are much larger than Norway's; but Norway gives tax reductions which almost offset the difference.⁶¹ A recent proposal in parliament would exempt from income tax two-fifths of the income of a "single provider"

(presumably including non-wedlock mothers) for a child under fourteen years.

The Mother's Welfare System, which permits cities and townships to grant to needy mothers (including non-wedlock cases) special allowances for medical, hospital, funeral, and layette costs, has been carried through in only a few places,⁶² and not always have the non-wedlock mothers been given equal help. Some 160 municipalities have carried through the provisions for maternal insurance, and of these, most include the non-wedlock mothers.⁶³ In 1950, a national gathering of the Workers' Youth Rally (*Arbeiders Ungdoms Fylking*) declared vigorously for equality for the non-wedlock mother in the administration of mother's insurance.⁶⁴

In human terms, the operation of Norway's combination of legal procedures, social agencies, and protective grants for non-wedlock situations may be understood best by reference to an actual (but not necessarily typical) case:⁶⁵ "Åse Johansen."

Father dead, mother insane, raised in a small township by rigid religious grandparents, was in a protective school during the war. She took an industrial job in Oslo, became pregnant with a married man, was disowned by her people, and gave birth at a maternity home. She refused to release the child for adoption, and was helped by city social workers. The subsidies from protective legislation made it possible for her to pay for childbirth and support her child: as a single parent, she could get child allowance. The city collected legal support from the father. Paradoxically, she avoided marriage for a second pregnancy lest she lose her allowances. They were persuaded to marry but delayed because of the man's unreliability. He stole, and lost the job the Labor Exchange got him. The child was born, and the man lives at home unemployed. The case was not closed.

An American is inclined to agree with Liv Kluge's general comment, that social casework in Norway does not attempt any deep insight or therapy in respect to emotional and attitudinal problems of clients, but operates within a framework of laws and agencies on a common-sense level.

Under a proposed general reorganization and consolidation of Norway's pensions and insurances, all maternity grants and children's maintenance pensions would be provided from co-ordinated funds and would continue to cover non-wedlock mothers.

COMPARABLE SCANDINAVIAN PROGRAMS

For perspective, let us now briefly compare the current procedures in non-wedlock situations in Norway with those in its Nordic neighbors.

Danish legislative protection for non-wedlock children practically begins in 1923. As a supplement to the Public Assistance Act in 1933, the mother, the midwife, or the physician was required to notify the local Child Welfare Committee, and the child was placed "under supervision" until the seventh (or fourteenth) year.⁶⁶ The Committee was required to guarantee "proper" maintenance and education.⁶⁷ In 1937, a program similar to Norway's was rounded out.

In 1939, the government organized Maternity Aid Institutions throughout Denmark which advance emergency cash, render personal, social, medical, and legal aid by paid professionals to any mothers who need; largely, they serve non-wedlock situations, helping find accommodations before and after childbirth, and foster homes or adoptions for appropriate cases. Since 1763, paternity suits and collections for maintenance by distraint of property or by imprisonment have been in the law. Since 1888, maintenance is extended to the eighteenth year. The chief constable (cf. Norway's "bailiff" or *bidragsfogde*) must be notified within a month of the birth, with the father named. If there be no contrary evidence, the court will adjudge this man as father. This gives the child the same rights as a wedlock child, including the father's name and inheritance, and three-fifths of its support to the age of eighteen; two-fifths is credited to the mother's care. Even if paternity is not proven, the man named, if his paternity has not been proved impossible,⁶⁸ is charged with the child's support (including prenatal, birth, medical, christening, confirmation, school, and vocational training costs). If several men are

liable, all contribute equally, but the mother gets only one allowance—the others' payments go into the fund. Paternity suits are "brought in by" the mothers, but they are helped by the M.A.I. Of M.A.I. cases involving paternal support, about 25 per cent go to court, but this percentage has been decreasing.

Maternity Aid consultations in Copenhagen run about one hundred per day. The Maternity Aid Institutions have functions for this class of cases like those of the *bidragsfogde*, council of guardians (*verjeråd*), or (now) the child welfare committee in Norway.⁶⁹ They discourage adoptions, but locate adoptive homes if needed.⁷⁰ Free obstetric care is provided at the National Hospital and at Aarhus Maternity Home. Maternity homes permit residence with the baby for a year, as in Norway.⁷¹ Allowances for costs and maintenance are advanced at standard rates from public funds and collected later, if the mother be poor.⁷² In 1942-43, such public advances were made to 39,301, or one-third of all non-wedlock children, as compared with 23,663 wedlock children of otherwise broken homes. If the child be removed from the mother, and the mother is liable for any of its support, the allowance can be advanced to the father or to the foster home.⁷³ Legislation was strengthened in 1948.

Sweden, which in some matters of family and sex policies has moved more rapidly than Norway, launched its first protective law in 1917. Since 1937 (like Denmark), it has enacted a program comparable to the Castberg legislation in most respects, and in some administrative details probably superior. But determination of paternity is by suit brought by mother or guardian, not by automatic writ as in Norway.⁷⁴ The child does not inherit from its father unless it is a "betrothal child" or the father has formally stipulated this right. Nor does the child have a right to use the father's name without his permission, except a "betrothal child" at age twenty-one.⁷⁵ The father's support of his legitimate family still has priority in determining ability to pay.⁷⁶

Myrdal considers that the integrated pre-industrial culture provided adequately for non-wedlock situations, and that the cultural lag is on the part of the rapidly industrializing culture to the extent

that it fails to replace the old supports, thus rejecting and neglecting its non-wedlock population. Supportive legislation (formal, secondary group controls) becomes necessary to offset this lag in the industrialized culture.⁷⁷ "Legally foundlings cannot exist. . . . All laws and social advantages pertaining to children apply to those born outside as well as within marriage . . . whether in regard to welfare, schooling, stipends, civil service positions, church ceremonies, or similar privileges." (Exceptions are noted below.)

As in Norway, the mother is "asked" to notify the local Child Welfare Board three months before the birth, and a guardian is appointed to guide the mother in legal procedures, until the child shall be sixteen. (It is alleged that a few couples already cohabiting may marry to get rid of the guardian's supervision!)

In determining contested paternity, the court can decide which witness is more reliable, unless a blood test is conclusive.⁷⁸ The man arraigned is not discharged under evidence that there is more than one potential father, nor is the burden spread between them: the role is settled on one man as "the father." The father may be called upon for the mother's maintenance six weeks before and after the birth. If paternity cannot be established and the mother's income is low, a special allowance is granted.

Illegitimacy does not seem to have been encouraged by all these provisions: there are still enough difficulties, handicaps, and alternatives.⁷⁹ At least, the non-wedlock births in Sweden have decreased during the past generation, from about one in six births to about one in eleven. (About one-sixth of Sweden's wedlock births occur in the first eight months of marriage.)⁸⁰ Marriage has been encouraged by loans, subsidies, exemptions, etc., and non-marital pregnancies have been discouraged by abortions and access to contraceptives. The objective is to discourage (without penalizing) non-wedlock to a point where society is prepared to absorb the residue of offspring without handicap.

The role of social casework and legal aid for non-wedlock situations, so far delegated in Norway to the local *bidragsfogde* and his

appointed guardians, is performed in Sweden and Finland by local Child Welfare Boards, and in Denmark by the official Mother's Aid Institutions, which also attempt to prevent illegal abortions and supervise procedures for legal abortions.

In Finland,⁸¹ progressive leaders consider themselves and their country conservative in their attitudes toward the social experiment of Sweden and Russia. But in the treatment of non-wedlock children as legal equals, they consider themselves similar to Sweden and Norway. The law of 1922 was based on conferences with the other Scandinavian countries. Finland utilizes a children's guardian under each communal Social Board, which may also comprise a Child Welfare Board.

The guardian must register the case. The mother is "required" to report to him before the birth (as in Norway). He must report the christening to the Social Board. He deals with the mother and the man, and arranges maintenance by consent if possible. The Board's approval makes the agreement binding. As in Norway, he can take the case to court without the mother's consent. The alleged father may be liable for maintenance even beyond seventeen years, if the child be defective. If there is proven evidence on more than one man, the mother may elect and may choose the one with higher pay or the one against whom there is the surer evidence. After three months' default, distraint of property or wages can be used, or imprisonment, as a last resort against defaulters. Meanwhile the Social Board can provide relief. A bill was in process, as in Norway, to provide that the maintenance allowance may be advanced to the mother from communal funds, if there be no legally established supporter. The allowances have been increased under the inflation. Like Sweden, Finland permits legitimation by subsequent marriage. Normally, the mother retains custody unless adjudged unfit. The child inherits from the mother only, unless the father admits paternity.⁸² The father may also *adopt* the child. Of non-wedlock children under public care, Helsinki has 60 per cent in their own homes, 40 per cent in other private homes.

In Finland, attitudes toward non-wedlock situations are similar to those in Sweden, possibly more advanced. There is still enough stigma on the mother in rural districts to induce many of the mothers to come to Helsinki for confinement. But there are also, as in Norway and Denmark, the isolated areas where the mores are tolerant, intercourse of the engaged is accepted or ignored, and marriage follows pregnancy. Non-wedlock rates rose after the war.

In Finland, paternity is legally established only if admitted. However, unless other circumstances render paternity manifestly unlikely, obligation to support is imposed if the fact of intercourse at the timely period is established.

Parallel legislation for the five northern nations has been considered (1953) by a Nordic committee. A preliminary report of its proposals indicates that Sweden and Finland may be moved at last to grant paternal name and inheritance; while Norway and Denmark may be moved to permit courts to determine paternity on definite probability rather than on certainty, despite objections from the family-law committee of the Norwegian bar association. There are still doubts about the conclusiveness of modern blood tests. The strengthened probabilities may, however, justify increasing the range of definite decisions. Norway may thus eliminate the distinction between paternity and mere duty-to-contribute by broadening the grounds for declaration of legal paternity but making only these legal fathers (and not any and all who mated with the girl during the critical weeks) subject to support orders. Any cases in which a court could find no *probability* against one or another putative father would be supported by public allowances. But under the proposal for parallel legislation, Norwegian judges, like those of Sweden and Finland, could not only consider blood tests but also weigh social evidence of probability.

At present, Norwegian law requires that paternity be declared unless such a verdict be scarcely credible. In such a case, "unknown fatherhood" stands on the child's (and by inference on the mother's) records for life, and support may be had from public sources.⁸³

CARE AND DISPOSAL OF NON-WEDLOCK CHILDREN

Norway still has from 2,000 to 2,200 non-wedlock births each calendar year.⁸⁴ These represent situations where alternative "solutions" have been prevented by ignorance, inaccessibility or failure of contraceptive methods, objections to or inaccessibility of abortion, and/or the impossibility of legitimation because of previous marriage. Once a non-wedlock child is born, further alternatives present themselves in Norwegian culture as in our own.

Norway's mortality for non-wedlock babies (44.3 per 1,000 live births in 1955) is still over twice that for babies born in normal families (19.7 per 1,000).⁸⁴ We have no figures to compare the non-wedlock infant mortality with that of other babies from the same economic class, or of babies deprived of the parents' care for other reasons. But, despite "maternalistic" legislation, it is clear that actual conditions have not been equalized for wedlock and non-wedlock childbearing. In many cases, the child has to be removed from both parents.

For shelter and care of homeless non-wedlock mothers at childbirth and thereafter, there are (aside from public hospitals) now only eight maternity homes under either public or private auspices.⁸⁵ Partly due to decreasing numbers of non-wedlock offspring, seven homes were discontinued or converted since 1923. One assumption and objective of maternity homes has been that a non-wedlock mother, who thus has opportunity to care for her child for perhaps a year, will not easily give it up. Certain of the urban homes, however, report that an increasing number of mothers leave the home shortly and place their babies for adoption. Despite a long-time predilection toward keeping mother and child together, actual experience with the adoption system indicated to these particular homes that many of the adopted children were better off than they would have been with their unmarried mothers, and that the earlier policy is no longer realistic. The opinion was even expressed by certain workers that maternal sentiments have declined: that the girls are adjusted to the

idea of adoption and do not take the separation as hard as did those of an earlier generation. These opinions are questioned sharply by others.⁸⁶

Some of the social workers in this field have taken a middle way: they find the mother a place and job, with safe care for the baby while she works. The most common arrangement is said to be that the child is placed in a foster home or children's home (*barnehjem*).

The reduction in number of maternity homes is attributed in large part to reduced applications for admission, but also to shorter residence periods—attributable in turn to the wish to earn, the demand for workers, and the easy access of adoption.⁸⁷ The adoptions office of Oslo's Child Health Division (managed by an experienced nurse) had a waiting list of homes. One maternity home with beds to spare opened an "adoption division," charging maintenance, where babies could be looked over by prospective foster parents: a function comparable to that of the widely publicized Cradle of Evanston, Illinois.

The decrease in intake and population of these "homes" is also attributed to the special provision for single parents, of mothers' allowances before and after confinement, from social insurance funds referred to earlier in this chapter. But, as one interpreter put it,

Even with child allowance which is paid out for first child out of wedlock, and with paternity support, it is not easy for a single woman to push herself through existence with a little helpless child. Not a few mothers wish their children adopted out as quickly as possible, and a share of these newborns are sent to Alines Home by Oslo Health Council, where adoptions are assigned. Here is set up a separate division where the adoption babies must complete several months under expert observation so that foster parents shall be safeguarded against abnormalities. . . .

Unfortunately the mothers often pull away from the newborn all too soon. They are restless and feel they must be out and earn their livelihood before everything else. They know, of course, that trained caretakers take over the responsibility for the little one's health and all is made right for the child's welfare.

It must be good for women in emergency to know that they have a first class home to take support in, which stands ready to receive them before and after the birth, whether it be the first and only or several times they seek it.⁸⁸

Certain of the "homes" receive both expectant mothers and motherless babies.⁸⁹ Under both private and public auspices are also several specifically infant homes, in which many of the patients are non-wedlock or foundling babies.⁸⁹ Others are operated only for teaching purposes at domestic arts schools.

EXPERIENCE DURING OCCUPATION

The experiences of the maternity and infant homes during the Nazi Occupation were difficult. Several were simply closed down and seized by the Nazis for office space. One in Oslo found itself taking its cases on orders from the Reichskommissar. At once, the girls whose non-wedlock mates were Germans took the attitude that they could ignore the "home's" rules. Many were at times overfilled with these "German bequests"—who caused various difficulties. A Trondheim "home" taken over by the Nazis became notorious, and at the Liberation its employees fled head over heels. From the Bergen Public Infant Home, many "German" babies were sent to a German children's home after the war.

During the Nazi Occupation, there was an increase in non-wedlock births from 5.99 per cent (1938) to 7.5 per cent, of which a part might be attributable to the stigma attaching to "collaborating" mothers, and to the married status and/or irresponsibility of Occupation soldiers—all of which would tend to make legitimation by marriage unlikely or impossible.

The Nazi half-orphans in due time appeared in the schools. There is no official discrimination; but there have been enough social and emotional handicaps to bring some of them into the special classes for backward or disadvantaged children.⁹⁰ They are insecure in status and role. Conceivably there is also an intelligence differential here,

operating selectively either by actual heredity or in the child-rearing process: some of the girls who "fraternized" sexually were doubtless none too bright; and some of their offspring may therefore be the more vulnerable and trouble-prone. Educational psychologists could test this hypothesis.

SUGGESTIONS FOR RESEARCH

Despite legal and public leniencies in Scandinavia, there are still sufficient difficulties in emotional strain, reputation, economic support, legal procedures, and child care to make non-wedlock child-bearing less popular than abortion or legitimation by marriage or adoption, as a solution of extra-marital pregnancy.⁹¹ It is chosen only where it is considered a lesser evil, or as a last resort.

The development of changing public attitudes in Norway toward non-wedlock situations and their treatment would be a research field in itself for sociological institutes or opinion polls. It is, of course, inextricably tied up with changes in general attitudes toward sex, marriage, sex roles, individualism, religious dogmas, and medical discoveries.

An hypothesis worth testing by field studies would be that the Castberg laws were adapted to the remedying of non-wedlock situations of the less industrialized, less mobilized Norway of the nineteenth century; that by the time they were enacted new conditions were already calling for new types of adjustment. Indeed, there are new types of non-wedlock situations, newly defined and with new attitudes and roles hardly conceived of even by the "radical" but sentimental prewar feminists. A field study of the conditions and motivation underlying the competing attitudes and shifts of social practice in this field during the past generation would be a difficult but rewarding piece of cultural-psychological research.

Myrdal noted, as did we independently in Norway, the convergence of patterns of rural laxity and urban sophistication during a period of continuing rural-urban migration—but mobile cosmopolitanism is a situation less motivated for responsibility than is

stable agrarianism. The concomitance of decreases in pregnant brides, in non-wedlock births, and in pre-marital chastity are attributed to contraceptive practice rather than to abortions, but the proofs are inadequate.

There is said to be considerable involuntary sterility in Scandinavia, variously explained. Still more reductive of non-wedlock births has doubtless been the increasing accessibility of contraceptives⁹² and (to a lesser degree, but especially in cities) the broad interpretation given the "health of the mother" as justification of abortion by physicians. The actual extent of contraceptive practice before, in, and out of marriage is a matter greatly needing field research. It would also be interesting to discover what proportions of Norwegian marriages ("successful" or not) were preceded by non-wedlock relations with the same mate or other mates, and with or without pregnancy or offspring before marriage. Norway needs a sociological Kinsey or Myrdal.

Secularization and urbanization, following technological changes, have had their direct effects on people's life patterns, and have also their impacts upon mass media of communication and interaction. The influences of sophistication are less obvious in the press, in fiction and drama, in sex education, and in amusements than are the direct effects of industrialism and of war, but the former are probably more pervasive.⁹³

As a result of increasing tolerance in all except possibly the extreme pietistic circles, non-wedlock children are being better treated, and, to the extent that the stigma has decreased, there is no corresponding evidence of the downfall of "the family," nor of any overall increase of non-wedlock parenthoods. The institution of marriage may become more flexible and varied, but seems to need neither destruction in order to protect non-wedlock situations, nor protection by the devastation of non-wedlock children and mothers.

APPENDIX A

REGISTRATION OF NON-WEDLOCK BIRTHS

For non-wedlock births, it is the medical attendant (or the mother herself, if unattended at birth) who must report within four weeks. The report goes to the "contribution bailiff" (*bidragsfogden*) in charge of maintenance orders for non-wedlock mothers and children; in rural districts, this is the *lensmann* or administrative sheriff. This official must report immediately to the magistrate and registration authorities.

Non-wedlock offspring are registered and certified as such. But we do not have from Norway's official statistics data on "legitimate" births occurring within six or eight months after marriage, as we have from other Scandinavian countries.⁹⁴ The records of live and stillbirths (including non-wedlock births so registered) give the calendar year of marriage, but not the month and day,⁹⁵ and within the first year of marriage neither the number of months since marriage nor the number of weeks of gestation are specified. Babies born (for example) to December marriages during January to July would be credited to the marriages with "duration" of one year, though obviously pre-marital pregnancy must have occurred. Thus, the figures of children born alive to marriages of the same calendar year, which might seem to give Norway a far lower rate of pre-marital pregnancies than Denmark, Sweden, and Finland, actually do not.

The total number of children born to all the marriages that were officiated in 1955 would include all those born in 1955 plus all those conceived during the latter part of 1955 and born during the first seven or eight months of 1956. The latter would be credited in the records, however, to marriages of second year duration. This kind of tabulation may be useful for some other purposes but not for studies of "illegitimacy."

Norway's official figures for births in the first year of marriage are

thus only a general indicator of pre-marital pregnancy plus marriage for legitimation. They are not reported by month of marriage, by month of gestation, nor by first and second births. They thus include (1) some premature babies conceived in the first three months of marriage and (3) a few second births, following a first birth in the first two or three months of marriage. Changes in the registration system and tabulations might disturb the even uniformity of the annual official statistical reports, but would shed great light on the mores of sex, parenthood, and marriage for legitimation, and would make Norway's non-wedlock situation more nearly comparable with Sweden's, Denmark's, and Finland's.

It is to be hoped that at least a sampling study of first births based on data similar to and directly comparable with those from Sweden, Finland, and Denmark may be undertaken by Norway's census authorities or by some private group.

¹ Acknowledging gratefully certain important emendations by Statistisk Sentralbyrå, Oslo Vernelag, 1955, and Oslo Fylkeskontor, 1958.

The reader is also referred to a 1958 outline of programs dealing with non-wedlock problems, in a report by Dean Inabel B. Lindsay, School of Social Work, Howard University: *A Survey of Selected Aspects of Social Welfare in Sweden and Norway, 1959* (Mimeo), pp. 16-29.

² The phrase "illegitimate birth" will not be used in this work; since the law forbids abortion of any offspring because unwanted, how can its birth be illegitimate? The term refers properly to the intercourse which produced the child.

³ In the nineteenth century, Scandinavia did not stand out so unfavorably. For comparative purposes, Rygg shows the then current average non-wedlock rates for several European countries:

	1896-1900 per 100 Live Births	1891-1900 Per 1,000 Unmarried Women 20-45
Britain	4.26	16.2
Finland	6.78	32.8
Norway	7.60	28.2
France	8.84	31.6
Germany	9.08	50.8
Denmark	9.69	40.1
Sweden	11.34	37.8
Austria	14.27	71.6

Nicolai Rygg, *Om Børn Fødte udenfor Ægteskab* (Statistisk Centralbureau, Kristiania, 1907), p. 5.

⁴ There is a plausible theory that the greater the stigma, the greater the concealment of cases.

⁵ Eilert Sundt, *Om Saedelighedstilstanden i Norge* (Christiania: J. C. Abelsted & P. T. Malling, 1857, 1864-66); cf. also Troels Frederik Troels-Lund, *Dagligt Liv i Norden i det 16de Aarhundrede* (København: Gyldendal, 1903), IX, 15-22.

⁶ E.g. Johan Bojer, *The Great Hunger* (New York: Moffat, Yard, 1919), pp. 21-114; *The Everlasting Struggle* (New York: Century, 1931), pp. 168-70, 226-27, 233-34, 245-50.

⁷ See also Fredrik Barth, "Subsistence and Institutional System in a Norwegian Mountain Valley," *Rural Sociology*, XVII (March 1952), 28-38.

⁸ Cf. Alva Myrdal, *Nation and Family* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1941), p. 44.

⁹ A familiar phrase translatable as "fond of each other" or "in love."

¹⁰ Nicolai Rygg, *Om Born Fodte udenfor Ægteskab* (Statistisk Centralbureau, Kristiania, 1907) p. 23. He pays tribute to the earlier work of Sundt (p. iv).

¹¹ *Statistiske Arbejder 1950, 1951, 1952, 1953, 1954, 1955, 1956, 1957*.

¹² *Folkemaendens Bevaegelse i aarene 1856-1865* (Christiania: Steen, 1868-69), p. XLII.

¹³ At this date, there was a change in the method of registering babies born before marriage but presented for registration after marriage.

¹⁴ *Folkemaendens Bevaegelse . . . 1856-1865*, pp. XLI-XLIII.

¹⁵ *Statistiske Tabeller for Kongeriget Norge* (Christiania: Grøndahl, 1847), p. 48.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 1, 129; cf.: *Statistisk Arbejde 1952* (Statistisk Sentralbyrå, Oslo, 1953), p. 5.

¹⁷ *Statistiske Arbejder 1951, 1952, 1953, 1954, 1955, 1956, 1957; Befolkningsstatistiske oppgaver for 1954* (mimeo.) (Statistiske Sentralbyrå, February, 1957).

¹⁸ Nicolai Rygg, *op. cit.*, note 10, *supra*.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 11-12.

²⁰ Rygg, *op. cit.*

²¹ Sundt, *op. cit.*

²² *Folkemaendens Bevaegelse i aarene 1856-1865* (Christiania: Steen, 1868-69), p. XLI.

²³ Referred to as Eilert Sundt, *Fortsatte Bidrag angaaende Saedelighedstilstanden i Norge* (Christiania, 1864), p. 98.

²⁴ Rygg, *op. cit.*

²⁵ There was much difference between cities.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 22-23.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 15-17.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

³¹ Myrdal, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

³² *Ibid.*, pp. 103 ff.

³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 27-28.

³⁴ Cities whence it was reported that most non-wedlock babies came from casual contacts were those where 90 per cent of all urban non-wedlock babies were born (*ibid.*, pp. 113-16).

³⁵ *Statistiske Årboker 1951, 1952, 1953, 1954, 1955, 1956, 1957*. Anders S. Lunde has kindly provided this table showing five-year averages:

County	ILLEGITIMATE LIVE BIRTHS, NORWAY, BY COUNTY, 1921-1950						1951	1952	1953
	1921- 1925	1926- 1930	1931- 1935	1936- 1940	1941- 1945	1946- 1950			
Østfold	6.3	6.3	5.7	4.5	4.6	4.3			
Akershus	6.9	6.1	6.1	5.5	5.1	4.0			
Oslo	11.6	10.1	9.1	7.3	7.2	5.0			
Hedmark	8.4	8.9	9.9	9.1	7.7	6.5			
Oppland	6.2	5.7	6.4	6.9	6.5	4.7			
Buskerud	5.5	5.5	6.3	5.3	5.0	3.5			
Vestfold	5.1	5.5	4.9	4.2	5.4	2.8			
Telemark	4.5	4.8	4.8	4.1	4.8	3.9			
Aust-Agder	3.7	4.8	3.9	3.4	5.2	3.2			
Vest-Agder	2.8	2.7	2.5	2.1	5.6	2.2			
Rogaland	3.4	3.5	3.7	2.8	5.4	2.2			
Hordaland	2.4	2.8	2.7	2.3	3.4	1.9			
Bergen	7.7	6.4	4.9	3.9	8.9	3.5			
Sogn og Fjordane	3.1	2.9	3.3	2.5	3.1	1.9			
Møre og Romsdal	5.3	5.2	4.9	4.4	5.6	3.4			
Sør-Trøndelag	11.4	11.5	11.3	10.5	11.2	7.4			
Nord-Trøndelag	7.5	8.1	7.4	6.5	8.2	6.1			
Nordland	10.2	11.1	11.9	10.8	12.1	8.9			
Troms	9.9	11.4	12.2	12.3	14.9	10.1			
Finnmark	13.1	14.2	14.7	14.1	19.1	14.3			
Total Norway	6.93	7.02	7.01	6.30	7.37	4.95	4.06	3.76	3.62

Source: *Folkemengdens Bevegelse 1950* (Norges Offisielle Statistikk), XI, 112, p. 16.

See also *Folkemengdens Bevegelse 1953* (Norges Offisielle Statistikk), XI, 233, p. 19, for corrections and additions.

³⁶ Letters of Children's Bureau, March 29, 1955; November 28, 1956.

³⁷ *Statistisk Årbok for Norge 1956, 1957*. p. 29; *Befolkningsstatistiske oppgaver 1953, 1954, 1955* (mimeo.) (Statistisk Sentralbyrå, January, 1955; February, 1956; February, 1957).

³⁸ Sydney H. Croog, "Aspects of the Cultural Background of Premarital Pregnancies in Denmark," *Social Forces*, XXX (December 1951), 215-18.

³⁹ Cf. an echo of this controversy in the findings of Norway's Gallup poll (November 6, 1946):

"Do you think it is right or wrong that an unmarried woman in public office retains her position if she bears a child?"

("Mener De det er riktig eller galt at en ugift kvinne i offentlig stilling beholder sin stilling hvis hun får et barn?")

Per cent of:	Tot.	Men	Women	Over						
				50	35-50	25-35	98-25	I	II	III
Right	70	74	67	66	69	75	73	64	72	70
Wrong	19	17	22	21	20	16	20	27	20	19
Don't know	8	7	8	9	6	6	6	7	7	8
No answer	3	2	3	4	3	3	1	2	1	3

Right because:

- She must live, and care for herself and the child..... 42 per cent
 It's her own business..... 9 per cent
 She doesn't perform her work worse on that account..... 5 per cent

Wrong because:

- It is immoral..... 24 per cent
 She would stand as a bad example..... 13 per cent
 She must first of all remove herself from the child..... 19 per cent

⁴⁰ From unpublished MS on "The Family in Denmark" by Stuart Hoyt, 1949.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² Cf. Sydney H. Croog, "Premarital Pregnancies in Scandinavia and Finland," *American Journal of Sociology*, LVII (January 1952), Table 3, p. 364: "Percentage of Annual Legitimate First Births Six Months after Marriage and Under . . . Denmark . . . 1947: 30.0." In 1954, the percentage was 36.9 (*Statistisk Årbog 1955*, p. 24.)

^{42a} Harold Christensen (Purdue University), from a paper for the International Sociological Association, September, 1959. By permission.

⁴³ Alva Myrdal, *Nation and Family* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1941), pp. 39, 41, 47.

⁴⁴ Cf. also Troels-Lund, *op. cit.*, IX, 15-22; Sundt, *op. cit.*; Rygg, *op. cit.*, and Chapters II, XI, *supra*.

⁴⁵ K. J. Øksnes, "Nordiske Farskaplover," *Arbeiderbladet*, June 5, 1953, p. 4; also, *Utkast till Bestämmelser i Faderskapsmål* (Justitiedepartementet, Stockholm, 1951), pp. 12-13.

Finland establishes paternity only if admitted by the father. But legal liability for support arises, as in Norway, from the establishment of the fact of union at the timely date, unless other circumstances make paternity manifestly unlikely.

⁴⁶ Cf. Sydney H. Croog, "Aspects of the Cultural Background of Premarital Pregnancies in Denmark," *Social Forces*, XXX (December 1951), 218. Also cf. Troels Frederik Troels-Lund, *Dagligt Liv i Norden i det 16de Aarhundrede* (København: Gyldendal, 1904), XII, 142-50.

⁴⁷ K. J. Øksnes, *Assistance to Mother and Child in Norway* (mimeo.) (Royal Norwegian Ministry of Social Affairs, Oslo, 1949), pp. 2-3.

⁴⁸ *Children of Norway* (Norwegian Joint Committee on International Social Policy [Oslo: Aasen, 1950]), p. 11.

Nor do modern findings justify the earlier assumption that the majority of such offspring are hereditarily feeble-minded. "The Castberg children's acts . . . have effectively helped to dispel the old idea about the inferiority of these children" (*ibid.*). Several U.S. studies of placed-out children relate their "intelligence" more closely to that of the foster parents than to that of the biological parents.

⁴⁹ Cf. G. Wiesener, "Barnelovene av 1915," *Social Håndbok for Norge* (Norsk Forening for Sosialt Arbeid, Oslo, 1937), pp. 363-70.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 365. Credit also goes to several laborites and feminists, notably Katti Anker-Møller. Cf. Karen Larsen, *A History of Norway* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1948), p. 504.

⁵¹ Cf. Carl Jacob Arnholm, *Familierett* (Oslo: Tavern, 1946), pp. 59-60.

⁵² In Norway, a "bailiff" is not a mere routine court officer. The word translates poorly the Norwegian *bidragsfogd*, a district official of varied financial responsibilities, connected especially with living subsidies.

⁵³ "A clipping from a paper sent me some years later reported that of the first five thousand paternity cases tried under this law only nine were disallowed. . . ." (Dummer, *op. cit.*, *infra*, p. 63).

⁵⁴ Jon Lundevall, "Blodtypebestemmelser i farskapsaker," *Tidsskrift for Den Norske Laegeforening*, 3 (1954), 89-92.

⁵⁵ The University's Institute of Legal Medicine is used by the courts. Cf. Lundevall, *loc. cit.*, *supra*, and letter of May 31, 1954.

⁵⁶ The two classes of "fatherhood" thus set up created an unforeseen but unavoidable stigma, since when the actual paternity was not declared, it was as much as to tell the world that the child is a bastard. The new law (1957) declares fatherhood unless it is impossible or improbable or incredible (§ 19).

⁵⁷ The Personal Names Act and the Inheritance Act. Cf. Royal Norwegian Ministry of Social Affairs, *Norwegian Social and Labour Survey* (mimeo.) (Norwegian Joint Committee on International Social Policy, Oslo, 1950), p. 67.

⁵⁸ Ethel Sturges Dummer, *Why I Think So: The Autobiography of an Hypothesis* (Chicago: Clarke-McElroy, 1937), pp. 61-63.

⁵⁹ Similar fears have blocked similar provisions in Sweden. Cf. Alva Myrdal, *Nation and Family* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1941), p. 337.

⁶⁰ Letter of November 28, 1957, Rannveig Andersson-Rysst for Norwegian Joint Committee on International Social Policy. See also Instilling fra Barnevern komiteén, IV, *Lov om Innkreving av Underholdsbidrag . . .* ("Law for Collection of Children's Support") (Sosialdepartementet, Oslo, 1951); and V, *Lov om Forskottning av Oppfostringsbidrag til Barn* (Law for the Advancing of Child-care Contributions) (Sosialdepartementet, Oslo, 1951) and *ibid.*, Ot. prp. nr. 50, 1956; *Iverksettning av lov av 26. april 1957 om Forskottning av oppfostringsbidrag*, Rundskriv nr. 1 Sosialdepartementet, Oslo, 1957).

⁶¹ Oksnes, *op. cit.*, p. 3.

⁶² *Children in Norway* (Norwegian Joint Committee on International Social Policy [Oslo: Aasen, 1950]), p. 13.

⁶³ Chris Brusgaard, "§ 245", *Kvinnen og Tiden*, March, 1950; Letter of Gunvor Grønn, March 11, 1958.

⁶⁴ "Ingen forskjell paa gifte og ugifte mødre," *Arbeider Ungdommen* (1950), p. 5.

⁶⁵ Prepared, with proper disguises, by Lektor Liv Kluge of the State School of Municipal and Social Work.

⁶⁶ *Social Denmark*, Transl. W. E. Calvert (Socialt Tidsskrift, Copenhagen, 1947), p. 141.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 156.

⁶⁸ For further data on blood tests, one is referred to Retsmedicinsk Institut, København.

⁶⁹ *Social Denmark*, pp. 170, 172, 179-82.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 173.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 177.

⁷² *Danish Maternity and Child Welfare* (pamphlet) (Danish Foreign Ministry and Ministry of Social Affairs, n.d.). Also, *Social Denmark*, pp. 180-83.

⁷³ *Social Denmark*, pp. 182-83.

⁷⁴ *Social Sweden* (Royal Social Welfare Board [Stockholm: Gernandts, 1952]), p. 210. Cf. also William L. Shirer, *The Challenge of Scandinavia* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1955), p. 150: "At the end of 1950, out of 84,393 children listed as illegitimate, paternity had been established for 76,798; and of these, 85 per cent by acknowledgment, the rest by court decision."

⁷⁵ If the mother be married, her non-wedlock child takes her maiden name (*Svenskt Socialt Lexicon* [Stockholm: Norstedt, 1949], p. 558).

⁷⁶ Myrdal, *op. cit.*, p. 337.

⁷⁷ Myrdal, *op. cit.*, p. 334.

⁷⁸ For further data on blood tests, one is referred to Statens Rätts Kemiska Laboratorium, Stockholm. Revisions of the Swedish Inheritance Laws have been under consideration by the parliament. "Ärvdabalk, Förslag av," *Ärvdabalksakkunniga* (Statens Offentliga Utredningar, 1954, No. 6 [Stockholm, Norstedt, 1954]), pp. 72-73. Also *Utkast till Bestämmelser i Faderskapsmål* (Justitiedepartementet, Stockholm, 1951), pp. 12-13; *Statistisk Årsbok for Sverige, 1952*, p. 59. Sten Rudholm, "Ärvdabalksförslaget," *Svensk Juristtidning* (1956), pp. 450-55.

In a recent case in Sweden, blood tests showed that one of sixteen-year-old twins, supported by a putative father, could not have been his child, while the other was of the same blood type (*Arbeiderbladet* [Oslo], April, 1953).

⁷⁹ Cf. Myrdal, *op. cit.*, pp. 83, 109-12, 208-9, 333, 337.

⁸⁰ Cf. Croog, *op. cit.*, and personal interviews.

⁸¹ Information for Finland is from personal interviews with Niilo Mannio, general secretary of the Finnish Department of Social Affairs; Niilo Kotilainen, its child welfare inspector; Fru Margit Törnudd of Helsinki Child Welfare Board; and Dr. Heikki Waris, professor of social policy at University of Helsinki, sometime acting minister of the Social Welfare Department.

⁸² *Ibid.*

⁸³ Cf. *Lov om barn utenforekteskap*, Ot. prp. nr. 56, pp. 3-4, 11, 17 ff.

From October, 1951, to August, 1953, the Institute of Legal Medicine at University of Oslo handled 657 "biological" cases, using blood-typing tests. Dr. Jon Lundevall, reporting in *Tidskrift for Den Norsk Lagesforening* (1953) estimates that 40 per cent of the men in paternity suits are incorrectly declared to be fathers. (Quoted in *Dagbladet*, "Er De Ikke Far Likevel?")

⁸⁴ *Statistisk Årbok for Norge 1957*, pp. 32, 35.

⁸⁵ Cf. G. Wiesener, *Barnevernet i Norge* (Oslo: Bohler & Larsen, 1948), pp. 55-58.

⁸⁶ Wiesener, *loc. cit.* This opinion is questioned by others. The adoption bureau of Oslo Fylkeskontor writes (February 2, 1958): "A survey of many children who were adopted last year, compared with the number born out of wedlock, will surely show that these statements are untenable."

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸⁸ Mass Beer, "Alines Mødre og Spebarnhjem," *Urd* (1951), pp. 471-72.

⁸⁹ Wiesener, *op. cit.*, pp. 58-59. Where there is no special infant home, homeless infants are still cared for in general children's homes or maternity homes.

⁹⁰ Interview with special class teacher.

⁹¹ Cf. Croog, "Some Aspects. . ." *loc. cit.*

⁹² Cf. Sydney H. Croog, "Premarital Pregnancies in Scandinavia and Finland," *American Journal of Sociology*, LVII (January 1952), 359, 362.

⁹³ Scandinavian literature has provided channels for a number of "radical" thinkers in the fields of sex, feminism, and marriage: Strindberg and Ibsen are best known. Myrdal refers to the influence of Ellen Key's writings, which were influential in the German *Mutterschutz* movement for non-wedlock mothers and were widely discussed in the U.S.A. about the turn of the century. But we saw no overt evidence of her influence in Norway. Less literary are Elise Ottesen-Jensen, the west coast Norwegian who found greater acceptance for "sexual enlightenment" in Sweden, and Karl Evang, whose early work was also more influential in Sweden than in Norway. Other Norwegian writers, with no large following, have gone even further in advocating the abolition of legal monogamy, on the chief ground that it is socially supported by the stigma on non-wedlock children and mothers. The argument is more often found in reverse: that the stigma must be preserved in order to protect monogamy.

⁹⁴ Cf. Sydney H. Croog, "Premarital Pregnancies in Scandinavia and Finland," *American Journal of Sociology*, LVII (January 1952), 358-65, *passim*.

⁹⁵ Julie E. Backer, letter to the Editor, *American Journal of Sociology*, LVIII (July 1952), 68, correcting a misinterpretation by Croog. Dr. Backer wrote as chief of the Demographic Section, Central Statistical Bureau of Norway.

XIII

Divorces

It is apparent both from demographic data and from general observation of families *in habitat* that, once Norwegians are married, their homes are in general stable, and family life is satisfying. The types of strain, shock, and crisis which occur are like our own and are probably common to the north European culture area, if not common-human.¹

THE POSTWAR REUNIONS

The postwar reunions, so clearly defined as family crises by Reuben Hill and Elise Boulding,² proved at least as difficult in Norway as here, if one judges from the testimony of competent observers. In an essay on postwar mentality,³ the late Dr. Trygve Braatoy defends Norway against complaints by outsiders that softness and selfishness, laziness and liquor were rife. Indeed, a few who were neurotic in "normal" times had been "normal" in war.⁴ Many people who had risen to the occasion miraculously during the Occupation felt the letdown; extreme cases reached the psychiatrist's office.

In 1945 (after the war) some housemothers who had run the farm or business and fed a flock of kids from the ration lines while the man was fighting or imprisoned, and were in addition active agents of the underground resistance, "went to pieces" or accused themselves of failure when the family was reunited; the strains became the strains of readjustment.

When housemothers seek a psychiatrist "because they have gone bad," one can in the majority of cases assume that, in the ordinary sense, they are *not* bad. It is on a background of experiences of how they usually react toward husband and children, that they are now plagued by their own irritability, that they are less patient, more hasty and testy than they used to be—and therefor "bad". . . .⁵

When a housemother's elasticity both literally and figuratively is

stretched regardless, through five dark Occupation years, it does not suddenly become like new natural rubber on the day Germany capitulates. [Housewives have no vacations in their contracts. They had little chance to get a pause and recover unless the husband also took a holiday. Lack of house help ruined the "vacations" of even well-to-do housewives.] Fathers and husbands, sons and daughters, came home day after day to housemothers whose elasticity and patience were less than they were in 1939. It would have been a miracle if such had not been the case. [The imprisoned men were honored for it, but the housewives] had got less glory, and it was very human that the husband who came home from a concentration camp got the idea he had a need to be understood, that his wife should see the situation from his point of view a little more than usual. But it is also human that the wife, who had the daily worries throughout these weeks, months and years, about husband and food and clothes and children,—that she in weak moments looked forward to the day when the husband's arm should support her.⁶

No wonder the reunions were not what everyone had hoped for. A well-known member of a distinguished family, returning home from Nazi imprisonment, found an adolescent daughter definitely resistant to his assumption of a "normal" role of paternal authority. This experience was probably typical of many postwar distortions of family roles.

FAMILY BREAKDOWNS AND DELINQUENCY

In our juvenile courts, children in need of care are classified roughly as "neglected" and "delinquent." So for Norway's boards of guardians (*Verjeråd*), cases were divided into those brought in for "relationships in the home" or for "bad behavior of the child." A study of 1,283 cases from Oslo's *Verjeråd* (1929-33) showed that 47.4 per cent were brought in because of circumstances in the home (neglect, family distortions), 52.6 per cent for behavior problems. Of the same 1,283 cases, 751 or 58.5 per cent had their own father and mother. All the rest, 41.5 per cent had homes more or less distorted by orphanhood (death, divorce, desertion) or stepparenthood.⁷ Of a month's case records of 1950, practically all the situations, when

perused by the writer, showed that they had been affected by family distortions and crises, whether or not both parents were in the home. Delinquency can thus be considered as a problem of family discord or dismemberment.

Since we found no separate statistical or field studies of widowhood, desertion, and other types of family breakdown, we proceed to problems of divorce.

DIVORCE PROCEDURES

There is a legal requirement that, before a couple can go to court for divorce they must have "consulted" their parish pastor. This offers a real opportunity, theoretically, for intelligent analysis and possible preventive work. But only a handful of pastors have the interest, experience, or training for effective casework of this sort. The theological schools now offer lectures by an eminent psychiatrist, Ørnulv Ødegaard—the first lectures, by the way, to be attended jointly by students from the University's fundamentalist school and from its older but somewhat more liberal school of theology. But Ødegaard himself has stated that psychiatry has nothing to do with religion. The lectures did not attempt to deal directly with family situations in pastoral care. A few theological students were doing a little amateur settlement work, but they did not have clinical practice with any family casework agency or parish counselling office.

Christian Aid, a small organization of physicians and ministers, published an excellent little brochure on marriage conflicts, but its circulation was not wide.⁸ In 1953, Christian Aid "started a Family Counselling Service in Oslo . . . open twice a week . . . [within a few months] about 100 have taken advantage of the opportunity of talking over their problems with either a pastor or a doctor."⁹

It is apparent from statements of leading clergy and other informed persons that couples in marital trouble seldom come to their own pastors in time for preventive help, or get it when they do; when they decide upon divorce, they come for the legal pastoral signature and they get it.¹⁰

There is even a civil by-pass: the pastor may be avoided if a couple elects instead to appear before a so-called reconciliation counsel (*Forliksråd*) in the Oslo court building. *Forliksråd* may have been instituted in hope of preventing divorce by mediation, but apparently it does no investigation, no interviewing, no therapeutic or probationary treatment, no referrals to other agencies which might help. Like the pastoral signature, it seems to be considered a rubber-stamp routine. *Forliksråd* forwards to the divorce court a formal *meglingsattest* (certificate of mediation) which permits separation and trial. There is no interaction between *Forliksråd* and *Ekte-skapsrett* (marriage court) or its proceedings.

The futility of this agency's procedure was pointed out in parliament (February 19, 1954) by Lars Ramndal, after some newspaper publicity.¹¹ The objective to provide an alternative to the clergy as mediator was failing—twenty-five “mediations” per day is absurd. An eyewitness reported:

The husband and wife each took a numbered ticket at the anteroom, were called in, and then everything happened with astounding speed, such as one does not expect elsewhere in public bureaucracy. One would think “mediators” were on a piecework wage. We were on the way and the case forwarded to the court before we could draw our breath. It took six minutes to deal with a thirty years' war!

The *Forliksråd* was established in 1909 in order to have a court of first instance which could decide whether it was the absolute determination of the parties to separate. The question of its alleged function was raised again in 1924. Parliament did not consider the agency satisfactory. As far back as 1937, the Women's National Council asked that the *Forliksråd* be abolished in favor of a committee named by the district board with mediations undertaken by the several members. Paid workers to handle a maximum of four cases per day apiece were also suggested by Ramndal, who noted that many juvenile delinquents come from divorced homes.

Pastors had complained that some lawyers demand their signa-

tures as "mediators" in hot haste. Clergy and lawyers had discussed the problem in 1949: their decision was that "mediation" seldom got results. The chairman of *Forliksråd* pointed out that the lawyers of the respective parties get them to come with predetermined opinions so that few are reconciled. But the authorities have found no better methods. The *Forliksråd* cannot be suddenly abolished nor can religious counsel be made obligatory. During a long debate, one of the cabinet, Kaar Knudsen, declared that the divorce law should be revised but in relation to the law of marriage. All being agreed in respect to the difficulties, no motion or proposition was presented.

Ekteskapsrett, the court in Oslo which handles divorce proceedings, is quite without its own personnel for pre-trial conciliation or for fact-finding. Our interviews indicated a conception of the role of the court and its procedure which would preclude collaboration with other agencies. The marriage court does not call *Forliksråd* nor any other agency's personnel concerned into the trial as witnesses or expert advisors. The law is conceived as independent of social process and as operating in a social vacuum if it is to achieve uninfluenced "justice." To include any social facts or recommendations for the court might apparently be considered improper influence or interference.

From long years of observation rather than from systematic studies, a judge of the "marriage court" considered that the chief social causes of divorce in Norway are the housing problem ("doubling-up," discontent, friction, or other complications¹² due to overcrowding) and alcoholism. Shifting at once to legal "causes," he listed the accepted reasons as adultery, imprisonment of more than three years, insanity, venereal disease, and desertion. For separation only, he added as causes alcoholism, brutality, non-support, and "abnormal" demands.

The court made no use of information on its cases which might be available to it through records or personnel of such agencies as the board of guardians (juvenile court), *forsørgsvesen* (the relief office), or *edruelighetsnemnden* (the temperance board), who may have dealt with

the same family for neglect, drunkenness, etc. Nor does it attempt to postpone legal action, suspending decision and referring cases to social or psychological agencies, such as the temperance board, Alcoholics Anonymous, or a psychiatric clinic. There is in Oslo a "charity register" but no general "social service exchange" for facts or referrals.

The marriage court does determine guardianship once separation or divorce is decreed. It says which spouse shall have custody of offspring and parental authority, and passes upon petitions for reversals of custody. It deals with child marriages. But it is not a full domestic relations court or family court: it does not handle neglect, non-support, non-wedlock paternity, etc. These are in another division of the courts.

SCANDINAVIAN COMPARISONS

The procedures and requirements in Denmark and Sweden are similar, the legislation having been drawn in collaboration with Norway:

a. The court grants a one-year separation, by mutual consent, followed by a permanent decree.

b. The court grants a permanent decree after three years of actual but non-judicial separation.

c. The court grants an immediate divorce for certain acute conditions (such as bigamy, adultery, venereal diseases), or for chronic conditions (such as imprisonment, insanity, alcoholism). Alimony (if any) and child maintenance are paid by the party who does *not* retain custody of offspring. If maintenance is defaulted, it can be advanced from public funds, the state then attempting to collect from the delinquent parent.¹³

Children of Swedish divorces are supported on court order by the parent who does not have the custody. Alimony orders are issued if needed. If court orders are defaulted, the state guarantees the children's support and tries to recover from the father. But in Sweden their children do not automatically get state allowances as in Nor-

way. Of divorced women, 68 per cent have children, and, as the average age is high, jobs are difficult for them.¹⁴

TRENDS IN DIVORCE

The statistics of divorce and separation are customary indices of family morals or de-morale-ization. The following unpublished table was prepared by Anders S. Lunde for a forthcoming work, and is reproduced by his permission. It shows trends of the last sixty years:

TABLE 25

DISSOLVED MARRIAGES, NORWAY, 1886-90 TO 1946-50¹⁵

Period	Number of Marriages	Dis- solved Total	Marriages Dissolved		Rate	
			By Death Number	Rate per 100 Marriages	By Divorce Number	Rate per 100 Marriages
1886-90	62,802	46,683	46,502	74.1	181	0.3
1891-95	65,200	49,623	49,164	75.4	459	0.7
1896-1900	73,973	50,431	49,871	67.4	560	0.8
1901-5	69,461	51,382	50,506	72.7	876	1.3
1906-10	70,342	52,375	50,783	72.2	1,592	2.3
1911-15	76,598	54,223	51,836	67.7	2,387	3.1
1916-20	89,256	61,667	58,720	65.8	2,947	3.3
1921-25	85,011	56,111	52,840	62.2	3,271	3.9
1926-30	84,293	58,145	54,231	64.3	3,914	4.6
1931-35	93,020	58,275	53,570	57.6	4,705	5.1
1936-40	124,745	61,600	56,195	45.1	5,405	4.3
1941-45	119,970	64,355	57,290	47.8	7,065	5.9
1946-50	143,860	66,050	54,950	38.2	11,100	7.7
1951	27,180	13,040	10,889	40.1	2,151	7.9
1952	27,499	13,452	11,333	41.2	2,119	7.7
1953	27,032	13,438	11,362	42.0	2,076	7.7
1954	26,977	13,791	11,689	43.3	2,102	7.8
1955	26,156	13,602	11,620	44.4	1,982	7.6
1956 (est.)	24,764				2,071	8.4

Here are Norway's rates for the years before and after World War II, with the United States figures for comparison. They confirm the world-wide effects of industrialization and the aftereffects of war upon family structure and function:

TABLE 26

DIVORCES IN NORWAY BY YEAR, PER 100 MARRIAGES IN THE SAME YEARS

1931-40	5.7
1936-40	4.3
1939	4.4
1940	3.4 (Occupation)
1941	4.2
1942	(not available)
1943	5.4
1944	7.0 (Liberation)
1945	8.2
1941-45	5.9
1946	7.0
1947	7.5
1948	7.2
1949	8.6
1950	8.5
1946-50	7.7
1951	7.9
1952	7.7
1953	7.7
1954	7.8
1955	7.6
1956	8.4 (est.)

There was thus an increase in divorces in Norway in the postwar period as compared with those of the Occupation period.

Divorces per 100 marriages, 1954, were approximately 25.7 in the United States, against 7.8 in Norway.¹⁶ Divorces per 100,000

population, 1953, were approximately 62 for Norway and 252 for the United States. Of Norway's divorces, 1956, 30 per cent of the couples had no children.¹⁷

As in Sweden, divorce is more infrequent in the nation's provinces than in its metropolitan areas. The district judge of a south Norway county told us that in his three years of service only one case had come before him, a case where one party was from Oslo; that in his area family stability was taken for granted. In Kjose, a forest hamlet in Vestfold, a local manager reported only one divorce in eighteen years—and the man was a "functionary" (white-collar employee from the city).

SOCIAL-ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES OF DIVORCEES

For divorced women as such, there is in Norway no social or employment ostracism, but they are not without their serious familial and economic problems. Few can "afford" to be divorced. It hits hardest those with children. The child is usually left in the mother's custody (as in the United States): a practice which is at once a compliment, a satisfaction, and a burden. Many husbands suddenly discover that "they earn very little." Most of the mothers are reluctant to seek relief agencies.

These problems were discussed before the Oslo Association on Women's Affairs in 1951 by Andreas Støylen (a lawyer), Jørgen Dahl (a pensions official), and others. The director of one of the schools of social services offered examples:¹⁸

The little girl sobbed when they wanted to move her to the father because the mother drank half the week: "But the other days we have it so lovely!"

A mother saw herself forced to turn the children over to the father: she could not bear to see them suffer want with her. The alimony was not being paid and under the law could not be advanced from public funds (as advocated by the feminists).

A young, happy daughter of a well-to-do family eloped, after a few years was forced out and is without means or work, physically and mentally ill, unrecognizable. She became quarrelsome, suspicious, ran from lawyer to lawyer and couldn't pay, claimed that "the men stick with the men."

There is a legal aid bureau which is of great help, especially to women who seek divorce, custody, support, etc.—the drawback being that many cases cannot be carried through by one and the same lawyer.

The mother's allowances are a secure anchor for many divorcees, but there are many who are not eligible, even in those few municipalities that have them. (It is a permissive law, not a universal requirement.) Social workers and feminists hope to see all single child-supporting persons covered, with vocational training provided for the divorced (or otherwise bereft) mothers to bring their earning power up beyond the level of the allowances. Proposals by Oslo's city council would have discouraged mothers from increasing their earning power, by raising the tax-free limit of mother pensioners, and *requiring them to pay a rebate on earlier allowances* if they get a full-time, economically adequate job. A regulation of this sort is no longer in effect for relief payments. If economic need, or fear thereof, is all that prevents a divorce, should one welcome such a deterrence, and increase it?

To safeguard women's freedom and security during marriage (and/or after divorce, if need be), social service people in Norway are advocating for married women opportunities to continue part-time occupational training and practice throughout the marriage. The sense of security from such a resource might strengthen the voluntary and equalitarian quality of married relationships, and prevent some marriages from breakup under the tensions of constraint and need. Others may consider that the added sense of economic independence might expedite and increase divorces.

SCANDINAVIAN COMPARISONS

Divorces rose sharply in postwar Finland and Denmark, also, but are apparently now declining. Although the peoples of these nations resisted bravely during the wars, there were in 1942-43 many young people lacking historic perspective, for whom there were temptations to defeatism or escapism, irresponsibility or carelessness. Hence, impulsive marriages and perhaps equally impulsive behavior leading to divorce. At least, that is one interpretation offered.¹⁹

Until recently, the increase in Denmark's divorce rate has been steady since 1911, including the Occupation period, and has been attributed to increasingly materialistic standards, working wives, urbanism, birth control, feminism, misfit marriages during the Occupation, and experimentalism in marriage.

Recent rates have been:²⁰

TABLE 27

Per 100 marriages		Per 100,000 estimated population
1947	17.4	
1948	18.1	169.1
1949	18.6	164.0
1950	17.6	160.1
1951	18.3	—
1954	19.1	151.8 +
1955	19.3	152.5 +
1956	19	145.5 +

In Finland, the rate has recently risen from 10.7 per 100 marriages in 1948 to 11.8 in 1955.

We are not aware of any Norwegian study of the distributions of divorces or of attitudes toward divorce by ecological area (national or urban) or by class levels, such as that made by Erik Allardt in Finland.²¹ There, the average rate per 100,000 population has moved

steadily up from 3.4 in 1891-95 to 109.2 in 1946-50, but declined after 1945 to 91.9 in 1950, and 82 + in 1955.²²

As might be expected, Finnish rates vary with the degree of industrialization and urbanization. In Helsinki, 1945 (postwar), the rate was 456.6 per 100,000, but in rural areas the rate was only 65.6. Divorces also increased in upper-class levels and in slums. But the differences are attributed to different "social norms" and attitudes rather than to occupation or residence. Lutheranism dominates rural attitudes; individualism and socialism dominate urban, secular attitudes toward divorce.

An increase in divorces is reported from neutral Sweden, where the prewar (1939) rate was already 56 per 100,000 population against Norway's 44, and had increased rapidly during the preceding decade, as in most industrializing countries. Since 1948, the rate per 100,000 population has risen from 98.5 to 117.5 (1956); the rate per 100 marriages rose from 11.7 to 16.8 in 1955 and 16.6 in 1956. War prosperity doubtless played a part. Myrdal notes that a longer life span also increases the number of years in which divorces can develop, as does the mobilization of population away from its landowning base.²³

In an elaborated study of over 200 marriages in Sweden, 1950-51, Locke attempted to discover what pre-marital factors were associated with later marital conflict.²⁴ No such study has been made in Norway.

Svalastoga summarized the figures for Norway, Sweden, Denmark in 1954. He attributes Norway's consistently lower figure to its lag in urban industrialization.²⁵ In 1950, for example, Oslo showed a rate of 17.5 per 100 marriages against other cities' 9.3 and rural 4.7.

In our comparisons, we have not taken account of changes and differences in legal causes for divorce nor attitudes toward them. Nor have we attempted any measures of "marriage success" or "conjugal happiness," but merely of the numbers of families broken by divorce in the respective total cultural situations. Furthermore, it is commonly agreed that, short of absolute prohibition, the specification of additional legal causes does not greatly affect the securing of divorces. But the causes legally allowed in the four countries are

comparable since 1929, and the one-year separation period was included in Finland in 1948.

A wealth of rewarding inquiries awaits the entry of Norwegian social scientists into the field of marital discord and divorce, especially for comparison with the studies in Sweden by Myrdal and by Locke and Karlsson, and in Finland by Allardt.²⁶

¹ Norsk Gallup, January 22, 1949, gave as causes of discord in homes, 12 per cent money matters, and 6 to 8 per cent egotism, stubbornness, ideas about discipline, over-tension, and nerves. September 18, 1949, characteristics most objectionable in a husband: drinking or smoking too much, 41 per cent; unfaithfulness, 12 per cent; in a wife, unfaithfulness, 15 per cent; "pleasure sick" or extravagant, 13 per cent.

² Reuben Hill, *Families Under Stress: Adjustment to the Crises of War Separation and Reunion* (New York City: Harpers, 1949); Elise Boulding, "Family Adjustments to War Separation and Reunion," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, CCLXXII (November 1950), 59-67.

³ Rikskringkastingen, September, 1945; in *Psykoanalyse og Moral* (Oslo: Cappelen, 1949), pp. 100-107.

⁴ Cf. Thomas D. Eliot, "Standards of Living . . . and Normality," *The Family*, X (May 1929), 87.

⁵ Braatøy, *loc. cit.* in note 3, p. 101.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 103.

⁷ Max Petersen and Egil Nilsen, *Verjerådsbehandlingens Resultater i Forhold til Barnas Miljøbakgrunn* (mimeo.) (Oslo Kommunale Ungdomsnevd, Oslo, 1951), p. 4.

⁸ C. Schmidt, *Ekteskaps Konflikter* (Oslo: Gimnes, 1948), one of six pamphlets with total sales to January 1951 of 100,000.

⁹ Letter of May 28, 1953.

¹⁰ By contrast, there are for some Finnish churches specific counselling services for marriage problems, though they admittedly serve more newly-weds than trouble cases.

¹¹ Cf. "Forlikrådets Skillemissegling en Karikatur," *Dagbladet*, February 20, 1954.

¹² He mentioned housing as a cause of marital conflict, but did not mention "in-laws" specifically. The doubling of two generations under the same roof during the chronically acute housing shortage since the war has presumably faced many a newly-wed with an "in-law" situation. We noted only one public commentary on this problem, and no research. If it has not increased the divorce rate, this is a tribute to the qualities of family relations in Norway.

¹³ Alva Myrdal, *Nation and Family* (New York: Harpers, 1941), pp. 332-33.

¹⁴ Cf. *Svenskt Socialt Lexikon* (Stockholm: Norstedt, 1949), pp. 544-45; Myrdal, *op. cit.*, p. 333.

¹⁵ 1886-1930, *Folkemengdens Bevegelse 1901-1910* (Norges Offisielle Statistikk), VI, 55, p. 15; *ibid.*, 1921-1932 (N.O.S.), IX, 70, p. 12.

1931-50, *Folkemengdens Bevegelse 1950* (Norges Offisielle Statistikk), XI, 112, p. 13.

1951-53, *Folkemengdens Bevegelse 1953* (Norges Offisielle Statistikk), XI, 233, pp. 10, 17. *Statistisk Årbok for Norge, 1952*, p. 26; *1953*, p. 28; *1954*, pp. 29-31; *1956*, pp. 29-31; *1957*, p. 29.

¹⁶ *Statistisk Årbok for Norge 1955*, p. 31; *1956*, p. 29; *1957*, p. 29.

¹⁷ *Statistical Abstract*, 1955, p. 76, and *Monthly Vital Statistics Report*, IV (March 19, 1956), 4. *Statistisk Årbok for Norge 1956*, pp. 5, 29, 31; 1957, pp. 5, 29, 31.

¹⁸ Cf. Dakky Kiaer, "De Skilte Dagens Proletarer," *Verdens Gang*, December 15, 1951. Calculated from U.S. Public Health Service, *Vital Statistics—Special Reports*, XXXVIII, (October 29, 1952), 57; and XXXVIII (October 20, 1953), 6; and (December 4, 1953), 32.

¹⁹ The same interpretation is offered for the war increases of venereal diseases. Both divorces and new cases of venereal diseases rise with prosperity.

²⁰ *Befolknings Beraegelser 1950*, p. 8; 1951 (pub. 1953), pp. 6, 8; *Statistisk Årbog 1952*, p. 5; 1957, p. 36.

²¹ *Statistisk Årsbok for Finland 1952*, pp. 5, 37-39; 1956, pp. 47, 51, 307; *Befolkningsrörelsen 1950*, pp. 16-17.

²² Erik Allardt, *Miljöbetingade Differenser i Skilsmissofrekvensen. . . i Finland 1891-1950* (Finska Vetenskaps-Societeten, Helsingfors, 1953), XCVI, No. 1.

Also abstracted in English.

²³ *Statistisk Årsbok för Sverige, 1952*, pp. 8, 56, 59; *ibid.*, 1957, p. 55; Alva Myrdal, *Nation and Family* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1941), pp. 38-39. The increase has ranged from .5 per 100 new marriages (1831-40) to 5.9 per 100 new marriages (1939).

²⁴ Harvey Locke and Georg Karlsson, "Marital Adjustment and Prediction in Sweden and the United States," *American Sociological Review*, XVII (February 1952), 10-17.

²⁵ Kaare Svalastoga, "The Family in Scandinavia," *Marriage and Family Living*, XVI (November 1954), 374-80.

²⁶ See note 24, above.

XIV

Coping with Alcoholism

A FAMILY PROBLEM

SEVERAL experienced Norwegian authorities agree that alcoholism is a major form or factor of family demoralization in Norway. Early in our inquiries, we interviewed Dr. Tove Mohr as an outstanding leader in pioneering activity for maternal health, child welfare, and sex education. As a closing question, she was asked, "Are there other problems of Norwegian family life that you feel we should be inquiring about?" She at once said that we should study alcoholism as a family problem. She was chairman of Oslo's Temperance Board at the time. Eyvind Dahl, judge of the divorce court, and Kåre Gilhus, as chairman of Oslo's former Board of Guardians (juvenile court), also named alcoholism as a chief factor in many of their cases.¹

Rolf Knudsen, bureau chief in the Ministry of Social Affairs, writes: "First and foremost, the destructive effect of this abuse of alcohol reflects on the home life, with the unhappy consequences for wives and children . . . the consumption of alcohol has contributed greatly to the spread of venereal diseases."²

A report of the official committee of the Department of Social Affairs included the following conclusion:

The greatest damage done by misuse of alcohol which cannot be statistically reported, is to the many unfortunate homes—damage to the alcoholics themselves, for their spouses and children and the rest of the family. . . . An alcoholic's family often suffers direct need because one person uses so large a part of the income for alcohol that it encroaches on the family's necessary requirements or he slights or loses his job because of drink. Far more serious is the neurotic damage the family is exposed to

because of the alcoholic's condition and behavior when drunk and as result of the psychic deterioration which abuse of alcohol brings with it. An alcoholic's children run the risk of getting a bad social upbringing and they are often nervous for their whole life. . . . When a person neglects his economic, moral and social duties toward his family, there should be interference at an early stage, before serious damage is done.³

The present paper will discuss the family aspect of the alcohol problem without consideration of the system by which alcoholic drinks are sold or controlled.

EXTENT OF ALCOHOLISM

Alcoholism has always been called a "curse" of the Nordic cultures. The conditions of climate, work, and living have been conducive to the use of alcoholic drinks. Its threats to family morale became a matter of concern in the nineteenth century in Norway as well as in other parts of Scandinavia.

The alarming state of public morals, traceable in large part to brandy (and to widespread rural distillation for lack of adequate grain marketing), caused the subject of regulation, both of production and sale, to be discussed frequently by the *Storting*.⁴

Hauge's evangelistic movement was most strongly supported in the southwestern mountains where brandy was most prevalent. To discourage "moonshine" liquor, city distillers were given advantages, but also restricted in output. By 1856, laws and improved social economy helped both Norway and Sweden to reduce the prevalence of inebriety. From 16.2 liters of hard liquor per capita in 1833, annual consumption fell to 11.3 in 1843 (estimated), 6.09 in 1851, and 4.49 in 1865 (official).⁵ But the decline in consumption was limited chiefly to the rural districts and the urban upper classes.

In the decade preceding World War II, there had been a slight increase of alcohol consumption (1932: 1.77 liters per inhabitant, to 1939: 2.20 liters). During the Occupation, the reported total consumption of alcohol was sharply curtailed (1940: 1.74 liters; 1942: .86 liters; 1945: 1.31 liters) but consumption of hard liquor rose

(from 1.63 liters to 2.22 liters).⁸ At the Liberation, there was an obvious jump in both figures (1946: 2.41 liters and 3.61 liters), but since then consumption declined until 1953, then rose slowly, despite high prices and limited outlets.

TABLE 28

	Alcohol	Hard Liquor
1950	2.17 liters	2.44 liters
1952	2.12 „	2.13 „
1953	2.05 „	2.02 „
1954	2.14 „	2.16 „
1955	2.30 „	
1956	2.32 „	
1958	2.32 „	

These are considered relatively low rates.⁸ Total 1956 sales of A/S *Vinmonopoli* (the government company) were Kr. 451.5 million, an increase of Kr. 10.5 million over 1955.⁹

Milk consumption, 1952, stimulated by a subsidy to keep down the price to consumers, was highest per capita in the world.¹⁰ Studies of working men's family expenditures show an increase from 3.26 liters in 1928 to 33.31 liters in 1948, per household per year, for non-alcoholic drinks—while consumption of beer fell from 42.58 liters to 29.42 liters, and wine and brandy from 4.44 liters to 4.25 liters.¹¹ But annual total outlays for alcoholic drinks were reported about one-third more than for taxes, three-quarters more than the value of fisheries, and four times the government expenditures for churches, schools, science, and art. About one-sixth of the government's income is from the state alcohol monopoly: Kr. 490,279,000 in 1955.¹²

New legislation for control of sales of alcoholic beverages was before the parliament at current writing.

“Arrests and misdemeanors” for liquor offenses are indices of drunkenness; they have been cut in half since 1923; they show a decrease since the postwar year:

TABLE 29

LIQUOR OFFENSES FOR SELECTED YEARS¹³

Misdemeanors for Drunkenness	Urban Arrests per 1,000 inhabitants
1938—37,362	33.6
1939—37,844 (prewar)	34.2
1942—16,602 (Occupation)	18.6 or 15.5
1946—42,515 (postwar)	38.1
1947—39,421	34.3
1948—40,907 ¹⁴	32.0
1949—37,831	29.5
1950—32,764	25.4
1951—31,648	23.3
1952—33,728	28.0 or 24.5
1953—34,985	28.6 or 24.7
1954—33,086	26.3 or 24.1
1955—31,188	25.2
1956—32,721	25.6 ⁷

Arrests are said to be made for public intoxication *in se*, not merely for *disorder* when drunk. The number of abusers of alcohol reported to the police as first offenders decreased from 7,849 in 1948 to 5,055 in 1952.¹⁵

The reports show that about seven-eighths of the drunkenness offenses occur in the cities. This does not mean that alcoholism is exclusively urban. Of 28,653 urban offenses reported for 1954,¹⁶ 10,644 were by nonresidents, which would include villagers, farmers, fishers, and herders, as well as seamen and foreigners, who "go to town." Doubtless the villages have ways of handling many of their drunks without arrests,¹⁷ but there was a 10 per cent increase of rural arrests in 1954.

Sales of spirits are prohibited in towns of four thousand or less, and local option has further limited such sales to twenty municipalities. In only fourteen can liquor be served, and the hours are limited. The number of sales outlets has, however, increased since 1952.¹⁸

Of 744 towns and townships, all had temperance boards nominally existing ever since 1953.¹⁹ In 1955, there were only 12 per cent which reported no activity, and 65.5 per cent reported handling cases. In 1955, local temperance boards reported 14,771 "patients" (of whom 3.5 per cent were women, a decrease from 1954),²⁰ as against a 22,304 total in 1949.²¹

The general statistics in this field are not broken down according to class levels. Alcoholism was generally assumed to be a "working-class problem," but there may or may not be proportionately as many families threatened on the upper-class levels. Be that as it may, informants seem to agree that it was a worse problem just after World War II, especially for the wives, than it has been during the past few years. The recent decrease is attributed to widespread secular education on the subject, industrial demands, and better housing—but also (and not least) to the high price of alcoholic drinks.

Opinions differ as to the general trend in public drinking practices, fashions, and standards.²² However, most families in Norway use liquor very sparingly, reserving it for special occasions; and its use is sufficiently ritualized to prevent overindulgence.

The consumption of alcohol tends to go up with prosperity.²³ Even a social-democratic philosophy can hardly blame drunkenness on poverty and economic exploitation: medical-social interpretations and therapies are thus the only plausible alternative to the moral-religious. Policies and techniques of social control in this as in other problem areas naturally emerge from the currently accepted definitions of the problem and its supposed causes.

THE SOCIAL-MEDICAL TREATMENT OF ALCOHOLICS: THE TEMPERANCE BOARDS AND "CURES"

The temperance board (*edruelighetsnemnd*) is a social invention "credited" to Sweden²⁴ which, if its possibilities are fully developed, provides for social therapy such as is not found in any agency or system

in the United States. The board is composed of unpaid citizens who rotate in interviewing cases but meet as a court for action involving legal compulsions. Each board is to include men and women with particular aptitude, and if possible a physician. (A clergyman is not specified.) For compulsory commitments, the district judge is co-opted as chairman; and the committees can act on their own initiative, with or without reference from police, child welfare committee, relief office, etc. All authorized referrals must be investigated by the board;²⁵ and it may also call in cases on its own motion.

The extent to which temperance board cases represent maladjustments of family morale or nonsupport is indicated only in part by the reported sources of referrals. In 1950, the drunkard's own family appealed directly to the boards in 1,958 cases, the public relief agency (*forsorgsvesen*) in 123 cases, physician or pastor in 139 cases, and other social agencies, 186 cases.

The laws permit a welfare committee (*barnevernsnemnd*) or relief office (*forsorgsvesen*) to step into family situations where drink is threatening the welfare of children or the family support.²⁶ In 389 cases, the boards themselves took the initiative. These added up to 2,795, about 14 per cent of 22,000 cases, all presumably family problems. The remainder (86 per cent) were referred by the police—some of them by the family *through* the police. But wives do not easily "turn in" their husbands, and a better indication of the full extent of family distortions complicated by alcoholism could be had were some researcher to discover how many of those referred by the police, presumably for public offense, are married and therefore constituting (or complicating) family problems. In 1955, patients referred by their families were 8.2 per cent of the total; in 2.7 per cent it was the patients themselves who applied voluntarily to the board for help.²⁷

The large number of cases referred to the boards by the police is significant indication of a policy. Police must, according to law, refer alcoholic cases to the boards unless they are considered hopeless.²⁸ A whole category of public safety situations has thus been redefined as amenable to "social-medical" treatment, and the role of the tem-

perance board is understood or officially accepted as an alternative to the futility of repeated jailing, fining, and/or releasing.

Taking Oslo's board as presumably representing a highly organized procedure:

The temperance board has a headquarters with a record room, a conference room and waiting rooms, and a paid staff of four social workers—selected on merit qualifications and personal suitability for different types of cases (such as young bachelors, women, religious, unskilled), but with little or no specific professional training in psychiatric family casework. The board sets certain hours each week at which complainants and patients wait together until called in to be interviewed by the board member on duty. The interviewer sits at an ordinary desk, and the interviewee may be the wife, the husband, or both, depending on the stage of the case. They are invited in by an attendant, are greeted with quiet courtesy, and seated. The interviewer makes notations for the record. Evidence is added to the preliminary data, to be checked up later by one of the service workers. For married cases, each spouse is heard (on separate days), and there may or may not be a third meeting with both spouses.

Five to ten thousand victims of alcohol a year get help or treatment in some form from public and private agencies. Of these, about three thousand receive treatment in clinics, sanatoria, and supervised homes.²⁹

A few boards report steps in treatment. All clients are informed of the law which permits the board to commit to a *kursted* ("cure") any client who does not rid himself voluntarily of the habit,³⁰ but practically all are given opportunities to do so. These opportunities may consist merely of

(1) the probationary warning, or may include one or more of the following in addition:

(2) Written pledge,³¹ sanctioned not by religion but by signed agreement to enter a cure house without the board's taking legal action if pledge is broken.

(3) Visitation and guidance by a service worker.

(4) Self-cure pills given with directions.

(5) Reference to a physician for treatment with a repellent drug. (Agreement to take treatment may be added to the pledge.)

(6) Introduction to Alcoholics Anonymous or other anti-alcoholic group. May include voluntary admission to a Blue Cross home, one of the temperance dormitories in several cities; rates met partly by health insurance.³²

(7) Placement in a job.

(8) Voluntary or compulsory diversion of paycheck to wife (very few, serious cases).

(9) Voluntary or (as last resort in a handful of cases)³³ compulsory commitment in a more or less strictly operated "cure house";³⁴ cost covered by health insurance, with cash allowances for family. Of four hundred places in cure houses, fifty are for women.

Grounds for compulsory commitment (via court approval) to a cure house were largely in terms of the patient's neglect or injury of his (or her) family.³⁵ When a man must be compulsorily committed, the board must include a district judge to legalize the separation.³⁶

The reports showing a cumulation of cases under treatment as contrasted with the annual new cases seem to indicate lengthy out-patient supervision of one kind or another, since relatively few were hospitalized.

INSTITUTIONAL TREATMENT

There are now thirteen authorized institutions for the treatment of drink addicts, with room altogether for four hundred patients. At these institutions, there is given treatment to more than one thousand patients each year. Three of these institutions are run by the state. The remainder are authorized private institutions. The state institutions are intended for patients of a very undisciplined character and such patients as specially need medical diagnosis, and also treatment in some cases. By the initiative of the organizations, Alcoholics Anonymous and Blue Cross, there have been established a few sanatoria giving the patients short-time medical treatment. Probably

nearly one thousand cases are treated by these sanatoria every year.

Apart from these institutions, there have in recent years been established a few so-called "supervision homes" for addicts who need a change in milieu, such as those who are still able to work in their former employment. At these supervision homes, they get full board and are to a certain extent taken care of. The period of their stay is not to exceed three months. These supervision homes are also meant to receive patients who come from the sanatoria and who are in need of surroundings that will afford them a certain protection in the initial transition period. In spite of the general rule that patients who are sent to supervision homes are regular employees, the National Health Insurance has consented to pay a part of the expenses of their stay, usually two thirds. The remainder of the expenses must be paid by the patient, and the rest of his salary goes to the maintenance of his family, to pay taxes, and to settle other economic problems he may have.

By amendment of July 6, 1957, it has been established that the temperance committees shall deal not only with drink addicts, but also with narcomaniacs. Moreover, it has been established by this amendment that the temperance committees shall have it as a special field to give inebriates hospital treatment where necessary. While the patient is in the hospital, his family has, if necessary, a claim for financial support by the temperance committee. By Norwegian law, the National Health Insurance covers the expenses of a patient's treatment for alcoholism in a hospital. According to the new amendment of the law, the temperance committee can decide on forcible commitment of a drink addict to a hospital for treatment not exceeding ninety days.

As for narcomaniacs, the power of the temperance committee reaches further, as the committee can forcibly execute such commitment for a period not exceeding two years. The committee may also commit narcomaniacs for treatment at a sanatorium for the same period.^{36a}

The temperance board gears in with certain other agencies, e.g.

police, physicians, cure houses, social agencies, Alcoholics Anonymous.

ALCOHOLICS ANONYMOUS

Need for after-care for the "cured" (readjustment to family, job, recreation) is urged by the medical director³⁷ but does not appear as a category of cases in the reports. Temperance clubs exist partly for this purpose: such are the Blue Cross Organizations, the Abstainers' Clubs, and Alcoholics Anonymous.

Alcoholics Anonymous ("A.A.") reported current membership in Oslo at 1,200.³⁸ It did not undertake formally to do any family rehabilitation. It had its own clinic. It dealt with individual men, through sponsors, but did not assign an alumnus-comrade to each patient. There are not enough recovered members to go round, so they meet in groups. Dr. Tove Mohr thinks that on this account they have less control than does A.A. in the United States. A.A. claimed that it has no specific religious orientation, but does depend on the help of a higher power.³⁹ A leader of the labor movement considered Norway's A.A. to be less religious and less superficial than that of the United States.⁴⁰ There may be non-religious groups of A.A., but the one led by the man to whom he referred us—Dr. Gordon Johnsen, psychiatrist of Lovisenberg Hospital and a leader of Christian Aid and the Christian Physicians' Association—is definitely religious. An A.A. group meets biweekly at his villa in a beautiful suburb and consists, in part, of his own patients and former patients. About twenty-five were present when the writer attended. Aside from fellowship and the personal influence of their virile and handsome leader and his fine family of seven, the occasion, which was simple and sincerely impressive, was a cross between a prayer meeting, a testimony meeting, and an "Oxford group." Johnsen leads the group in its services more as would an informal American minister than as a physician. Johnsen was mentioned by several advisers of widely divergent backgrounds as the physician doing most for alcoholics, as well as for sex counselling in the orthodox tradition.

THEORIES OF CAUSES AND PRINCIPLES OF CARE

Gordon Johnsen as psychiatrist is a follower of Kretchmer and Freud. He does not stress familial or cultural or economic problems as causes or effects of alcoholism, despite his interest in the postwar "family crisis," which he attributes to the radicals' undermining of religious security and guidance. His doctrine in respect to the role of guilt is religious but does not seem morbid; guilt is healthy if relieved by repentance, faith, and grace.⁴¹ Religion is a major means of therapy.

One's definition of alcoholic situations affects one's attitudes and actions toward them. This is true also of public action except insofar as mores or institutional patterns are resistant or dominant. If alcoholism is considered due to moral delinquency, the attitude will be one of blame and the techniques will be evangelism, pledges, or punishments.⁴² If it is considered to be hereditary, constitutional, incurable, the theory inhibits any effort aside from public and private protection, or prohibition of sale. If alcoholism is considered an illness, treatment is medical. If alcoholism is attributed to economic causes, economic will be the remedies. If the causes are considered social, familial, emotional, then casework and psychiatry are appropriately tried. If alcoholism be attributed to ignorance, public education will be the effort. If the approach is situational, multi-factored diagnosis leads to individualized and experimental treatment for each modifiable factor in the situation.

The use of police and imprisonments represents a *penological* approach to alcoholism. Public safety still requires some dependence upon such instruments of control, but they are not considered as a "solution."

Not all alcoholic cases come to the attention of the temperance boards and police. Skabo estimated a total of 30,000 or more chronic alcoholics in 1950.⁴³ There were 32,764 liquor offenses that year, by about 22,000 persons. But 75 per cent were first offenders, and only

repeaters are reported to the liquor monopoly for its "blacklist" (to be refused sales); and neither the police nor the liquor monopoly actually reports all these cases to the temperance boards for treatment.

The medical approach is indicated by the use of "antabus" or "disulfiram" medication, by the words "cure" and "patients" in the reports of commitment, and even more by the fact that expenses of the cure are met by the patient's health insurance fund.⁴⁴ The National Director-General of Health writes, "Alcoholism is recognized as a sickness." One member of each temperance board, whenever possible, is a physician, who, however, treats medically no cases referred by the board. The director of the cure houses is a full-time psychiatrist, who also operates the central government sanatorium. There is, however, no regular psychological or psychiatric examination, and only obviously "abnormal" cases are referred to the psychiatric authorities. Many cases go directly to psychiatric clinics or hospitals without referral to a temperance board or the police.

At Oslo, a psychiatrist is available for two hours two days per week; the board chairman decides which cases are sufficiently "abnormal" mentally to need his services.

The overall medical director of the national Temperance Council and the Social Affairs Department's survey committee on care of alcoholics agree in recognizing the need of psychiatric social workers, psychiatrists, special hospitals, and polyclinics doing research and training.⁴⁵

The educational approach (aside from personal interviewing) is found in the law's provisions that the local committees shall foster programs of public education and school instruction.⁴⁶ Twenty per cent of the profits of the state-owned monopoly go to temperance education and preventive work.

The economic approach consists of securing job opportunities, and of family support from social insurance or special communal funds during the patient's disability and cure. (Such support is specified as not to be considered "relief."⁴⁷) Also, the committee's legal power

to order a patient's wages paid to his family direct or to a guardian.⁴⁸ The amount paid out by temperance boards for help to families is another indication of the impact of alcoholism on families. This is, of course, limited by communal lump-sum appropriations in the budget, but law authorizes the boards to present their respective communes with an annual estimate and to draw upon the commune at a standard rate *per capita per diem* for support of families⁴⁹ whose alcoholic "bread-winners" have been sent (compulsorily or voluntarily) to the cure houses—of which there are thirteen scattered through the nation. In 1950, this family aid amounted to Kr. 343,350—almost twice the outlay of 1949. This increase was made possible by a 38 per cent increase in the total of per capita rebates from the state for patients under "cure," with only 29 per cent increase in actual rebates. Some added communal money became available for more adequate family allowances during the men's segregation.

To jail alcoholics without issuing family allowances, of course, would accentuate the futility of mere penal treatment, and even their hospitalization without family aid would often create or sharpen non-support situations and doubtless would deter many wives from reporting their husbands.

The social welfare approach is indicated by the efforts of the boards' social *kuratorer* ("caseworkers") to improve the home, recreational, and/or job environments.

To the extent that any of these "maps" of the total alcoholic situation—moral, psychiatric, legal, medical, educational, economic, social—do not correspond to the actual territory, they will fail. The *situational approach*, however, purports to cover the whole territory, and seems to represent the policy of the Oslo board and of the new governmental proposals. The principles of situational treatment of outpatients are well stated by the medical director of the national system:⁵⁰

- Get the patient interested in his own case.
- Give him insight: understanding of his needs.
- Enlist his co-operation.

But according to Dr. Skabo, this "social-psychiatric diagnosis" will be done by an interested and intelligent layman in most cases. As physician, he considers the anti-alcoholic medicines palliative unless combined with psycho-social treatment, such as:

- Help on the job.
- Change of residence.
- Recreational opportunities.
- Personal recognition and friendliness.

Thus the system is handicapped not by inadequate objectives, but by a shortage of trained personnel.

EFFECTIVENESS OF ALCOHOLISM CONTROLS

When one inquires about the effectiveness of Norway's agencies dealing with alcoholism, the facts are few, the opinions skeptical or optimistic. Here is an open field for an interdisciplinary research team with a multi-factoral approach.

It is clear that the police, boards, and other agencies fail to touch some alcoholic families. Many tragic alcoholisms persist without therapy, either concealed because of family pride or neglected because of individualistic Norwegian norms of non-interference in others' business unless their "own" interests are offended.

For the cure houses, we have estimates: roughly one-third of their "graduates" doing well, one-third improved, one-third failures.⁵¹ Apparently, there are no reliable reports of proportion of successes in outpatient treatment through the temperance boards, though recent correspondence from the Department of Social Affairs refers to "considerable success."⁵²

Representatives of several agencies familiar with the families of alcoholics—without boasting of their own success—regret that the temperance boards, clubs, and A.A. are not too effective. Reduction of consumption by other means (such as higher taxes and prices) may cut down this family problem more than do medical or religious therapies. Yet casework is obviously needed for those already vic-

timized, and it might be more effective were there more trained psychiatric social workers employed in the social treatment

This need is recognized by the general medical director of the state Temperance Council which operates the care and cure system. The special advisory commission appointed (1947) by the Ministry of Social Affairs to study and report needs has presented a proposal for more trained social caseworkers, more hospitals, extramural work camps, medical examinations, and polyclinics, and economic help during rehabilitation.⁵³ It is recognized that it will take some years to develop enough adequate personnel.⁵⁴

According to Norwegian opinion, the work of the temperance committees for preventive measures and the treatment of drink addicts who as yet can dispense with treatment at a sanatorium represent the main aspect of society's fight against the evil of alcoholism.

So much for curative measures. As to public habits, there are again few figures to measure trends. Per capita consumption is relatively low.

A Gallup poll (September 30, 1950) gave the following percentage distribution of abstainers:

TABLE 30

ABSTAINERS IN NORWEGIAN GALLUP SAMPLE, 1950

	Yes	No	Moderation
Total	29	33	38
Women ⁵⁵	38	25	37
Men	19	41	40
Younger ⁵⁵	27	35	38
Older	30	31	39
Upper classes	25	36	39
Lower classes	32	31	37
Urban	26	39	35
Rural	31	29	40

An official report declares that misuse is most widespread in

towns and factory areas: access to alcohol is easier and nervous strain is greater, and relationships more complex. There are more inducements to drink.⁵⁶

Misdemeanors and arrests for drunkenness decreased after the war until 1951, since which year the numbers seem to be fluctuating.

The price of liquor is relatively high, and that has cut consumption probably more than any other measure. Most families in Norway use liquor very sparingly, reserving it for special occasions; and its use is sufficiently ritualized to prevent for the most part the kind of indiscriminate cocktailing which some of them have unfortunately come to associate with a stereotype of American customs.

The procedures for dealing with individuals and families as health and social problems attempt to reach a group not touched by moral crusades, and are certainly more intelligent than the penal routines of police lockup, workhouse sentence, and hopeless recidivism found in many American towns.

As results on the preventive side, the foregoing figures can be interpreted as moderate success (or as partial failure) only in the light of successive inquiries more carefully defined.

That Norway has admittedly not solved the problems of alcoholism is clear, but not discreditable. Neither has any other country, even Sweden, where the now abandoned Bratt system "worked" but (according to some) only because it became so easily evaded.⁵⁷ Norway's leaders in the field recognize that they have far to go, but also that Norway is itself a leader in the field.⁵⁸ Actually, the situation seems to be improving as compared with endemic conditions in the nineteenth century which gave rise to the temperance movement in Scandinavia.⁵⁹ That this has occurred despite increasing industrialization is encouraging.

The Norwegian Temperance Council, which is aided by public subsidy, is sponsoring a comprehensive survey to ascertain what people think about alcohol and how they react to it. Covering some ten thousand persons, the study will also investigate the efficiency and effect of local prohibition measures.⁶⁰

Appendix A

EXAMPLES OF OSLO TEMPERANCE BOARD CASES

A FEW cases, run-of-the-mill and slightly disguised, may add realism to the "statistics":

Interviewer A—

1. One wife brought her husband, a gray-haired transport worker, and complained that he sold the clothes given him through the field worker, that they were behind in their rent six months, etc. The man was inclined to argue and to deny her reports. The case was referred to a field worker for investigation.

2. A young man had been called in on the strength of a desperate letter from his wife written after eight years of his alcoholism since his mother's death. She was a thrifty spender but he held back his pay and was brutal and violent. As a client, sober, he was co-operative, accepted self-cure pills, and signed a pledge conditionally accepting commitment if not abstinent. No psychiatric advice.

3. A woman who needs further relief but can get it only through court action.

4. A man, who argues, calls his wife's accusations of brutality "lies." He has been repeatedly warned and will now sign the conditional pledge for a year. (See Appendix B, form 3.)

5. A couple. The husband gets drunk weekly on beer. When his wife begs him to reform he gets angry and "uses language." He had been arrested drunk and referred back to the committee. He earns Kr. 150, of which wife gets only Kr. 60. Taxes are Kr. 40. She may be forced to take a job and/or seek a divorce. The husband was amenable and accepted the pledge.

6. A medical case, reporting from the clinic.

7. A mother complaining of a woman who chases her son and gets him to drinking.

8. A hopeful case—with a few backslidings—protests the pledge: "Is it voluntary? You practically order me!"

9. A man comes with his son and asks for the cure. They are cooperative, he is given pills and signs a conditional pledge. Advised on how to reduce temptations and encouraged.

10. A little woman who had "taken her man back," but he had backslid again.

11. A vigorous worker comes in discouraged: admits he drank again despite pledge, asks for more pills. Makes abrupt replies. Has he a physician? No. He is referred to a doctor's office hours, and will be entered in Orjestad, "the strongest 'cure' we have." It will take a long factual report and a considerable waiting to get him in. Contents of report are gone over with sympathetic concern, but without intensive or depth questioning.

The foregoing cases occupied about one and a half hours.

Interviewer B (board chairman, a woman physician, with stenographer taking notes)—

12. A truck owner, with his wife; a periodic spree drinker, brought in through police. Sullen, abrupt answers. Bows his head while wife talks. No children: she is a machine worker in newspaper establishment. She is reticent, neat, looks pious, shakes her head, or speaks quietly. Says she needs more money, for taxes, etc. He says there are no grounds for giving her more money. Interviewer urges many grounds for changing his ways. They argue before wife, who weeps. He talks about a divorce, wife agrees. There is hate in the man's eyes. He rises, lays his brief case on interviewer's desk, gets out his pipe and smokes. "What are your daily work schedules?" She works evenings. "Have you distrusted your wife's fidelity?" She has an organization she attends in the evenings. He accuses her beligerently to the interviewer. His wife keeps calm. Interviewer orders blanks to commit him for three months' cure. He asks for another chance so as not to lose his work. Is sent to physician, asked to sign conditional pledge for three months, signs without reading, slaps the pen down. The husband left and the wife was asked to return and report results. She was asked about the absence of offspring, and about the money available.

13. A well-dressed, middle-aged woman, who turned out to be the woman chairman for Alcoholics Anonymous; conversed with interviewer and office assistant about a case.

14. A new case: a wife, neat, simply dressed. Firm, clear, and direct, shows good humor, relaxation, and self-control. Husband is a "difficult man," she cannot talk to him when he drinks. He held off drink for nine months, but is up and down. Has two children and must think of them, too. They have a pretty home, on a bank loan; she takes in washing, etc. Eventually, she is weeping as she describes his drunken behavior, shows marks on her arm. Has talked about a divorce. Man will be called in.

15. Stocky man with brief case, vigorous, but sad-faced, presents an envelope. Reported again by police. After active conversation, consents to having field worker visit his home.

16. New case: woman, neat but poor, sweet smile. Has two children. Has repeatedly taken him back, and must try and try. How does she get by on the money she gets? A cure-house commitment is discussed, she is very grateful.

17. A middle-aged man, neat but red-nosed. New case—but lied about never having been arrested by the police (four reports). Alcoholics Anonymous had failed; he was referred to the committee by A.A.'s physician. Attitude stoic, fatalistic, discouraged; staring at the visitor. His sons had complained but would not urge their mother to divorce him. Will he try the pills again? Would it be easier to take the cure for three months? "I don't think so." But he signed the conditional pledge. Proper bodily regimen for age sixty was discussed: "Yes, sure!" Physician's appointment made for him. "I don't need a doctor." But a physician's certificate is needed for the cure.

18. A wife, very subdued, signs a husband's consent to take the cure if the pills fail. "Will the railroad's sick fund cover the expense?" Yes, for six months.

19. A fat, homely woman, with no style to her clothes. Calm and looking pietistic. Complains that her husband drinks up all the money, and talks about the costs of a divorce. "Could your husband come in tomorrow?" "Will he come voluntarily?"

20. A red-faced young man comes in to ask for the cure. Is co-operative. Is referred to a physician for certificate.

This second session (eight cases) also occupied about one and a half hours. Apparently, the number of appointments made is gauged to the allotted period.

All but two or three of the foregoing cases represented family distortions.

In the following disguised but autobiographic case history from the family of an alcoholic, (a) the absence of outside aid, social or psychiatric, private or public, until the situation became critical, and (b) the family involvements, are conspicuous features:

You have asked me to write about the case of alcoholism in my own family, namely my mother, and about "people's" attitudes toward it.

My mother's parents were divorced when she was quite small and both remarried and had children. Neither of the parents would have her and she was placed out to a childless couple who treated her as their own child. But she did not manage to treat these people as her parents. Her father died when she was 15 and the mother migrated to Canada. At 19 she married herself to a rural doctor and had three children, my two older brothers and me. She pined in the country and I understand that there was constantly trouble concerning her—whether it were intriguing gossip; or flirting with others' men (she had no moral inhibitions); or economic difficulties she constantly came up with because of her lack of sense about money. She was incredibly clever in talking folks around, and loved to run everything she could. When we children came of school age she moved to Oslo so that we might have city schooling. Here she met the man for whose sake she separated herself from our father. The divorce took many years because father refused absolutely. In all these four or five years her friend lived with us. We children, who were then from 8 to 13 years, suffered badly under this and felt that it was shameful and disgusting. It was at this time that the misuse of alcohol began. A visit to the restaurant every evening and much alcohol at home. And I cried myself to sleep and woke dead tired in the morning. The alcoholic misuse grew worse and worse in the 18 years they were married. My stepfather died of peritonitis in 1943.

From the first there were steadily scenes between these two, about us children, money, accusations from both sides about infidelity, whether they repented, etc. Many a night were we children, especially I, waked up in the night to mediate when she had run down on the street to drown herself in the fjord and he had to get her fetched back up again—she battered and he scratched.

This stopped when I, at 15 years, held him back and told him the best thing would be if she drowned herself as soon as possible. She was much worse than he. He at least got by at his work, which she didn't. If we had househelp they were bad. The food was bad, clothes were never in order, always lack of cash. Father paid a very good support for us children, only it didn't go to us, it went to alcohol.

Father had married again some time after mother. His wife would not see us children, on account of mother, except for two hours each Christmas eve, or permit father to see us or help us. So we were left to our fate. (After ten years father's wife died [1936] a month before I married myself.)

At school it went badly for all three of us . . . we got scolded constantly, because there was none who knew how the situation was at home. The first thing we looked for when we came home was whether mother was asleep. If she was, we went on a hunt after bottles which without delay and in bitterness were smashed on the floor. The alcohol was often spilt from the beer glass onto the bed. When we children in bewilderment asked why she drank, she answered that she had her reasons and that we would be sorry enough if she were dead.

We children later became "nervous wrecks." Always we heard that we were lucky to have a mother who would have us, our own father of course would not see us any more! My eldest brother made a constant uproar, he hated his stepfather who was only 12 years older than himself. Quarrels and punishments, my brother was banged, tied down in chairs, locked in, and so forth. Yes, the effects did not fail to appear, he became a headstrong and difficult boy who wanted only one thing, namely to get restitution for his devastated childhood. He was always too thin, constantly had pains in his belly, and got diarrhea and nausea for the least little thing. Later he got cancer of the bowel and died after an operation when 35 years old.

My younger brother stammered and as a child was very timid. He kept with his playmates as much as possible during his growth, and after the end of schooling he settled in another city.

I was a bad pupil at school, never managed to concentrate myself at homework, and at school was always tired. I was often sick, also. Today I hold it against the physicians who gave me nerve medicine and sent me to the country. That they did not once ask to get a talk with me alone but always talked with mother who was incredibly clever at giving people to

understand that she was the best mother any child could have. She herself constantly went to the doctor for one or another thing, my brother went once to one of the doctors to tell what was really wrong with her and got for an answer that he would have nothing to do with that sort of thing.

When it got too bad at home we children moved out of the house to friends and acquaintances. But that mother wouldn't stand for; people might believe that we were not contented at home. So we were nagged by telephone and letters and promises of improvement until we let ourselves be fooled home again. She would both have us and not have us!

From when we were small she had continually impressed on us that everything that happened in our home must be kept "within four walls." It was mean to tell anything. That stuck so firmly that we were up toward 20 years before we dared talk with anybody. How people have looked upon her I don't know, of course nobody said anything to us, we noticed only that friends disappeared. She never had anything to do with any public agency.

After my stepfather was dead the abuse of alcohol continued and now when she had only a small pension to live off, every means was used to raise money. Everything of value was sold, debts were incurred, and so forth. My father, my brother and I took turns helping. Until she learned, a few years later, that her liver was completely destroyed and that she had a choice between alcohol and her life. So now the situation is quite fine.

She got a daughter when I was fourteen, that child also did badly under the conditions, was thin and nervous in her development and undertook a lot of things that she never would have done if she had had a harmonious home.

This is an incomplete and one-sided account. It is unfortunately a fact, that it is the bad things we remember. That there have also been good things in my childhood I am quite sure. It is very difficult to write about these things which I have used twenty years of my life to forget.

Very respectfully,

This girl is reported as a fascinating personality. Writes a social worker: "One can notice nothing discordant in her despite what she has been through. Her marriage was very happy, despite the fact that

she told her husband beforehand 'I don't believe you *dare* marry yourself with my mother's daughter.' He died of overwork after a few years, and she readjusted bravely. She returned to her skilled job in a public building and supports her two children."

All of which, says the reader, could have happened in other countries; and the reader is quite correct.

Appendix B

Form of Voluntary Commitment for Alcoholics
to
The Medical Director for Alcoholic Care
Patient's Declaration

I declare hereby that I wish to be placed in.....Cure House for a period of months.

I am aware that according to § 16 in the law of February 26, 1932, with amendment May 26, 1939, I can be held in, or brought back by the police to the Cure House during this period.

I agree to be transferred to another Cure House or institution for alcoholics if the medical director for alcoholic care so determines.

I pledge myself to abstain from partaking of alcoholic beverages in any form whatever and other intoxicating and narcotic substances, during the period of cure.

I am willing to the best of my ability to perform the work which will be assigned me during the stay at the Cure, and in other respects to regulate myself according to the rules and decisions of the Cure House and the system.

Date.....

.....
(Patient's signature)

Witness

.....

Guarantee Declaration
for

.....
The undersigned hereby guarantees payment of:

- a) costs of cure for months (advanced by the month) according to the price applicable at the given time.
- b) outlays for possible hospitalization during the period of cure, including transport and escort to and from the hospital.
- c) outlays for physician, medicine, dentistry and extra prescribed diet, etc., and for extra care during sickness plus clothing repairs to the extent these outlays are not (by decision of the cure's director) covered by the inmate's private means or his work-money.
- d) outlays for return in case of escape, as well as for transfer to another Cure.
- e) outlays for necessary outfit for trips and for return home at the cheapest level.
- f) outlays for insuring of the inmate's personal property to a value of Kr. 600. The Undersigned is aware that the outlay for the patient's journey to and from the Cure does not concern the cure.

I declare that the guarantee shall also apply to a new term of cure if the patient is released on probation before the expiration of the term, and backslides during the probation period. I declare besides that this guarantee shall also apply to the costs of cure at whatever Cure the patient may be transferred to.

.....(Date)

Certified:

.....
(Guarantor's Signature)

Patient's Conditional Pledge

to

The Head Physician for Care of Alcoholism
Patient's Declaration

I declare hereby that I wish to be placed in Cure House for a period of twelve months.

I am aware that according to the law of February 25, 1932, with

amendments of May 26, 1939, I can be held in, and if need be returned by the police to the Cure House during this period. I consent to be transferred to another Cure House if the head physician for care of alcoholism so decides.

I pledge myself to abstain from using beverages containing alcohol, in whatever form, and other intoxicants or sedatives, during the period of cure.

I am willing to the best of my ability to carry out the work which will be assigned me during the term of the cure, and to be guided by the cure's rules and decisions.

This declaration goes into effect provided I am not, during a year from this date, an absolute teetotaler.

..... Oslo

Certified:

.....
(Patient's Signature)

¹ Cf. also Max Petersen and Egil Nilsen, *Verjerådsbehandlings Resultater i Forhold til Barnas Miljøbakgrunn* (mimeo.) (Oslo Kommunale Ungdomsneemd, Oslo, 1951), Del II, p. 5: among 1,283 new cases from 1929-33, appeared 390 where alcoholism was an adverse factor, of which 342 were neglect cases. Of cases from 1921 to 1926, there were 4 per cent with alcoholism in the Oslo Juvenile Court as compared with 25 per cent for the country at large. (*Instilling ii fra Alkoholistforsorgskomiteén* [Sosialdepartementet, December, 1951], p. 16.)

² Rolf Knudsen, *Alcohol Problems in Norway* (Ministry of Social Affairs, Oslo, 1952), p. 5.

³ *Instilling ii fra Alkoholistforsorgskomiteén* (Sosialdepartementet, December, 1951), pp. 22-24. This report also points out that family and housing difficulties are often causes of alcoholism (*ibid.*, p. 24). (Cf. also Ørnulv Ødegaard, *Personlige Faktorer i den Kroniske Alkoholisme* [Universitets Psykiatrisk Institutt, Oslo, 1932], pp. 73, 76.) In Sweden, also, "misuse of alcohol lies often at the base of individual conflicts with family and society." (*Svenskt Socialt Lexikon* [Stockholm: Norstedt, 1949], p. 12.)

⁴ Brynjulf J. Hovde, *The Scandinavian Countries, 1720-1865* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1948), II, 675-78.

⁵ Cf. *ibid.*

⁶ *Statistisk Årbok for Norge 1951*, p. 268. Alcoholic drinks were so rationed by the Nazis that it proved more economical to purchase liquors than wines. Since it was considered smart to fool the Nazis, the low figures reported for the Occupation period may also be partly due to bootlegging. Home distilling is said to have increased since 1952, when, with liquor prices high, the rationing was removed from sugar.

⁷ *News of Norway*, XI (January 21, 1954), p. 10; XIV (September 5, 1957), p. 116; XVI (May 21, 1959), p. 4; *Statistisk Årbok for Norge, 1956*, p. 239.

⁸ Olav Sundet, "Norsk Edruskapsrørse," and Rolf Knudsen, "Forholdsregler mot Misbruk av Alkohol," in *Sosial Håndbok for Norge*, ed. Einar Storsteen (Norsk Forening for Sosialt Arbeid, Oslo, 1953), p. 327.

For comparison: temperance agitation began in Denmark in the 1880's. Denmark's current policy may be said to begin with the Alcohol Commission of 1934 and the Licensing Act of 1939. Consumption of alcohol declined steadily until 1914. War taxes then raised prices and reduced consumption sharply. Then from 1932 it has risen again (2.44 liters per capita, 1935), but not greatly, except for the war years (2.20 liters), so that Denmark, which in the 1880's had the highest per capita consumption, ranks now with Norway among the lowest of reported nations. (*Social Denmark* [Copenhagen: Socialt Tidsskrift, 1947], pp. 237-41).

⁹ *News of Norway*, XIV (June 20, 1957).

¹⁰ *News of Norway*, XI, *loc. cit.*, *supra*.

¹¹ *Husholdningsregnskaper* (Norsk Offisielle Statistikk) XI, 23, p. 104.

¹² *Statistisk Årbok for Norge, 1956*, p. 239. Cf. Emil Redse, *Alkohol Spørsmålet* (pamphlet) (Fagbiblioteket Fri Lesning, No. 75 [Oslo: Cappelen, 1951]), p. 16.

¹³ *Statistisk Årbok for Norge, 1950*, p. 262 (differs from *ibid.*, 1952, p. 247); *ibid.*, 1953, p. 241; *ibid.*, 1954, p. 229; *ibid.*, 1955, p. 232; *ibid.*, 1956, p. 240; *ibid.*, 1957, p. 232.

¹⁴ Torger Skabo, "Den Medisinske og Kurmessige Side av Alkoholistforsørgen," in *Sosial Håndbok for Norge* (Norsk Forening for Sosialt Arbeid, Oslo, 1953) II, 339.

¹⁵ *News of Norway*, X (December 3, 1953), 4.

¹⁶ Of these, 12,672 from Oslo (*Alkoholstatistikk 1954* [Statistisk Sentralbyrå, 1955], p. 67).

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 1953-1954 (proof sheets) (Statistisk Sentralbyrå, 1955), p. 43. In Hedemark, a populous farm and village area, the temperance board was considered non-political and effective.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 42. Also *Statistisk Årbok for Norge, 1957*, p. 231. In one forest district personally visited, there was no temperance board and no problem: it was a disgrace to be drunk and everybody knew each other. In the nearby city, *vice versa*.

¹⁹ *Instilling ii fra Alkoholistforsørgskomitéen* (Sosialdepartementet, December, 1951), p. 9; *Statistisk Årbok 1954*, p. 230; 1955, pp. 232-33; 1957, p. 241. *Alkoholstatistikk, 1953-1954* (proof sheets), *loc. cit.*, p. 44.

²⁰ *Statistisk Årbok 1957*, p. 241; Knudsen, *op. cit.*, p. 331.

²¹ *Statistisk Årbok 1955*, pp. 232-33. In Sweden, about 30,000 cases per year come before similar boards; it is considered that 10,000 more *ought* to come. (*Svenskt Socialt Lexikon* [Stockholm: Norstedt, 1949], pp. 11-12.)

²² In Swedish cities, 42 per cent felt (1942) that abuse of liquor was on the increase, 16 per cent that it was on the decrease, 18 per cent that there was no change. In the rural districts, 18 per cent thought it increasing, 33 per cent decreasing, 32 per cent no change (*Gallupfrågor Publicerade 1942-1948* [Svenska Gallupinstitutet, Stockholm, n.d.], p. 288.)

²³ Cf. *Alkoholstatistikk 1946* (Statistisk Sentralbyrå, Oslo, 1948), p. 10.

²⁴ *Liquor Control and Temperance Legislation* (mimeo.) (Swedish Royal Social Board, n.d.). Norway parallels Swedish structure and function at practically every point.

²⁵ Law of 1932-1939, Article 2.

²⁶ Law of July 1, 1954; Law of May 19, 1900; cf. *Instilling ii fra Alkoholistforsørgskomitéen* (Sosialdepartementet, December 1951), pp. 15-16.

²⁷ *Statistisk Årbok for Norge 1957*, p. 241.

²⁸ Law of 1932-39, Article 4 (3); Department of Social Affairs circular of January 20, 1947.

²⁹ Karl Evang, *Health Services in Norway* (Joint Committee on International Social Policy [Oslo: Tanum, 1957]), p. 89.

³⁰ Law of 1932-39, Article 4 (2), Article 5.

³¹ See Appendix B for form of pledge.

³² Cases were also referred occasionally to (as well as from) Oslo Vernelag (Protection Association). Alcoholics Anonymous is not mentioned in *Svenskt Socialt Lexikon*. The Blue Cross "supervision homes" are noted in Karl Evang, *Health Services in Norway*, *loc. cit.*, *supra*, p. 88.

³³ For 1956, dispositions were reported as follows:

Admonition	5,721
Social service care	874
Medical treatment	475
Temperance club.....	140
Job secured	212
Voluntary relinquishment of pay.....	45
Deprived of control of pay.....	11
Voluntary commitment	694
Compulsory commitment	28
	<hr/>
	8,200

(*Statistisk Årbok for Norge, 1957*, p. 233.)

This grand total boils down to 2,479 cases in which tangible services other than warnings were given.

³⁴ In Sweden (1948), *Svenskt Socialt Lexikon* ([Stockholm: Norstedt, 1949], p. 12) gives 1,200 cases in similar establishments, while *Liquor Control and Temperance Legislation* (mimeo.) gives 1,587 commitments, of which 977 compulsory, 610 voluntary.

³⁵ Law of 1932-39, Article 7. Also cf. Rolf Knudsen, "Forholdsregler mot Misbruk av Alkohol," in *Sosial Håndbok for Norge* (Norsk Forening for Sosialt Arbeid, Oslo, 1953), II, 330.

³⁶ Law of 1932-39, Article 2. When Judge Dahl of the marriage court so serves, it is not *as* marriage court. He never suspends a divorce decree to refer the case to the temperance board. (Personal interview.)

^{36a} Letter of Rolf Knudsen, Sosialdepartementet, July 27, 1957.

³⁷ Cf. Torger Skabo, "Den Medisinske og Kurmessige Side av Alkoholistforsørgen," in *Sosial Håndbok for Norge* (Norsk Forening for Sosialt Arbeid, Oslo, 1953), II, 340.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 343.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ Aksel Zacchariassen, interview.

⁴¹ Dr. Ørnulv Ødegaard, head of a leading psychiatric hospital, is also somewhat Kretchmeyerian, but is more eclectic. He recognizes the role of family factors in *some alcoholic cases*: the wife's frigidity, or bad cooking or housekeeping, or inferiority and guilt feelings may operate in a vicious circle. But the wife's frigidity may be due to the man's drinking, rather than *vice versa*; and for neither party is the cause so apt to be morbid guilt as it is constitutional disposition. Those psychoses with strong morbid guilt components are usually *not* preceded by strong religiosity, and the guilt is generalized, non-rational, constitutional. Only accidentally may it seize upon theological

formulae. (Personal interview, and *Litt om Moral Ansvarlighet*. . . (Nordisk Psykiatriske Tidsskrift). Cf. also his *Personlige Faktorer i den Kroniske Alkoholisme* (Universitetets Psykiatriske Institutt, Oslo, 1932?), pp. 73-78.)

Dr. Arne Marthinsen, a student of the sociology of medicine, has recently been concerned with the treatment of alcoholics as a problem of social control.

⁴² A Swedish poll (1947) indicated that 58 per cent of the public attribute drunkenness to lack of character (*Gallupfrågor Publicerade, 1942-1948* [Svenska Gallupinstitutet, Stockholm, n.d.], p. 289). In previous generations, Norway and Sweden both used the moral and penal approach, and the Norwegian government aids Alcoholics Anonymous and subsidizes the temperance organizations for non-political propaganda (Knudsen, *op. cit.*, p. 16).

⁴³ Torger Skabo, "Alkoholistforsorgen i Norge," *Sosialt Arbeide*, XXIV, Hefte 3, (1950), pp. 65-74. Other estimates are (by Bent Røiseland, 1953), 35,000, and (by the state liquor monopoly, 1950) 12,000. Cf. *Stortings Melding Nr. 15* [1953].

⁴⁴ Karl Evang, *Health Services in Norway* (Joint Committee on International Social Policy [Oslo: Tanum, 1957]), pp. 85-90. In Sweden, the cure is not covered under sickness insurance. (*Liquor Control and Temperance Legislation, loc. cit.*)

⁴⁵ Torger Skabo, *loc. cit.*, *supra.*, p. 344; Karl Evang, *loc. cit.*, *supra.*

⁴⁶ Law of 1932-39: Article 3a (2); cf. Rolf Knudsen, *Alcohol Problems in Norway* (Ministry of Social Affairs, Oslo, 1952); also "Forholdsregler mot Misbruk av Alkohol," in *Sosial Håndbok for Norge* (Norsk Forening for Sosialt Arbeid, Oslo, 1953), II, 7-8. A special circular of the Department of Education directs emphasis on the effects and dangers of liquors in relevant sections of the standard curricula (*ibid.*, p. 334). Aside from the temperance board system, the state gives, for educational work, matched subsidies to the temperance societies; it also subsidizes the National Council for Temperance Education, a quasi-public body (*ibid.*, p. 333).

⁴⁷ Knudsen, *loc. cit.*, p. 331; Law of 1932-39, Article 12.

⁴⁸ Law of 1932-39, Article 6.

⁴⁹ Sweden's system lacks this feature. (*Liquor Control and Temperance Legislation, loc. cit.*)

⁵⁰ Torger Skabo, "Den Medisinske og Kurmessige Side av Alkoholistforsorgen," in *Sosial Håndbok for Norge* (Norsk Forening for Sosialt Arbeid, Oslo, 1953), II, 337, 340.

⁵¹ Knudsen, *loc. cit.*, p. 332.

⁵² Letter from Rolf Knudsen, Sosialdepartementet, July 27, 1957.

⁵³ Torger Skabo, *loc. cit.*, *supra.*, p. 344; also cf. *Instilling ii fra Alkoholistforsorgskomiteén* (Sosialdepartementet, December 1951), pp. 26-30, 42, 46, 47.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 47-48.

⁵⁵ Of Sweden's twenty-year olds (Gallup 1942), 56 per cent of the boys, 24 per cent of the girls drank "for a good time." Three-quarters of the parents did not believe that their young people drank. (*Gallupfrågor Publicerade, 1942-1948* [Svenska Gallupinstitutet, Stockholm, n.d.], pp. 287-288.)

⁵⁶ *Instilling ii fra Alkoholistforsorgskomiteén* (Sosialdepartementet, December, 1951), p. 22.

⁵⁷ In 1946, 51 per cent considered the ration book system useful, 24 per cent thought it harmful. Fifteen per cent thought it made no difference. (*Gallupfrågor Publicerade, 1942-1948* [Svenska Gallupinstitutet, Stockholm, n.d.], p. 389.) For an account of the Bratt system, see Karl J. Höjer, *Den Svenska Social Politiken* (Stockholm: Norstedt,

1947), pp. 81-84, also accessible in translation. Cf. also Daniel Wiklund, *Proposal of the Swedish Government Committee for Reform of the Care of the Inebriates* (mimeo.) (Social Styrelsen, Stockholm, 1948). Recommends extension of care to all abusers of alcohol, the law to be called "for the maintenance of temperance," not "for the treatment of inebriates." Also see William L. Shirer, *The Challenge of Scandinavia* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1955), pp. 74-85, 151-56, 317-18, 388-89.

⁵⁸ Skabo, *loc. cit.*, p. 343.

⁵⁹ A Swedish Gallup sample, 1947, showed only 7 per cent membership in temperance societies. (*Gallupfrågor Publicerade, 1942-1948* [Svenska Gallupinstitutet, Stockholm, n.d.], p. 289.) In Norway (1952), the adult membership in Christian temperance bodies was estimated to have fallen to 100,000, from 4½ to 5 per cent of the estimated population over twenty years of age. (Cf. Olav Sundet, "Norsk Edruskapsrørsle," in *Sosial Håndbok for Norge* [*loc. cit.*], p. 313, and *Statistisk Årbok for Norge, 1952*, p. 14.)

⁶⁰ *News of Norway*, October 22, 1953 (Norwegian Information Service).

XV

Social Services for Family Welfare

GENERAL SETTING

SOCIAL economists have claimed, since the days of Patten and Devine, that the greater the degree of "welfare" the less the need of social work. Norway is a good test of that principle, if social work is conceived as relief for those maladjusted to a degree below the level considered normal. An example of this is the reduction of poor relief rolls from 137,840 in 1939 to 91,716 in 1941 when old age pension insurance was introduced. With a full employment program in 1947, this number was reduced to 48,069, including home medical relief. Because of the minimal controls exercised by government over voluntary social work agencies, and their multiplex means of securing funds, services, and supplies from private sources, it would be impractical to attempt to estimate the aggregate support of such agencies in Norway, where there are no "community chests." Still more futile would be any effort to segregate the portion of such efforts which serve families as such. The total private expenditures for voluntary charities, including both occasional and continuing enterprises, is, however, several million kroner per year in Oslo alone. About Kr. 200,000,000 are in private philanthropic funds as endowments.

The dangers of imposture or duplication are minimized in communities of small size such as comprise the bulk of Norway's population; and most private charities are limited to specialized types of need. The four large cities have "charity registers" under private control comparable to American social service exchanges, but with some public aid.

Certain industrial associations have set up what would be called in

the United States a "charities endorsement" system, to protect themselves and the public from irresponsible collectors and dispensers of "charitable" funds. But people are free to organize new charitable enterprises.¹

"Social work" is widespread, but largely limited to the residuum of defectives—the lame, the halt, and the blind—and to citizen participation in public protective and preventive agencies. The welfare state is no utopia, but it is an actuality in Norway, among a ruggedly individualistic and liberty-vigilant people. Private social work is for the most part institutional or unorganized, and non-professional.

There is one organization for discussion of general philanthropic and social welfare interests, known as *Norsk Forening for Sosialt Arbeid* (with a magazine, *Sosialt Arbeid*, largely on institutional charities). The term *sosialt arbeid* (social work) is recognized as a general category, or as a borrowed phrase, but not as a profession nor as an integrated or defined set of agencies. It is used to include settlements and general philanthropic endeavors, but less for the social security program as such.

SETTLEMENT WORK

Oslo's only full-fledged settlement house approximates the early English-American prototypes. It offers, under quasi-religious orientation with a minimum of institutional organization and equipment, some family services, such as a local clinic of the maternity and infancy care system, a club for grandparents, a nursery. In the heart of the working-class area, it did not seem to reach intimately many of the families as such in its neighborhood. Nanna Michelet, its devoted and indomitably enthusiastic director, once studied for a year in an American school of social service administration, in the days of Jane Addams and Graham Taylor, but does not feel that American methods are easily adaptable to Norway's conditions.

In the records and sessions of what was then the Council of Guardians,² or children's court, in the Sobriety Board, and in other

agencies is found a range of family problems not too different from those one would encounter in the United States or other countries of the Western world.³

The structure-functions and value systems of families are similar to ours. But one recognizes that the agencies serving families and trying to help them out of trouble have a distinctive character.

Chairmen of the then Councils of Guardians named as major causes of the situations they handled: bad housing, alcoholism, bad parental relations, bad upbringing, too many children, and feeble-mindedness—all of them family situations in one way or another. Gangs, however, were mentioned but once; sex was not mentioned, nor was recreation, though the latter was stressed by certain other commentators on delinquency.⁴

Addresses by and interviews with leaders in Norway's public and private agencies for neglected and delinquent children evidence their awareness that these children's problems emerge from and in home conditions, and editorial comments indicate that a "family policy" guides the decisions and techniques developing under the new child welfare committees.⁵ The conservative commentators deplore the laxity of so-called modern upbringing as a cause of delinquency, but it is still the family situation upon which they focus.⁶

"FAMILY CASEWORK"

Few people in Norway know what is meant when "social casework" is mentioned. Anything like what in the United States would be called family casework has existed, if at all, only in the practice of a few foreign-trained workers. A few Norwegian students have studied at the schools of social work in Stockholm, Göteborg, and Copenhagen, still fewer at those in America; but the climate of social service is so different that transplanting and propagating have not developed rapidly. The trained workers are not in jobs which permit them to demand more trained workers, and there has been little pressure to that end.

Much helpful service has doubtless been rendered to families in trouble by amateur volunteers, charity workers, or welfare officials. But "family social casework" was until recently merely a phrase, something for which the local schools of social work realized that they should be offering training.

The writer discussed family casework with Liv Kluge of the government's school for social services, whose general approach to social maladjustment is social-economic, but who did attend an international seminar on family casework set up by UNESCO. (The school library had until then only one volume on family casework.) She wrote (1953),⁷ "As you know, our people try to solve the problems with the use of common sense—a deep psychological treatment is very seldom available at the public offices." But in June, 1953, she addressed the national Labor Party Women's Conference in favor of "family counselling services." She said that many agreed that the treatment of human tragedies was sketchy in the various committees and boards. The results of family social work, as practiced in the United States, England, Sweden, and Denmark, have been favorable, she told them: "to the social agency offices are attached a social worker, a psychiatrist, and a psychologist, to whom people can turn to unburden and be helped. . . . The need for responsible agencies of help is shown . . . by the findings of the study made by Oslo's Municipal Youth Commission of the family backgrounds of the children brought before the Councils of Guardians."⁸

The conference unanimously asked the government's Social Affairs Department to work as soon as possible for the setting up of offices for family counselling to include both social-psychological and legal guidance for the avoidance of divorces and broken homes.⁹ Families that are in trouble despite the "normal" supports of social security measures, subsidies, rebates, and priorities provided by the government's "family policy" have, for the most part, problems of morale. Yet, even in Oslo, the relief service had little to offer by way of expert service for the rehabilitation of demoralized family situations. The lack was recognized and regretted.

Liv Kluge, director of Oslo's Municipal and Social School, advocated less superficial analyses, with a psychiatrist and a psychologist advisory to the social worker in a team working on problems of mental hygiene as well as on problems of a legal and economic sort, and available for people to talk their problems out for solution. "It is obviously an illusion to believe that all conflicts can be eliminated by counselling, but it can contribute to their solution and thus save homes and children." If one feels that the "agony columns" are hardly the right channels for advice in such serious matters, one must get responsible institutions to help.

Positions which involve case interviewing, reporting, and/or therapeutic service are to be found in Oslo, as follows: *kuratorer* in one mothers' health center (for possible abortion cases), hospitals, psychiatric clinic, child psychology division of the schools, a rehabilitation center, prisoners' aid or parole, and a few industries; *inspektorer* in the child and family relief office (*forsorgsvesen*); agents of the child protective board (*barnevernsnemnda*), divorce court (no effort to do casework), and sobriety board (*edruelighetsnemnda*); *forstander* in *forsorgsvesen* and *utsattskontor*: policewomen; workers of The Salvation Army and of the Protective League (*Norges Vernesamband, Vernelag*).

The last named organization, operated for many years by the Rummelhoffs as a private probation and parole agency, had the best case records discovered, and the late Dr. Ivan Rummelhoff's year in the United States stocked his shelves with the best social work literature of that period. And he published many pamphlets setting forth interpretations of behavior and social therapy in advance of current Norwegian practitioners; but Oslo did not then seem ready for them.

Norges Vernesamband centers its work in an active program of casework for ex-prisoners, and undertakes family social work where the client has a family situation. It also operates at Svanvik near Molde a colony for the families of selected vagrants, which it undertakes to stabilize in homekeeping and work habits and productive

skills. (Norway has always had a few gypsies and other nomads, recently estimated at 1,500.)^{9a}

American influence has been noticeable in hospital social service, and Americans have admired the quality of the emergency casework in Norway's public hospitals.¹⁰ Among the hospital social service workers, there is enough professional self-recognition of common elements in their roles and problems to give rise to a small caseworkers' organization since 1948, beginning with graduates of the training courses of the Norwegian Women's National Council or Stockholm's Social Institute. This included some twenty-two women, but all were from Oslo hospitals. They prefer their own group, do not recruit members or push for the expansion of family casework, and have no urge to draw in as members caseworkers from other problem areas or cities, though the possibilities were recognized.¹¹

The new Child Protection Law does not use the term "social casework"; but since it explicitly describes, in terms that could not be improved, the objectives of family casework and "requires" the employment of trained experts, it can be confidently expected that whatever technical procedures prove helpful and adaptable will soon be borrowed from the American family social casework complex, and the discrepancies need not be a matter of adverse criticism or concern.

RELATIONS BETWEEN GOVERNMENTAL AND PRIVATE AND RELIGIOUS SOCIAL WORK FOR FAMILIES

The present governmental attitude toward private voluntary social services is thus stated:

The tendency has been for the authorities to take over more and more of the voluntary assistance, but voluntary action is ever finding new fields when help is needed. . . . The State considers that every citizen has the right to be secured against all contingencies by means of social insurance. . . . Voluntary assistance work . . . contributes towards maintaining

. . . the feeling of compassion and gives people the opportunity of feeling that they are doing a good deed. These are factors which, for many people, are decisive but which should not by any means be so as, of course, consideration for those in need must come first.

What is of greater importance is that voluntary assistance can give individual and specialized help and that, by concentrating on relieving straitened circumstances rather than actual distress . . . it may still fill a need and open up new paths.

Furthermore, voluntary assistance is a definite addition to the help given by the official authorities, which is often too small in relation to the need.

Finally, . . . voluntary assistance can also give consideration to merit, while public relief, of course, grants assistance only with regard to the degree of distress. . . .

In most cases where public authorities . . . give support to private charity, this is done on a completely voluntary basis and because the public authorities consider it beneficial that their activities be maintained on a sound basis. The trend of developments is usually that the initiative comes from private quarters and that the work must later be assisted by the public authorities in order to keep the activities going, and that finally the work or institution must be taken over by the public authorities.^{11a}

Co-operation, and subsidy and supervision by the authorities, may be merely consultative and co-ordinative or (where public interest is paramount) may impose licensure, monopoly standards, and/or audit. Both private organizations and the authorities also co-operate in providing the training for functionaries of private as well as public agencies serving family needs—such as schools for social workers, nurses, midwives, housewives, housewife-substitutes, and kindergartners.

In the United States, charitable and "welfare" work¹² has been thought of as private and public respectively. We have been inclined to look askance at such hybrids as public support with private control, private support with public control, and state subsidies (other than per capita contracts). For generations, the orthodoxy of American "organized charity" (later renamed "family welfare")

included a dogma to the effect that governmental administration of relief was inherently and inevitably tainted with corruption, incompetence, and/or humiliation, and incapable of showing either personal, humane consideration or professional responsibility. The wholesale relief emergencies of the depression brought the bulk of American social work and social workers under public auspices. The values of a residue of private agencies are recognized, for experiments, emergencies, and support or criticism of public programs. American public welfare systems have their occasional shortcomings of politics, professional skills, and impersonal red tape. But by and large, American public social services have in recent decades been infused with the spirit, techniques, and flexibility of professional family social casework.

Nevertheless, in the United States, the separation of public and private social work, especially in the matter of subsidies, has continued to be only less sensitive than the frontier between church and state—and in part *because* of the latter. Many of the efforts to win state funds for private agencies have been resisted because the agencies were “religious.”

Norway presents a different combination. There is an established church, but not a totalitarian church. There is a Christian Popular party in politics defending so-called moral issues, but the church itself is in the government (1) as an administrative bureaucracy and (2) as a guide to personal consciences. It does not attempt to run the government by direct action. There is a sort of accommodation in Norway's separation of church and state which is different from that in the United States. Once the budget is passed, the church does not ask the state to do the church's work. Lutheranism fairly consistently “leaves unto Caesar that which is Caesar's.” Furthermore, there is a minority within the clergy sympathetic with the Labor party in the government.

Since 96 per cent of Norwegians are nominally Lutheran, and the church is already accepted as a state church, tax supported, Norwegians do not look with suspicion upon subsidies to religiously

oriented agencies as encroachment of church control into government, or as encroachment of government into control of religious work. On the other hand, the church neither has nor seeks any monopoly of social service or of state subsidies thereto. The use of public subsidies for philanthropic services organized and partly financed by private effort is a characteristic general pattern. Under the definitely secularizing policies of the long-lasting Labor government, subsidies have continued to go to religious agencies, but also to many nonsectarian or even definitely non-religious programs of educational and social service, "labor-oriented" and competitive with the older *but still government-subsidized* "religious" agencies.¹³

It is, however, noticeable that the system of welfare legislation, public social services, and institutions sponsored by the Labor party as its "family policy" is purely secular, and that there has been a real legislative fight over such questions as whether one member of every child welfare board must be a clergyman. It would be over-simplification to say that the noticeable line between the religious and non-religious aspects of "welfare" is the same as the line between public and private welfare, but there is some correlation so long as *Arbeider Parti* dominates the local and national governments. Still, one recognizes always that the church is also part of the public administration (see Chapter XVIII).

There are a great number of private charitable enterprises, many under religious controls or motivation, in the traditional fields of custodial care for the deaf, blind, crippled, orphaned, and nonwedlock mothers and children. Each of these institutional groups has its own league.¹⁴

Certain national bodies deserve special note because of their dynamic programs: the Red Cross, the National Women's Health Association,¹⁵ the Housewives' League, the People's Aid Movement (*Folkehjelp*), and the Women's National Council. Many projects of such organizations have municipal or state subsidies. For example, the Red Cross has gone in heavily for hospitals, ambulances, layettes for the poor, kindergartens, etc.—and gets subsidies for

these services. Family services of the other organizations are discussed elsewhere in this chapter and in Chapter XXI on family health services. If big enough to influence governmental policies in their favor, such organizations are themselves composed of a cross section of the population sufficiently representative to be responsible, politically "safe," unfeared, and unresented.

Some of the gaps in the social security program for families are filled in by municipal and quasi-philanthropic programs. Such are the schools for housewives, for kindergartners, for nurses, and for housewife-substitutes; the maternity-infancy centers; and the housewife vacation programs. One may add volunteer temperance activities; and private or municipal participation in public health and child welfare, in school dentistry, in school lunches, and in some kindergartens—the last named thus far supported by the National Housewives' League and Red Cross, with some municipal subventions.

None of these programs is by any means universal in all parts of the nation nor even in all cities. In each, there is one or another combination of public administration or subvention, with unpaid private citizens in the official policy committees.

As for bureaucratic inefficiencies in social services, Norway has its share, about which citizens freely grumble. Many liberals as well as conservatives are irritated by the self-defeating administrative stupidities of minor officials in housing, imports, insurances, etc.¹⁶ There *is* a bureaucracy; but there is no sharp cleavage between public and private administration nor is there much reciprocal suspicion. The bureaucracy is kept fairly decentralized and democratically responsible by continually enlisting volunteer citizen groups of all parties. Bureaucracy is quite as dependent upon them as vice versa. There is a "we-feeling" among all concerned. Labor party organizations may get some plums, but the Labor government also subsidizes some private "conservative" agencies.

No account of public-private co-operation in Norway's social services should ignore the role of lotteries. These are permitted by law but only under prescribed safeguards and for purposes adjudged

publicly beneficial. (The government itself utilizes lotteries to float bond issues, and the profits from one and the same lottery finance the public sports program and the national council for scientific research.) Private agencies, such as the Red Cross or the Mental Hygiene Association, get governmental permits to operate such lotteries as money-raising projects, in addition to whatever government grants-in-aid may be given for agency services.

ASSISTANCE TO NEEDY FAMILIES

With insurance protection against the risks of accidents, illness, and unemployment, which may be described as national programs, and a system of family aids in the form of children's allowances, rent allowances, tax exemptions, price discounts, children's rations, dental care, the Oslo "school breakfast," free text books, free schools, visiting housekeepers (housemother-substitutes), and even the beginnings of grants to newly-weds to launch housekeeping—all considered as democratically and self-respectingly provided—there is little need for a family relief service in Norway. There is no "opposite number" for our "family welfare societies," under private philanthropic support and operation, for general casework service to families in trouble. There is, however, in every township a public relief agency (*forsorgsvesen*) to which families may turn or be referred in economic emergencies not covered by social insurance,¹⁷ or if destitute despite the usual social security benefits (secondary poverty).

In 1954-55, the total spent for poor relief was about Kr. 4,284,000, of which about 5 per cent was from the central government. Poor relief in 1950 constituted only 5.8 per cent of the total public expenditure for social welfare, most of which was social security payments to families. The total of governmental outlays for social benefits, in turn, was 14.8 per cent of the combined national and municipal budgets.

The public relief agencies in 1952 reported 39,875 cases aided: about 1 per cent of the population. In 1956, this total was 33,844.

These figures should be laid beside the numbers of those receiving payments from "social security" funds, which show postwar increases:¹⁸

TABLE 31

	1952	1955
Old age:	138,500 (est.)	154,897
Unemployment:	4,721 (monthly average)	4,593
Mothers' allowances:	3,907	4,266 (municipal)
Physical defectives:	3,248	4,279
"Kommunaltrygd"	27,643	30,594 (156 towns)
Total	178,019	198,629

Many of these represent families which would have had to come for relief had not insurance stabilized or tided them over. But one cannot use the foregoing totals to find the number of Norway's needy families, because most families receiving insurance benefits are not in acute distress, and many of the grand total have received more than one type of benefit during a given year.

Like social insurance, public relief, though paid to individuals as a matter of accounting, is largely family-supportive, and little is done by way of depth therapy.¹⁹

In general, it may be said that Norwegian provisions for family relief and social casework are survivals from earlier forms of poor relief, still available to the residual cases not reached by various measures of social security under the "family policy" of the state; modified by certain modern knowledges, attitudes, and social techniques, but not yet adequately implemented by recent skills and trained personnel. Family rehabilitation measures are stronger on the economic than on the psycho-social side.

The insistent continuity of housemothers' overwork is being relieved in several ways: by the registration of baby sitters, by *park tantene* (park aunties), for preschool groups, by day nurseries, by housewives' vacations, by housewife-substitutes (*husmorvikarer*,

visiting housekeepers), and by kindergartens. Especially in the last two fields, Norway's Housewives' League (*Husmorforbundet*) and its founder group, *Oslo Hemmenes Vel*, have actively led the way in "selling" the ideas (lectures, study groups), in setting up the necessary agencies, and in training personnel, raising money, and getting subsidies.

Its program of kindergartens, still far behind the demand, has expanded rapidly, especially in Oslo, as fast as trained teachers could be produced. By 1953, this program was serving six thousand children, four thousand in kindergartens, two thousand in nurseries, and it was felt that, especially in view of the shortage of housing and of house help, the kindergartens were more than paying off—but that less than 50 per cent of the need had yet been met. The Social Welfare Department felt six hundred more kindergartens were needed, proposed seventy-five to be established before 1958. This would provide ultimately for only 24,000 of the nation's 300,000 children of two to six years. It indicated that public policy considers kindergartens a form of welfare service or of relief to housemothers more than as a major contribution to women's productivity. But it is calculated that half the mother's employable time released by one kindergarten (costing Kr. 80,000 to set up, and Kr. 28,000 annually) would amount to Kr. 130,000 yearly. National income and/or family planes of living would be raised correspondingly.^{19a}

HOUSEWIFE-SUBSTITUTES

In 1952-53, a total of 558 townships, mostly rural, had set up a total of 1,116 *husmorvikar* (housewife-substitute) jobs, of which 718 were rural. In 1955, there were about 1,500 (one per 2,200 population) in 700 of the 746 townships, and twice that number were wanted.²⁰ Of the total outlay Kr. 5,420,000 or about \$775,000, the central government met about one-sixth, the townships about five-eighths; the remainder was met from local private sources. (Families who can afford it are required to pay, up to \$1.30 per day.)

By 1958 there were about 3,000 housewife-substitutes, subsidized (Kr. 2,000,000 to Kr. 2,700,000) by Parliament to include home-nursing as well as housekeeping.²¹

In 1954, Oslo's Municipal Housewife-Substitute Office employed 111. Of 2,533 requests, 1,658 were fulfilled, with over 23,000 days of work, costing Kr. 775,330 of which Kr. 148,808 was paid by the homes of more than \$850 annual income. Kr. 14,200 was given by the state for training courses.²²

This type of service is built on the assumption that, in the course of family life, crises though unpredictable can be expected to arise and can be collectively provided for as they arise when preventive measures have not succeeded. The visiting housekeeper is for families when trouble is certified by physician; but the helper is not (as in the United States) provided merely as a response to or implication of neglect or ignorance. Tax support takes the curse of "charity" off of it. Few middle-class families have any regular hired help.

The system has drawn favorable attention in America,²³ and in Norway there is still considered to be a shortage in training courses and appropriations.

In eight years, some 150,000 cases have been reached; in 1954, there were 30,000, with perhaps 40,000 children. Childbirth situations and solitary persons are also eligible for help. Physical rather than financial need is the criterion.

[Housewife-substitutes] must be of good character and social conscience, trusted not to divulge any circumstances with which they may become acquainted in the families they help; be between the ages of twenty-three and forty (with occasional exceptions); and have had five-years' general practice in housework, including one year in a home with young children. In country districts they must also have a year's practice in rural homes and training in milking and caring for farm animals.

They are given thorough physical examinations and entered in a five-month training course. The first three months is academic work—218 hours in hygiene, nursing, nutrition, accounting, language, sociology and

child psychology. The last two months are given to practical training in food preparation, sewing and general home maintenance, with actual work in maternity wards, nursery schools and old people's homes.

Wages are set by local boards and vary somewhat from city to city. [One substitute] earns Kr. 8,868 a year—which is the equivalent of \$1,270 and corresponds roughly to the earnings of an experienced stenographer in our town. In addition she gets her board—three meals a day—and in some cases travel compensation. She works a basic eight-hour day, forty-eight-hour week, with extra pay for overtime work. Substitute housewives usually do not live with the families they help, except in some northern mountainous communities where transportation is difficult.

Service is limited to three weeks, the period that authorities feel constitutes an emergency. Extensions are approved in special circumstances.

SCANDINAVIAN COMPARISONS

Sweden has had some domestic aid service since the early twenties under organizational or local sponsorship. It was systematized under township administration in 1943, and in 1950 grants were made to about 2,750 full-time home helpers, the personnel having expanded rapidly (400 per year) with a training program at fourteen domestic science schools. The service is considered preventive of worse health disasters, and educational, but the helper's duties definitely include whatever the housewife would do—rural or urban. The service is free to the needy and on graduated fees to others. The standard ratio is one helper per four thousand urban or two thousand rural inhabitants. Administration is by a special local committee under the Social Welfare Board which sets standards.²⁴

Denmark also has many day nurseries and "day homes" all through the country for the children of working mothers.²⁵

In Finland, it was not a housewives league but the ubiquitous Population Association which organized a visiting housekeeper service (free to the poor) and a two-year school for their training.²⁶ Additional housewife-substitutes are provided to families by the Mannerheim League and by certain industries; three-quarters of the

salaries are paid by the townships since 1951.²⁷ Visiting housekeepers (housemother-substitutes) have been provided free since 1951, especially for large families, to relieve the mother for periods of sickness, confinement, rest, or vacation.²⁸

We may conclude that, in relieving housewives' fatigue or providing substitutes in case of their physical disability, Norway is keeping pace with the other Scandinavian countries and is ahead of the United States.

CHILD CARING AGENCIES

Most child welfare services, other than orphanage care, are in a special sense family social services. The family is essentially and par excellence the child-rearing institution, and child welfare either bolsters family functions or attempts to fill in or offset family shortcomings. Many of our general remarks concerning public relief agencies apply also to agencies for disadvantaged children in Norway. There are still many institutions owned, operated, and supported by voluntary organizations, some of them religiously oriented, and usually receiving some governmental subsidy.²⁹ Where general social-economic conditions and social security measures have reduced the number of neglected children, and placing-out has been utilized, some such places (e.g. the *Barnehem* at Larvik) have either closed or converted themselves to other purposes.

"School homes" (*skolehem*) are homes for children whose neglect has developed into problems of behavior and character. These are not, apparently, operated in as close a relation to the families of inmates as are the children's homes (*barnehem*). But they are rehabilitative, not penal in spirit. They are apt to be organized to serve a large municipal or provincial area, with a combination of voluntary and governmental support and management.³⁰

Child caring is a field where the Norwegians' current thought and practice show most clearly modern ideas.³¹ Indeed, such work in the United States received some of its impetus from pioneer legislation and philosophy of child welfare in Scandinavia.³² As in the United

States, there are, to be sure, many residual agencies and institutions operating largely on nineteenth-century lines.

CHILD WELFARE COMMITTEES

The announced policy of the Minister for Social Affairs³³ includes the reorganization of public child protective agencies in relation to the new law (*Barnevernsloven*) effective July, 1954. The Council of Guardians (*Verjeråd*) in many respects resembled American juvenile courts in jurisdiction and procedures, though not a part of the system of courts of law.³⁴ These are now³⁵ replaced by Child Welfare Committees, one for each township, much in the pattern of similar agencies in Sweden, Denmark, and Finland.

The Norwegian township Child Welfare Committee takes over work previously divided between several local agencies, but adds a general function of safeguarding all children's interests, as observer and advisor to the commune, and with flexible jurisdiction permitting it to initiate individual proceedings and propose social measures. It has responsibility, for example, for the control of *park-tante* service,³⁶ day nurseries, and children's homes,³⁷ and for their development where needed. It has jurisdiction over and joint responsibility for the feeble-minded, speech-defective, deaf, or crippled children wherever the family is helpless to deal with them—indeed, over any child whom the committee considers in need of help. It is given authority to secure to every child in need up to eighteen years of age a safe and responsible upbringing and conditions for adequate development, above all in its own home, but (as last resort) in a foster home³⁸ or custodial care.³⁹ The townships are told to support the committees' work.⁴⁰ The attitudes called for by national policies are significant, not judicial or prejudicial, but tolerant, humane, insightful, understanding, helpful, alert to the best in every child,⁴¹ and active in securing appropriate individualized treatment for the needs of children with special assets or liabilities.⁴²

Committee members are to be carefully chosen for personality, special knowledge, and experience,⁴³ especially for the committees'

“charter membership.” There are no ex officio members, but teachers, physicians, social workers, and mothers are indicated as representing special types of experience needed.⁴⁴ Committees are encouraged to enlist professional specialists as consultants.⁴⁵

The Child Welfare Committee is not a juvenile court in our sense of the phrase. In the absence of a sharp “separation of powers,” it is difficult to know whether to call it a judicial or an administrative agency: it is both. But one observes the institution in its Norwegian context and finds it good: it links the resources of police, schools, child protection, sobriety boards, agencies of health, relief, church, and legal sanction, and it deals considerately with families as units when their children are in trouble—*any kind of social trouble*.

The laws of child protection in Norway make no sharp distinctions of definition between “neglected,” “defective,” “dependent,” “delinquent,” and “truant” children, nor is it necessary (as in some of our states) to rationalize the legal processes in elaborate terms in order to transfer cases from adult criminal procedures to protective juvenile procedures or family and preventive measures. Indeed, except for legal divorce situations, and social security services, the new child welfare boards become in a broad sense the basic family social agency of Norway.

The new Child Protective Law specifies careful investigation of physical, psychological, environmental, school and home conditions, and causes, with experts’ advice and with legal access to others’ records.⁴⁶ Other agencies are required to refer cases to and co-operate with committees and vice versa.⁴⁷ A central Child Welfare Council serves as supervisory agent for the Department of Social Affairs, and the provincial prefects are to appoint “as soon as possible” and under civil service an expert in child welfare for the province acceptable to the national department.⁴⁸ Treatment is to be persuasive and individualized, and so far as possible trained workers (*sosialkuratorer*) are to be used, with emphasis on home supervision, and family relief where required. The caseworker is also to secure day-care or fresh-air colony visits for the children, supervise schooling and

vocational guidance, and secure special or institutional care where needed.⁴⁹

The committees are responsible for all foster-home placement whether voluntary or by committee order (using if possible expert workers) and for sanction of any changes of legal custody or appointment of guardians.⁵⁰ Qualifications of foster homes are specified, and registration thereof is centralized.⁵¹ No private placing agency is allowed. For emergency cases (e.g. acute alcoholism, physical danger in the family) the committee is to notify the police, health officer, or sobriety board.⁵² Casework is to include records, reports, follow-up, and after-care of placed-out and institutional "alumni."⁵³

Problems were not considered very different as between urban and provincial areas, though treatment facilities and procedures differed widely. Most children's problems are, as has been shown, family situations; and adequate treatment of them is treatment of family relations, by casework methods.

It is possible that active development of the broad potential scope of the new committees will make it possible for them to take over also (or supersede) the work of the private Norwegian Protective League (*Norske Vernesamband, Oslo Vernelag*) and Oslo's municipal Youth Commission (*Oslo Ungdomsnemnd*) for offenders under eighteen; though, in general, the beneficiaries of the latter agencies are older than those which used to be handled by the Council of Guardians.

Like their predecessors', the new committee's hearings are confidential, closed to the public, and deal with the parents rather than with the children, though the latter may be heard if necessary.⁵⁴ A description of proceedings as they previously operated in an urban council is therefore probably not unrepresentative of procedures under the new committees:

If a mere change of care or aid was necessary, or warning and observation were considered by the chairman sufficient, the chairman exercised his discretion and so ordered, without calling the case into the office. If change of custody was involved, the case was reviewed

and the change recorded at a meeting of the council, but without calling in the parents. If the facts were disputed or if there was a conflict of claims or if the case was a serious one, the parents (never the children) were called before the council in its judicial capacity.⁵⁵ When legal custody was to be changed, a lawyer or judge served as chairman.⁵⁶

The hearing room contained only a handsome, long, and broad table, with formal armchairs and a central "throne." The chairman preferred not to use the throne but sat at one end with the committee members (four or five) around him at the table. At one side, at perhaps eight feet, were two chairs for parents, and at the left a small desk for the recording clerk. Cases without a hearing were dealt with first. Then a non-uniformed attendant called and ushered in the parents, one case at a time, with courtesy. No public audience, no reporters, only persons concerned or involved. The situation and the recommendation were then stated to the parents, and if accepted, were recorded. If there were question or denial, the evidence was presented and discussed, with comments by the investigator who sat at the other end of the table.⁵⁷

Family case records were fair in recounting details of common-sense inquiries, emergency treatment, and follow-up steps, but showed no depth interviewing. Causes were not tabulated. No standard factual schedule or face-sheet was used beyond identification data, but facts assembled often included parents' occupation and reputation or police record, housing, home morale and relations, wages, allowances and pay control, school records, interests, goals, attitudes, accessibility, and attitudes toward offenses.

ADOPTIONS AND CHILD PLACING

An important phase of service to broken or demoralized families is the care and placement of children who are either homeless or who must be removed from their own homes.

Until the new Child Protection Law, adoptions were handled largely by local health authorities, and with endorsement by the

provincial governor, under a special statute. This seems odd to us until one recalls the prevailing situation regarding non-wedlock children. Most adoptions have been of newly born children, whose immediate situations have been defined in terms of medical care. If in need of adoption, they are at hospitals or maternity homes. Blood tests are taken. The adoption bureau in Oslo was in the charge of an experienced nurse. The demand for infants for adoption has been such that few require institutionalization or placement in paid foster homes.⁵⁸ In 1953, the Oslo bureau, receiving 736 applications, with 196 babies available, arranged 143 adoptions. In October, 1954, the waiting list of applications was about 500. Adoptions must be for the child's benefit. No Norwegians may be adopted by foreigners without approval of the Department of Justice. Parents were urged to tell adoptive children their true status. The natural mother's identity is not revealed to adoptive parents, but facts of general background are accessible.⁵⁹

The Councils of Guardians were, in general, reluctant to remove neglected children from their homes, but, where it seemed necessary, it was either through the municipal child care office to an institution for temporary care (*barnehjem* or *skolehjem*), or through the public placement bureau (*utsattskontor*) which finds and supervises foster homes. In certain provinces, the councils preferred to use the small local children's homes rather than foster-home placements.⁶⁰ In Oslo, the placement division of the public relief agency had a standard fact schedule for foster homes, and supervised them for the (former) Councils of Guardians. Six traveling workers supervised some two hundred children placed out under orders of the Councils of Guardians. Children's homes desiring to place out children, whose situations seemed to preclude return to their own homes, were also required to use the public child placing agency (*kontor for utsatte*) for that purpose; and in Oslo even the public relief office had to do its placing out through this agency.⁶¹ Foster homes were unpaid.

Most of the foregoing powers, practices, and policies are now transferred to the new Child Welfare Committees.

Appendix

The following case histories are presented as illustrations of family casework in difficult cases of divorce, child placement, and adoption. They were provided by one of the schools of social work. The names are disguised.

“INGER HANSEN”

The social secretary had just been appointed at the Council of Guardians in a middle-sized town. She was visited by a somewhat excited middle-aged woman, Mrs. Hansen. At first, it was a little difficult to get what she was saying. She plunged into a complaint about a decision of the council which she thought was a mistake. She threatened to go to one of the “elected members” to get the action reversed, and to go to the newspapers. When the secretary got Mrs. H. to talking quietly, and looked up the record, she got the matter connectedly:

Mrs. H. and her husband Karl, a railroad worker, were childless but had an eight-year-old foster daughter, Inger, Mrs. H.’s niece. Mrs. H. had had good relations with a brother ten years younger. He had been divorced six years. He had been given parental custody of his daughter Inger, but, being a sailor, had placed Inger with Mrs. H. Inger’s mother had married again, had twins, and had had practically no contact with Inger in the interval. But when the question of Mrs. H.’s adopting Inger came up, the mother refused and demanded that Inger come home to her. Then the Hansen couple lay the matter before the Council of Guardians and asked for help to keep the foster daughter. The file on the Hansens showed that during the Occupation the mother had had work in a German camp and had had an affair with an older German officer. The foster parents also claimed that she had neglected and mistreated Inger, so that the father was unwilling to let the mother keep her. He had placed her with Mrs. H. even before the divorce.

Before the Council made its decision, it had an assistant visit the mother in her new home. It appeared that Inger’s mother had a pretty and well-furnished home and that the husband, who was a traveling businessman,

had a good income. The twins were lively, five years younger than Inger. The mother said she had always longed for her daughter, but had not been able to visit her because the Hansens could not stand her. She was very bitter especially about her sister-in-law whom she believed to be setting the child against her. Inger had, indeed, said that she wanted to be with her aunt and uncle and that she refused to go home to her mother.

On these grounds, the Council decided not to oppose Inger's coming back to her mother, since it thought that the law did not give it the right to interfere. When the County Prefect (*fylkesmann*) took over the case, he denied the request for adoption.

It was immediately clear to the secretary that this case was a difficult borderline situation, and that there was much to be said for the Council's not being able to interfere. Inger's mother now had a pretty home, was well off, and there was probably nothing against her. Besides, legally, she had parental authority over Inger. On the other hand was what Mrs. H. reported, which obliged one to study the case more closely. Mrs. H. submitted among other things a physician's certificate which showed that when Inger came to the foster parents she showed considerable signs of neglect. This certificate was not produced when the case was heard. The secretary therefore said some quieting words to Mrs. H. and promised to find out whether it was feasible to take up the case again.

A more thoroughgoing social investigation showed that things were not so good at the mother's home as had at first been thought. To be sure, the home was well furnished, but it developed that the mother was a person with very little emotional balance. She was very aggressive and constantly had rows with other tenants in the unit. She also was out much, at parties, and the neighbors complained that the twins were alone till late at night, and lay and cried. They were brought up with scolding and slapping, and there was much screaming and noise from the apartment. It also developed that the mother had once visited a neurologist.

An investigation of the foster-parents' home showed that Inger was strongly attached to the aunt and uncle—perhaps most to the aunt. The home was modest, since the uncle did not have a very high wage. Inger was a somewhat nervous child with good abilities. It was significant that the foster parents had always counted on her being with them as their own child. They were outstandingly "home folks," and all had only good to say of them.

The environmental inquiries persuaded the secretary that it would be a misfortune for Inger to be removed from the foster parents. So closely attached as she was to the foster mother, she would with difficulty accept her mother, who was a totally opposite type. In discussion with the Council, the secretary sought to avoid the conflicts by trying to get the mother to see that it would be difficult for Inger to move to a new home after six years. The secretary had several conversations with both the mother and her husband about this, but they led to no result. The husband was still doubtful whether Inger should come home but didn't venture to say much because his wife got so violent about it. It developed that she had a very aggressive attitude toward all the authorities—something which may well have grown partly out of a difficult bringing-up, and that right after the Liberation she had been under arrest for a while under suspicion of treason. This attitude toward the authorities and enmity toward her sister-in-law were so strong that it was hard to reason with her. The secretary also sought contact with the woman's physician but it developed that he had advised her to take the daughter home, since he thought it would have a favorable effect on her nerves. He stuck to that standpoint.

The case was taken up in a new meeting of the Council, and, on the basis of the new information, a decision was reached that the Council would take Inger under its jurisdiction. Inger was to be with her foster parents and the home to remain under observation.

After that, the mother became more aggressive. She waited outside the school entrance and wanted to take Inger home, so that Mrs. H. had to follow the child to and from the school. Since the child became nervous about this, the Council found it best to deprive the mother of her parental authority. A guardian was appointed for her. The mother appealed the decision, but got no support. After that, she became more quiet. Perhaps it helped that the foster parents, on advice of the secretary, moved to another town. With the guardian's consent, the consent to adoption was given to the foster parents; and Inger, who was by now ten years old, was discharged from the Council's jurisdiction.

“ELINE BRAATTEN”

The second family, starting from half-orphanhood and non-wedlock relations, was involved in alcoholism, conflicts, desertion,

unemployment, impoverishment, drugs, neglect, institutional care, child placement, relief, and finally divorce.

Agencies involved in the case as it developed were: police, council of guardians (juvenile court), children's home, hospital, convalescent home, municipal social work office, bureau for support orders (international agreement), relief service, social insurances, legal aid office, divorce court, and child allowance office.

A small boy about three years old was brought late one evening to the chairman of the Council of Guardians. A policewoman brought him. The boy was wrapped in a big coat and had only a thin tricot jacket on. He looked around him with big, wondering eyes and did not act terrified. The woman officer reported that the police had been notified because the boy had been wandering about alone in the streets late in the evening—without shoes and wearing only the thin cotton jacket. It was a bright evening in May, slightly cold. There was a tumult in the streets because of the boy, and a gentleman called the police. The mother of the boy lived in the neighborhood, but, as the door was locked and nobody opened, the police had to break it open. In the room was found a woman in her late twenties who lay seemingly dead drunk on a sofa. The police took her along to the office and the boy was wrapped in a coat and taken to the chairman of the Council of Guardians. The boy was put to bed in the home of the chairman, and he slept immediately.

The next day, the secretary of the Council of Guardians went to see the mother at the police office. The young woman was now awake, but she seemed red with weeping and on the verge of a breakdown. She repeated several times that she drank occasionally, but this time she had taken a strong dose of sedative, because she had not been able to sleep for several nights. The boy must have slipped out of the door while she was sleeping. Questioned about the reason for the insomnia, she said that she and the boy had nothing to live on, because her husband had deserted her some months ago. She had mortgaged most of what she owned and managed to live in this way for some time, as she could not work because of the boy. Asked why she had not come to the Office of Social Affairs (*Sosialkontoret*), which would have helped her, she wrung her handkerchief and did not reply.

At the intervention of the secretary, the woman, whose name was Eline Braatten, was discharged from the police office and brought to a doctor, who sent her to a hospital for observation. The boy was sent the same day to an infant home, where he adjusted well, but many times during the day he stopped while playing and asked for his mother.

Social investigation showed that Eline Braatten had come from the country six years ago. The parents had a small farm, but, when her mother died and her father shortly after remarried, she would not stay at home any more. She got a job in a creamery and lived in a small room with access to the kitchen. Some time later, she began to go steady with a young seaman and became pregnant. At first, the seaman would not marry, but changed his mind when she was pregnant in her eighth month, and they were married and got a small apartment consisting of one room and kitchen. The seaman was sailing to England and was not often home. When he was ashore, he did drink quite a bit and was quite inconsiderate while at home, but she received money for housekeeping. Last time her husband was home, about two months ago, he had gone on a spree. She had reproached him and he became so angry that he said that from now on she would have to take care of herself. He was not quite certain either that the child was his. He left the next day without bidding good-by, and she did not get any more money from him. Some weeks later, Eline Braatten went to the shipowner to arrange a deduction of salary for her. She learned that her husband had signed off in London, and the shipowner did not know his whereabouts. She felt bad about this. She tried to get a job as a substitute at the creamery where she had worked before, but when the boy got bronchitis and pneumonia she had to quit. She would not go home to her father, and she could not expect any help from her elder sisters, one of whom was married in Nordland (county in northern Norway), the other in Sweden. Eline Braatten became sleepless and depressed at this time and began using strong sedatives which she had got from a fellow worker, who died from a painful disease. She drank a little—mostly export beer—but it was rare as she did not have any money. The boy who had been well kept was somewhat neglected in this period.

The Office of Social Affairs (*Sosialkontoret*) attempted to locate her husband, and it so turned out that he had taken a job on a Swedish ship which sailed to the United States. In a ruling of the municipal court, the husband was charged with duty to contribute to the support of his wife

and child. Since there is a convention between Norway and Sweden about mutual collection of contributions to the family, the demand for deduction of the seaman's wages was sent to the Swedish authorities. Some time later, Kr. 250 were received from the Swedish shipowner, but, shortly after, it was reported that he had mustered off the ship again. He now sailed under the flag of Panama, and it was thus impossible to get a compulsory deduction of wages from him. As he no longer was a member of the Government Sickness Insurance Fund (*Trygdekasse*), his wife could no longer get the expenses for her stay at the hospital defrayed from the fund, but the Office of Social Affairs (*Sosialkontoret*) paid the expenses as poor relief. When she was discharged from the hospital, the office arranged a two-weeks stay for her at the home for convalescents. She did not like it there, however. It made her feel bad that "she was on poor relief" and the other patients asked so many questions about her husband.

The Office of Social Affairs looked into the possibility of getting benefits for mothers to her, as the municipality had established such benefits for widowed, divorced, separated, deserted, and unmarried women. Unfortunately, it turned out that her husband had no settlement in the municipality, and Eline Braatten did not meet the requirement of having lived there for at least ten years.

She came back from the home and received aid from the Office of Social Affairs for rent of room and light, besides a weekly contribution for food. When the secretary of the Council of Guardians visited her to see if she could take the boy home again, he found her so dull and happy-go-lucky that he understood something had to be done. She got a new job as domestic maid at a friend of the secretary, and that did work out well. She got herself new clothes, got a tooth fixed in the upper jaw which had spoiled her looks. She became more keenly interested in visiting the boy at the infant home and would now like to get him back. As the Council of Guardians maintained that the only solution was to let her keep the boy, it was arranged that she get a job as a housekeeper for an old man in a rural area, where she could take the boy along.

The boy was still under the supervision of the Council of Guardians, but seems to be developing well. Eline Braatten does not hear anything from her husband, and the authorities do not get any contribution from him, as he is not attached to any Scandinavian shipping company. Some time ago, she asked the secretary to help her with separation and divorce,

and this was done through the Office for Free Legal Aid. After the divorce, she had the right to child allowance for the boy.

The secretary believes that it was relatively easy to find a solution in this case because Eline Braatten was from the country and settled down easily in the job as housekeeper in a rural area, where she could take the boy along. She thinks, too, that Eline Braatten has great strength of character—in spite of the breakdown when her husband deserted her.

¹ *Social Assistance in Norway, Main Features of Public and Voluntary Relief Work*, (mimeo.) (Department of Social Affairs, October 1952), pp. 8–12, 15. Certain portions of this chapter are adapted from Thomas D. Eliot, "Welfare Fares Well," *Social Service Review*, XXVI (March 1952), 65–72.

² Converted by the law of July 17, 1953, into the Child Welfare Committee (*Barnevernsnemnda*) with far wider powers and a family casework policy. Parents must have a hearing (Section 8). Cf. the translation of the act published by the United Nations (Oslo, 1954).

³ Max Petersen and Egil Nilsen, *Verjerådsbehandlingens Resultater i Forhold til Barnas Miljøbakgrunn* (mimeo.) (Oslo Kommunale Ungdomsnemd, Oslo, 1951).

⁴ E.g., Oslo Youth Commission, Ivan Rummelhoff, and news commentators cited below (note 5).

⁵ E.g., "Problembarn må møtes med forståelse," *Morgenposten*, March 10, 1951 (Gilhus of the Oslo Council); and (apropos a rare gang episode in Oslo) "Frognerbanden," *Vårt Land*, March 24, 1951; "Aktuelle ungdomsoppgaver," *Arbeiderbladet*, March 31, 1951.

⁶ E.g., "Ungdom på avveier," *Aftenposten*, March 29, 1951; Stein Balstad, "Unge lovovertredere," *Morgenbladet*, April 3, 1951; "Foreldreansvaret må understrekes i seksualundervisningen," *Vårt Land*, May 9, 1951.

⁷ Letter to the writer.—T. D. E.

⁸ Cf. Max Petersen, *op. cit.*, *supra*. The writer can confirm the impression from personal perusal of all the cases for one month.

⁹ "Landskvinnekonferensen Åpnet," *Arbeiderbladet*, March 21, 1954, p. 11. Also (December 19, 1957), a letter from Norske Mental Hygienforening describes plans with Norske Kvinners Nasjonalråd, Norges Husmorforbund, and the Labor Party Women for a new family counselling service.

^{9a} Ragnar Kolstad, "Fra nomade til fastboende," *Vernelagsnytt*, No. 4 (1957), 22–26.

¹⁰ Cf. Trygve Braatøy, *Psykoanalyse og Moral* (Oslo: Cappelen, 1949), pp. 90–91.

¹¹ *Kuratorforeningen*. Interview with Fru Giaever. The need for more hospital social workers was publicized in connection with their fifth annual meeting in Bergen ("Livi," "Sykhuskuratorene populaere," *Morgenbladet*, June 11, 1955).

^{11a} *Social Assistance in Norway, loc. cit.*, note 1, *supra*, pp. 4, 6–7, 9, 10.

¹² Both "charity" and "welfare" are words semantically jeopardized by identification with poor relief, and by the association of the latter, in our culture, with loss of status and of self-respect.

¹³ E.g., folk high schools, youth leagues, nurseries.

¹⁴ Cf. Johs. Hygen, "Den privat hjelpevirksomhet," *Sosialt Arbeid* (Årgang 24, 1950), Hefta 4, s. 113–35.

¹⁵ The Norwegian Women's Health Association, with 200,000 members, has a far-reaching proliferation of local projects in the care and prevention of endemic diseases. It owns and operates (with state and municipal subsidies) some 700 mothers' health centers for pregnancy, infancy, and preschool health (see Chapter XXI on health services).

¹⁶ The statement is based on many private conversations. But cf., e.g., Jørgen Juve, "La oss ha privatlivet i fred," *Dagbladet*, August 28, 1954.

¹⁷ Cf., e.g., the case called "Braatten" (see appendix to Chapter XV) in which the girl could not collect social security benefits because the deserting father had established no Oslo residence, and the relief office was invoked.

¹⁸ The figures are from *Statistiske Meldinger*, 71 Årgang, No. 9, 1953, pp. 268-74; and *Statistisk Årbok for Norge, 1957*, pp. 194, 196, 198-99, 212. *Kommunaltrygd* covers municipal or township contributions to most of the social security benefits.

¹⁹ Confirmed by a "typical" case record of *Forsorgsvesen*, Oslo.

^{19a} Per Nestor, "Barnehager Lønner Seg," *Arbeiderbladet*, July 31, 1953; cf. *Langtidsprogrammet for 1954-1957* (pamphlet) (Norges Husmorforbund, Oslo, 1953).

²⁰ Hans Faye-Lund, "How Norway Plans for 'Substitute Housewives,'" *Ladies' Home Journal*, LXXII (August 1955), 52-53, 107.

²¹ *Statistisk Årbok for Norge, 1956*, p. 229. Also *News of Norway*, XV (December 11, 1958), 172.

²² *Oslo, The Capital of Norway* (Municipal Office of Statistics, Oslo, 1956), pp. 26-27.

²³ Hans Faye-Lund, *op. cit.*

²⁴ *Social Sweden* (Stockholm, Social Welfare Board), p. 207-9.

²⁵ *Danish Maternity and Child Welfare* (pamphlet) (Foreign Ministry and Ministry of Social Affairs, Copenhagen, n.d.).

²⁶ *The Social Community: Home, Family, Children* (mimeo. abstract) (5-year report of the Finnish Population Association, Helsinki, 1946).

²⁷ "Les Mesures de Compensation aux Charges Familiales en Finlande (1950)" (MS. for L'Union Internationale des Organismes Familiaux, Helsinki, 1951), p. 8.

²⁸ *Measures of Family Support in Finland* (mimeo.) (Social Affairs Department, 1950).

²⁹ Arendal, for example, had three children's homes, two run by the Inner Mission for boys and for girls respectively, and one by the Women's Health Association for mixed ages and sexes. Their intake was largely from the nearby rural areas, through the Council of Guardians or Relief Service. Disposition of non-wedlock babies was not a serious problem, two or three per year. Two township nurses and a parish nurse did service as caseworkers (*veiledning* or guidance).

³⁰ E.g., *Buskerud Skolehjem, 1920-1950* (Drammen: Fremtiden, 1951).

³¹ Cf. proceedings of the Nordic Congress of Child Protection, especially the address of Kaare Gilhus of Oslo's Council of Guardians, as reported in "Institusjoner eller hjem best for de bortsatte barn?" *Arbeiderbladet*, June 3, 1953, pp. 1-2.

³² Cf. Studies by Sophia Theiss (Denmark) and Signy Arctander (Oslo) of children removed from their own homes, republished in the U.S.A.

³³ Cf. "Det nye barnevernsloven et store sosialt framskritt," *Arbeiderbladet*, January 2, 1954.

³⁴ In many jurisdictions, these councils were said to be a "dead letter." Children's problem-situations were being handled otherwise. In Aust Agder, for a provincial population of some 35,000 (12,000 urban), there were five councils. Arendal's council had held only five meetings in the year, with perhaps three cases per meeting. Records

other than monetary were slight and informal. Most cases were handled informally by or through council members as volunteer workers.

³⁵ *Lov om Barnevern*, July 17, 1953.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, § 46.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, Kap. VII.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, Kap. IV-V.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, Kap. III, VI.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, Kap. XI.

⁴¹ Raket Seweriin, then minister of Social Affairs, as quoted in *Arbeiderbladet*, *loc. cit.*, *supra*.

⁴² *Lov om Barnevern*, §§ 18, 23.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, § 2.

⁴⁴ The party in power has no special love for the clergy as such, but would not object to a clergyman as member if he were known to be adept in child and family affairs.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, §§ 22, 23, 6.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, §§ 6, 7, 17.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, § 12.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, § 15.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, §§ 17, 18.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, §§ 19, 20, 22, 23.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, § 26.

⁵² *Ibid.*, § 21.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, §§ 34, 35.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, §§ 5, 8.

⁵⁵ Practice differed in the smaller jurisdictions. Children might be called into hearings. The judge might handle cases by telephone. There might be no paid workers, etc.

⁵⁶ Cf. *Lov om Barnevern*, §§ 5, 19.

⁵⁷ One leading social worker felt that the Oslo procedures were better than most—that too many of them elsewhere were *too much* like courts.

⁵⁸ Interview with Søster Ragnhild Jensen, Oslo Board of Health, 1950.

⁵⁹ Cf. *News of Norway*, XI (November 4, 1954), 154.

⁶⁰ Interview with Olaf Fjalstad, Council chairman for Arendal, 1951. In Larvik, on the other hand, there was so little demand for the *Barneheim* that it was closed or converted.

⁶¹ Interview with Fullmektig Leif Prag, secretary to the Inspectorate in the Oslo Municipal Relief Agency, 1950.

Part Five

PROTECTIVE INSTITUTIONS AND
COMMUNITY SERVICES

Introduction

A SATIRICAL burlesque of the "classical" economies of unlimited competition and "natural harmony" characterized them as, "Each man for himself and God for us all—as the elephant said while he danced among the guinea pigs." In that stage of capitalism, every family was "free to go to hell in its own way," or be rescued by pious philanthropists. In welfare states, men have said, "Let's do for ourselves what they wanted to do for us—but let's do it first." The golden rule becomes: "Keep normal people normal." Prevention and protection rather than life preservers or ambulances, floors and ceilings rather than barriers or walls are provided for family careers.

Important among such programs for family welfare are those for social-economic security, religious guidance, education for sex and family life, and provision for hygienic and health services. These chapters conclude our volume.

XVI

Economic Security: Provisions for Maintaining Family Standards of Living

NATIONAL POLICIES

WHILE governmental policies relating to family economic welfare have centered most conspicuously on social insurance and related aids, there is another aspect to be noted first. This is that the basic economic policies, as developed by the government in power since 1945, have as a major purpose the stabilization of the cost of living. Price controls have been used toward this end, with a related program of subsidies to compensate for inevitable increases in production and import costs. It has been recognized that advances in living costs would affect adversely the great mass of consumers, and thus economic controls, including some stabilization of wages, are an important part of national family policy.

In a still broader sense, national policy has involved decisions about the balance between capital investments and consumer goods, the relation between income and efficiency of labor, the control of imports, all with a fairly direct effect on standards and planes of living. Moreover, the question of reducing government expenditures for social insurance and welfare purposes could not, as a matter of political policy, be considered in its anti-inflationary aspects. In fact, basically, there has been a policy of equalizing incomes, approached mainly as a matter of leveling up, or providing a floor below which consumption minima should not fall. It must at the same time be recognized that the governmental concern about productivity is in the interest of making substantial increases in consumption levels possible. Some of the specific means used for maintaining living standards are those to be described here and in the

following chapter on housing, where the social purposes are clearly an important part of family policy.¹

The relief and social insurance programs in Norway have parallels in the other Scandinavian countries. In all, the principle of governmental responsibility has long been accepted. Following the Lutheran reformation in Scandinavia in the early sixteenth century, the state assumed some functions which had been in the hands of the church. As a result, religious and private agencies have had only a limited part in the provision of social services. Public hospitals were established during the eighteenth century, and health services have long been accepted as government responsibilities. The obligation of municipalities to care for the poor was recognized in laws enacted in Denmark and Sweden before 1800.

In Norway, this principle was established in the poor laws of 1845. With the beginnings of industrialization later in the nineteenth century and the rise of new forms of health hazards and personal insecurities, the modern program of social legislation began to take shape in all the Scandinavian countries.² Essentially, what has happened in Norway and the neighboring countries is the establishment of social insurance programs which provided in specialized ways for various categories of people who would otherwise be on their own or eligible for the undifferentiated form of poor relief. This process corresponds to what happened in England, which Beatrice and Sydney Webb called, with approval, "the breakup of the poor law." The object has been to render poor relief superfluous except for a residual group.

The effects of the aging of the populations and of modern medical care standards are reflected in the fact that of the total "social expenditures" in Scandinavian countries those for health purposes are highest in Norway, followed by payments to the aged and disabled which rank first in Sweden and Denmark. These expenditures in 1950, as summarized in the following table, amounted to about 8 per cent of the net national income in Norway, 10 per cent in Denmark, and 11 per cent in Sweden.

TABLE 32
TOTAL SOCIAL EXPENDITURES IN SCANDINAVIA⁴
(1950)

	Denmark 1,000 D. Kr.	Norway 1,000 N. Kr.	Sweden 1,000 Sw. Kr.
Health	525,422	405,018	727,833
Employment injuries and labor protection	52,173	34,898	130,316
Unemployment	245,974	50,576	74,737
Old age, disability, etc.	591,357	243,341	863,874
Family and child welfare	238,573	118,021	656,321
General unspecified assistance to needy	55,177	37,619	125,092
War and other military disabled	6,465	21,135	11,558
Total	1,715,141	910,608	2,589,731
Central administration expenditure	33,202	4,411	33,343
Total	1,748,343	915,019	2,623,074
Computed tax reductions in respect of children	100,000	146,000	46,000
Total social expenditures	1,848,343	1,061,019	2,669,074

In Norway, as indicated, these expenditures are part of national economic policy, identified with Labor party leadership in recent years. Actually, they are not thought of by parties as partisan projects, and appropriations may be made without parliamentary opposition. In Sweden, similar provisions have been related more closely to population policy, acting on the concern about the decline in the birth rate which was publicly recognized in the 1930's. In the table above, the expenditures for family and child welfare purposes are about one-fourth of the total. These are provided in Sweden as part of a national policy of encouraging births in families where children

are wanted, by socializing some of the economic burdens of child care.⁴ In Norway, the explicit purpose has not been to counteract the fall in the birth rate, which reached a low in the mid-1930's, but rather to improve the people's family living standards.

SOCIAL INSURANCE IN NORWAY⁵

Compensation for injuries sustained by workers while employed was begun on a systematic basis in 1894 in Norway, by the requirement that employers were liable for certain benefits and must insure themselves against claims. The law has since been broadened to include employment other than industrial, but it does not extend to non-mechanical agricultural work or to home industry. Separate accident insurance systems are in effect for seamen and for fishermen. The Norwegian industrial worker is not compensated for any injuries sustained on the way to or from his work, whereas an employed seaman is covered twenty-four hours of the day, regardless of what he is doing or whether he is on board ship. Certain diseases are considered occupational hazards, for which insurance is provided, and, for seamen, these include tropical diseases which might be contracted in the far-flung operations of Norwegian ships.

Employment accident insurance was thus the first step in social insurance in Norway. Benefits consist of medical treatment of injuries, cash payments to make up partially for the loss of wages, and family supplements during the period of incapacity for work. In case of permanent disability of the worker resulting from an occupational accident, special benefits are granted. Widow's or children's benefits are paid in the event of the worker's death from the accident.

Unemployment insurance also had its beginnings at the end of the nineteenth century, in the formation of voluntary societies established by the new trade unions. In 1906, Norway introduced the principle of government subsidies to such unemployment insurance funds, which became subject to governmental supervision. During the period of widespread unemployment following the First World

War, the voluntary societies depleted their resources, and the inadequacy of the protection they provided was evident. A compulsory system of employment insurance went into full effect in 1945, at the end of World War II. It was based on an act of 1938, the initial operation of which had been interrupted by the German occupation early in 1940.

Health insurance in Norway, compulsory for wage earners since 1911 and for all since 1956, is based on an act of 1909, the scope of which was enlarged by subsequent legislation (1953). Provision has now been made (1956) for compulsory membership of all residents. By 1950, over 75 per cent of the entire population was covered by the health insurance system; coverage has been estimated at 90 per cent. The compulsory principle stands in contrast to the earlier practice with respect to unemployment, and to the similar system with respect to health insurance in Denmark (and until recently in Sweden) of giving government subsidies to voluntary societies providing benefits. The encouragement to voluntary and co-operative effort, "help for self-help," is part of the heralded Scandinavian middle-way approach, combining individual responsibility with government action.⁶

The recent extension of compulsory health insurance (1956) includes for cancer, polio, tuberculosis, and arthritis a liberalization of cash benefits beyond the usual two-year limit for major diseases. The increased coverages will raise the total outlays to Kr. 575,000,000, of which 60 per cent is contributed by employers, 20 per cent by the insured, and 20 per cent by the state. The program is administered by local boards, one in practically every township, supervised by a central bureau in the matter of disputes, rates, and procedures. Sick benefits for loss of work are based upon 60 per cent of the patient's usual wage, up to a maximum, and with an extra allowance for each dependent. Working mothers receive twelve weeks of benefit for childbirth.⁷

Although old age pensions were discussed during the last century, it was not until 1936 that this type of protection against economic

insecurity was legislated on a nation-wide basis. By that time, a number of towns had established programs. Pensions are paid to persons over seventy, subject to a means test which allows for some "free income." From the standard amount of the pension, a deduction is required of 60 per cent of any earnings or income above the free income; and since pensions are small, persons with any significant means will not be eligible; about 80 per cent of all persons above seventy actually receive pensions.

The basic pension for married couples is 50 per cent higher than for single persons, and the amount is greater in urban areas than in rural districts. The grant is to cover at least the minimum of subsistence, and local governments generally provide supplements above the national minima.

The supplements granted for the married partner do not require that the spouse also be over seventy years of age. For every child under sixteen supported by the pensioner, an additional amount is added to the pension. A small funeral allowance is also given upon the death of a pensioner or of a dependent member of his family.

The costs of old age pensions are paid in part by the national and municipal governments, but largely by a fund built up through a tax on incomes above certain low minimal amounts which had been fixed (1949) at 1.2 per cent and was raised in 1955 to 1.8 per cent. A report by a parliamentary committee in 1954 recommended raising the basic amounts of pensions and, working toward the elimination of the means test, an increase in the minimum benefit rates was voted in 1955; and with the full income limit gradually raised, there was hope of abolishing the means test by 1957.⁸ In addition to the general contributory system, there are pensions allotted to government workers which are graduated according to previous salary and length of service.

Norwegian seamen are eligible for a pension at the age of sixty, if they have had 150 months of service at sea. The pension may be granted at fifty-five for men who have been seafaring for at least twenty-five years. Widows of seamen who are caring for children

under eighteen receive a pension from the time of their husband's death. A widow not supporting minor children is granted a pension at the age of fifty-five, after first receiving a "transitional benefit" for two years after her husband's death. Children supported by a seaman are also entitled to pensions at his death, which are usually paid until the age of eighteen but may be extended to twenty-one if the education of the child is prolonged.

FAMILY ALLOWANCES

"It has long been considered an unsatisfactory state of affairs that so important a social matter as child welfare should have been dependent on private charity to the extent it has. Since the war this view has been reflected in the increased public grants for child welfare work."⁹

Thus, in 1952, was Norway's policy officially formulated.

A system of family allowances was put into effect following an act of October, 1946. This was the culmination of years of public interest (with support coming from women's organizations especially) for some program of economic aid to families with children. The allowances for children are paid, largely from the national treasury, regardless of income or occupation of the breadwinner in the family. The local administration of family allowances has been assigned to the municipal old age pensions committees, and the municipality in which the applicant is residing pays one-eighth of the allowance as well as the administrative expenses.

In cases where the family head is a single breadwinner—a widow or widower, divorcee, or unmarried parent—the allowance is paid starting with the first child under sixteen. For orphans, an allowance is paid for the first child whoever is the supporter. The allowance is usually and preferably paid to the mother, but exceptions may be made by the local authorities if they have reason to believe that the allowance will be misused if given to the mother. Thus the emphasis in granting an allowance is placed on the benefits to the child rather than as an award to family heads.

While the amounts per child are relatively small (Kr. 600 per year), the total becomes a sizeable expenditure when some 400,000 children are aided. The total costs represented a major new outlay for the government in the postwar period when economies were necessary in the interest of reconstruction. The adoption of the program is therefore a strong indication of government policy in support of the economic welfare of families.

TRENDS AND PLANS

In the post-Occupation period, as has been noted, there has been an increase in the old age pension benefits and a moving away from the means test. The introduction of family allowances has been a major development of this period. Unemployment insurance on a compulsory basis was actually started after World War II, although the system was based on earlier legislation. Retirement pensions for seamen, which have been described briefly, were adopted by an act of 1948.

In 1953, the national health insurance act was extended in several ways. Membership was made compulsory for all wage earners, regardless of income. The time limits on free hospitalization were abolished. The daily rate of cash sick benefits was raised in all income brackets, with increases also in the allowances for dependants. In 1956, health insurance became compulsory for all residents.¹⁰

These developments in the social security program are in keeping with a joint declaration made in 1945 by the political parties in Norway, stating it as their policy that: "The social insurance schemes will be co-ordinated so as to constitute a universal social security system covering sickness, disablement, unemployment and old age." In November, 1948, the government placed a plan before the *Storting* for the further development of the social insurance systems, and it was recognized that the realization of the broad objectives of universal protection would need to be attained by stages, because of both the administrative and the financial problems involved.

The plan called for broadening the scope of health insurance, as well as unemployment and accident insurance. Other gaps in the security program were filled by new measures, namely, general disability insurance, widows' pensions, and children's maintenance allowances. The new forms of assistance reduce further the scope of public relief services. Norway has no national disability pensions, although some municipalities provide such aid, usually for persons in certain age groups such as sixty to seventy. The city of Oslo does so, and since 1949, disabled persons from fifteen years of age are eligible. It likewise has a well-established program of pensions for mothers—widows, and others with fatherless children under fifteen years of age, or up to twenty if they are in school or receiving professional training. The mothers' pensions program was started in the leading city in 1919 and by 1954 had been introduced into 127 communities. The Oslo programs of aid for mothers or for disabled persons have requirements for eligibility of ten or more years residence in the locality.¹¹

The proposed children's maintenance pension program would provide benefits for single mothers—widows, divorcees, separated, deserted, or unmarried mothers with children under the age of sixteen, and for persons undertaking the care of children under that age. The provision would be for a minimum sufficient for maintenance, rather than the supplemental type of benefit granted in the family allowance program. The planned program would have special significance for the non-wedlock mother and add to the legal protections otherwise provided. The widows' pension would care for "a proportion of the (older) widows not covered by the children's maintenance scheme."¹²

The long-range planning of social security proposes to grant to families for children between seven and sixteen a higher amount compared with those below seven years of age. More technical aspects of the universal plan include a distinction between income insurance—with benefit periods of short duration—and pensions insurance, with a normally longer duration of benefits. Unemployment in-

urance and health insurance are the categories of income insurance which is further characterized by the individual insured person having some measure of control over the condition insured against. The grading of benefits according to income classes would be continued in unemployment and health insurance but the present number of income groupings and of corresponding benefit rates would be reduced. In the pensions type of protection, there would be equal benefit rates for all income levels, as in old age pensions, but with variations to allow for local differences in the costs of living. Rate schedules would be adjusted so that benefits under various kinds of insurance would be equal. Thus, a rational and co-ordinated system is being created to supersede the earlier insurance programs which have been developed on a piecemeal basis.

The broad trend of development in social security in Norway has been away from relief, with its connotation of personal stigma, and toward the concept of benefits as a right. While the security programs are spoken of as insurance, and the benefits follow specified schedules covering specific categories, it is clear that they are an expression of governmental concern for individual and family welfare, being based on need rather than on an actuarial computation of relationship between contributions and benefits.¹³ Moreover, the larger view places such benefits within the broad framework of national planning, as noted at the outset of this chapter. Thus, the positive planning for economic welfare is part of a preventive approach to the problems of income maintenance. More specifically, the idea of prevention is represented by the programs for industrial safety, which reduce the number of accidents which would otherwise be compensable; or, in the case of unemployment compensation, by the concern about re-employment, which has resulted in the provision of economic assistance for travel expenses to a new job or for vocational re-training.¹⁴

Because of our focus on family life, the social security programs have been represented as bearing on welfare in a broad sense, with only incidental mention of the administrative structures involved. A

fuller presentation of the latter would describe the extent of decentralization in administration, and the co-operative relations between national and local governments.

This emphasis upon co-operation as a vital factor in Northern community life also brings out the peculiar combination of individualism and social solidarity which would appear to be an outstanding feature of Northern mentality.

The Northern people are realists, and in their "social engineering" they have never followed any one general formula. Planning has been carried out on a strictly pragmatic basis, drawing upon past experience but freely adapting it to changed circumstances. This approach may be lacking in drama, but it has proved well suited to the psychology of these nations and has yielded practical results.¹⁵

This general description is from the officially sponsored study presented jointly by the five Nordic countries. "Welfare planning by consent" is their capsule summary. Norway is a welfare state, of, by, and for families. "Economic and social policies are today no longer separate entities. Social policy has broadened its scope to include numerous fields far beyond its former boundaries and economic policy as a whole is based on social welfare considerations."¹⁶

¹ P. J. Bjerve, "Government Economic Planning and Control," in *Scandinavia Between East and West*, ed. Henning Friis (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1950), pp. 49-111.

² Henning Friis, "Social Welfare," *loc. cit.*, p. 140; George R. Nelson, *Social Welfare in Scandinavia* (Danish Ministry of Labor and Social Affairs, 1953) (reprinted from *The Scandinavian Year Book 1952* [London: William Dawson & Sons, Ltd., 1952]).

³ *Social Welfare in Scandinavia*, *loc. cit.*, p. 10.

⁴ Alva Myrdal, *Nation and Family* (The Swedish Experiment in Democratic Family and Population Policy [New York: Harper & Bros., 1941]).

⁵ The summary in this section is presented for its bearing on family welfare. It is based on three sources which should be consulted for details: *Social Insurance in Norway: A Survey* (Norwegian Joint Committee on International Social Policy, Oslo, January, 1950). George R. Nelson (ed.), *Freedom and Welfare, Social Patterns in The Northern Countries of Europe* (sponsored by the ministries of social affairs of Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Norway, and Sweden, 1953). See also *Oslo, The Capital of Norway* (Municipal Office of Statistics, Oslo, 1956), pp. 21-26.

⁶ *Freedom and Welfare*, *loc. cit.*, pp. 381-85.

⁷ "All-inclusive Health Insurance," *News of Norway*, XIII (August 23, 1956), 110; also "New Provisions Extend National Health Insurance," *News of Norway*, X (October 8, 1953), 139.

⁸ *Arbeiderbladet*, April 3, 1954; *News of Norway*, XII (April 21, 1955), 63.

⁹ *Family and Child Welfare in Norway: A Survey* (2nd ed.; Norwegian Joint Committee on International Social Policy, April 1952).

¹⁰ *News of Norway*, X (October 8, 1953), 139-40; *News of Norway*, XIII (August 23, 1956), 110.

¹¹ *Social Service in Oslo* (The Municipality of Oslo in collaboration with Oslo Travel Association, 1950), pp. 17-19. For recent data, see *Oslo, The Capital of Norway* (Municipal Office of Statistics, Oslo, 1956), pp. 23-24.

¹² *New Universal Social Security Plan for Norway* (Norwegian Joint Committee on International Social Policy, Oslo, June 1949), p. 6. See also *Lov om forskottering av oppfostringsbidrag* (Sosialdepartementet, Oslo, 1956); *Iverksettning av lov av 26 April 1957 om forskottering an oppfostringsbidrag* (Sosialdepartementet, Oslo 1957); *Instillinger fra Barnevern Komitéen, V, Lov om forskottering av oppfostringsbidrag til barn* (Sosialdepartementet, Oslo, 1951); and VI, *Lov om Modrehjelp* (Sosialdepartementet, Oslo, 1955).

As of July 1, 1958, social security payments were raised on the average 5%; the child allowance increased from Kr. 300 to Kr. 360 (\$50) per year for a child with a supporter (*News of Norway*, XV [June 19, 1958], 96).

¹³ *Freedom and Welfare*, *op. cit.*, p. 386.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 438; *Social Insurance in Norway: A Survey*, *op. cit.*, p. 41; Friis, "Social Welfare," *loc. cit.*, p. 145.

¹⁵ *Freedom and Welfare*, *op. cit.*, pp. 38-39.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

XVII

Housing Problems and Policies

HOUSING AND MENTAL HEALTH

Today we receive as cases in psychiatric clinics, factory workers who must work as domestics in order to have a place to live. Sleepless men who for lack of quarters must sleep under the beds of others on the floor. . . . All clinics receive suicide cases to an extent unknown before the war. Can all these be blamed on housing difficulties? Hardly. But when the housing problems result in the rest place becoming a work place, when intimate associations become a chore instead of a satisfaction, one cannot wonder that sabotage and suicide increase.

Therefore the most important mental hygiene work today is that of building houses, building homes and well-being.¹

THESE strong words of a leading psychiatrist in 1948 defined vividly the family problem of housing. They are doubtless related to a period following World War II when the shortage was much more acute than today, but nonetheless they underscore the close relationship between the physical dwelling and the quality of family life.

A Norwegian public opinion poll in 1951 asked, "What do you think makes a family happy?" "Good economy (income)" and "understanding" were most frequently mentioned in both cities and rural areas. The third most important factor cited by urban people was "good housing conditions," followed closely by "good health." Significantly enough, housing came much further down the list for families in the rural areas. This difference represents in part a greater recognition of housing as a family problem in cities, but it also points to the actual pressure of the shortage being felt in growing, congested communities.

THE HOUSING DEFICIT

Some reasons for the housing shortage in Norway are similar to other countries. During World War II, there was almost no building. The 1940's were the decade when the greater number of babies born after World War I were ready to be married. While some marriages were postponed during World War II, this was offset by a postwar bulge in weddings and in the demand for dwelling places.

The situation was aggravated by the destruction during World War II by bombing and fire of some 22,000 dwellings. In the early days of the Occupation in 1940, large areas of some west coast towns, particularly Steinkjaer, Namsos, Andalsnes, Molde, and Bodø, were destroyed. When the Germans withdrew from the northernmost province of Finnmark, near the end of the war, all of the 12,000 homes were lost in the complete devastation which was wrought.

The shortage, while being lessened, will continue for some years, especially in growing cities. An increase in the founding of new families, and the tendency of unmarried persons to want homes of their own, account for higher estimates of housing needs than in prewar years. The demolition or disuse of old structures must also be considered. Effective demand is obviously a factor, but government policies are aimed at stabilizing consumer purchasing power. Actual planning also involves the national balance of trade, since some metal materials must be imported.

These factors of need and the man power and material resources of the country taken together led to an estimate of maximum annual production of dwelling units of 20,000 per year for future development. This forecast in 1950 meant that the housing shortage was then expected to continue for twenty years or more.² However, actual production was greater than anticipated, going over 35,000 units per year in 1953 and in 1954, 32,128 in 1955, 27,281 in 1956, and 26,300 in 1957. At the end of 1957, about 25,000 units were under way; 29,400 were started that year (*News of Norway*, XV,

May 8, 1958). At the end of 1954, Norway had attained approximately the same number of dwelling units in relation to the size and composition of the population as it had in 1939. In proportion to the size of the population, the number of new dwellings has been higher than in comparable countries.

As a result, the housing shortage has diminished so that large parts of the country had their housing requirements satisfied in 1957. A deficit will continue in other areas, particularly in the largest cities and those affected by industrialization.³ The problem for planners now is "to influence the geographical distribution of house building; this can give rise to difficult problems because building capacity is now utilized to the full in most places. In addition, measures must be taken to promote demolition and rebuilding in the satisfied areas; this requires, however, a deeper knowledge of the need for demolition and rebuilding than we have at the present time."⁴ The increase in the proportion of older people, with those in good health wanting small dwellings, poses an additional problem of some magnitude.

GOVERNMENT POLICIES RELATED TO HOUSING

The national government had a minimum role with respect to housing until the period following World War II. Because of the acute shortage, rent control was invoked during the war, and continued afterwards.⁵ The national interest was clearly involved in planning for the rebuilding of war-devastated areas, particularly in northern Norway. Owners whose buildings had been destroyed received war damage insurance from the national government of 150 per cent of the 1940 replacement value of the former house. This was raised to 165 per cent after 1950, and was intended to compensate for the rise in building costs.

Conditions for starting reconstruction were just about as difficult as they could be. The whole area was a no-man's-land dotted with mines on land and water, and reconstruction had to commence like a military invasion. All materials to be used had to be transported from the south, a distance equalling that from Oslo to the Mediterranean, and transport

conditions were desperate. There was a shortage of shipping and all quays were completely destroyed, so that at first materials had to be floated ashore in many places.⁶

There was even some question whether this sub-arctic area should be resettled, because of the costs to the country as a whole, but officials concluded that a population vacuum could not be permitted in what had become territory bordering on the Soviet Union. People who had lived in Finnmark and North Troms proved their attachment to the area by streaming northward after the end of the war, living in caves and the crudest shelters during the reconstruction period, which began in 1947. By the close of 1949, about one-half of the buildings razed had been rebuilt.

The rationing of materials in the postwar period was part of national economic planning, and represented a further extension of government action in the field of housing. The main building materials, lumber, brick, and cement, are produced in Norway, but there were shortages in the postwar years. Other materials needed, such as electrical and plumbing equipment, nails and other metal parts, depended on imports to a large extent. Control over building was undertaken in order that the inadequate supplies could be used most equitably and advantageously. There was rationing of materials, which was lightened after 1950, and continuing control of man power and investments through licensing of new construction. Priority was given to reconstruction of devastated areas, house building, and industries producing for export.

Control in a more positive form, to encourage construction of dwellings, was provided in the national program of loans to home builders. Since 1946, the National Housing Bank of Norway has loaned money at low interest rates, on a long-term basis, to people who were building housing for their own use, as well as to co-operative societies. In making the loans, the bank is able to enforce some standards through the required approval of plans by an architect stationed in the district, and through regulation of the size of dwelling units to be aided.

A system of subsidies was introduced, with wide limits of eligibility. The national authorities have tried to equalize prewar and postwar building costs through aid to persons building for their own use, and also to stimulate the building of apartments by co-operatives in cities, and of duplex rather than single-family houses. The high wage levels in the postwar period were looked upon as possibly temporary, and it was decided that rentals or payments should not be projected on the basis of what people could currently afford to pay. The amount of rent that was "socially justifiable" over a period of years was used as a basis for calculating the *tire* or long-run value of a dwelling unit. The aim is to set a valuation which capitalizes rents at not more than 20 per cent of the average income in a district.

The actual costs of building a dwelling are greater than the "socially justified value." The difference is compensated in part by the subsidy, which is fixed at a definite sum per unit of floor area, in relation to the income level of the occupants, as well as to building costs. The subsidies vary with the section of the country. Usually, the contribution from the national government is approximately 18 per cent of the total costs. The owner's own capital must also be used, and this share of the total varies from 15 to 20 per cent in co-operative buildings to 35 per cent in single-family homes.⁷

Loans from the Housing Bank average about 60 per cent of the building costs (51 per cent in single-family houses and 68 per cent in co-operative apartments). Loans are of two kinds: the interest-bearing, i.e. mortgages, which are repayable in seventy-five to (one hundred years, depending on the type of construction; a secondary obligation against the property, which is usually not expected to earn interest or to be repaid. The latter is the government subsidy and is put in the form of a mortgage so that payment could be enforced in the event of a serious inflation, or in individual circumstances, such as if property is sold to someone not entitled to a subsidy. The national government contributes two-thirds of the subsidy and the local authorities the other one-third.

The amount of the subsidy, based on average costs as they vary with the kind of house and the section of the country, does not fully take into account the individual situation of the family. Norway has made some allowance for such differences in the ability to pay for housing through a system of rebates to families with children. This program is optional with local authorities who must provide one-third of the costs. The rebate on interest, where paid, is a fixed sum per child, starting with the second in the family. The annual amount may be as high as Kr. 120 per child. The rebate can never exceed the total interest which is owed. It is applicable also to rentals. Families to be eligible must have enough dwelling space to meet minimum standards.

Loans and subsidies for home building in rural areas are provided through the Norwegian Smallholders' Bank. The subsidies are smaller and the regulations are stricter, but the handling of applications is less bound by regulations than in the Housing Bank. Altogether, at least three-fourths of all housing in Norway is financed with loans and assistance from the state, with two-thirds of the loans being handled by the Housing Bank and one-third by the Smallholder's Bank.⁸

The central governmental policies, which have developed out of postwar pressure of necessity and as part of overall planning for economic welfare and "family policy," may be seen as an application of national standards in the housing field. There has been provision for decentralization in administration, and for local co-operation and personal initiative. A major objective has been to encourage home ownership and to provide separate units for each family. Special aid to low-income families and those with many children is a basic part of national policy. The goal of providing housing for all has sometimes conflicted with maintaining minimum standards of size per unit. On the other hand, technical assistance in architecture and the requirement of approval of house plans have been means towards improved construction and design of housing units.

CO-OPERATIVE HOUSING

The national government has thus been active in the field of housing but it has stopped short of actual building or ownership of new houses or apartments. Following the First World War and through the 1920's, some housing was built by the municipality in Oslo because private capital was not being attracted to the market. But since the 1930's, housing projects or apartments for lower income groups have been undertaken by co-operative associations, which are eligible for loans from the government. Their members may receive the subsidies described above if their incomes are low enough so that the rental for minimum standard housing would be above a socially justifiable level.

The new kind of co-operative organization known in Oslo as OBOS (*Oslo Bolig- og Sparelag* [Oslo Housing and Savings Society]) was patterned after the Swedish example, HSB (Tenant's Savings and Building Society). Although separate from government, OBOS is virtually an agent of the municipality and a local instrument for carrying out national housing policy. Actually, small-scale housing co-operatives were known before and continue to be formed for the building and maintenance of apartment buildings, but their members use these organizations to satisfy their personal needs, and not as a continuing enterprise. The distinctive feature of OBOS, and of HSB, is that a central organization aids "daughter" co-ops and the parent co-op continues to extend its activities. Individual shareholders belong to the central organization while on the waiting list for housing and have only one vote each regardless of the size of their investment.

The parent society is a planning body which initiates new building projects, procures sites, engages architects, arranges the financing, administers the work of building and takes over the management and running of the completed buildings. However, the parent company does not act as a contractor, the actual building work being entrusted to contractors [after bids have been submitted]. [Through the central organization] an

effective technical apparatus can be built up which amasses experience, learns from its mistakes and takes advantage of the knowledge thus acquired in its new projects.

The parent company is not actually the builder or owner of the buildings. For each block of flats or housing scheme a "subsidiary society" is organized consisting of the prospective tenants. The parent company initiates the work of building on behalf of the subsidiary societies. The affiliated societies in OBOS are organized as joint-stock companies. The prospective "tenants" are selected from the members of the parent society on the basis of seniority.⁹

The payment which the tenant or occupant makes varies with the cost of the project and the size of the flat, and the co-op receives the government loans and subsidies. "The individual 'tenant' is in reality neither tenant nor owner. . . ." ¹⁰ In order to sell his apartment or his stock, he must get the approval of the board, so as to prevent any profit taking.

Talks with OBOS officials and visits to several apartments, where the residents were at home, left us with the impression that the co-op members felt pleased with their housing and fortunate to have places to live while housing was scarce. Local problems or policies such as what to do about dogs and rules for use of central laundry equipment are said to be worked out democratically. No strong sense of ownership seems to prevail, and membership participation gets diffused in a large, city-wide organization such as OBOS. Actually, representatives of the satisfied consumers who are located in new apartments constitute a minority within the board of OBOS. A constitutional principle in this type of organization is that members who are prospective "tenants" shall elect the majority of the board. In OBOS, too, three of fourteen members of the central board are appointed by the municipality, which again emphasizes the close connection with (albeit the separation from) government structure.

Another type of co-operative, formed on the principle of self-help, or do-it-yourself, is significant although small in size of membership. *Selvbyggernes Boliglag* was formed in the fall of 1949 by Oslo

youths to help each other build homes. Members come from various building trades and work under the supervision of licensed craftsmen. The working time invested by each member is credited to his equity when he comes to occupy one of the apartments. In 1953 and 1954, the organization was building five hundred to six hundred new units per year, and their goal is to erect one thousand homes per year.¹¹

HOUSING STANDARDS AND DESIGN

Overcrowding had diminished in Oslo between 1900 and 1936, according to data on the number of persons per room. However, the decrease in intensity of housing use was largely accounted for by the sharp drop in the average number of children under fifteen years of age (see Chapter VIII on birth rates). The average number per room of persons over twenty-five increased slightly in the 1900-36 period. "A good 20 per cent of the population of Oslo in 1934 lived in one room and kitchen, and a good 30 per cent in two rooms and kitchen."¹²

The trend during the 1930's in Oslo was toward more flats of one or two rooms and kitchen. "After World War II, a complete reversal has taken place as a result of the new housing policy. More than half of all flats built within the old boundaries of the city are now of 3 rooms and kitchen."¹⁴ Because of the limits on material and man power available in the postwar period, the Housing Bank has not granted loans or subsidies to luxury buildings, just as it has discouraged unreasonably small dwellings.

Until 1940, loans were made by the Housing Bank for the construction of dwellings up to 150 m² (1,610 sq. ft.) gross floor area and subsidies were granted for dwellings between 50 and 115 m² but only for the first 80 m² (860 sq. ft.). Since 1949, the upper limit for loans and subsidies has been set at 100 m² and dwellings of less than 50 m² receive no subsidy. The regulations continue to favor the 80 m² size. In the average dwelling, this provides a living room, two bedrooms, kitchen, and bathroom. Since 1948, for reasons of econ-

omy, the Housing Bank has strongly encouraged the building of multiple units and the proportion of single-family houses has markedly decreased.¹⁵ In Oslo, and in some other cities, the lack of suitable building sites is a factor favoring larger buildings.

The general trend has been away from overcrowding in Oslo, as the following table indicates. Other cities and rural districts have less crowding.

TABLE 33

DISTRIBUTION OF OSLO FLATS IN 1934 BY CATEGORIES OF SPACIOUSNESS
Comparison with Housing Census of 1938¹³

Dwellings	Oslo			Medium Towns	Small Towns	Rural Districts
	1910	1925	1934	1938	1938	1938
(expressed in percentages)						
Very spacious (over 2 rooms more than occupants)	6	6	6	10	12	18
Spacious (max. 1 per- son per room)	42	47	56	63	60	48
Crowded (1-2 persons per room)	36	35	32	24	23	27
Overcrowded (2-3 persons per room)	12	9	5	3	4	5
Very overcrowded (more than 3 persons per room)	4	3	1	—	1	2
In all	100	100	100	100	100	100

The question of increasing the number of dwelling units available, versus maintenance of standards of space, has been a public issue, with political overtones in the postwar period. Opinion was divided,

and political party affiliations did not seem to be decisive factors. In an opinion poll, the great bulk of those who favored limits on area gave as their reason the housing shortage—a small dwelling is better than none—while on the other side, the need of children for space or family comfort in general was mentioned often. Well over one-half of the persons in the cross section of the population polled said they lived in dwellings of less than 75 m² (compared with the 80 m² standard which was in question at the time), and 37 per cent lived in places of less than 50 m², a size then not eligible for subsidy the Housing Bank.¹⁶

OBOS was responsible for building 6,500 apartments between 1946 and 1950, and built at an increasing rate in the years following.

The majority of the post-war OBOS flats have 3 rooms, kitchen and bathroom. A considerable number also have 4 rooms. In the 3-room flats there is usually a living room about 215 sq. ft. in area, a large bedroom of 130–150 sq. ft., and a smaller one of 70–90 sq. ft. Each 3-room flat has four cupboards. The kitchen is usually 85–110 sq. ft. with a pantry, two cupboards . . . a stainless steel or enamel sink and an electric boiler which supplies hot water for washing and cooking. The kitchens always have space for a small dining table and chairs.

Flats have storerooms in the attic or cellar, and a washing machine is available in each block.¹⁷

HOUSING DESIGN AND FAMILY FUNCTIONS

Architects in Norway, faced with the task of designing apartments for hypothetically average or typical families, began to recognize their lack of knowledge of actual family functions. A study was begun during World War II in which architects, economists, psychologists, and others co-operated.¹⁸ A follow-up study was made in 1950;¹⁹ both were under the direction of architect Odd Brochman. The general purpose of these studies in Oslo was to acquaint architects and others with family habits and the consumer's viewpoint in housing. Incidental values were found in the interdisciplinary understanding which developed among professional specialists.

The earlier study was concerned with satisfactions of families in using the apartments, as well as their patterns of living which might be restricted or at least modified by the space arrangements. About two hundred families were interviewed in home visits. Examples of the questions asked are: "Do you approve of having bath and toilet in the same room?" "Do children have permission to take their playmates home?" "Where do children play? Study?" "What recreational interests are pursued by adults inside and outside the home?" "Does the family eat all the meals together?" "What use is made of the balcony?" (A typical Scandinavian apartment adjunct.) The arrangement of furniture and the actual uses of various places for storage purposes were noted in the field visit, with attention to functional efficiency as well as taste. Interviewing by a psychologist ascertained time schedules or typical daily routines of family members, as some of the questions suggest. A fourfold division of families according to social class based mainly on occupation was used in the analysis of some of the data.

In the matter of furniture arrangement, it was found that lower status occupational groups went in for symmetry and for dining room sets, whether used regularly or not. The parlor ideal as a means of validating status is contrasted implicitly with arrangements regarded as more "rational," that is casual and functional.²⁰ In the second study, a marked difference was found, with the functional arrangement predominating over the symmetrical.²¹

The earlier study made much of overcrowding and some of its effects. The sample consisted of one-half of two-room and one-fourth of one-room apartments, built in the 1937-40 period, when as noted there was a tendency to build small dwelling units in Oslo. The study made an impact on the local authorities and probably accounted in part for the raising of size standards after the war. The problems of play space for children were noted, and the flight from home for recreation, especially of youth, was detailed. Crowding also hampered the sex life of parents who feared intrusion or the waking of children sleeping nearby.²²

These studies are suggestive and helpful to the specialists who participated, but further questions may be raised. Do old habits of living persist in spite of changes in architecture? Are there standards that experts can devise? Yes, in matters like closet space, but how much further? The authors recognize the limitations of actual usage and reported satisfaction as dependable guides for housing design.²³ The capacity of people for passive acceptance of situations was noted in the earlier study in the discussion of leisure interests of youth.

These exploratory studies show the interrelationship of architectural techniques and architects' knowledge of family functions. The latter stem from cultural patterns or groups habits but account must be taken of the individuality of family patterns, with a corresponding demand for flexibility in housing interior arrangements. Standards cannot be applied arbitrarily, as the introduction to the second study emphasizes, since each home is not a mere "technical apparatus" but an artistic creation. While space minima are demonstrably important to the quality of family life, no standard can be used mechanically in appraising the adequacy of dwellings for the particular family.²⁴

HOUSING AND COMMUNITY PLANNING

The building of apartments in large projects such as those undertaken by OBOS in Oslo in recent years makes possible provision for play space and other local extensions of the individual home. The Etterstad Development, for example, has play space with equipment co-operatively installed. The most outstanding postwar development was that of Lambertseter, the realization of a wartime dream of an architect, Frode Rinnan. On the eastern edge of Oslo, surrounded by evergreens, it is a self-contained neighborhood with room for 10,000 persons, mostly in three-rooms-plus-kitchen apartments. It is an attempt to produce, under conditions of shortage in housing and materials, a planned suburban community, *de novo*, including conveniently at least the facilities for group acquaintance, shopping, recreation, health, education, etc., envisioned by community

organizers as utopian. The name “-seter” suggests a nostalgic level of urban sophistication and attraction comparable to that appealed to by our own suburban “developers” who project glamor into new subdivisions with titles such as “-mount,” “-view,” “-croft,” “-meadow,” “estates,” or “-grove.” (A real “seter” is a mountain pasture with a few huts for shelter, cattle, and storage for summer use only.) Lambertseter is substantial but is not described as idyllic or beautiful. The buildings are three and four storied, containing 3,200 apartments of one to four rooms, light, airy, fairly roomy, electrically heated (with a stove for cold snaps). Storage rooms, equipped laundry spaces, and garbage disposals are provided in each appropriate unit; nurseries and kindergartens for children of working mothers at three or four dollars per month remind one of certain Swedish co-operative projects.

There has been a long waiting list for Lambertseter, which had been given considerable publicity. Prices, however, are not raised commercially in response to demand. A new resident pays down \$340 to \$700, and monthly, \$18 to \$21, for three rooms (excluding heat bill). These payments are like co-operative stock and membership dues, respectively, and the shares in the down payment, while refundable at par, cannot be sold by an owner directly to successors. This is to prevent profiteering by resales.²⁵

The Lambertseter community was the first to be built according to the typical neighborhood unit conception.²⁶ Otherwise, planning of local areas has had a somewhat smaller focus. The vicinity grouping of houses or apartments has typically included one thousand to two thousand people, with the stores which sell milk and provisions needed daily located nearby, along with (whenever possible) day nurseries and local meeting rooms. An elementary school may serve three or four such vicinity groupings. A district center may have four or five elementary school districts tributary to it. In the Oslo general plan, such centers include secondary schools, libraries, churches, shops, offices and such other facilities as cannot be duplicated in the local units.²⁷

Planning is being carried on to promote decentralization of urban functions and to provide amenities close to homes. The basic idea of the neighborhood unit in the United States is that of a walking distance radius, and perhaps the essence of this neighborhood idea is found in Norway, assuming the Norwegians' oft-demonstrated capacity for walking. "Places for play, nurseries and day care centers, schools and parks may be considered as a part of housing standards and should therefore be planned and built together with houses and apartments,"²⁸ according to Erik Rolfsen, the leading city planner in Norway.

RURAL HOUSING

Earlier descriptive studies of rural housing, for example by Sundt, Jahn, and Rygg, did nothing to improve living conditions. Recently, the Norwegian Joint Committee on International Social Policy published a brief appraisal.²⁹ "Only a few rural districts, so situated that electrifying is very difficult and expensive, are still without this basic necessity." From 1950 through 1956, the state used Kr. 48,000,000 for waterworks which gave running water to more than 80,000 households (360,000 people, 44,055 farms). This is to be doubled within ten years.

Rural houses are often old-fashioned and work consuming. Recently the housewives' and agricultural organizations have done much to modernize houses, especially kitchens. Washing machines are common in rural homes, and refrigerators, vacuum cleaners, mix-masters, etc., are increasing. Communal laundries, bakeries, slaughter houses, freezer lockers are also lightening the loads of rural housewives.

A summary of data and impressions from Norway must emphasize that housing standards are being improved, quantitatively and qualitatively. There are marked departures from traditional forms of building to adapt to the necessities of growing urban communities. Remaining shortcomings in Norway's housing certainly are not due to any deficiency in the social viewpoint of leading architects and

planners. They are increasingly daring in their conceptions and sensitive to the human use of the buildings they design and to local area planning. The lack is in materials and in basic resources. The further implementation of housing plans to reach the goal of decent, national minimum standards is tied in with overall planning for economic welfare.³⁰

¹ Trygve Braatøy, in *Bolig Reisingen* ([Norske Arkitekters Landsforbund, Høstutstilling, 1948], foreword to guidebook for architects' exhibit, 1948), p. 5.

² *Housing in Norway, A Survey* (Norwegian Joint Committee on International Social Policy, Oslo, 1951), p. 13; *Statistisk Arbok for Norge 1956*, p. 230.

³ *Housing Progress in Norway Since 1950*, supplement to *Housing in Norway* (Oslo 1954), p. 7; *News of Norway* (Norwegian Information Service, Washington, D.C.), XII (January 13, 1955), 7; *Oslo, The Capital of Norway* (Municipal Office of Statistics, Oslo, 1956), p. 3.

⁴ *Housing Progress, op. cit.*, p. 8.

⁵ *News of Norway*, XI (January 21, 1954), 12. "The U.N. Economic Commission for Europe reports that Norwegian rents have risen less than in any other country of Western Europe, compared with the prewar level. Norway ranks third lowest as to the increase in building costs."

⁶ *Housing in Norway, A Survey, loc. cit.*, pp. 13-14.

⁷ *Housing Progress, op. cit.*, p. 12.

⁸ *Housing in Norway, A Survey, loc. cit.*, p. 24.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 126-27.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 127-28.

¹¹ *News of Norway*, X (March 26, 1953), 46; *Dagbladet*, October 30, 1954.

¹² *Building Practices and Housing Standards in Norway, A Statistical Survey* (Norwegian Joint Committee on International Social Policy, Oslo, September, 1950), p. 30.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 31. The housing census of 1938 is the best source of information on prewar housing in Norway. Data on size of houses, types of construction, equipment, standards, and state of repair of rural and city dwellings from that census are summarized in this report.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 29. Also cf. *Oslo, The Capital of Norway* (Municipal Office of Statistics, Oslo, 1956), p. 3: 33, 338 dwelling units have been built during the years 1945-55 . . . of which 15 per cent were dwellings of one room and kitchen, 16 per cent of two rooms, 45 per cent of three rooms, 19 per cent of four rooms, and 5 per cent of five rooms and over. The new dwellings are thus generally a good deal larger than those that were built prior to the war.

In the century since Eilert Sundt's habitat studies (see Chapter II, above) the housing of Oslo has added one room per family, despite a lower birth rate. (Cf. Martin S. Allwood, *op. cit. supra* (p. 46).

¹⁵ *Housing, A Survey, op. cit.*, pp. 22, 75; *Housing Progress, op. cit.*, p. 15; *News of Norway*, XII (January 13, 1955), 7.

¹⁶ Norsk Gallup poll, May 1951.

¹⁷ *Housing, A Survey, op. cit.*, pp. 133-35.

¹⁸ *Mennesker og Boliger* (Oslo Byes Vel's Boligundersøkelser, Bind II, Odd Brochmann, director [Oslo: Johan Grundt Tanum, 1958]).

¹⁹ Odd Brochman, *Livsform og Boligform* (Oslo Byes Vel's Boligundersøkelser, Bind IV [Oslo: Johan Grundt Tanum, 1952]).

²⁰ Inga Wilhelmsen Allwood, *Housing Studies in the City of Oslo* (Institute of Social Research, Mullsjö, Sweden, 1953), pp. 32 *et passim*.

²¹ *Livsform og Boligform*, *op. cit.*, pp. 141, 155.

²² *Mennesker og Boliger*, *op. cit.*, pp. 271-72.

²³ *Livsform og Boligform*, *op. cit.*, pp. 108-9.

²⁴ I. W. Allwood, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

²⁵ *Lambertseter, En Forstad til Oslo med 10,000 Innbyggere* (Frode Rinnan, director) (Oslo: J. W. Cappelen Forlag, 1950). Cf. also William L. Shirer, *The Challenge of Scandinavia* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1955), pp. 80-81.

²⁶ Arthur Hillman, *Community Organization and Planning* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1950), pp. 63-67.

²⁷ Interview with Erik Rolfsen. Erik Rolfsen, "Byplan og bolig," in *Boligsak er Hovedsak*, ed. Liv. Schjødt (Oslo: J. W. Cappelen Forlag, 1950), pp. 9-22. Cf. Erik Rolfsen, "Den Nye Boligbyggingen og Byplanspørsmålet," in *Boligreising* (published by Opplysningskomiteén for Gjenreisingsarbeidet, n.d.), X, No. 3, pp. 6-12.

²⁸ Rolfsen in *Boligsak er Hovedsak*, *loc. cit.*, p. 15.

²⁹ These paragraphs are based upon *Social and Labour News from Norway*, December, 1957.

³⁰ Erik Rolfsen, report for Norway in *Implementation of Planning Measures* (International Congress for Housing and Town Planning, Amsterdam 1950), pp. 135-40.

XVIII

The Church in Relation to Family Life

By JOHN T. FLINT

THIS chapter was prepared for us by Dr. Flint when acting instructor in Sociology and in Scandinavian studies at the University of Wisconsin. He is now assistant professor at University of Kentucky. Flint has a Norwegian heritage, and was for a year a Fulbright student in Norway. His doctoral thesis was on the role of the state church in Norway's social structure. During our own sojourn in Norway, we interviewed several important clergymen and other religious leaders, or listened to their lectures. We have also read a number of published statements and continuing discussions from such sources on relevant issues during the past few years.

For the church's attitudes and roles in relation to certain special problems, see also Chapters VIII, IX, XIII, XV, and XIX.

A. H. and T. D. E.

A REVEALING DISPUTE

It is certain that I am speaking to many this evening who know that they are not converted. You know that if you fell to the floor dead at this moment you would drop directly into Hell. You know that you cannot and do not want to die as you now are. You must be converted before you die, but you do not want to do so now. Did you know that Satan also preaches conversion? Indeed, he often preaches from a Biblical text. When he tempted Jesus in the wilderness, he began by saying: "It is written." In this fashion he cited an entire verse from the Old Testament.

When he preaches conversion he says: "It is written that you must be converted; otherwise you will go to Hell, but, contrary to what preachers are always telling you, there is no hurry!"

This is certainly Satan's finest stratagem. He gets people to believe that they will be converted—later. It gives them the courage to live unconverted. How can you who are not saved go quietly to sleep at night, when you do not know whether you will awake in your bed or in Hell?¹

The words quoted above were drawn from a sermon delivered over the Norwegian state radio on January 25, 1953. The speaker, Professor Ole Hallesby, a leading figure in Norwegian fundamentalism during the past fifty years and until recently professor of dogmatics at the conservative theological school for the training of state church ministers, initiated, through the reaction to his talk, probably the most significant controversy in Norwegian church life in recent years.

Letters of protest were written to the state radio center in Oslo. The daily press entered the controversy concerning the confessional character of the Norwegian church, with particular reference to the doctrine of eternal damnation.

The controversy reached national proportions when Bishop Kristian Schjelderup of the Hamar diocese sent an article to *Aftenposten*, a Conservative party daily with the largest circulation of daily papers in Norway. The Bishop, one of nine in the Norwegian Lutheran state church, objected to Hallesby's talk on three grounds. First, that the use of the fear of hell fire as a means of frightening people into conversion was not only wrong, but directly harmful. He felt that it would be more in keeping with the spirit of Jesus to promote conversion by exercising more love and understanding. Second, the Bishop pointed out that there was room for a variety of interpretations of the doctrine of eternal damnation. Approaching the problem from an historical rather than a dogmatic point of view, he maintained that the doctrine in its literalistic form was an import into late Judaism from Persia. Jesus never presented an objective doctrine of eternal damnation. Finally, and most important, the Bishop contended that "Christ's gospel was the gospel of love. To unite a belief in a loving and just God with the doctrine of eternal

damnation for all unbelievers constitutes an insoluble contradiction. For me, the doctrine of eternal damnation does not belong to the religion of love."²

To this, Professor Hallesby responded by challenging the Bishop's orthodoxy. "Here is a bishop of the church coming forward publicly and denying an article of the confession of the church and the Bible's words on the doctrine of eternal damnation."³

At this point, the lines of battle became more sharply drawn as churchmen and religiously active laymen entered the controversy. Norwegian pietistic fundamentalists, organized in local Inner Mission societies, which include a hard core of active laymen in the state church, stood behind Hallesby. The Inner Mission societies in Bishop Schjelderup's Hamar diocese wrote a public letter to Hallesby supporting him in his fight for the purity of the true faith.⁴ On the other hand, the mayors of the thirty-one towns and rural communes in Hedmark county, which corresponds roughly to the Hamar diocese, wrote a letter of congratulation and encouragement to Bishop Schjelderup in his fight for a tolerant and liberal view of life and religion.⁵

On June 15, 1953, five months after the controversy began, Bishop Schjelderup wrote to the church department of the national government asking it to clarify the question as to whether or not his pronouncements concerning the doctrine of eternal damnation had placed him outside the confessional of the Evangelical Lutheran church. The supreme authority in the church of Norway is the King in Council, i.e., the King's Minister of Church and Education, a man selected from the majority party in the parliament, in this case, a Socialist. By way of complying with Bishop Schjelderup's request, the church department presented the issues involved to the other eight bishops of the church, to the conservative theological faculty (*Menighets Fakultet*), and the more liberal theological faculty at the University of Oslo, and finally, to Frede Castberg, Norway's leading authority on constitutional law and then Rector of the University of Oslo.

After its investigations had been completed, the church department delivered a formal answer to the bishop declaring that his pronouncements had not placed him outside the church. Contrary to the impression conveyed by the American press that Hell had been legally abolished in Norway, this issue was ignored as irrelevant. The department offered a variety of views on the meaning of eternal damnation, but did not formulate one of its own. The issue still smolders.

In October, 1957, a church convention unsuccessfully tried to heal the breach: it stood by its official confessionalism and declared that toleration of any clergy with contrary views does not mean legitimation of such variant doctrines. The powerful fundamentalist Inner Mission has publicly disowned Schjelderup and directed its members to accept only official relations with him.

Without claiming expressive and doctrinal homogeneity within either of the two camps, it can definitely be concluded that a real cleavage in terms of perspective and participation is operative in Norwegian religious life. In the recent appointment of a bishop, the government backed the more liberal nomination of the Bishops' Council against the candidate chosen by an all-church advisory election.

The theological and constitutional pros and cons are not relevant to our present concern. The episode should reveal, to some degree at least, something about the formal organization and procedures of the Norwegian Lutheran state church and, more important, should indicate that within the same state church a wide range of views regarding the nature of man, his God, and his destiny may exist.

In so far as the church impinges upon family life in Norway, it does so at the parish level, primarily through birth registration, infant baptism, religious education in the elementary schools, confirmation, marriage, and the performance of traditional services at death. Although regular Sunday services in a parish church and daily devotionals on the state radio are always available, they are usually sparsely attended, and are thought to "reach" not more than fifteen

per cent of the total population. This active, articulate minority corresponds in large measure to the membership of the Inner Mission societies which share, to a greater or lesser degree, Professor Hallesby's orthodox, pietistic Lutheran attitude toward life.

AN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE ON RELIGIOUS CHANGE

By adding a time dimension to this discussion, it is hoped first, that some of the origins of the cleavage noted above may be delineated, and second, that some picture of the changing role of religion in Norwegian society may be revealed.

Norway, prior to the period of political centralization which "began" in the ninth and was perhaps most fully realized in the thirteenth century, was divided into a number of petty kingdoms ruled by the chieftain of the leading family in the district. In this period, Norwegian social structure centered about the kinship system. Family chieftains, in addition to their power in the kinship order, also assumed the roles of political, military and, frequently, religious leadership. Religious institutions with a distinctive body of functionaries were not a notable feature of that social system. Doubtful as the historical evidence is on this point, it may be suggested that at no later period in Norwegian history did religion so directly influence family life.⁷

Although sporadic attempts were made earlier, Christianization was systematically promoted in the eleventh century when the most tangible institutional innovations were made. Supported by the power of the Norwegian royal house, English clerics imposed an Episcopal form of religious organization on the pagan population.⁸

The processes of political centralization and religious conversion produced two new loci of authority in addition to the original power structure anchored in the kinship system. Thus, a process of institutional differentiation began, marked by a trend toward the segregation of religious life from family life, which has continued up to the present day with a brief reversal only in the popular religious movement of the nineteenth century. A body of religious functionaries

appeared in the Catholic period with a monopoly control on sacramental means of salvation; functionaries whose legitimation to function through the sacrament of ordination, was derived formally from powers outside the Norwegian social order. It has been estimated that the ratio of religious "experts" (from bishops to parish priests) and of religious "virtuosi" (from abbots to monks and nuns) was about one to two hundred of the general population,⁹ in sharp contrast to contemporary Norway's ratio of about one to thirty-five hundred.¹⁰ This remarkable density of religious functionaries in the population, in contrast to modern Norway, was due, partly, to the inclusion of medical, welfare, and educational functions in their range of duties. Such services, particularly after the Reformation, gradually became professionalized in separate groups, whose connections with church life have become increasingly remote, if not directly conflicting.

In contrast to the all-pervasive, family-anchored religious system of the pre-Christian period, it is probable that the church, as a distinct institutional complex, at no later period so thoroughly permeated family life. However, from the end of the thirteenth until the beginning of the sixteenth century, the church, through the sacraments, almost superseded the state as a dominant institution within society. In a society with a subsistent peasant economy, in which the kinship system continued to be of definite structural significance, the central position of the church became particularly evident when the Norwegian royal line died out in the fourteenth century and the control of the state shifted to Copenhagen.

The Reformation, like Christianization, was introduced into Norway by force. Although the resistance to this change was not as notable or as long lasting as in the case of the original conversion, state power was certainly necessary to carry through the program. Churchmen who remained loyal to Rome were expelled from the country. After 1536, the sphere of church influence was further circumscribed through expropriation of church lands, the dissolution of Norway's thirty cloisters, and the reduction of the church to the

status of an administrative unit within the Dano-Norwegian monarchical state. This formal integration of church and state furthered the process (initiated with the original conversion of Norway) toward the segregation of religious roles and values from the everyday life of the people. The sacramental system was revised to conform with Lutheran views. Confirmation, marriage, ordination, confession, and extreme unction were eliminated as sacraments, while baptism and the Holy Communion were retained with their sacerdotal character radically altered, though not totally abandoned.

Until the beginning of the eighteenth century and the appearance of German Lutheran Pietism, no religious developments need be mentioned, except for a drift toward extreme formalism in the expression of Lutheran orthodoxy. Underlying this trend was the increased bureaucratization of the clergy, particularly after 1660, when an absolute monarchy was established in the Dano-Norwegian state. The power of the king, as head of the national church, was frequently used and had real significance until 1814 and the transfer of Norway to Sweden. Even in the union with Sweden, the king proved a bulwark of High Church orthodoxy, up to 1884 and the introduction of the parliamentary system.

During the reign of the Pietist King Christian VI (1730-1736), religious subjectivism and extreme moral puritanism were given royal sanction. In this period, a new element of particular importance to our concern with family life appeared, notably in the success of the Herrnhut variety of German Pietism. Luther's stress upon the "priesthood of all believers" became realized through the lay leadership of religious devotionals conducted in homes. This devaluated the significance of a professional clergy and placed great emphasis upon the family unit as a locus of religious experience.

An effort, which was largely successful, was made to suppress such lay activities by the Conventicle Act of 1741. Nonetheless, it left pockets of "the brethren" in several commercial centers in Norway which became a part of the nucleus of the great lay movement in the nineteenth century.

An impetus was given to religious education in this period, particularly through the re-establishment of confirmation (1736). This provided a measure of literacy which was to facilitate the effective distribution of popular religious literature in the nineteenth century.

Following upon the rigorous Pietism of the reign of Christian VI, appeared a Dano-Norwegian variety of eighteenth-century rationalism deriving from the work of the German Lutheran theologian, Christian Wolff (1679-1754). Norwegian church historians of the late nineteenth century commonly condemned the clergy of this period and explained the lay movement as a reaction to their presumed deviations from orthodoxy. In reality, this generation furthered the educational work initiated by the Pietists and, through their emphasis on practical affairs, probably promoted the development of that individualistic spirit which came to characterize the lay movement.¹¹

In 1796, Hans Nielsen Hauge, a farmer's son from Østfold province in southeastern Norway, feeling himself called by God to awaken his countrymen from their spiritual lethargy, set out on his mission filled with the familiar rhetoric of Pietism and expressing himself in the personal, direct, and everyday fashion common to his rural audience. With this, the first popular social movement of national proportions in Norwegian history was initiated. This religious movement was comparable in scope and significance to the original conversion and the Reformation itself. Up until the nineteenth century, pagan survivals could be found in the more isolated areas of the country. This grass-roots movement "completed what rationalism had begun—the destruction of all ancient superstition."¹²

Although it represented an apparent reversal of the trend toward the segregation of religious roles and values from family life, toward the end of the nineteenth century this same Haugean movement became institutionalized in a direction which led to its modern "structural isolation." The religious cleavage in contemporary Norwegian life has been derived from two characteristics of this historical

process: first, its linkage with a rising middle class of capitalistic character; and, second, its promotion of the "laicization" of religious leadership, as the preaching tradition introduced by the Hauge movement became centrally organized with the appearance of Inner Mission societies in the 1850's.

The failure of the lay religious movement to recruit a following from the large class of landless laborers and tenant farmers, particularly numerous in the more clearly stratified agricultural areas of eastern Norway, helps to explain the success of an incipient socialist movement in 1848, and (beginning in 1887 and growing with the industrial development of Norway) of its modern, Marxist socialist successor.¹³

A further aspect of the class character of this movement is seen in its initial conflict with the bureaucracy of which the state church clergy was an integral part. The political and economic aspects of the conflict, however, are not really germane to the present discussion. Despite the Haugeans' substantial contributions to political democratization, they sharply condemned, and, if possible, suppressed any deviation from Lutheran orthodoxy, as they defined it. After passing over the King's veto, a bill revoking the Conventicle Act of 1741, the same group opposed a relatively liberal dissenter law passed over their opposition in 1845.

Perhaps most revealing of the life-orientation of the lay movement was its unrelenting opposition to followers in the state church of the Danish bishop and folk high school leader Grundtvig.¹⁴ In retrospect, it is conceded by Norwegian historians that if the humanistic elements characteristic of the Grundtvigian position had been to some degree tolerated, the success of "freethinkers" later in the nineteenth century might have been reduced to some extent.¹⁵ Thus, as matters developed, the movement's life orientation became increasingly "sin-centered."¹⁶

The "golden age" of Norwegian literature, beginning in the latter half of the nineteenth century in the works of Ibsen, Bjørnson, Kielland, Lie, Garborg, Vinje, and others, exhibited a view on the

nature and destiny of man which stood in sharp contrast to those of the Inner Mission. The latter's "anti-humanistic" conceptions came to dominate the clergy through the powerful influence of Gisle Johnsen, a teacher of state church ministers and the leading figure in the Inner Mission movement. The alienation of Norwegian intellectuals from the church and, most particularly, from Lutheran orthodoxy of this particular Pietistic stamp, became increasingly complete. Although much of the literature of the golden age is marked by an intense preoccupation with moral and ethical problems in human affairs in a fashion reminiscent of Christian soul-searching, still the new center of attention falls upon the relation of man to his fellows in the here and now, and not on the relation of totally depraved man to a God whose conception of the morally good life is one spent in preparing one's soul for eternity.

The humanistic climate of opinion came to permeate university as well as literary circles in the 1880's and '90's. More significantly, perhaps, a tacit alliance, formed between Low Church Pietists and political liberalism, gained effective political power after the introduction of parliamentarianism in 1884. This change greatly promoted the power of the Low Church Inner Mission people in their demands for increased congregational influence in church affairs at the parish level. Consequently, it reduced the power of the clergy to maintain doctrinal uniformity in church and school. The laicization of religious leadership, mentioned earlier, was further promoted in this period by the greater scope given to the activities of lay preachers and by an increased tendency of clerical candidates to be recruited from outside the official class.¹⁷ Although this latter development may not seem to constitute an "anti-professional" development, nonetheless, it did contribute to a basic change in the class character of the clergy and thus to its position in Norwegian social structure, further undermining the unique power and prestige of the official clergy.

The reactions to the "humanistic threat" in religious circles were two. First, High and Low Church forces gradually closed ranks to

some extent in the face of the common enemy. Second, an effort was made by Frederic Petersen, who became professor of dogmatics in the University of Oslo theological faculty in 1875, to reconcile modern science and traditional Christianity. However, this effort failed in two highly consequential ways. First, this reconciliation was no more successful here than elsewhere in Christendom at that time. Second, this effort led to the formation of a liberal school of theology in Norway whose relations with the conservative wing became increasingly antagonistic, leading ultimately to a break in 1907 when the conservative theological school (*Menighets Fakultet*) was formed. Enrollment in this school soon surpassed that in the "liberal" university faculty.

After the introduction of official parish councils composed of local, elected laymen with the power to indicate the order of preference of a number of applicants for the post of parish pastor in 1920, the conservatives gained control both in the placement of their students in local parishes and in the nomination of bishops. The church department retains, however, the power of appointment, and may or may not accept the recommendations of the parish council in question. It is primarily through this limitation on the power of parish councils, composed as they are of religiously interested laymen, that a representation from the "liberal" faculty is secured at the parish level. The appointment of Bishop Schjelderup to the Hamar diocese can be attributed, at least in part, to this apparent policy of the church department.

Despite a number of dramatic conflicts in the past fifty years, the conservative and liberal wings of the Norwegian church have drawn closer together, particularly since the crisis of the German Occupation when Professor Hallesby and the vigorous bishop of the Oslo diocese, the late Eivind Berggrav, a leader in the international ecumenical movement, joined in uniting the church of Norway against a common enemy.¹⁸

The controversy between Professor Hallesby and Bishop Schjelderup described at the opening of this chapter indicates that the

cleavage pointed out toward the close of the nineteenth century continues to operate in cleavage in the religious currents and secular political ideologies of the present.

CHURCH AND FAMILY IN NORWAY TODAY

The intention in the foregoing pages has been to delineate, in necessarily broad terms, the changing position of the church within Norwegian society. In so doing, its relationship to the family has either been simply mentioned in passing or certain inferences regarding that relationship remained implicit in the discussion. The thesis thus far has been that during the past thousand years, since Norway's introduction into Christian civilization, religion has become increasingly segregated from the life of the people. Points of contact between the church and the family have become formalized. The most notable exception to this broad generalization can be found in the Inner Mission societies throughout the country. Their greatest strength is centered first in rural areas, and most particularly along the west-southwestern coast from Kristiansand north to Trondheim (Norway's "Bible Belt").¹⁹ Inasmuch as these voluntary associations are not formally connected to the state church, they do not constitute a true exception to the "formalization of family contact" thesis. However, considering the correspondence in views between a majority of the parish pastors and Inner Mission circles, this distinction may seem somewhat specious. In the cases where this correspondence reaches identity, it may be surmised that such a pastor's range of influence is limited to a minority of Inner Mission Christians, if not actually alienating the more "worldly" elements within his parish.

As stated earlier, the primary formal contacts between the church and the family are for birth (see Chapter VIII), baptism, religious education in the schools, confirmation, marriage, and death. These traditional functions reach, at some time in their lives, up to 95 per cent of the total population, whereas the Sunday church services, as

indicated earlier, directly influence an estimated maximum of 10 to 15 per cent of the population, varying by regional and rural-urban differences.²⁰

Probably the most significant contacts which the church of Norway continues to have with the families of the nation are through confirmation and through religious education in the common schools. Although the objectives and general content of the two training periods are essentially the same, confirmation is more directly linked to the church. The six-months period of preparation for the public examination of young people, usually around fourteen years of age, as to their knowledge of the history and content of their Christian heritage, is conducted by the parish pastor. Except for those individuals who become "personally awakened to a living Christian faith," confirmation marks the end of a relatively intimate and prolonged period of contact with the history and teachings of the church.

Contemporary churchmen have observed with concern that confirmation is often viewed by young people as a graduation from childish things.²¹ In a sense, when confirmation was first reinstated in 1736, it came to function as a kind of *rite de passage* from childhood into a stage in life where marriage and adult work roles were not far off.²² With the emergence of an industrial economic order, and the concomitant lengthening of pre-adult roles into the twenties, such an interpretation of confirmation became more imagined than real.

In 1947, an opinion survey inquiring into the attitudes of Norwegians toward confirmation employed the question: "Are you a supporter or an opponent of confirmation?" The results in percentages are in the accompanying table (p. 400).²³

Combining these figures with the observations of Norwegian churchmen, we may infer that the popular view of confirmation in Norway is roughly comparable to that of high school graduation in the United States. Indeed, confirmation continues to coincide with the completion of formal public schooling for a majority of young

Norwegians, although the proportion in the population going on to a more advanced education in the gymnasium (high school—junior college) or other public lines of education is increasing. The confirmation of a fourteen-year-old boy or girl is the occasion for a family party and a gift for the confirmant. In brief, the event seems to be for many of as much “worldly” as religious significance.

TABLE 34

	Tot.	Men	Women	18-25	25-35	35-50	Over 50
Supporters	76	67	85	72	71	76	82
Opponents	11	15	8	17	13	11	7
Don't know	9	13	5	7	11	11	8
Won't answer	4	5	2	4	5	2	3
	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Reasons for support:

A beautiful old custom which should not be eliminated	26	per cent
Feel it is only right that everyone should be confirmed	13	„
It is a part of Christianity	12	„
Everyone should confirm his baptismal covenant	9	„

Reasons for opposition:

Entirely indifferent—simply a formal matter	26	„
It is not a biblical but a human idea	15	„
The confirmant promises something he cannot maintain	9	„
Too young to take the views required	9	„

Prior to confirmation, all Norwegian children whose parents have remained within the state church²⁴ are exposed to required courses in “Christian knowledge” as part of their yearly curriculum in the elementary schools. In the teaching manuals for all national elementary schools, the goals and methods of this training are set forth.²⁵

Instruction in Christian knowledge should help to give children a Christian and moral upbringing. As an educational goal, definite acquaintance should be established with (1) the major points of Bible history, (2) the most important events in church history, and (3) the Evangelical Lutheran confession for children.

The plan continues with points of advice to teachers regarding the importance of this training to their pupils as a basis for their future Christian faith and as a norm for guiding their adult lives.

[Then] the teacher must be aware that the pupils come from homes which represent different conceptions of the questions which are handled in training for Christian knowledge. He must, therefore, avoid everything which could effect a destructive attack upon their views, and teach the pupils to show tolerance toward those who think other than themselves. It is particularly important that the training in Christian knowledge should be carried on so that, without losing seriousness and conviction, it does not come in conflict with our times' demand for the freedom of thought of the individual person.

From an examination of the remaining portions of the instructions on the organization and presentation of religious materials, it is clear that the "different conceptions" referred to above refer only to differences within the limits provided by the norms of faith of the state church. This cautious approach stems from the cleavages discussed earlier in this chapter and is explicitly pointed up in the statement that "it is important, in this instruction, not to lay emphasis upon conflicts in dogmatic systems" (*laerestrídgbeter og laeresystemer*).²⁶

The religious aspects of the elementary school curriculum have been a center of considerable controversy for several years. Since the beginning of the century, religious conservatives in and out of government have objected to the gradual reduction in the amount of time devoted to this aspect of the children's education. On the other hand, Norwegian liberals have maintained that the "sin-centered" character of parts of this training has contributed to the development of strong feelings of guilt in the growing child, and

that the view of life implied contradicts the humanistic view promoted in other aspects of national life: political, economic, familial, recreational, etc.²⁷

In general, the Labor party, representing secularization, is in continuing competition with the church affiliations in public schools, as well as with independent (Grundtvigian) folk high schools. The latter are state subsidized but the Workers Education Movement of the Labor party has established its own labor-oriented folk high schools. The religionists, spearheaded by Bjarne Hareide's Institutt for Kristen Oppseding, have felt pressures to cut down clerical representation in school councils, and the authority, personnel, and hours of religious instruction in the schools and in the religious training of public school teachers who are expected to offer Christian instruction in the schools. The issue was sharpened in 1958 by a bill (*Odelstingsprop.*, No. 30) which (its opponents claim) omits (1) the orthodox doctrinal character from this school subject, (2) its careful manner of treatment, (3) the provision for the schools' morning and closing prayers, (4) the requirement that the bishops be co-opted by the school directorate on any issue involving Christianity, (5) the clergy's rights of supervision (reduced to a right to attend), (6) the congregational council's share in choosing texts for Christian instruction. These proposals are said to have been introduced without consultation or consent of the Council of Bishops, and the religionists call them either deliberately unconstitutional, or irresponsible and reckless.^{27a}

An additional impression of the religious positions of Norwegian young people may be gained from the results of the following opinion survey.²⁸ The objective was to obtain the attitudes of young people from eighteen to twenty-five years of age and, in addition, to obtain the assessments of older age groups on what they *thought* the religious orientation of youth was at the time the survey was conducted. The question used ran as follows:

When it concerns your attitude toward Christian faith, would you characterize yourself as:

TABLE 35

(Expressed in percentages)

	18-25	25-45	45-60	over 60
"Believing Christian"	8	3	4	6
"Sympathetically disposed"	46	35	33	36
"Neutral-tolerant"	29	32	30	30
"Uninterested"	13	23	28	23
"Opponent"	3	4	2	3
"Don't know"	1	3	3	3
	100	100	100	100

Assuming that these figures and those given for support or opposition to confirmation represent something like a true picture of the "actual" religious views of Norwegian youth and their elders' impressions of what these views are, we may conclude that religious commitments among Norwegian youth, and perhaps among the population as a whole, are of a traditional, middle-of-the-road character. Considerations of "propriety" or "sentiment" rather than "subjectivist" theology appear uppermost. Eliot's characterization would seem to be sound, that "the people . . . accept the church as a matter of habit and seem to regard it (and its costs) as they do the king and his palace, as symbols of respectable values which they approve. They want to know that it is there but don't care to use it except for ceremonial purposes."²⁹

This chapter has, perhaps, placed undue emphasis on the segregation of religious roles and values within the larger society and the cleavages to be found within that sub-system of the religiously concerned. A case can be made for showing that the humanistic elements deriving from Christian ethical tradition have contributed indirectly as much or more to the value system of modern Norway's welfare state as has the Marxist tradition of the Labor party. It may be said that the emphasis in popular thought has shifted from a concern with salvation for the hereafter to salvation in the here and now, based on the assumption that men of good will, working together,

can rationally order their existence and attain a good life in the world without reference to original sin or blood redemption. Insofar as the family has been the focus of this welfare state (and several chapters in the present volume testify to that trend), the ethical legacy of the Norwegian church, if not its present doctrinal demands, has indeed impinged strongly on family life in modern Norway.³⁰

¹ *De Evige Helvetesstraffer og Bekjennelsen*, Biskop, dr. theol. Kristian Schjelderup's brev til Kirke- og Undervisningsdepartementet av 15 juni 1953 (Tilråding fra Kirke- og Undervisningsdepartementet av 19 februar 1954 godkjent ved kongelig resolusjon av samme dag [foredratt av statsråd Birger Bergersen, Forlaget Land og Kirke]), p. 13.

² *Ibid.*, p. 15.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 16. By "confession," here is meant the Augsburg Confession which is the constitutionally prescribed norm of belief for members and functionaries of the state church.

⁴ *Dagbladet*.

⁵ *Ibid.*, July 6, 1953. Hedmark county sent five Socialists, one Communist, and one Conservative member to the national parliament (Storting) in 1953.

⁶ *De Evige . . .*, pp. 121-22. Cf., e.g., William H. Stoneman, in *Chicago Daily News*, March 13, 1954; *Christian Century*, LXXI (January 13, 1954, and March 9, 1954), and LXXV (February 5, 1958).

⁷ Edvard Bull (ed.), *Det Norske Folks Liv og Historie*, Vol. II. Also, Mary W. Williams, *Social Scandinavia in the Viking Age* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1920), Chap. II, III, IV, VI, VII, XXI, and XXII.

⁸ *Det Norske Folks Liv*, *loc. cit.*; also, Knute Gjerset, *History of the Norwegian People*, 2 vols., 1931; Karen Larsen, *History of Norway* (Princeton University Press, 1948).

⁹ Ivar Welle, *Norges Kirkehistorie* (Oslo: Lutherstiftelsens Forlag, 1948), III, 26.

¹⁰ *Arbok for den Norske Kirke* (Forlaget Land og Kirke, Oslo, 1953), p. 86.

¹¹ B. J. Hovde, *The Scandinavian Countries, 1720-1865, The Rise of the Middle Classes* (Cornell University Press, 1948), p. 93.

¹² H. Koht, *Norske Bondereisning*, p. 338; quoted by Hovde in *ibid.*, p. 320.

¹³ The statements here are to a degree inferences stemming from a number of accounts of the period and issues involved. See Einar Molland, *Fra Hans Nielsen Hauge til Eivind Berggrav* (Oslo: Gyldendal Norsk Forlag, 1951), transl., H. Kaasa, *Church Life in Norway 1800-1950* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1957). Edvard Bull, *Arbejderklassen i Norsk Historie* (Oslo: Tiden Norsk Forlag, 1947). Also, Hovde, *loc. cit.*, Chap. IX.

¹⁴ Molland, *Hans Nielsen Hauge*, *op. cit.*, *supra*, pp. 57-63.

¹⁵ H. Koht, "Fra en Norsk Kirkestrid," *Symra*, III-IV (1907-8), 59-70.

¹⁶ Molland, *op. cit.*, pp. 38-108. This statement oversimplifies the orthodox position, but will suffice for present purposes.

¹⁷ Dagfinn Mannsaker, *Det Norske Presteskapet i det 19 Hundreåret* (Oslo: Det Norske Samlaget, 1954), pp. 136-217.

¹⁸ Molland, *op. cit.*, pp. 64-108.

¹⁹ Barth's observations on the role of religion in an eastern Norwegian mountain community depict a rural district in which formal religion exercised a notably low degree of influence in contrast to western Norway (see Chapter V).

²⁰ In each parish, the state church minister has certain duties which are not directly of a religious character and will, therefore, simply be enumerated but not discussed at any length. Prominent among these are his membership on the local Council of Guardians (now Child Welfare Committee), once required but recently made elective; on the school board (p. 325); and on the "poor relief" board (*forsorgstyret*, p. 396). In the 1955 *Yearbook for the Norwegian Church (Årbok for Den Norske Kirke)*, the results of a tally taken and reported by the deans (*proster*) within each of the nine dioceses is reported, giving the number of parish pastors who stand as chairmen of the three boards mentioned above. Totals for the country as a whole were: sixty-five pastors as chairmen of the local councils of guardians (this figure is unreliable since some deans reported the number of pastors as chairmen for the period prior to July 1, 1954, when the law was changed revoking their required membership and making it elective); thirty-six pastors as chairmen of the "relief boards" (p. 66). These figures should be viewed against a background of approximately five hundred and fifty to (at most) six hundred possible parish ministers in the country as a whole. In 1954, there were five hundred and twenty-nine parish ministers (*sokneprester*) and ninety-nine assistant resident curates. In addition to these is the pastor's function as recorder of vital statistics for the parish, registering births, deaths, and marriages (p. 46). Page numbers here refer to K. M. Nordanger and Arnljot Engh, *Kommunal Kunnskap* (Tiden Norsk Forlag, Oslo, 1951).

²¹ *Konfirmasjon og Konfirmanntforberedelse* (Forlaget Land og Kirke, Oslo, 1952). Also Carsten Hansteen, *Av Det Norske Kirstenlivs Psykologi* (Bibliotheca Norwegiae Sacrae, I, 1922 B [Bergen: A/S Lunde Forlag, 1922]), pp. 27-41.

²² Hovde, *op. cit.*, pp. 311, 422; note 17.

²³ *Hvem, Hva, Hvor, 1948* (Undersøkelser av Folkemeningen i Norge 1947 [Konfirmasjon: 29 November, 1947]).

²⁴ A formal legal procedure is required to withdraw from membership in the state church. This is usually effected through the office of the parish minister. The present writer got the impression from discussing the matter with some Norwegians, who did not begin to hold to the doctrines of the Augsburg Confession, that such a move was considered to be in "bad taste."

²⁵ *Normalplan for Byfolkeskolen* (Utarbeidd ved Normalplankomiteén oppnevnt av Kirke- og Undervisningsdepartementet [Oslo: H. Aschehoug & Co. (W. Nygaard), 1948]), p. 25.

²⁶ *Normalplan*, p. 29.

²⁷ Eliot has dealt with these and related issues in a number of articles. See also Chapters XIII, XIX and XX of the present volume.

^{27a} "Et dødstøt mot kristendomsfaget," *Nytt*, IX (Institutt for Kristen Oppseding, April, 1958).

²⁸ *Verdens Gang*, April 13, 1946: "Ungdommens Mening." "While 46 per cent express themselves as being sympathetically disposed toward Christian faith and 13 per cent as uninterested, older age groups perceive the religious dispositions of youth as 25 per cent uninterested and 35 per cent sympathetically disposed."

²⁹ Thomas D. Eliot, "Norway's Churches and Morals," *Christian Century*, LXIX (January 30, 1952), 127-29. See also Johannes Langhoff, "Women and Hell Stir Scandinavia," *Christian Century*, LXXV (February 5, 1958), 179.

³⁰ This brief account of the church and family life in Norway has, of necessity, passed over a number of interesting features peripheral to that relationship. Conspicuous among these omissions has been any discussion of the position and activities of the dissenter groups which number a little less than four per cent of the total population. Relevant to the cleavages discussed in the current chapter and also to the problems of youth morals (Chap. IX), child-rearing (Chap. X), family life education (Chap. XX), divorce (Chap. XIII), civil marriages, and civil confirmations, are the census figures of persons outside the national church (*Statistisk Årbok for Norge, 1957*, p. 18). The number increased from 52,714 in 1900 to 123,314. In 1950, it included 4,753 Romans (the most rapid increase), 11,570 Methodists, 8,964 Baptists, 5,440 Adventists, 30,036 Pentecostals, 17,319 Evangelical Lutheran Freechurchers, and 23,197 of lesser sects. The 22,035 "outside all religious bodies" constitute, next to the Pentecostals, the largest group outside the state church. A second omission has been the bearing of religion on politics, particularly as seen in the recent growth of the Christian People's party to a major opposition party in the parliament (14 members out of 150 in 1953). Third, no mention has been made of civil confirmation (*Borgerlig Konfirmasjon*), a secular equivalent of the church function discussed earlier, not overtly anticlerical in Norway but sponsored by a few liberal or radical dissenters. Fourth, baptism, marriage, and funeral practices have been omitted from any extensive discussion as of less significance to church-family relationships than religious education in schools and church confirmation. It has been observed in church circles that the proportion of civil marriages has increased in recent years, most notably in Oslo.

For a more extensive discussion of these points, see Eliot's article in the *Christian Century* (note 29, *supra*).

XIX

Sex-Social and Family-Life Education

SEX-SOCIAL AND FAMILY-LIFE EDUCATION¹

FAMILY-LIFE education in Norway is a picture puzzle without a picture. Bits and sections were found which have never been fitted together or co-ordinated in any recognized constellation. There is no family-life education movement, such as has developed out of interdisciplinary interests in the United States. Enough signs of interest may be found, however, to indicate an awareness in some quarters of "real" need.

Traditionally, social conduct relating to family formation and functions has been patterned by Scandinavian folkways, governed by local mores, and reinforced or modified by the moral code enjoined by the established church and its theologians. In recent years, however, and especially in urban areas, there have been a few deliberate efforts to impart information and shape moral attitudes, which can no longer be taken for granted as emerging from primary groups operating with informal social controls.

IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

The beginnings of such school instruction can indeed be found at least as far back as World War I: a general statement with a protective moral motivation, but no particular interest or action taken.

After the First World War, new factors entered. Industrialization of young women increased (cf. Chapter VI). A vigorous group of intellectuals calling themselves *Mot Dag* ("Toward Day") sponsored a formidable attack upon the "conspiracy of silence" and the traditional church code of morality, advocating not only frank and secularized sex education, but contraception, wide tolerance of variants, and (in extreme cases) what amounted to sex for sex's sake.

The new conspiracy of enlightenment forced proponents of sex education to take sides—for or against such doctrines as were being widely touted.

In 1920, a parliamentary schools commission unanimously avoided considering the introduction of reproduction study as a grammar school subject. The teachers' college law of 1930, however, called for such instruction—but little was done in the thirties except at the Inner Mission Teachers' College in Oslo by a physician.

The *Normalplan*,² or official standardized syllabus of curricula for Norway's public schools, included (even before World War II) a section under the head of "nature study" or "biology," prescribing instruction for seventh grade pupils in the facts of reproduction (*forplantningslaere*). Its presence there betokens long previous discussion. Shortly before the Nazi Occupation, school authorities and leaders were preparing a considerable number of teachers to undertake this work competently, and Oslo has had instruction for thirteen years; but there was no precipitate action. The Nazi Occupation put a stop to all activity in this direction.

In Norway, the schools continue to give religious instruction, although some active religionists complain that the Labor government is skimping its share of pupil time and teacher training. Secular and religious folk high schools both get public grants. We see here a further culturally "schizoid" touch: certain Labor party leaders and secularists are pushing for sex instruction and are resisted by many religionists within the same national administrative body, the Church and Education Department.

Except in Oslo, the sex education section of *Normalplan* (practically identical for both urban and rural curricula) was largely a dead letter until July 6, 1950, when, unexpectedly to some, the Department of Church and Education issued a circular to all local school authorities ordering the instruction to be given forthwith, or else. There was a loophole allowing any teacher who did not feel competent to undertake it to decline, but the authorities were called upon to provide adequate substitute lecturers.

THE OPPOSITION

The opposition rallied at once, and its leaders were vocal, although most of the actual resistance took the passive form of ignoring the circular. As of January 1, 1953, 315 towns had introduced the instruction, while 350 had postponed it, 69 had done nothing.

Both within and outside the state church, the pietistic-evangelical groups, especially the Inner Mission (*Indre Misjonen*), the "free churches," and the Christian People's party (*Kristelige Folkepartiet*), resisted.

One month after the famous circular, a local paper over in the fjords³ was warning its readers that public opinion is too divided and that there is widespread objection to "flag-flying with sex," and suggesting (without citing any evidence) that the school department's decision was prompted by Karl Evang, the national health director, who was called a perennial exponent of "sexual Marxism," by which the instinctual life is to be freed *pari passu* with the working class seizure of power. Evang is quoted as telling the department that ignorance of normal sex facts often leads to conduct which is bad from a mental hygiene point of view. The editor warns that *too much* instruction can also create psychic disturbance, especially in the hands of amateur teachers. If teachers who know their limitations are permitted to withdraw, the lectures may fall to the extremists who offer themselves as substitutes. Exemption from the instruction (said the editor) should have been made optional for children whose parents disapprove, or for schools which so wish on any special grounds.

Liberal journalists and educators soon sprang to reply to the protests from conservative church groups but had the disadvantage of having been put on the defensive by the opposition. Still, within a month after the circular was issued, Oslo's alert weekly *Aktuell* ran a short paper by an experienced teacher in a special school.⁴ It was a sober effort to justify the program, accompanied by four of the

diagrammatic plates in Professor Otto Mohr's officially accepted text, to which most objections had been raised. The writer warned of trouble.

A teacher who tries to instruct in reproduction in a seventh class which has not had the subject in small doses up through the school years, will discover that it doesn't pay to barge in and blurt it out. . . . Some pupils blush, others giggle. Restlessness bubbles up in the class, and one sees how each individual pupil is so taken up by his own problems when it comes to sex that he cannot follow the instruction. Those who are 13-14 years old have in large part had their realistic attitude destroyed by adults or by age mates who know better. They have themselves noticed the sexual tension. Many of them have latent guilt feelings about sexual fantasies and masturbation, and almost all of them have got the belief that everything sexual is taboo. . . . The problem is . . . to get the pupils so interested in the subject that they forget . . . their own problems.

This teacher also pleaded for open discussion and planning between parents and teachers, rather than suspicion, resistance, and spying on the schools.

One teacher in a small southern town, using Karl de Schweinitz' *Growing Up* (Åse Gruda Skard, transl.) in a rash manner, faced a parents' strike, was fired, sued the school board, was supported by the National Teachers' Association, and got his job again.

Actually, the Church and Education Department has given its recognition for school use to several publications. One of the most recent⁵ is non-religious, but heavily "negative" in its sanctions and motivations for sex behavior and restraints. Mohr's, the first and most widely used, is by the former chancellor of the University of Oslo, a biologist.⁶ Purporting to be strictly factual, it is non-theological, but includes several accepted ethical considerations. The department also accepted Marianne Rumohr's book,⁷ which invokes ethical motives but was rejected by certain extreme conservatives. Since the department has also accepted the syllabus of family and sex education published by the moderate and conservative Institute

for Christian Education,⁸ its policy seems to be to recognize sex educational materials acceptable to each shade of opinion in school and community.

THE PROSPECTS

There has been some evidence that the objectors to sex education in the schools are more vociferous than numerous. Some of the Norwegian public may be intimidated by a mythical "public opinion." By many Norwegians, the extremists in either direction are not taken too seriously.

Indication of the shift of public climate in this field is Dr. Karl Evang's remark to the writer that, whereas in the 1930's his massive book *Seksuell Opplysning* was ignored or attacked as immoral, its later republication was well received; even the conservative newspaper *Morgenbladet* reviewed it with apparently friendly interest. Certain large women's organizations previously hostile have in recent years been willing to give him a hearing. The revised edition (1951), in spite of its new and vigorous defensive polemic against churchmen's position and doctrines, created hardly a ripple.

Further evidence comes from the Gallup poll of October 28, 1950. This poll gave 56 per cent favoring, and only 17 per cent opposed to the study of reproduction in the schools. In rural areas, only 49 per cent favored, but 32 per cent were doubtful. In cities and in the Labor party, 67 per cent favored. The Farmers party showed 30 per cent favorable and 43 per cent doubtful; the Conservatives, 62 per cent favorable. The white-collar employees were 71 per cent favorable. Of all groupings (by age, area, party, occupation, class, and sex), only the Christian People's party (*Kristelige Folkeparti*), which devotes itself largely to opposing such matters, showed a slight plurality opposed.⁹

It is possible that the publicizing of the foregoing findings would itself tend to relax the fears of a potential majority in Norway. The tempest in a teapot simmered down. The active opposition to sex education was apparently "standing pat" if not "sitting pretty." The

current strategy of the proponents of sex education seemed to be that of watchful waiting: storms blow over.

Those who were fearful of the "next steps" in the radicals' program made much of a sentence in a statement of Oslo's school director: "To include anything about [contraception] in the instruction is for the time being hardly advisable." They picked up the tactless phrase "for the time being" as an admission and a threat for the future. Our own inquiries lead us to doubt that this was the intention of any responsible person in the Norwegian government.

But even those who favor the department's objectives doubt the timing of the compulsory directive. It was felt that both public opinion and teacher readiness should have been built up by public lectures, printed materials, and training courses. Centering the teaching on the child and family rather than on the sex organs can also help "to take the curse off" of sex education. Such work is now proceeding.

Recent communications from the Department of Church and Education indicate that, while some three hundred communes have included sex instruction, many places have failed to do so for lack of a detailed plan as standard for the program. Contrasts between areas in the kinds of things schools can do are striking. The sex teaching in Oslo can be largely secular, but it is not without emphasis upon ethical-social values and controls. In some communities, perhaps on Norway's west and south coast, it may continue to be given a religious sanction, partly as a condition of getting it accepted at all. However, it is also proving possible to invoke Scripture for a positive doctrine of sex motivation, free of shame and disgust, and free of guilt except for violators of the traditional family code.

It has proved possible to present a detailed program of material for every grade from first to twelfth, integrated appropriately but inconspicuously with regularly accepted subject matters (household, nature study, health, biology), and stressing not the mere physical facts but the psychic and ethical values, motives, responsibilities, and social wisdoms inevitably involved. Such a program has

recently been provided to the Church and Education Department by a report from the Committee on Detailed Plans for Sex Education in the School.¹⁰

This committee was not created or selected under any dictation by Lutheran organizations, though the vigorous work and influence of such a group as Hareide's may have contributed to the inclusion of Bishop Schjelderup, which was a recognition of "Christians' " concerns. The committee was appointed in 1951, about the time of the first overt controversy. It completed its report in 1952, but a new minister of Church and Education apparently felt it wise to withhold its publication until public discussion calmed down. Its appearance in 1956 created no new or revived conflict.

Hareide feels that the fight of the Institute for Christian Education for a "christian-ethical" foundation for public sex education won out with support by Rumohr, Stoltenberg, and Dalen, with Berg, Brønnström, and Økland preferring a neutral orientation. The line actually recommended by the report is ethically based but is not labelled "Christian." The Christian propagandists could hardly claim a monopoly of sound ethical principles, but expressed their satisfaction with the report's ethical orientation. The government has not pressured the program aggressively but allowed it to "mature," there being still many uncertain and anxious parents.

PAMPHLETS AND BOOKS

Pamphlets called *Guidance in Children's Regimen* are published by the national Health Directorate and distributed through municipal and other children's clinics. They are exclusively on the physical level. The Norwegian Women's Health Association publishes and circulates a pamphlet on the psychic development and upbringing of children by Professor Åse Gruda Skard, widely known author of books and articles in the field.¹¹ Her advice in this pamphlet goes much further than the aforementioned material by pediatricians, in such matters as toilet training, masturbation, sex education, interfamily relationships, courtesy, and adolescent relations.

One book is recommended by Institutt for Kristen Oppseding, viz. *Familiekunnskap* by Eli Piene Hågå. While it offers little guidance bearing on details of sex, on courtship, difficult husband-wife situations, or on child rearing, it seems to provide pupils with a wide range of practical and persuasive exposition in matters of home economics, personal health and habits, domestic management, good taste, good will, and good manners, and in general social relations—all without doctrinal orientation, invoking God or Bible at only a half-dozen points, not labored, and with no mention of "Christ."¹²

Norway is not a pamphleteering country. But Norwegians do read books. Norway's book sales per family are among the world's highest, rivalled only by Iceland. A canvass of books on aspects of family living on the shelves of the country's libraries was attempted through the courtesy of Dr. Arne Kildal, director of the National Library Service, who studied librarianship in the United States. A list of eighty-six titles was used, based on a selection of titles by C. A. Melhus, first librarian of Oslo's city library. Of this list, fifty-four titles were also found to be on the annual lists approved as chargeable (if locally ordered) to the state subsidies to local libraries.

The number of titles on hand seems to have little relation to the size of the town served. Towns under 3,000, for example, range from four to thirty; in the 3,000-6,000 bracket, from forty-eight to seventy; in the 5,000-10,000 bracket, from one to forty-two; in the 10,000-30,000 bracket, from twenty-six to sixty-five. All but seven have the controversial *Sex Information* by Karl Evang, mentioned above.

The list was also checked with the publishers through the courtesy of the Norwegian Booksellers' Association to find their total sales for the several titles to date January, 1951. Based on seventy-seven titles, old and new (and all editions), the total reported sales for this family-problem book list to January 1, 1951, were 762,012 in a population of 3,277,211.

Of the 488,898 figure for the best sellers, 109,381 went to sex books; 136,000 to books on home and marriage; 167,649 to child-

rearing. Of the overall 762,012 sales, 163,325 were definitely "sex books."¹³ Several popular books on sex and marriage hygiene include detailed and illustrated contraceptive instruction, and are widely offered and sold in standard bookstores.¹⁴ These same books include a considerable coverage of marriage hygiene and sex, which are essential parts of well-rounded education for family life; but such psychological aspects as are touched upon are mostly those closely related to the physiological or psychiatric.

The Norwegian press carries a great many serious, signed articles on timely controversial problems. Among these issues are those of education, home life, morals, education, and sex. The most vigorous aspects of debates in the press about family problems involve fundamental issues between the theological and the secular, on the nature of authority, science, and freedom, on the role of guilt, the place of sex, sex education, contraception, etc., on the nature of sin, on causes of behavior, on the merits of psychiatry. As in America, Norway is not without its alarmists deploring the failures of undisciplined family life and crying out for restraints and against the moderns.

ADULT EDUCATION GROUPS

In Scandinavia, volunteer home study groups are a widely accepted pattern of organization for adult education. They are usually sponsored by or affiliated with some larger institution—such as co-operatives. A variation is short study courses at folk high schools. Several of both types have been devoted to family problems.

More typical are the study groups stimulated by two women's magazines—a "slick" called URD and an "advanced" or "high-brow" periodical called *Woman and the Times*. A syllabus, each chapter by a specialist, is sold to each group member, with recommended procedures, readings and reports, and questions for discussions. The contents are similar but the latter series included more on the historical, economic, legislative, and feminist aspects of family problems.

The Norwegian Correspondence School offered an excellent

course on child care and child management by Fru Emil Østlyngen. It includes much on general family living. Lise Østlyngen's manual¹⁵ is done in a much more informal, chatty style than the others, and is illustrated with good-humored sketches of parent-child situations and many case stories in contrasting pairs.

The Student Community's Free Instruction, which performs the role of our university night schools or extension courses, offers certain courses bearing in part on family problems.¹⁶ These courses are taught, in general, more informally than the regular university courses, and the subject matters are apt to be more practical.

Two religious organizations have actively entered the field of family life education for engaged couples and newly-weds: Christian Help is a small group organized in cities and composed largely of religious doctors and clergymen, which shortly after the war had offered in Oslo a series of lectures and later published a set of pamphlets¹⁷ for the respective groups concerned. There was a similar series in Copenhagen. Early in 1950, a parallel series (theologically weighted) was run in Stavanger for a small group.

In Oslo, 1951, the Norwegian Christian Youth Movement, linking the YMCA and YWCA, put on a well-attended lecture series in similar pattern, for engaged and newly-wed couples, using the auditorium of the Oslo Teacher Training School. The lectures were: "The Economics of Marriage," "Household Planning," "Marriage in Poetry and Actuality," "The Rights and Duties of Marriage Partners," "The Marriage's Children (Child-Rearing)," and "The Comforts in Marriage." The level was that of generalities. Opportunities were given for personal consultations after the close of the series at the counselling offices of Christian Help.¹⁸

OTHER AGENCIES

Clinics, mental and physical, do much general family life education along with case therapy. Maternal health centers instruct the mothers not only in prenatal and postnatal physical hygiene for themselves, but also in care of infants. Over 536 of these health centers are owned

and operated by the Norwegian Women's Public Health Association, a powerful organization with middle-class support and upper-class leadership. There is an extensive program of lectures and literature on child hygiene and nutrition.¹⁹

VOLUNTARY PARENTHOOD

Contraceptive advice is not illegal nor are the maternal health centers forbidden to give it. In 1951 only one frankly offered it, viz., this being the one originally founded (1924) by the Margaret Sanger of Norway, Katti Anker-Møller, with the support of Labor party women, and now municipally supported.²⁰

The Norwegian Women's Public Health Association has a liberal wing which, after long controversy, won from its national convention formal acceptance of contraceptive practice in its clinics. Soon after, however, its liberal president of many years was replaced by a compromise candidate whose policy was to placate the conservatives. They did not announce such services in their literature, and passages suggesting it were deleted. They do not deny that some of their physicians may be giving such instruction, since any Norwegian physicians do so in private practice; but neither did the organization as such admit or recognize it. A governmental survey (published 1958) showed, however, at least 117 maternal health centers providing contraceptive advice. Local public opinion is respected.²¹

Contraceptive information is apparently accessible through family physicians, insofar as they and their patients are not too inhibited on principle or by local public opinion.

DOMESTIC SKILLS

Leading in the field of education for home management is the Housemothers' League or Housewives' Federation (*Husmorsforbund*), which has 1,370 clubs and 70,000 members.

The national Housemothers' League, the Department of Agriculture, and sixty-five provinces and municipalities operate domestic science training schools. Some localities also provide home counsel-

lors (demonstration agents).²² In 1950, a total of 3,040 pupils were enrolled; in 1956, the longer courses enrolled 3,206, shorter courses 538. Infant care may be studied, but perusal of the curricula and course contents indicated practically no reference to psycho-social aspects of child-rearing, and nothing about either physical or social-psychological aspects of marriage relations.

The Housemothers' League still considers that these schools, plus short courses and traveling teachers, provide an all too limited amount of domestic science instruction.

In 1949, the Department of Agriculture published a committee report on the necessity of changes in the curriculum in housemothers' schools.²³ If this report is carried out, the curriculum has thirty hours of psychology, social relations, consumer economics, and accounting in each course. Sex education, child management, marriage, and parenthood (*familiekunnskap*) are included in "psychology." Family law and protective legislation, family costs, budgets, and subsidies would be included in the other subjects.

In 1952, the Department of Church and Education set up a Committee to Develop the Teaching of School Cookery and Housecare, which in a report of 1954^{23a} made proposals for curriculum expansion, including "family-knowledge." (Domestic skills are here, however, almost exclusively discussed.) These proposals, though endorsed to parliament by the department, cannot be carried out until implemented by parliamentary action. The Research Board for the Schools Council is also, however, discussing "education for family life." Family-life education seems to be rousing considerable interest in public educational circles, through press and platform. The leading normal school for domestic science teachers plans a full course in general family-life education (*familiekunnskap*) as soon as authorized by parliament. One of its staff (Else Flaatten) studied the subject in the United States (1952-53) and has lectured publicly thereon in Norway, Sweden, and Finland. Recently, she broadcast for the national radio (Rikskringkastning) a talk on "Family Life as an Educational Specialty."

THE FELT NEED

It is evident that even when aggregated the foregoing activities and resources, except for certain books, are not very impressive even for an urban population of only some three-quarters of a million. Is there in Norway a felt need for family-life education? If not, is it because there is no real need for it? Or is there a need without a realization of the need? If there be less need than elsewhere, it has been suggested that the apparently wide circulation of books, plus study groups, and feature articles may indicate that private reading has partly taken the place and filled the needs supplied in the United States by numerous popular classes, lectures, and broadcasts. On the other hand, some religious social workers, educators, and doctors in Norway had been talking about the "family crisis," which indicates a felt need for *something*, but some vagueness as to what the "crisis" was all about. There is, however, some expression of specific need for a broader program of family-life education on the part of the YWCA and Christian Help leaders, and among the domestic science teachers.

To appraise the need for family-life education in Sweden, Myrdal²⁴ suggested as criteria certain rates or averages: viz.,

Venereal Diseases
Infant Mortality
Age at Marriage
Nuptiality Rate
Divorce Rate
Non-Wedlock Rate
Extent of Pre-marital Intercourse
Juvenile Neglect and Delinquency

The data for Norway on the first seven of these points are presented elsewhere in this volume. Juvenile delinquency was currently recognized as a growing problem in Oslo as that city develops characteristic phenomena of the modern industrial metropolis.

Applying Myrdal's criteria to Norway, one finds the need less acute than in Myrdal's Sweden especially on the side of physical facts, but still definite,²⁵ with less being done than in Sweden as yet. Certain of the findings of Hambro²⁶ and Nordland²⁷ in regard to adolescents' worries and ignorances were reported earlier in this volume (Chapter X). Hambro offers more specific data on the felt needs for sex instruction among Oslo school children:

The pupils' need for earlier sex education is often expressed in retrospect: at age seventeen, 42 per cent of the boys, and at age eighteen, 33 per cent of the pupils, both boys and girls, expressed the wish that they had had more or different sex instruction. Thirty-three per cent of the eighteen-year-old pupils felt they had had inadequate sex instruction, but it was on the psychological, interpersonal, and ethical aspects, not on the physical facts, that they felt the lack.

The actual number of children who needed instruction at twelve or thirteen was probably greater than those who had sufficient sense of conflict, with insight and articulateness to write about it.

In view of such evidence, it becomes important to know how many children are aware of ever having received definite formal sex instruction.

Of the pupils from Hambro's sample who were in secondary schools, 50 per cent of the boys and 88 per cent of the girls were asked if they had ever received definite sex instruction. The numbers were small, but indicative.

Sex instruction ever received by pupils of secondary school age (percentages):

TABLE 36

	Only at school	Only at home	Both	Neither
Boys	28	29	4	39
Girls	22	20	36	22

Many pupils may have forgotten some occasion of formal sex instruction; on the other hand, some others who recalled sex instruc-

tion in school show confusion. Pupils were, however, inclined to hold the homes rather than the schools responsible for the neglect. In explaining in what ways they thought children should be brought up, only two boys said they would not give their sons sex instruction.²⁸

Perhaps Hambro's most important finding is, however, in regard to the aspects of sex instruction most needed.

"When the youth complain that both at home and at school they got too little sex education, they are not thinking in the first place about reproduction-facts (*forplantningslaere*). That which many of them lack is orientation about sex morality itself. . . . Among the eighteen year olds 58 per cent of the boys and 39 per cent of the girls were of the opinion that young people, if they are fond of one another (*glad i hverandre*), are to be allowed to live together sexually; while 40 per cent of the boys and 52 per cent of the girls were of the opinion that actual intercourse ought to be limited to marriage . . . or to betrothal. Only a very few of these young people had talked with their parents about the subject.²⁹

The need for family-life education is thus re-emphasized. It may be said, of course, that these phenomena are also transcultural or common-human, and that if children did not feel such needs it might indicate immaturity, parental fixations, and unreadiness for transferences to adult and heterosexual friendships. But the need for education in the more general recognition and adjustment of precisely such mechanisms is indicated by such evidence as Hambro uncovered. Parents who are aware of the ambivalence of adolescents—in their needs to depend and their needs to be independent—can better maintain confidence and carry over comradeship into the adult friendship of reciprocal respect, than can those who misunderstand and distort it.

Our own questionnaires from 156 students of folk high schools over Norway also show widespread dissatisfaction with their sex education. On their sources of sex education, thirty-nine of the 156 answers had to be discarded because the relevant questions had been

partly or wholly ignored. Only forty-eight (30 per cent) got their first information from parents or relatives or from books, which were considered in general as "good" sources;³⁰ sixty-nine (44 per cent) got their first information from companions or non-family adults; four from the farm animals; one from the dictionary. One had to be labelled "mixed sources." Two said they had never had *any* information on the subject (?).

The various figures on young Norwegians' first sources of sex information may be compared with those from a Swedish Gallup poll of May 1942.³¹ Of boys, 11 per cent, and of girls, 28 per cent, named parents; 29 per cent of both sexes named the schools; 34 per cent of boys but only 22 per cent of girls gave companions; 10 per cent of boys and only 6 per cent of girls mentioned books; 14 per cent "didn't know."

Of the Norwegian students, fifteen did not give the age of first information, eighty-four (54 per cent) got their first sex information *before* age fourteen, and seven *at* fourteen, the age at which many conservatives in Norway imagine that a child becomes "ready" for instruction. Of these eighty-four, there were nineteen who got it from "good" sources, and eighteen said the situation was desirable. Of the same eighty-four, there were fifty-one who said they received it from "bad" sources, and thirty-seven of these said the circumstances were undesirable or the facts false. Seven said the circumstances had been fortunate. The rest of the eighty-four did not say (eight) or know (four) whether the circumstances were good or bad. Ten did not give the source of their first information.

On sex education, 120 (77 per cent) of 156 students had *read* more or less. This included seventy-eight (78½ per cent) of the girls and forty-two (90 per cent) of the men. Seventeen girls had read nothing on the subject, but only four of the men. Evang's controversial book was named by thirty-three, including 16½ per cent of the girls, 32 per cent of the men. One had read it three times; one at twelve years. Twenty girls and eleven men gave no age at which such reading began:

TABLE 37

The Girls:	The Men:
9 years— 1	10 years— 1
12 „ — 6	12 „ — 2
13 „ — 5	13 „ — 2
14 „ — 7	14 „ — 3
15 „ — 10	15 „ — 1
16 „ — 8	16 „ — 7
17 „ — 12	17 „ — 5
18 „ — 6	18 „ — 3
19 „ — 1	19 „ — 2
20 „ — 2	20 „ — 3
21 „ — 1	24 „ — 1
	25 „ — 1
	30 „ — 1
	Other — 1

It is noticeable, though the numbers are small, that the men's reading seems to lag behind the girls'; but it may also be of a different character. No man mentioned any reading of sex information from military sources.

The evidence presented in the foregoing chapter seems to show certain types of need and considerable numbers or groups of persons in Norway unreached by present types of education for marriage and family living. One does not expect the trend toward secularization in this field to be rapid, like the "national conversion" of Sweden. But one may expect the development of reading, teaching and lecture materials, and counselling services which stress less the controversial (but already widely familiar) physical facts and theological dicta, and more the widely accepted social and social-psychological and interpersonal facts and principles. Such principles are largely consonant with the injunctions of the church, but their range of appeal and effectiveness may be presented with such natural sanctions as would be equally valid for both secular and sacred groups.

That a systematic program of education for family-life education is needed was further shown by applying to Norway the criteria set up by Myrdal as indicating such a need.³² It was found that while the extent of venereal diseases, infant mortality, divorces, and non-wedlock births is less acute now than in Sweden, there are facts in each of these fields and also in the fields of nuptiality rates, late marriage age, and adolescent confusion and morals to indicate the need for vigorous and organized efforts.

Need for education on the *mental hygiene* of family life may not be directly shown by any of the indices selected by Myrdal. Borghild Krane, in a recent essay,³³ speaks of girls' need for preparation for the shift of roles at marriage—from the independent job to the role of dependent upon her man's job for daily support, or upon the double job of home and employment. She stresses women's importance as focus or pivot of family mental health, and thinks that the large family, being more flexible, less fixed, provides better mental hygiene. Krane suggested that mental hygiene "ought perhaps to be the first point in the eventual knowledge of the family with which young people should be provided in early years: an orientation in respect to the qualities of human feelings. The positive feelings—affections, dependence, admiration, attraction—bring with them dispositions toward negative repulsions."

Under the leadership of Cato Hambro, himself an expert in counselling, the Norwegian Mental Hygiene Federation, in addition to other special projects, is planning a family counselling bureau in co-operation with the Norwegian Women's National Council, the Norway Housewives' League, and (possibly) a women's branch of the Labor party.³⁴

Family-life education in its broader scope is coming into its own in Norway, ranging from domestic skills to sex hygiene, mental hygiene, domestic relations, and principles of child-rearing.

¹ Adapted from Thomas D. Eliot, "Sex Instruction in the Norwegian Culture," *Social Problems*, I (October 1953), 44-48; and "Family Life Education in Norway," *Marriage and Family Living*, XV (February 1953), 4-8.

² *Normalplan for Landfolkeskulane*, 1922, 1925, 1939; *Normalplan for Byfolkeskole*, 1936, 1948; cf. also *Landskule lova*, 9c; *Byskolelov*, 9c.

³ "Obligatorisk Seksuallaere," *Fjordingen* (Stryn), August 8, 1950.

⁴ Arne Hybert Johansen, "Seksualundervisningen i Skolestua," *Aktuell* (August 19, 1950), pp. 8-9, 24-25.

⁵ Harald Goksoyr, *Mennesketsforplantning* (Oslo: Fabritius, 1951).

⁶ Otto Lous Mohr, *Forplantningslaeren* (Oslo: Cappelen, 1933, 1950).

⁷ Marianne Rumohr, *Forplantningen* (Oslo: Tanum, 1948). She has published a version consistent with the departmental committee's recent report (see note 10, *infra*).

⁸ Alex Johnson, Trygve Stabrun, and Oline Sukkestad, *Forplantninglaere for Folkeskolen* (Inlegg B.6, Institutt for Kristen Oppseding [Oslo, 1951]). The Institute for Christian Education, led by Dr. Bjarne Hareide, has forwarded a number of summer institutes, pamphlets, and programs planned to restore or strengthen religious emphasis in parent education and in parental techniques of religions, sex, and family-life education. Their recent correspondence (1956) claims they have won their campaign for the inclusion of Christian ethical principles in whatever instruction the public schools may offer on the subject of reproduction. But see note 10, below.

⁹ "Ungdommens Mening," *Verdens Gang*, April 13, 1946.

¹⁰ Letters of E. Boyesen, March 28, 1953, and January 18, 1957. *Instilling fra Komitéen til Drøfting av Spørsmålet om Undervisningsplanen i Menneskets Forplantningslaere i Skolen*. This report, however, nowhere refers to the church, its dogmas, or even the word Christian.

The committee was chaired by an able and intelligent and popular biology teacher, Gunnar Berg, and included Bishop Kristian Schjelderup (see Chapter XVIII), Marianne Rumohr (cf. note 7, *supra*), and Dr. L. Stoltenberg, chief physician of the Oslo school system, a pediatrician.

¹¹ Åse Gruda Skard, *Psykisk Utvikling og Oppdragelse i Spebarn og Småbarnsalderen* (Norske Kvinners Sanitetsforeningen, n.d.).

¹² Eli Piene Hågå, *Familiekunnskap* (Oslo: Fabritius, 1956), esp. pp. 62-72, 103, 120-30.

In the current literature of child management, one finds much in common between the Norwegian and that of the Aldrich-Spock school in this country. Aldrich was translated in Scandinavia about 1938; Spock about 1953.

¹³ Cf. Thomas D. Eliot, "Norway's Distribution of Books on Family Problems," *Journal of Documentation*, X (March 1954), 19-25.

¹⁴ Of thirty-six books displayed simultaneously in a first class bookstore's window in Stavanger in the heart of Norway's "Bible Belt," nine were sex books, three more were on marriage, and ten were on child management.

¹⁵ Lise Heber Østlyngen, *Barne oppdragelse* (Norsk Korrespondanseskole, Oslo, 1950).

¹⁶ *Plan Høsten 1950* (Studentersamfundets Fri Undervisning, 1950).

¹⁷ E.g., Carsten Nielsen and Sophus Norberg, *Gutter i Overgangsalderen*; Alex Johnson, *Ugift Ungdom*; Gordon Johnsen, *Til Nygifte*; Gunhild Johnson, *Den Ugifte Kvinne*; Stephan Tschudi, *Foreldres Ansvar*; Sigurd Lunde and Magnus Tansjø, *Til Forlovede*; Ingvald B. Carlsen, *et. al.*, *Ekteskapets Hverdag* (Oslo: Gimnes, 1943-49).

¹⁸ Correspondence, 1953.

¹⁹ Norwegian Women's Public Health Association (pamphlet) (Oslo: 1950); and other literature of this organization.

²⁰ Oslo *Mødrehygienekontor*, 25 Års Jubileum (Oslo: Aasens, 1949).

²¹ Norwegian Women's Public Health Association, *op. cit.*, *supra*; *Family and Child Welfare in Norway* (pamphlet) (2nd ed.; Joint Committee on International Social Policy,

1952), pp. 31-33; Health Directorate, quoted in *News of Norway*, XV (November 13, 1958), 155.

²² *Melding om Husmorundervisningen for Året, 1947* (Tillegg N. til Landbruksdirektørens Årsmelding 1947 [Oslo: Grøndahl, 1950]), s. 5. *News of Norway*, XIV (April 9, 1959), 56.

²³ *Om Nødvendigheten av Endringer i Undervisningsplanen for Husmorskolen* (Oslo: Fabritius, 1949), pp. 18, 21, 43-45, 53-57.

^{23a} *Instilling fra Utvalget til å utrede Skolekjøkken- og Husstelloplæringa* (Kirke- og Undervisningsdepartementet, Oslo, 1955).

²⁴ Alva Myrdal, *Nation and Family* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1941), pp. 175-86, esp. p. 183.

²⁵ Cf. Thomas D. Eliot, "Trenger nordmennene en planmessig oppdragelse for familielivet?" *Sosialt Arbeid*, XXVIII (October 1954), 1-16. (Paper given before American Sociological Society, September, 1953.) Several paragraphs from this paper are included in what follows.

²⁶ Cato Hambro, "Skoleungdommens Syn på Oppdragelsen: En Undersøkelse blant Skoleungdom i Oslo i Alderen 12-18 År" ("Adolescents' View of Their Upbringing; An Inquiry among Oslo Pupils 12-18 years of age") (thesis, Pedagogisk Forsknings institutt, University of Oslo, 1951), pp. 67-70, 125-27, 147.

²⁷ Eva Nordland, *Ungdomspsykologi* ("Psychology of Youth") (Oslo: Aschehoug, 1949), pp. 39-95.

²⁸ Cf. Hambro, *op. cit.*, pp. 126-27.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 147.

³⁰ Of those forty-eight who got it from parents or other "good" source, thirty-seven (77 per cent) said the circumstances were favorable or desirable, implying good results. Ten of the forty-eight did not say "desirable" nor "undesirable." Only one of these forty-eight, and none of the twenty-seven who got it from parents, said that the circumstances or facts were undesirable. Four of the twenty-seven who got it from parents and three of four who got it from adult relatives did not say whether the circumstances were desirable. Of those twelve who got it first from books or reading, only one found it undesirable, one was unsure, and three did not respond. Of the sixty-nine who got the information from companions or non-family adults, thirty-eight (55 per cent) reported that the circumstances were unfortunate. Of the sixty-nine, fifty-four (77 per cent) got it before age fourteen; of these, thirty-five (51 per cent) said the circumstances were not desirable, six (9 per cent) desirable.

³¹ *Gallup-frågor Publicerade 1942-1948* (Svenska Gallup institutet, Stockholm, 1950), p. 340. In 1942, the Swedish Gallup asked parents if either of them had talked with any of their children about sex. Only 36 per cent had. Of the fathers, 56 per cent and of the mothers, 42 per cent were contented with the then state of relationships between boys and girls of teen age. Things may have changed, and we have no comparable data for Norway.

³² Thomas D. Eliot, "Trenger nordmennene en planmessig oppdragelse for familielivet?" *Sosialt Arbeid*, XXVIII (October 1954), 1-16.

³³ Borghild Krane, "Mentalhygiene i Familielivet," in *Nervøse Lidelser og Sinnets Helse*, Per Anchersen and Leo Eitinger (red.) (Oslo: Aschehoug, 1955), pp. 145-55. Also cf. Cato Hambro (Finn Carling), "Foreldre i vår tid er ikke klar over sin rolle," *Morgenbladet* (November 25, 1958): "the newlywed who does not understand that he has become a married man, and thinks he can continue his bachelor life . . . without reference to the wife. Such a young husband seldom gets a mature and responsible relation to his family."

³⁴ Letter of Mag. Cato Hambro, December 19, 1957.

XX

The Conquest of Venereal Diseases

BACKGROUND OF PROBLEM

IN many parts of the world, venereal infections still offer a major threat to marriage, family life, and reproduction. They remain a threat even in Norway, where the sharp rise in incidence when the prewar control program was sabotaged during the Nazi Occupation bears witness to the need for constant vigilance, especially in a maritime nation.

Norway abolished legalized prostitution in 1887,¹ and, about 1902, a comprehensive bill for the control of infected prostitutes was rejected in parliament lest it re-introduce recognized and regulated prostitution. In 1923, a new proposal was rejected by the Department of Social Affairs, but certain measures were introduced piecemeal before World War II for the care of sailors, especially in the seaport towns.

Paradoxes came with the Nazi Occupation. For example, the official Nazi code for public morals was patriarchal, anti-feminist, anti-abortionist, and anti-contraceptionist, and was not unlike that of Norway's Inner Mission groups which were permitted to meet during the Occupation. The Nazis closed the Oslo birth control clinic, falsely accusing it of abortionist practices. They seized Max Hodann's books in certain public libraries, and published their own version of the doctrine of race hygiene,² which, in its turn, was promptly expunged from Norwegian libraries after the war. The Germans were forbidden to report cases of venereal disease to the Norwegian public health authorities and remained outside the control of the local health officers.³ There was plenty of paper money, few goods, and some of the "doom-philosophy" of eat, drink, and be merry. Some

“fraternization” with Norwegian girls occurred. As in all war areas, the incidence of venereal diseases rose sharply in Norway during the Occupation.

After the Liberation, under an ordinance dated June 12, 1945, between 2,000 and 3,000 infectious cases were quarantined in a colony. This ordinance expired in October, 1946, and was followed by the law of December 12, 1947, which provided for team work by public health and police authorities, protective agencies, and institutions, and for public education in physical sex hygiene.

There are at present few prostitutes living only on prostitution: most of them have other jobs besides. Since the first world war there has been a gradual change in sexual relationship, from casual connections to more stable sexual companionships which very often result in marriage. It is impossible to give exact figures to elucidate this matter which is of importance in the epidemiology of venereal disease.⁴

ANTI-VENEREAL PROPAGANDA

Historically, the connection between general sex education and the public health campaign against venereal diseases preceded the war, and was carried on as a public health program, not combined, as in the United States, with a program of sex education in terms of moral purity or of positive psycho-social goals and rewards. It is true that Norway's world-famous health director, Karl Evang, first made his reputation as editor of a periodical⁵ which crusaded both against venereal disease and against general sex ignorance and taboos. This work stemmed from the overwhelming question-mail that poured in upon him in response to a health column he wrote for a popular newspaper. The 1947 campaign of the Norwegian People's Aid (*Norske Folkehjelp*) for enlightening the public on the physical menace of V.D.⁶ was stimulated by the postwar increase and by the widespread ignorance⁷ revealed in Gallup polls. Of those questioned, 85 per cent favored sex education in the grammar schools.⁸ Since 1948, the public has been persuaded⁹ to accept the enforcement of that combination of compulsory reporting, follow-up of sources, and practi-

cally free¹⁰ but compulsory penicillin treatment to which the startling reduction of civilian V.D. rates in Norway is attributed by Dr. H. C. Gjessing, who heads the V.D. division of the Oslo Board of Health.¹¹ Of the combined factors, the free issue of penicillin since 1946 to the physicians by the chemists, who are state-reimbursed on requisition, is considered to be the most important.

Gonorrhea has diminished since 1946. This is not, as previously, due to an aggravation in economic conditions but chiefly to the great efficacy of penicillin. It is also believed that the incidence of syphilis has been favorably influenced by penicillin therapy. Since 1946 the Board of Health Clinic in Oslo has given penicillin with the patient's consent to alleged female sources or contacts of gonorrhea to stop further spread of the disease, even if gonococci were not demonstrated. It is thought that this procedure has contributed much to limiting the spread of gonococcal infection, and this course of action has been widely followed in Norway.¹²

REPORTING AND TREATMENT

Cases of venereal disease are not reported by name, but since 1948 a special report on other details including sources of infection has been required for each case, and the physicians are said to co-operate fully.

"In Oslo the sources of venereal infection were detected in 50 per cent of cases in 1953, in 49 per cent in 1954, and in 47 per cent in 1955."¹³ The name is given only if treatment is neglected or refused and active legal compulsion is required. Cases are summarized by the local health authorities and reported to the national Department of Social Affairs. No spot-maps are kept, but sources of infection are charted. The only effective sanction for the revealing of sources of infection is the threat of non-treatment at the public clinic. Some infections, especially old cases in the later stages, are being found and reported through the increased practice instituted by employers of routine physical inspection for factory jobs, which is often repeated annually. Others are revealed by serological examinations of the pregnant.¹⁴

Since "professional" prostitution is prohibited and there are no brothels, the chief sources of infection are girls who have other jobs.¹⁵ They are reported to the police only if they do not attend for treatment when notified or (Oslo) when called on by a nurse. Such cases are dealt with by the "Morals Police," consisting largely of women in plain clothes. There are no "raids on prostitutes" in the American sense. Premises are entered only on responsible complaints of disorder; neighbors seldom complain, and full-time prostitutes are so few that this aspect is of little significance. Flagrant disorder is rare. No "lock-hospital" is used; the regular dermatological wards of Oslo's large public hospital suffice when hospitalization is required.

Treatment is apparently no longer dreaded by patients.¹⁶ Most local patients go to private physicians, since insurance covers much of the cost. Of Oslo's 612 new gonorrhoea cases in 1953, 251 (41 per cent) were diagnosed and treated at the Board of Health Clinic.

In Denmark the treatment of venereal diseases has been free and compulsory since 1790, though the new drugs have recently made the program far more effective. The system in other Scandinavian countries seems to have been adopted or adapted from that of Denmark. The principle of free but compulsory treatment does not produce concealment since privacy is safeguarded, and hospitalization is only resorted to for persistent and careless carriers, or for serious degrees of disease. The decrease in new cases is comparable to that in Norway, with comparable rises due to the wars.¹⁷

Finland's system of venereal disease control is comparable to that of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway; in Helsinki, two venereal disease clinics—one for each sex—provide free treatment.¹⁸

INCIDENCE IN NORWAY

The rates per 10,000 of population for gonorrhoea and syphilis in Norway (Fig. 1) show the wartime increase, the postwar peak in

1946, and the rapid decline thereafter. The increase in 1946 after the Liberation to above the wartime rate is attributed by some to increased accuracy in reporting, since physicians could only obtain access to the free penicillin treatment by reporting their cases.¹⁹ Dr. Gjessing thinks that the postwar increase was due to improved economic conditions, the effects of which were thereafter offset by penicillin.²⁰ By 1950, the incidence was reduced to 701 new cases of syphilis (of which 426 were in cities), and 2,415 new cases of gonorrhoea (of which 1,711 were in cities). The national rate (1950) for acquired syphilis was 2.1 per 10,000 population, that for all venereal diseases was 9.6 per 10,000.²¹ The number of new cases was reduced by almost one-third in two years; the *rate* declined by 15 per cent in five years. The new cases were concentrated heavily in Oslo, with Bergen a lagging second. The figures were further reduced (1956 total, 127 acquired syphilis, 2,002 gonorrhoea), and gains have been maintained.

The rate of syphilis per 10,000 population has diminished from 6.6 in 1943 to 0.6 in 1955. In Oslo the rate for the same years is 27 and 0.5 per 10,000 . . . the rate of gonorrhoea per 10,000 population has decreased in Norway from 35.4 in 1946 to 5.6 in 1955. In Oslo the rates of gonorrhoea for the corresponding years are 117 and 16. There seems to be a temporary pause in the decline of gonorrhoea and the number of syphilis cases is now so small that it is perhaps unreasonable to expect further reduction. In 1956 the contagious syphilis rate for Norway dropped to .003 %, and at Oslo no new case of syphilis was reported to the Health Council.²²

Table 39 shows the actual distribution of new cases by age groups. The group of younger males is of course conspicuous.²³

It was the war and postwar peaks that prompted the campaign of public education and circulation of standard pamphlets against and about venereal infections by the national and Oslo health authorities, and by *Norske Folkehjelp*. Further publicity is now considered of less importance, since the facts are widely known, the peak has been passed, and cure is easy.²⁴

TABLE 38

NOTIFIED NEW CASES OF VENEREAL DISEASES IN NORWAY BY YEARS,²⁵ AND RATES PER 10,000 POPULATION

Annual Averages	Acquired Syphilis		Congenital Syphilis		Gonorrhoea	
	Notified Cases	Per 10,000 Population	Notified Cases	Per 10,000 Population	Notified Cases	Per 10,000 Population
1936-40	360	1.2	44	.2	5,356	18.4
1941-45	1,338	4.5	60	.2	6,023	20.0
1946-50	1,211	3.8	72	.2	5,946	18.6
1949	860	2.7	76	.2	3,426	10.6
1950	701	2.1	42	.1	2,415	7.4
1951	477	1.4	51	.2	1,947	5.9
1952	306	.9	32	.1	1,933	5.8
1953	307	.9	32	.1	1,647	4.9
1954	223	.7	24	.1	1,560	4.6
1955	206	.6	20	—	1,866	5.6
Oslo:	24	.5	1	—	738	16.0
1956	127	.003	15	—	2,002	6.±

TABLE 39

NOTIFIED NEW CASES OF VENEREAL DISEASES IN NORWAY BY SEX AND AGE, 1954

Age	Acquired Syphilis		Congenital Syphilis		Gonorrhoea	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
0-1 year	—	—	3	1	—	—
1-4 years	—	—	—	1	—	—
5-14	1	1	2	1	8	5
15-44 "	79	56	6	5	1,016	379
45-64 "	29	24	—	—	53	12
65 and over	4	7	—	—	7	1
Unknown	10	12	3	2	6	18
Total	123	100	14	10	1,145	415

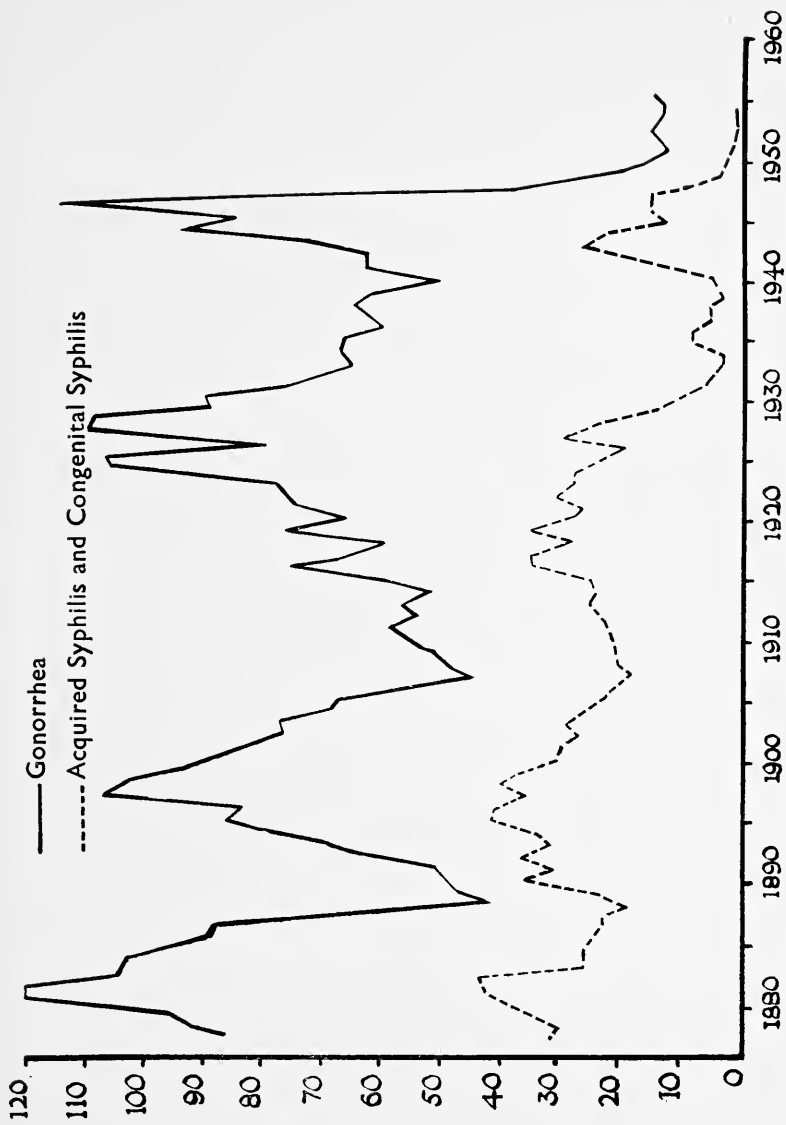


Figure 3. Reported cases of venereal disease in Oslo per 10,000 inhabitants, 1875-1955.³¹

URBAN INCIDENCE

Venereal disease rates in Oslo have been recorded since 1876.

Fluctuation has been very marked, with high points in 1882 (120 per 10,000), 1899, 1916, 1925, 1928, and 1946; and low points in 1888, 1907, 1940, and 1950. The recent range for gonorrhoea in Oslo was from 117 per 10,000 population in 1946 to 16 per 10,000 in 1950; for syphilis it was 27 per 10,000 in 1943 against 3 per 10,000 in 1939 and 1950,²⁶ .5 per 10,000 in 1955, and zero in 1956.²⁷

It will be noted that Oslo had syphilis well under control before World War II. This port city had in 1955 only 780 new cases of venereal diseases, comprising gonorrhoea, 612, and acquired syphilis, 24, as well as 26 cases of late latent and tertiary syphilis.²⁸ This represents a rate of 16 per 10,000 for gonorrhoea, and of 0.5 per 10,000 for early syphilis.²⁹ Of the sources of infection, 38.5 per cent were discovered in 1955, as against 38.6 per cent in 1949 and 30.7 per cent in 1950. Of local sources, 47 per cent were discovered.

Importation of infection from foreign countries plays a large part in Norway. In Oslo, which is a seaport of about 450,000 inhabitants, cases due to foreign contacts varied between 14 to 17 per cent in the last 6 years (1950 to 1955). It is considered that the percentage of importation is less in Norway as a whole than in Oslo.

In the years 1954 and 1955 about 15 per cent of all reported cases of venereal disease in Oslo were seamen.³⁰

In Stavanger, a west coast port of Norway, the incidence of venereal disease was reported to be high during the war, many persons being infected by the members of the occupying Nazi forces.³² Now there is no brothel, the few prostitutes are local girls, and there are only eight or ten known carriers. The police are brought in only if such girls go aboard the ships.³³ There are perhaps forty new syphilis cases and 130 to 140 new gonorrhoea cases per year, and the problem is under control.³⁴ An educational campaign is thought to have contributed to this reduction.³⁵

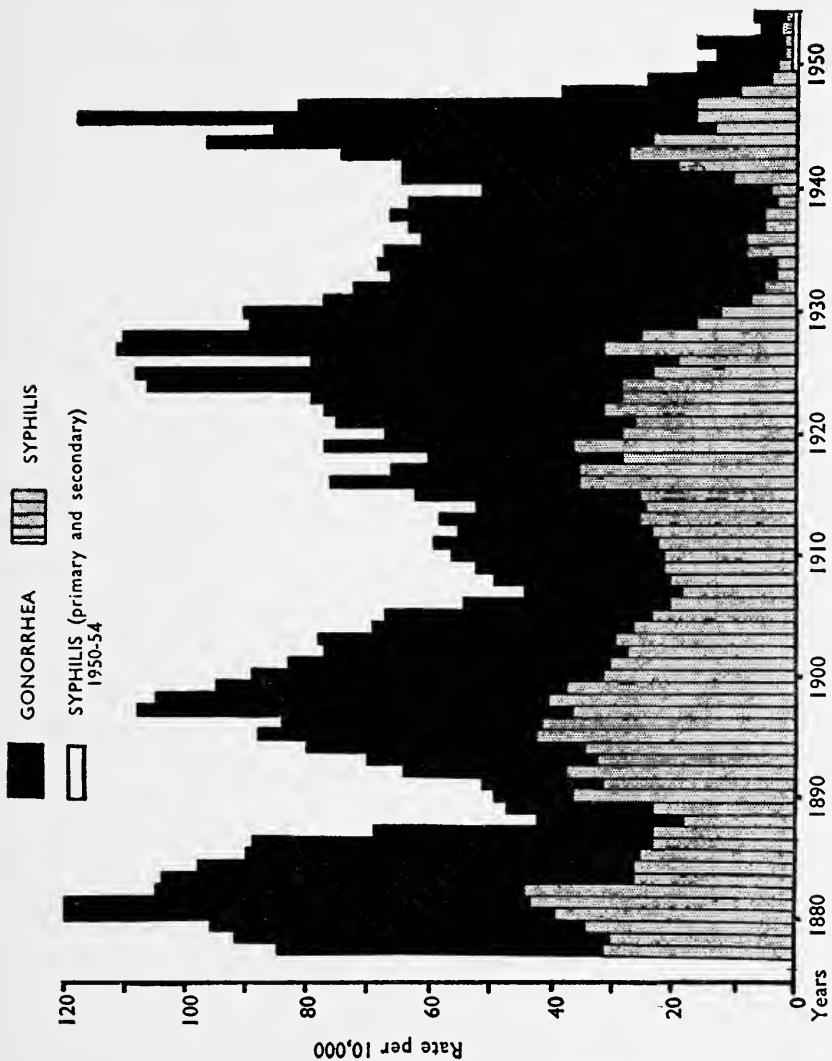


Figure 4. Rates of gonorrhea and syphilis per 10,000 population in Oslo, 1876-1954.³¹

RURAL INCIDENCE

Syphilis rates (primary and secondary) for Norway outside Oslo since 1876 have ranged from one-sixth to one-third of the rates in the capital.³⁶ The war produced a relative increase in rural districts compared with the prewar ratio. Whereas before the war, syphilis appeared twice as frequently among males and gonorrhoea thrice as frequently, during the war gonorrhoea became equally frequent in males and females and syphilis twice as frequent among females as among males.

Venereal diseases are again more rare in the rural areas than in the cities. In 1950, cases of gonorrhoea in rural Norway were only 42 per cent of those in the urban districts;³⁷ in 1953, 47 per cent.³⁸ Of the general population the rural is over twice the urban.³⁹

Comparison with official figures from other Scandinavian countries shows Norway definitely in the lead in the conquest of venereal diseases.⁴⁰

VENEREAL DISEASE AND THE ARMY

Prophylaxis specifically for the prevention of venereal diseases has been available to civilians in Norway through several channels, including commercial sales and physicians' prescription. Advertising is legally forbidden, but proceeds by transparent euphemisms, such as "hygienic articles." Prophylaxis became a public issue only in relation to army practices,⁴¹ and especially in regard to Norway's so-called "Germany Brigade," the token Occupation force kept in the British zone of Germany until 1953. Dr. H. C. Gjessing's reports show that practically all the new cases of V.D. brought into Norway since the war, apart from those involving sailors in the ports, came from the "Germany Brigade." It was a self-defeating price to pay for a symbol of victory, national pride, and official morality.

The postwar increase in the incidence of both civilian and military venereal disease created an emergency. Enlisted men found infected were turned over to civil health authorities, and the tests gave only 0.14 per cent positive reactions.⁴² Welfare work, recreation, and

propaganda were increased, but their effectiveness was discounted by the army physicians.

It is interesting to note that prophylaxis has been and is compulsory for merchant seamen,⁴³ an important group in the Norwegian labor force, without apparent objection from religious groups, some of which maintain elaborate social services for sailors on board and in ports, even overseas. Prophylactic packets had been issued free to the army during the war and the practice was continued in Norway in the first year after the war. But in 1946, strong opposition arose from various religious groups.

Because of the public controversy, the Defense Department set up a special committee in 1946. This military committee represented the army medical corps, the three defense branches, the chaplains, the welfare organizations, and the Health Directorate. Before July, 1947, a small informal committee met to organize the opposition. Lutheran leaders headed by Bjarne Hareide launched a giant petition of protest, supported by religious and conservative groups, claiming that the standardizing of prophylactic procedures would indicate official acceptance if not endorsement of extra-marital indulgence. The petition circulated through organizations and individuals, and was supported by 442,000 people. An analysis of the sources of support shows that many of the signatures represent groups.

The argument was not presented on legal grounds. It was claimed that whereas soldiers had hitherto been individually free to purchase prophylactics, official recognition of their use would seem to offer an assurance, an advertisement, an encouragement to indulgence objectionable to Christian morality.⁴⁴

This claim that the army procedure would lead some boys into sexual intercourse who would not otherwise be corrupted was partly countered by the findings of a voluntary questionnaire answered by 421 of 423 recruits twenty to twenty-one years of age, 82.2 per cent of whom had previously had intercourse:⁴⁵ 71.7 per cent before the age of nineteen, the year of conscription, and 36 per cent by the age of sixteen.⁴⁶

On November 20, 1947, the report from the military committee (No. 204, 1945-46) was approved unanimously except for the section on the routine issue of packets, but this section was also passed in parliament by 76 to 45 votes:

TABLE 40
PARLIAMENTARY VOTES ON MILITARY VENEREAL
PROPHYLAXIS, 1947

For:	Against:
8 Communist party	10 Conservative party
8 Conservative party	19 Liberal party
60 Labor party	9 Farmers party
—	7 Christian People's party
—	—
76	45

The Defense Department continued the practice until 1948, but packets have since been issued only on personal application to the health corporal, who was to keep no list, but to report to the divisional medical officer if any one soldier requested so many that re-sales were suspected.

A special Defense Department committee on the problem "fopped" because the chaplains' representative could not co-operate with the others because of their position in regard to routine issuance of condoms with instructions. The medical corps was therefore left uninformed of whatever informative efforts the chaplains might exert, but continued to co-operate with welfare and recreational agencies, gave lectures to the soldiers, and distributed pamphlet literature. Their films were considered not too good. The medical officers doubt that the lectures prevented many contacts but they did increase the use of prophylaxis and the early treatment of infections. Despite dissent on the issue of packets, there was unanimous approval of setting up prophylactic stations, but this was done for the "Germany Brigade" only.

The army also traced the sources of infection in 52 per cent of the cases, a larger percentage than that obtained in civilian medical practice. Sources, and soldiers discharged uncured, continued to be reported to the civilian health authorities.

A study of 113 infected cases showed that 99 (88 per cent) had not used condoms, and that in three of the remaining fourteen the condom had broken. Without information on the number of exposures without preventives *and* without infection, there is no proof of the effect of condoms, but the rates of infection diminished with their use.

As late as 1952, the newspapers carried front-page stories with such headings as, "Norwegian Soldiers' Intercourse with German Girls Statistically Revealed." The many cases of venereal disease were said to be due to drink and to neglect of preventives. According to Berdal,⁴⁷ 42 per cent of the soldiers in the latest brigade had intercourse in Germany.⁴⁸ There were 202 new cases of syphilis and 646 new cases of gonorrhoea among 22,000 Norwegians in Germany in two and one-half years. In six months of 1949, the rate was 4.1, but in 10,000 men in the home divisions not a single case was reported. In the same period, the gonorrhoea rate for the "Germany Brigade" was thirteen times the rate for the home divisions, which was almost down to the civilian level. For some reason, sergeants' rates were six or seven times higher than those of private soldiers and officers. While 78 per cent of infections occurred in Germany, the rate for those on leave in other continental countries was higher (in one brigade ten times higher) than for those remaining in Germany.

Of those exposing themselves to risk, only 30 per cent of a sample of 2,700 men used condoms. The high rates were also attributed in part to the location of the camps, to the largely unchecked increase of V.D. in postwar Germany, the accessibility of German women, and the use of alcohol. The recent reduction of these rates in units serving in Germany was attributed in part to propaganda and instruction. There had been no reduction in German civilian rates.

These military, religious, and preventive aspects are mentioned

here because of the continuing recurrence of war and "occupation" situations in overseas armed forces, and the factors of public opinion involved in their control. So far as Norway is concerned, the withdrawal of the "Germany Brigade" in 1953, and the virtual elimination of venereal disease in Norway, make prophylaxis no longer a public problem—though facilities are still accessible. Dr. Gjessing considers that penicillin is now so effective against gonorrhoea that there is relatively less need than formerly for prophylactics.⁴⁹

From the present evidence it seems clear that Norway has now protected its families from venereal diseases to the point where even a program of education for family life (which should of course retain the major medical facts) needs to lay little stress on the subject as compared with the normal personal, familial, and social aspects of sex.⁵⁰

¹ B. J. Hovde, *The Scandinavian Countries, 1720-1865* (Boston: Chapman and Grimes, 1943), II, 584.

² R. J. Fuglesang, *Rasehygiene og Sosialpolitikk* (Oslo: Brage, 1944).

³ Moreover, the Occupation's authorities forbade German citizens to go to Norwegian physicians for the treatment of V.D. This had a bad effect as many Germans were afraid to visit their own doctors for fear of degradation or spoiling their chances of advancement (H. C. Gjessing, personal communication, 1954).

⁴ H. C. Gjessing, "Venereal Diseases Past and Present in Norway with Special Reference to Oslo," *British Journal of Venereal Diseases*, XXXII (1956), 86-90.

⁵ Karl Evang, (ed.), *Populaert Tidsskrift for Seksueloplysning og Helselaere* (Oslo, 1932-35).

⁶ Helsedirektøren (Oslo), *Veiledning for Pasienter med Gonoré* (Oslo, 1946); Helsedirektøren (Oslo), *Veiledning for Pasienter med Syphilis* (Oslo, 1946).

⁷ In Sweden, by contrast (in April, 1946), 94 per cent knew that they must do something if a venereal disease infection is suspected; 52 per cent believed syphilis curable, while 40 per cent did not know.

⁸ Ivan Rummelhoff, *Folkehelseforeningens Tidsskrift*, No. 5, 1949.

⁹ Helsedirektoratet, Sosialdepartementet, *Ad. Lov om Åtgender mot Kjønnssykdommer* (pamphlets 68/47 and 9/49, 1948). Law of December 12, 1947.

¹⁰ There is a nominal fee (Kr. 2) for treatment, but since 1911 venereal diseases have been covered by health insurance which embraces all those below a certain income and many (voluntarily) above that level.

¹¹ H. C. Gjessing, *Tidsskrift av Norske Laegeforening*, LXV, 296; H. C. Gjessing, *ibid.*, LXIX, 92, 296; H. C. Gjessing, *Acta dermatologica-venereologica*, XXXI (Stockholm, 1951), 249; H. C. Gjessing, *Helserådets Arbeid med de Veneriske Sykdommer* (Helserrådet, Oslo, n.d.).

¹² H. C. Gjessing, "Venereal Diseases . . . in Norway . . .," *loc. cit.* (1956), p. 89.

¹³ Providing the longest series in Europe (since 1884), according to H. C. Gjessing. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 88.

¹⁴ The foregoing statements are largely based on interviews with Dr. Iversen of the Oslo Board of Health and with Dr. Gjessing of the Venereal Division. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 89.

¹⁵ In the postwar peak of incidence, the Oslo chart shows only infections of Norwegian girls. German soldiers had to be treated by German army doctors.

¹⁶ Interview with Dr. Iversen, Oslo Board of Health.

¹⁷ *Social Denmark* (Socialt Tidsskrift, Copenhagen, 1945-47), pp. 218-20.

¹⁸ O. Brunn, *Administration of the City of Helsinki* (Helsinki, 1950), p. 39.

¹⁹ A. Strøm, and K. Grette, *Nord. Med.*, XXXVII (1948), 522.

²⁰ H. Hauste in *Handbuch der Sozialen Hygiene*, A. Gottstein, A. Schlossmann, and L. Teleky (eds.) (Berlin: Springer, 1926), III, 624, 773.

²¹ *Sunnhetstilstanden og Medisinal Forholdene, 1950* (Statistisk Sentralbyrå, Oslo, 1952), pp. 57, 58, 147; *ibid.* (1953), p. 54.

²² *News of Norway*, XIV (February 14, 1957), 4. See also *Statistisk Årbok for Norge, 1953*, p. 40; 1957, p. 42; *Beretning om kjønnsykdommer i Oslo i året 1955* (Oslo Helseråd, 1956), p. 33; and Gjessing, *op. cit.*, *supra*, note 4 (1956), p. 90. The Health Directorate planned a special drive against congenital syphilis, 1955.

²³ *Befolkningsstatistiske oppgaver for 1954* (mimeo.) (Statistisk Sentralbyrå, February 1956), p. 17.

²⁴ This opinion is based chiefly on an interview with and reports from Dr. H. C. Gjessing.

²⁵ *Befolkningsstatistiske oppgaver for 1953, 1954* (mimeo.) (Statistisk Sentralbyrå, January 1955), p. 18; (February 1956), p. 18. Since 1953, early acquired syphilis has been separately reported, as in other nations. Figure 1 was provided by Oslo Health Council and up-dated.

²⁶ Cf. letter from Oslo Helseråd, January 31, 1951; cf. also *Statistisk Årbok for Norge, 1956*, p. 41.

²⁷ *Beretning om Kjønnssykdommer i Oslo i Året 1950, 1955* (Oslo Helseråd, 1951, 1957), p. 33.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, Oslo Helseråd, 1953 (annual report).

²⁹ *Beretning . . . loc. cit.*; H. C. Gjessing, personal communication, April 23, 1953.

³⁰ H. C. Gjessing, personal communication, June 19, 1954, and H. C. Gjessing, *loc. cit.*, *supra*, note 4 (1956), p. 89.

³¹ Charts and data by courtesy of Oslo Helseråd, and *British Journal of Venereal Diseases*, XXXII (1956), 5. See also *Beretning . . . 1955, loc. cit.*, p. 38.

³² Venereal diseases have, throughout the history of the Western nations, been blamed on foreign contacts. In Oslo in 1952, of 695 new cases of gonorrhoea, 13.4 per cent and of 75 new cases of syphilis, 18.7 per cent were of foreign origin.

³³ Interview with local police inspector.

³⁴ Interview with Dr. Dahl, city physician, Stavanger.

³⁵ Interview with Dr. Jørgen Brommeland, Stavanger.

³⁶ H. Hauste in, *op. cit.*

³⁷ *Sunnhetstilstanden og Medisinal Forholdene, 1950* (Statistisk Sentralbyrå, Oslo, 1952), p. 147.

³⁸ Letter of Dr. Gjessing, July 31, 1954.

³⁹ *Statistisk Årbok for Norge 1957*, p. 7.

⁴⁰ *Statistisk Årsbok for Sverige 1953*, pp. 8, 244; 1955, p. 253. Gonorrhoea: 1.95 per 1,000 population in 1953; 1.85 per 1,000 (estimated) in 1954. Syphilis: .03 per 1,000 population in 1953; .02 per 1,000 (estimated) in 1954.

Social Denmark (Socialt Tidsskrift, Copenhagen, 1945-47), pp. 219-20. Cf. *Statistisk Årbog 1951*, p. 41; 1953, pp. 5, 34; 1955, p. 33. Gonorrhoea: 1.73 per 1,000 population in 1953; 1.87 per 1,000 in 1954. Syphilis: .034 per 1,000 in 1953; .026 in 1954.

Statistisk Årsbok för Finland 1952, p. 60; 1955, p. 279. Gonorrhoea: 1.24 per 1,000 in 1953; 1.35 in 1954. Syphilis: 0.16 per 1,000 in 1953; .013 in 1954. Cf. also Thomas D. Eliot, "Norway Conquers Venereal Disease," *British Journal of Venereal Diseases*, XXXI (1956), 3, 5-6.

⁴¹ Cf. *Forhandlinger i Stortinget*, No. 164, p. 146 (July 10). Interpellation from Ramndal (Liberal) on the moral level among the soldiers. General debate, Hauge replying.

⁴² U.S. white recruits 1940-42 showed 1 per cent positive at twenty to twenty-five years of age.

⁴³ Interview with Dr. Iversen, Oslo Board of Health.

⁴⁴ The foregoing account is based upon an interview with Dr. Bjarne Hareide, director of the Institute for Christian Education.

⁴⁵ A similar study in Sweden gave 81 per cent. Studies of students showed much lower rates: 58 per cent and 36 per cent.

⁴⁶ This is the age at which one west coast religious crusader against grammar school sex education considered boys "ready" for it

⁴⁷ T. Berdal, *Tidsskrift av Norske Lægeforening*, LXX (March 1950), 221.

⁴⁸ *Dagbladet* (Oslo), April 4, 1950.

⁴⁹ Cf. also interview of Dr. Mellbye of the National Health Directorate, November, 1950.

⁵⁰ The foregoing chapter is adapted from the articles by Thomas D. Eliot, "Norway Conquers Venereal Disease," *British Journal of Venereal Diseases*, XXXI (1955), 2-8; H. C. Gjessing, *Beretning om kjønnsykdommer i Oslo i Aret 1953, 1955*; and H. C. Gjessing, *op. cit.*, *supra*, note 4 (1956), pp. 86-90.

XXI

Protection of Family Health

SINCE most people are in families, one might say that most health care is family care. But politically and administratively, there is a difference between individuals' problems individualistically handled and problems arising in families because they are families and dealt with by organized preventive measures or curative services for family members as such, as part of an overall public "family policy." This family policy (*familiepolitikk*) in Norway is nowhere more clearly seen than in its public health and insurance programs.

Basic to health control are birth registration and the statistics based thereon which guide the provision of facilities and personnel on both the casework and community levels.

Birth records provide the base upon which mortality, morbidity, etc., can be measured, and can be used for public health follow-ups. Birth records do not, however, offer much directly on the health of the baby concerned, aside from facts of prematurity at birth. Birth registration is handled largely through parish pastors serving as registrars, though there are alternate channels.

The general death rate (per 1,000 living) has moved as follows:¹

TABLE 41

	1940	1945	1950	1954	1955
Rural	10.6	9.6	8.8	8.4	8.2
Urban	11.5	10.1	10.0	9.1	9.1
National	10.9	9.7	9.1	8.6	8.5

This represents a drop of 22 per cent in fourteen years. In 1954, the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company reported Norway's *age-*

adjusted death rates from selected causes to be the lowest in the world: 8.14 per 1,000 males, 6.40 for females.

Comparable rates in neighboring countries were:

TABLE 42

	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955
Sweden ²	10.0	9.9	9.6	—	—	—
Denmark ³	9.2	8.8	9.0	—	—	—
Finland ⁴	10.1	10.0	9.5	9.6	9.1	9.3

The American general death rate for 1950 was 9.6.⁵

Family health in general had been brought to high levels, both in disease control and in protection and treatment, between the world wars. It received a sharp setback from the Nazi Occupation, which drained the country and grossly maladministered its various health services and facilities. Forgotten diseases reappeared. It took five years to regain pre-Occupation levels.⁶

Currently, the chief health problem remains tuberculosis, which has been called a "family-" or "housing-disease." There are about 2,100 new cases per year,⁷ a third between twenty-five and fifty years of age:⁸ and about 400 deaths annually, a decreasing rate. There is a vigorous nation-wide campaign against it. The National Women's Health Association, for example, carries on wholesale testing campaigns, with special preventive services for children. New cases increased during the Occupation, but mortality continued to decline. In 1920, tuberculosis took 19 per cent of all deaths by sickness; in 1950, 3.5 per cent;⁹ in 1954, 1.6 per cent; 1955, 2 per cent. At a cost of Kr. 10 per day, Oslo gives annually to preschool children threatened with tuberculosis four to five weeks of holiday camp at thirty-one fresh air colonies. The total cost was about Kr. 2,200,000 for 1955-56.¹⁰

As for health services, Norway provides for most illness costs with fees paid by health insurance or private philanthropy; also state control of apothecaries, district physicians and midwives, and sub-

sides to maternal and child health centers, school dentistry and nursing. On the other hand, there are strong private organizations in the public health field, and strong medical and dental associations undominated by the health departments, local or national, but co-operating fully.¹¹ There is one doctor to about every 1,000¹¹—a ratio better than Sweden's but equalled by Denmark's.¹² Finland's was 1 per 2,000¹³ and Sweden's 1 per 1,400 (1951).¹⁴

The geographic dispersion and isolation of many Norwegian families make state support for accessible medical care a necessity. Plans are operating or under way by which district physicians in remote areas may rotate, or come in to the cities for periods of learning and stimulation; specialists also move from one district-station to another, for consultations and demonstrations.¹⁵

INSURANCE FOR MEDICAL CARE

A major provision for family health is, of course, the Sickness Fund (*Sykekasse*). The economic and administrative aspects of this form of social insurance are discussed in our Chapter XVI. Here, we stress the principle that, although the account is in the name of the individual income-receiver, it is his or her *whole family as such* that is protected for medical benefits. Also that this system of medical benefits is considered (as in Denmark) both by the insured and by the medical practitioners to be far more self-respecting and "democratic" than services given either in whole or in part for charity, or through private philanthropy or through public relief.

It is hard to find many people in the two classes that might be expected to oppose it most, the doctors and the well-to-do, who are seriously dissatisfied. The doctors like the security it affords them. The well-to-do like the stimulus it gives the poor man to provide against adversity—the "help to self-help"—reasoning that without the plan their tax money would still be used for medical care for the poor, but in the "degrading" form of relief rather than in the uplifting form of insurance benefits. Neither group is ready for putting the entire medical bill on the governmental budget.¹⁶

Each family freely chooses its own physician, but salaried district physicians and midwives are placed in the numerous isolated areas.¹⁷

During free hospitalization or maternity home care, family allowances are based upon wages, but less. Most local insurance plans include care during pregnancy. Not only maternity and child care, but all hospitalizations are covered. Norway's hospitals are 80 per cent public owned: the system started under the Danish régime.

Sickness insurance was first operated in industries, later by clubs and lodges. Demand for public health insurance began in the 1880's; the first law came in September, 1909, for low income employees. It was built upon the voluntary organizations but included contributions from state and township as well as from employers, and voluntary access for non-group members. This program was rapidly expanded by a succession of amendments to include additional groups and benefits, until practically all Norwegian families are covered-in for all medical costs other than the difference between standard fees for physicians and those of private practice. Premiums and per diem benefits were graded by income, but medical benefits are equal. Almost any healthy persons not covered compulsorily may join voluntarily, with or without the wage insurance feature. The state contributes to premiums only for persons with annual incomes under a maximum (recently some \$2,100).

These medical benefits include:

1. Medical attention.
2. Materials of medical care.
3. Physical treatments prescribed.
4. Hospital care (public or emergency).
5. Midwifery or maternity home care.
6. Transportation of doctor or midwife to place of treatment.
7. Correction of congenital defects.

A lump sum toward funeral care is also provided.

1959 was set for the completion of Norway's social security system, including a new Old Age Pension Act and insurance to cover occupational injuries and disabilities.

Under the new universal coverage, not only is there free choice of physician, but liberalized benefits since 1956 include standard fees for hospital and medical care without time limit, maternity care, surgery, costly necessary medicines, and remedial therapies.¹⁸

Maternity aid includes free delivery by physician or midwife, and special treatments of birth injuries or congenital defects. Physicians bill their patients and the fund has paid about two-thirds, either as a rebate to patient or directly to the doctor. The physician may also receive travel costs from the fund.

In 1957, a new maternity aid act was under preparation in the Social Affairs Department. "An effective maternity aid program is considered to be of utmost importance. Several specialists within the various institutions dealing with child welfare are working on this scheme" nearing completion.^{18a}

SCANDINAVIAN COMPARISONS

In Finland, there is no "sykkasse," no general social insurance for payment of medical fees in part or whole. Instead, there are 330 salaried township physicians, rural mostly, who handle both public aid and personal health including child health, venereal disease, etc., gratis. There are state grants to the townships. Such physicians are permitted also to have private practice, which provides much of their income. The law provides that per case payments of physicians for free services are agreed upon by local associations of physicians in negotiation with the authorities. The state and townships provide hospitals, and the government pays at least 85 per cent of patients' hospital costs. Some industries operate illness insurance schemes, covering 200,000 workers and (in part) their dependents. This system may be extended to all workers' families, and opened to others as voluntary members.

Denmark provides public health nursing services to families (300 visiting nurses, 1948). The health services, personnel, and hospitals are organized by the state and local governments. There are both official and private physicians, but most physicians have no public

appointments while most hospitals are public under local governments. The latter policy is a century and a half old: there is one bed per one hundred inhabitants. There are also twenty-five central hospitals. Health insurance, however, is not based on public funds, but is based upon virtually compulsory membership in either "sick clubs" or insurance companies, which insure full medical care to their member families and pay some 2,000 general practitioners on a panel basis (not over 2,500 patients per physician in Copenhagen).¹⁹ Eighty per cent or more of the public is covered; the clubs are subsidized and regulated. The complex system is considered clumsy and probably will be made universal and equalized. Some benefits vary from club to club and from income level to income level; some are limited by law or regulation, as to time or cost, but maternity and child health are well covered. Danish sick clubs provide a modest funeral benefit. Preventive services (tests, diagnoses, etc.) are paid for by government, not by the sick clubs. The anti-tuberculosis program is more advanced than Norway's.²⁰

In Sweden (as in Denmark), the basis of health security has been in sickness insurance societies, some of them under labor or temperance auspices, all regulated and subsidized by government. Groups as well as individuals could join. Benefits have covered only two-thirds of all medical fees, and coverage of incidental services varied from club to club. Children under fifteen are covered, as in Denmark and Norway.²¹ Maternity benefits are in addition to confinement benefits provided through other legislation:²² medical benefits will cover three-fourths of fees. Requiring families to pay a quarter of the (regulated) medical fees is considered a deterrent to abuse of the services; some Danes think it *too* deterrent of legitimate use of medical services.

The Swedish system is thus rather similar to the Norwegian. A semi-official appraisal of the Swedish system reads:

The fears expressed by some doctors, that a state activity in this field would hamper or prevent the practising doctor's exercise of his profession, have proved themselves to be unjustified. On the contrary, the work, for

instance of our child welfare centers, has increased the interest of the public in child welfare and private pediatricians are busier than ever before. If we endeavor to keep as strict a borderline as possible between prophylactic and curative medical care, then I do not believe that the former will in any way hamper the latter. This, however, presupposes that the state medical activities are not so organized as to make private medical practice impossible. There is a risk in medical bureaucracy, and we must guard and foster that personal contact between the patient and the doctor, which is a necessary condition for all satisfactory medical activity. A socialization would, for the medical profession, mean a lowering of standards which is in direct opposition to the interests of the country. The duty of the state is, however, to organize medical care in such a manner that every person, irrespective of his income, can obtain the best medical care.

In my opinion the Swedish system shows very clearly that this can be done without undermining private medical practice.²³

INFANT AND MATERNAL MORTALITY

Infant mortality and maternal mortality are often used as indices of family health in any given population. The maternal mortality per 1,000 childbirths in Norway was .78 in 1952, .62 in 1954, .67 in 1955.²⁴ The rate in Denmark (1952) was .6.²⁵ Finland's rate (1951) was 1.2,²⁶ Sweden's (1950) .61.

Norway's infant mortality per 1,000 live births has moved as follows:²⁷

TABLE 43

	1938	1941	1943	1948	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955
General	37.3	43.0	35.4	29.6	28.2	25.7	23.7	22.0	21.4	20.6
Rural	37.4	44.2	36.6	29.7	47.9	26.3	24.4	23.2	22.5	21.3
Urban	37.2	38.5	31.4	29.3	27.3	23.9	21.8	18.8	18.5	18.6

The general rate has dropped 45 per cent in seventeen years. The rate for Oslo in 1947 was 24.2;²⁸ in 1955, 14.2.²⁹

Comparable infant mortality rates for other Scandinavian lands were as follows:

TABLE 44

	1942	1943	1944	1945	1946	1947	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956
Denmark ³⁰	47	45	48	48	46	40	35	34	31	29	29	27	27	25	25
Sweden ³¹	29	29	30	30	26	25	23	23	20	21	20	19.7	18.7	17.4	
Finland ³²									43.5	35.4	31.8	34.2	30.6	29.7	

MIDWIFERY

The vocation of midwifery is traditionally, professionally, and legally accepted in Norway since at least 1818. Some 800 of the approximately 1,400 midwives registered in 1957 are publicly appointed to practice in about 1,000 midwifery districts. These are paid two-fifths by the state, two-fifths by the country, one-fifth by the township: also by extra fees from the relief service for cases not covered by health insurance, and to a minor extent from private practice. Practically all births are thus cared for, even in remote areas, with medical aid in more difficult cases *if accessible*. The midwives are under district physicians. Within the past generation, an increasing proportion (80 per cent) of deliveries occurs in hospitals or small maternity homes, partly because of better transportation and crowded housing,³³ and under the encouragement of the public health authorities; but this trend reduces the outpatient practice of the district midwives, and thus reduces their basis for earning a living. To meet this situation, plans have gone forward since 1947 to combine the midwives' training with public health nursing training, and thus extend their status and role.³⁴ The state's subsidy per delivery is also larger, the fewer the births in the area. With improved transport, midwives can be tied in with the local, officially regulated maternity homes, the district physicians, "health houses," and child health centers, and fewer midwives should then be needed.³⁵ By 1958 there were midwives at 300 health centers.

Midwives are trained in two official schools and in the cities'

clinics at Oslo and at Bergen (seventy-five per year in the one-year course).³⁶ Educational requirements include completed nurses' training and age between twenty-two and thirty-five years (with certain exceptions). Midwifery is considered a specialization within nursing. Any graduate of both trainings gets a double license.³⁷ Midwives' previously low pay may thus be improved.³⁸ Refresher courses are required under the new curriculum but are too short, and better inspection is thought to be needed.

It remains to be seen whether the new plan will better meet the needs of dispersed families in remote areas where there is still much ignorance and superstition. In Norway, midwives do not go to live in the home before and after the birth. Many families need such help.³⁹

There are two midwife organizations, one of which is politically active. So far as the cities are concerned, the vocation may become extinct, since the hospitals are increasingly taking over, and midwives must either get into hospital practice through a doctor or be unemployed.⁴⁰

SCANDINAVIAN COMPARISONS

In Denmark, also, midwives must be specially trained and registered to practice. They are often paid by the municipality. Practically all babies are born with at least a midwife in attendance. In Denmark, midwives are on the decrease: there were about 350 midwives in 1948; 775 in 1952; 759 in 1953; 728 in 1954; 702 in 1955. The population is less dispersed than Norway's. Public midwives are appointed only where those in private practice (whose fees are low and graduated to income, but guaranteed by government) cannot handle the number of cases. Practically all births are attended by midwives,⁴¹ two-thirds at home.⁴² Members of the sickness insurance "clubs" get midwife (and doctor if necessary) free.

In Sweden, more than four-fifths of all confinements are institutional. The fee is only one krona per day, which matches merely the estimated saving in food. If the birth is at home, the midwife's

service is free, necessary equipment being paid for by the local authorities.⁴³ License to practice (from the medical authorities) requires a diploma from a standard course at a Swedish midwife school, can be revoked for cause, and requires a refresher course every tenth year.⁴⁴ Salaries of district midwives are subsidized by the state through the townships. About eight hundred are employed by provincial councils. They work under medical supervision.⁴⁵ Sweden employed a total of 1,780 midwives in 1955.⁴⁶

In Finland, communal midwives are also utilized, under medical guidance. Since 1944, Finland provides in every township free nursing and midwife care through maternal and child health centers. The state pays three-fourths of their salaries, the doctor's fees, and three-fourths of the investment in the centers; the township pays the rest. In 1953, hospitals cared for 71.1 per cent of the births, midwives 27.2 per cent. In 1954, the latter figure had fallen to 24.5 per cent. There were 1,509 midwives registered in 1954; 1,603 in 1955.⁴⁷

Since 1937, Finland has given maternity grants (in cash and in kind) to each mother soliciting them.⁴⁸ In Finland, maternity benefits include necessities for confinement and a free layette.⁴⁹

MATERNAL AND INFANT CARE

As early as 1892, employment was prohibited for nursing mothers—but they lost their income for that period unless a benevolent employer elected to donate it. Under health insurances, the confinement benefits covered this loss (1909). In 1915, payment for obstetric care was provided as social insurance benefit. By 1936, labor legislation required six weeks' leave both before and after childbirth.⁵⁰ For mothers without husbands, this loss of job income was offset by a grant, varying with need. Most public jobs and some private concerns continue pay during the interval.

As in the United States, it was certain physicians who first pushed for programs of parent education in child care; in Norway, Dr. Alexander Brinchmann was a pioneer. The first improvements were in terms of giving the baby some peace, quiet, and regularity of

feeding and sleep. Regularity of schedule was probably over-emphasized for a time, as in the United States, but it was the same leaders who again pioneered the shift toward flexibility of regimen—letting babies find their own bodily rhythm and stressing sequence rather than precise intervals.

Knowledge of physical child care has been disseminated through maternal and infant health centers, through home economics courses, and through the printed word. Legal, economic, and organizational measures for family protection have proceeded simultaneously.

Norway is well supplied with books on health for household use, especially in the fields of sex hygiene and maternal and child hygiene. Some of these overlap with materials on child-rearing.⁵¹ Among the best known are:

- A. Brinchmann, *Barnets Første År* ("The Child's First Year"), Gyldendal Norsk, Oslo, 1929-45 (6 editions) (41,110 copies sold to January 1951).
- K. G. Koht, *Barna Våre* ("Our Children"), Cappelen, Oslo, 1944 (4 editions) (9,969 sold to January, 1951).
- L. Salomønsen and R. Rinvik, *Barnet: Dets Ernaering og Stell* ("The Child: Its Nurture and Care"), Aschehoug, Oslo, 1945 (9,725 sold to January, 1951).
- A. Sundal, *Mor og Barn* ("Mother and Child"), Fabritius, Oslo, 1945 (14 editions) (101,470 sold to January, 1951).
- (Many authors) *Vår Helse* ("Our Health"), 3 vols., Nasjonalforlag, Oslo, 1950.⁵²

HEALTH CENTERS

By 1957 there were over 1,400 maternity hygiene clinics, and the need was considered by Dr. Else Johanning of the Health Directorate to be virtually covered. In relation to population (3,500,000+, 1958) Norway had more health stations for mothers and children than any other country. Services are free as condition of the parliamentary subsidies (Kr. 200,000 in 1958). District medical and nursing services operate in about two-thirds of the centers.^{52a}

In many communes, there are maternal hygiene centers providing free examination and advice for maternity, infancy, and preschool periods. Of these, 45 per cent have been launched and are owned and operated by the Norwegian Women's Health Association (the largest nation-wide women's organization) which arose (1896) at a time when the Red Cross was dominated by the Swedish hegemony.⁵³ The centers are open to all, whether or not covered by social insurance, and are subsidized by the local governments. This aspect of the organization's work has expanded rapidly. Forty of the centers are housed in their own working-houses.⁵⁴ Sick children are referred to other physicians.

In 1955, Oslo had thirty-five health centers (five municipal). About 80 per cent of Oslo's babies are registered in these clinics. In 1954, there were 30,000 visits of babies; 14,500 of preschool children; 6,000 expectant mothers.⁵⁵ Prenatal care is stressed, and babies are brought for checkups at increasing intervals up to school age.

The N.W.H.A. (or "N.K.S.") circulates several excellent pamphlets⁵⁶ and routes itinerant nurse-lecturers. Some of these deal with problems of prospective and actual mothers, including care of self and child. One of the pamphlets (by Åse Gruda Skard) goes far beyond the physical care of infants into the development and management of the child's affective life, sex education, etc. (A survey had revealed widespread ignorance of proper diet for the pregnant and for infants.⁵⁷)

New projects are stimulated by national headquarters, undertaken by local efforts. Locals must consult national headquarters when initiating new programs.

N.K.S. advises and helps employed women and homekeepers in their personal health⁵⁸ and in household cleanliness,⁵⁹ and it has an active program for homekeepers' vacations and substitutes. N.K.S. has nineteen "vacation colonies" for some 1,200 children from crowded homes, per summer.⁶⁰ It also operates twelve kindergartens (day nurseries) as mothers' aid.⁶¹

Many of N.K.S.' centers employ a public health nurse for mater-

nal and child welfare service, and the organization owns and operates five nurses' schools (2,500 graduates). These nurses serve the clinics, lecture on tour, or practice in the homes of isolated areas. Courses in home nursing are also provided. Mothers are taught to make baby clothes, care for the infants, etc. Natural childbirth and breast feeding are encouraged. All services are free.

In addition to the 536 maternal and child health centers (1952) operated by the Women's Health Association (N.K.S.), there are 295 operated by the National Association against Tuberculosis and for People's Health,⁶² fifty-eight by the Housewives' League,⁶³ fifty-six by the Red Cross, one hundred and fifty by separate townships, and a scattering under other auspices. These carry on combinations of services similar to those of the Women's Health Association.⁶⁴ In 1956, about 1,400 health stations were in operation.^{64a}

The larger centers provide several specialists, physical, mental, and social.

Each of these centers or stations serves on the average a population of 2,500, but there is a wide range from county to county and from township to township. Bergenhus (16,097) and Oslo (11,710 per station) raise the general average, which otherwise might be around 1,600 per station. In sparsely settled areas of the north, distance may make up for numbers, but the coverage is very uneven. The ratio ranges from 338 to 14,488 per station. Several stations are traveling units.

A favorite goal of Dr. Karl Evang, national director of health, has been to house all the family services for a community in a "health house." The health centers fell heir to Kr. 2,000,000 of the child welfare funds available at the time of the Liberation. A fourth of this was later transferred by parliament to child-caring institutions in 1951, over the protest of the Health Director,⁶⁵ who had proposed less separation of health and welfare services, and a more expanded type of health-plus-child-welfare center (*belsehus*), jointly housed as a matter of economy and of effectiveness and including living quarters in some areas. The fund was to pay half the cost of such quarters

in each commune, so long as it might last—the remainder to come from local sources, the Women's Health Association, etc. The combined program proposed would serve every aspect of family health. Thus far, there are only a few such places to serve as models.

It has been proposed that Kr. 600,000 be earmarked for the building of 'health houses', each offering several family health services with administrative and organizational quarters and meeting rooms, so that each county would have at least one. It was also proposed that standards of practice in the stations be raised by visitation of traveling specialists, and eventually by resident consultants in these specialties, with graduate institutes and refresher courses for the isolated medical personnel.⁶⁶

There are, in the larger cities, the beginnings of mental hygiene clinics for children.

SCANDINAVIAN COMPARISONS

In Denmark, the laws of 1939 and 1945 provide for and require hygienic measures for pregnancy, thus making voluntarily established centers (such as Norway's) unnecessary. Indeed, public maternal welfare centers had been set up under the 1939 law, partly as an attempt to remove *social* causes of abortions.⁶⁷ Under a law of 1945, every parent may have all children under seven medically examined free of charge, thrice during the first year, annually thereafter.⁶⁸ Public health nurses visit (uninvited) during the first year of infancy.

The Danish program provides free pregnancy examinations by doctor and midwife, midwife training, free midwifery and surgery for the poor (covered by insurance for others), and free maternity homes and free milk for most cases. Mothers Aid Institutions provide free social, legal, and medical advice. Some townships have public health nurses and nursing centers. There are free medical examinations for all preschool children,⁶⁹ and a medical inspector is appointed to every school. Copenhagen and some other townships have free school dentistry and a free school meal.

In Sweden, the maternal and child health centers give full medical examinations to 85 per cent of all infants, and the services usually reach children up to six.⁷⁰ Free services are a condition of governmental grants. Rural families have been rapidly and increasingly reached.⁷¹ In 1945, about 58 per cent of all pregnancies and 83 per cent of the children born in Sweden were cared for free at maternal and child health centers. In 1955, these figures had risen to 76 per cent and 94 per cent. For thirty years, pamphlets and demonstration courses have been actively used. Immunization and tests are pursued. Extension to preschool age is under way. Health welfare buildings are proposed, as they are in Norway. But there is a shortage of nurses, midwives, and physicians, especially of specialists.⁷² Since 1938, nation-wide free health supervision and treatment of pregnancy and preschool age have been organized as part of the national population policy. They are accessible to over 97 per cent of the people. Even free transportation to clinic is provided.⁷³ Finland also follows such a policy, sponsored by its Population League.

It should be noted that Sweden's maternal and child health provisions, like its social security and family subsidy system, are geared to the overall population program which has dominated Sweden's social policy since the reports of its famous population commission (1935-38), and which influenced the formation of Finland's Population League, a private body sponsoring a range of legislative and service activities from housing to marriage counselling and sterility- or abortion-control, which in Norway and Denmark and even in Sweden are sponsored or operated by discrete organizations. But the Swedish population policy has itself been organized not merely to raise the birth rate but more basically around the conservation of the family. In Norway, family policy is the direct concern and ultimate goal, with redistribution of national income (goods and services) as the working principle. Less is heard about population conditions as a motivating crisis.

Helsinki operates several maternal and child health centers, providing prenatal care, child hygiene, immunizations, visiting nurse

services, and social security advice.⁷⁴ This is in addition to the special marriage counselling centers operated by the medical divisions of the Population League.

SCHOOL HEALTH SERVICES

Protection of children's health at school age is rather definitely a major family service. The Women's Health Association pioneered this field with supplementary feeding centers for the undernourished,⁷⁵ but school meals are now provided through other organizations or (in large cities) through the school administration directly. The diet provided is called the "Oslo breakfast" because of the basic, low-cost, balanced "meal" worked out for the purpose (1938) by Dr. Carl Schiotz of Oslo, which 23,000 \pm , over half the children in the Oslo schools receive free daily, regardless of family income.⁷⁶ The standard menu has recently been rendered more adaptable to special needs by providing more choices.⁷⁷ N.K.S. disseminates similar dietary principles to homekeepers.

Free school lunches are provided also in most Danish cities, some rural areas, and since 1948 to all classes. In Sweden, this has been authorized since 1947, but the program was only gradually put into effect.⁷⁸ School meals, long provided locally in uneven fashion in Sweden, were taken over by local school boards in 1937-38 under state subsidies. They are no longer charity, but a part of the population policy to improve diets and help equalize child-rearing costs. Since 1946, the school meal is a right, though in case of shortage, it goes first to those families who need it most.⁷⁹

Finland gives a warm meal daily to each school child, as well as free school supplies, and secondary school fees are reduced for each child after the first—again as part of the population policy. Educational loans are available to all families of limited means.⁸⁰

CHILD DENTISTRY

Children's caries was the only point at which the Nazi Occupation did not lower the level of Norwegian health. This was presumably

due to the shortages of sweets.⁸¹ Dental health is still generally poor, whether for lack of fluorine or for dietary reasons;⁸² but Norway is a leader in its aggressive campaign for mouth hygiene.

In Norway, free dental treatment for children has been accepted and is supported either by N.K.S. or by school funds, and is backed (now 100 per cent) by the dental profession.⁸³ The first school clinics, municipally supported by Oslo and Bergen, were launched in 1910 through the efforts of the National Dentists' Association after surveys had revealed acute needs.⁸⁴ In 1917, a national law urged by the dental association declared the services mandatory (in principle) for cities by 1927, and subsidized them: the first such action in the world. This pioneering nation-wide public school dental health program was delayed after World War I by a shortage of dentists and later by general financial conditions, and 1942 was set as the target date for cities. Rural districts were offered one-fourth the public dentists' salaries, twice the urban subsidy (one-eighth the salaries). Voluntary health organizations have also contributed in many districts.

Norway's National Dentists' Association continues to be as socially minded in this matter as the American dental profession was in a previous generation. The legislation⁸⁵ sets up full machinery for free dentistry to all from six to eighteen years, with state contributions of 30 to 80 per cent of salaries, wages, and travel expenses; also permissive machinery for pay services for adults by the public dental officer at rates set by the Social Affairs Department, to the extent possible with not over 40 per cent of the dentists' time.⁸⁶ Fees go to the dental service, and the salaried officers may or may not receive a percentage in addition to salary.

After the Occupation, the dentists' association unanimously asked for a governmental commission to study a plan for public dentistry. This commission, headed by a dentist, reported in 1947; and after recommendations from private groups, a law was unanimously passed (1949) which has been in operation since 1950. Six-year-old children come free, whenever an adult can come with them. Care for children three to six is included when the authorities and parliament

shall approve. *Theoretically, all others are to receive treatment at fixed fees.*⁸⁷ In eighteen prosperous townships, the age group eighteen to twenty-one receives general dentistry as a health insurance benefit (three-fourths of outlay), *insofar as they have been treated by the school dental services up to that age.*⁸⁸ Offices are, so far as possible, on school premises. For the first time, district dentists are placed in certain isolated areas where the distribution of personnel has been in inverse ratio to need: the rural 70 per cent of population had had only 30 per cent of the dentists.⁸⁹ A dentist's office set up by a district may be used by him also for his private practice as well as for the children. The program now includes all children covered by compulsory education in grammar and continuation schools, from first grade to graduation, and youths from fourteen to eighteen years. In Oslo and a few well-to-do places, it also covers children from three to seven years old, and youths to twenty-one years.⁹⁰ Oslo's extended coverage was launched in 1938, completed in 1943. For youths (unless indigent), the fee is about \$1.40 per year, covered by insurance if they have had previous school care. The bulge in the incidence of caries after the war, and a concomitant shortage of dentists, have prevented full realization of the program goals. But dentists have increased 900 per cent since 1900. Of all practicing dentists, 700 are in school dentistry (1957), but only 250 have full-time public appointments on salary. Many are women, especially married women.

At present, sickness insurance covers only dental work done on referral from a physician as part of the treatment for a condition medically diagnosed as caused by bad teeth, or requiring dental surgery or orthodontia. There is free choice of dentist. Control of the system is not considered too centralized. Since 1949, public dental clinics which accept all work for any adults at standard rates are now provided, to cover the entire country eventually, as provincial plans mature and are approved. Eventually this program will include and replace the school program.⁹¹

Results of the children's program over a forty-year period are notable in reduced numbers of carious teeth,⁹² extractions, and

second infections. In 1952, 82.5 per cent of the children seven to eighteen were cared for;⁹³ probably the world's best record. Within fifteen years, it is hoped that the system of low cost or free dental care as authorized will actually become accessible to the entire population.⁹⁴ Children accustomed to regular dentistry become easy patients and adult practice is increased.⁹⁵

SCANDINAVIAN COMPARISONS

In the other Scandinavian countries, free dental care is provided for school children in certain areas: about 25 per cent were reported covered in 1949.⁹⁶ The programs suffer for shortage of dentists and assistants.⁹⁷ Launched in Sweden in 1938-39, the plan is not expected to mature before 1960. It is not linked to the schools, but to the health authorities; but there are also state subventions.⁹⁸ Children are treated free; adults at low rates fixed by government; adolescents get a 25 per cent discount on even the standard charges for public dental care, which are by law lower than those of private practitioners. The standards for professional appointment and practice are considered high.⁹⁹

Helsinki has seven or more school dental clinics providing free care to school and kindergarten pupils and child welfare cases.¹⁰⁰

Denmark had no general school dental service in 1947:¹⁰¹ only 100,000 were being reached through certain local authorities.¹⁰²

IMMUNIZATIONS

For Norway's children, immunization against smallpox is required for admission to public schools. A new vaccination law, tightening and consolidating former provisions, was adopted by parliament in 1954. Tests for tuberculosis are made on school entrance and periodically thereafter, and BCG vaccination is provided. In 1955, parliament appropriated Kr. 2,500,000 for Salk vaccine for voluntary, free immunization against infantile paralysis; the order was delivered in Norway in 1956, and rationing was lifted in 1957. Private physicians may now give the "shots."¹⁰³

HEALTH EDUCATION

Health education is given a place in Norway's regular school curriculum, but is not made a special official program in the grammar grades or for the parents. This is thought less necessary in view of the large amount of such material appearing in current newspapers and magazines and the number of pamphlets, children's playlets, and study groups provided by voluntary organizations,¹⁰⁴ such as the Norwegian Women's Health Association.¹⁰⁵ (There are also a few local child health associations.) This program is directed at a widespread need for family instruction in nutrition. The "Oslo school breakfast" itself becomes a form of dietary education for families.¹⁰⁶

From 1928 to 1948, there was an approximate 7 per cent increase in consumption of head-cabbage per consumption-unit in Oslo workingmen's families; of fruits, 336 per cent increase; of whole milk 100 per cent increase—though the use of other milk products fell sharply.¹⁰⁷ From 1947 to 1948, consumption of fresh vegetables increased markedly, as did that of canned vegetables and dried fruit.¹⁰⁸ In so far as these levels were not artificially affected by rationing, they indicate some effects of dietary education.

In all of these fields, there has been co-operation of private groups with the regular school and health authorities with, of course, the perennial problems as between local resistances and centralized "pressures." Many pioneering demonstrations have led to public subsidies and/or permanent general provision of services through the local municipalities.¹⁰⁹ School dentists, for example, have acted as consultants to maternal and child health centers.¹¹⁰

Medical examination of school children has been pioneered by the Norwegian Women's Health Association, either in direct operation or by subsidy. All schools are now required to provide this service, and in smaller schools this is done either through N.K.S. or by the district physicians.¹¹¹ In large cities, each school has its own physician, and all children are checked for defects, physical or mental.^{111a} Staff physicians must visit every school every week or two for routine and

special checkups,¹¹² and there is an annual weighing and measuring.¹¹³ But as late as 1952, Norway had not enacted any such comprehensive and detailed program as had currently been undertaken by Denmark and Sweden, and proposed in Finland. Norway's "scattering" of area and population is partly responsible for such lags. School nurses are available in many townships, and specialists' services are invoked when necessary.¹¹⁴

In Oslo, at least, there is no need of what in the United States would be called a "preschool health roundup," since there is team work between the health stations which cover the preschool age and the school physicians and dentists. There are merely the required inspections, tuberculosis tests, and routine inoculations when children first enter school. Children are inspected more frequently and generally than in the United States.¹¹⁵ With the exception of the Occupation years, averages of children's health and stature have improved steadily.

In Denmark, medical examinations in schools are now free, compulsory, and universal. They include tuberculosis tests.¹¹⁶ But the program was relatively undeveloped until 1948.¹¹⁷ In Sweden, the system was extended to all schools after 1944, under district physicians or city school doctors. Ninety-one per cent of elementary pupils were supervised. Children are checked up at least at their first, third, and final school years, with special attention to those needing it. Tuberculosis tests are provided, also medical advice in vocational guidance.¹¹⁸

Sweden's school health program is highly developed. At least a thousand physicians, many of them pediatricians, participate under appointment, with school nurses assisting and visiting the homes.¹¹⁹

School children of Finland are inspected and supervised by the township physician, of whose salary the state pays two-thirds.¹²⁰

PROVINCIAL AREAS

One should not consider Oslo's programs as representing all Norway. But the nation's solidarity is shown by the consistent stress

toward extension of services into the provinces and their isolated areas. A few facts from Aust-Agder (inner south coast province) and Ringsaker (east central valley) will not represent all such areas, but will give perspective.¹²¹

In Aust-Agder only four towns had clinics for pregnant mothers (fifty cases, 1951); most mothers were thoroughly checked up by private physicians, probably by preference.

There were twenty-seven health stations, five of them set up in the previous year, and infancy and preschool care were becoming popular: 488 new cases with 1,571 visits, 335 preschool cases with 728 visits in one year. But many centers operated under difficulties, with inadequate quarters used only for a few hours each week. Other uses for the rooms would permit permanent and adequate quarters.¹²²

The "health house" at Froland was set up to include doctor's room, waiting room/nurse's office, examination room for mothers and children, and living quarters for nurse. Such was local initiative. In another small town, Evje, a three-room center was rented, to be equipped by state subsidy, as in all the other stations.

In this county, only sixty-eight children were vaccinated that year; a general vaccination program against diphtheria, whooping cough, and smallpox was in prospect upon the appropriation of money for it, and anti-tuberculosis vaccinations for threatened cases.

There were about 152 home visits made through the health stations, for guidance in child care, feeding, and clothing, and to check up on causes of difficulties or to visit a sick child.

At Arendal (a larger town),¹²³ the health station cared for 259 infants (78 new cases), 46 preschool children (only 3 new cases), and 27 pregnancies (10 new cases). Although the latter examinations are free, they were relatively few because of few clinic hours (alternating weeks for preschool cases); an increase was intended. Most prospective mothers were visiting private physicians or midwives. Most of the deliveries were at a public or private hospital or at a private maternity home,¹²⁴ expenses being met by social insurance.¹²⁵

Mothers of preschool children lose interest in the health center and shift to one of the two kindergartens, one operated by the National Housewives' Federation, the other private, which care for ninety-eight preschool children and thereby provide an incidental supervision of their health.

The municipality was considered stingy by those interested: its subsidy to the health center was Kr. 3,000 (about \$430).

In *Ringsaker*, a predominantly rural area of 16,000 in relatively prosperous Hedemark, there were at least eight physicians (1951) and seven or eight midwives. The latter were considered underpaid. They reportedly cared for 90 per cent of the births, and the hospital was used only for difficult cases. There were no pediatricians, but the physicians in the several sub-areas had each an office hour for pregnancy, infancy, and preschool care, for which the township paid. The Women's Health Association employed a visiting nurse, but had established no maternal health center.

HOUSEWIVES' RELIEFS

Norway has gone far in a program of training and providing home aid (*husmorvikarer*)¹²⁶ for families when a mother is out of circulation. This service is on the border of economic help-in-kind, but, as it is usually provided to tide over a mother's illness or confinement, it may also be considered as a family health service (see Chapter XV). Baby sitters, park "tantes" for preschoolers, day nurseries, kindergartens,¹²⁷ housewives' vacations (cf. Chapter VI) are similar reliefs for overworked housewives.

In 1957, Norway's State Vacation Fund allocated Kr. 1,000,000 to help voluntary organizations (*Norske Folkehjelp*, *Norges Husmorforbund*, *Norske Kvinners Sanitetsforening*, etc.) provide free two-week vacations for some 10,000 housewives in difficult circumstances.¹²⁸ The fund is based on a Kr. 2 contribution from each wage earner covered by the national Holiday Act.

The biological functions of families being reproductive and involving the physical aspects of sex, have become, in view of certain modern medical techniques and certain traditional moral taboos, a special area of controversy in family life and public discussion. Contraception has been referred to in Chapters XI and XII as well as in the present chapter. Whether families, persons, and the nation as a population are benefited or injured by the toleration, regulation, practice or encouragement of the various doctrines and techniques of birth control—"eugenics," physical sterilization, abortion, and artificial insemination—provided many minor newsworthy discussions in Norway in the frank, matter-of-fact fashion characteristic of Scandinavia. These questions would make interesting chapters in relation to our survey of family problems and programs. Giving them such space might, however, have given a disproportionate impression of their importance in Norway as compared with families' more usual life needs or in relation to the more usual patterns of family life cycles or the types of problem-situations of which we have actually included discussions.

¹ *Sunnbetstilstanden . . . 1950* (Statistisk Sentralbyrå), p. 20; *ibid.*, 1953, p. 18; *Statistisk Årbok for Norge, 1957*, p. 34; *Befolkningsstatistiske oppgaver for 1955* (mimeo.) (Statistisk Sentralbyrå, 1957), p. 5.

² *Statistisk Årbok för Sverige, 1953*, p. 52.

³ *Statistisk Årbog, 1953*, p. 27.

⁴ *Statistisk Årbok för Finland, 1953*, p. 45.

⁵ *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1953*, p. 70.

⁶ Lecture by Dr. Karl Evang, national director of health, at University of Oslo, 1950.

⁷ *Sunnbetstilstanden . . . 1953*, p. 62.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 59; *Statistisk Årbok for Norge, 1957*, pp. 43, 45.

⁹ The rate 1901-5 was 29.5 per 10,000 living; 1939: 8.6; 1948: 5.1; 1951: 2.4; 1954: 1.3; 1955: 1.2. (*Statistisk Årbok for Norge, 1953*, p. 41; 1957, p. 45; *Befolkningsstatistiske oppgaver for 1955* [mimeo.] [Statistisk Sentralbyrå, 1957], p. 8.)

¹⁰ *Oslo, The Capital of Norway* (Municipal Office of Statistics, 1956), pp. 27-28.

¹¹ *Sunnbetstilstanden . . . 1953* (Statistiske Sentralbyrå, Oslo, 1956), p. 8.

¹² *Sunnbetstilstanden . . . 1950* (Statistisk Sentralbyrå, Oslo, 1952), p. 7.

¹³ *Statistisk Årbok, 1953*, pp. 5, 34.

¹⁴ *Statistisk Årbok för Finland, 1952*, pp. 6, 61.

¹⁵ *Statistisk Årbok för Sverige, 1953*, p. 242.

¹⁶ The authors met a dozen or more medical people of every shade of political opinion, and all were either puzzled or incredulous in regard to the attitudes of the American Medical Association toward public medical insurances as recently represented

by Whittaker and Baxter, publicitors. Not even the conservatives would wish to repeal the Norwegian system.

¹⁷ The writer was favorably impressed by the services received in remote islands of the Lofoten, though he is no physician.

For detailed accounts of health care in Norway, cf. *Sosial Håndbok for Norge*, *loc. cit.*, pp. 181-317.

¹⁸ "All-inclusive Health Insurance," *News of Norway*, XIII (August 23, 1956), 110; also "New Provisions Extend National Health Insurance," *News of Norway*, X (October 8, 1953), 139; Helmer Rygh, "After Two Years", *Social and Labour News from Norway*, No. 4, 1958 (mimeo.).

^{18a} *Lov om Mødrehjelp* (Instilling fra Barnevernskomiteén, Sosialdepartementet, 1957).

¹⁹ Orla Jensen, *Social Services in Denmark*, *loc. cit.*, pp. 34-45, 58-62; cf. *Social Denmark*, *loc. cit.*, pp. 33-51, 215-36.

²⁰ MS. by Stuart Hoyt.

²¹ *Social Sweden*, *loc. cit.*, pp. 157-168, 293-323; cf. also *Svensket Socialt Lexikon*, *loc. cit.*, *passim*.

²² *Hur Hjälper Samballet Mor och Barn?* (pamphlet) (Svenska Fattigvards och Barnavårdsförbundet, 1951).

²³ A. Lichtenstein, *Preventive Pediatrics in Sweden* (mimeo.) (The Swedish Institute, Stockholm, 1946).

²⁴ *Statistisk Årbok for Norge*, 1954, pp. 29, 44-45; 1956, pp. 29, 44-45; 1957, pp. 29, 44-45. The U.S. rate (1950) was .92 (*Statistical Abstract of the United States*, 1953, p. 71). Specifically for those with puerperal fever, Norway's mortality dropped from 34.5 per cent (1936-40) to 14.7 per cent (1951) and 7.8 per cent (1952). Cf. Evang, *Health Services in Norway*, *loc. cit.*, *supra*, pp. 98-99.)

²⁵ *Statistisk Årbog*, 1953, pp. 27, 33. Puerperal fever 1931-40: seventy-four per year; 1941-50: six or seven per year. (George Nelson, *op. cit.*, p. 239.)

²⁶ *Statistisk Årsbok för Finland*, 1952, pp. 41, 51.

²⁷ *Statistisk Sentralbyrå, Report of 1952*; and letter of Julie E. Backer, March 14, 1957. Also *Statistisk Årbok*, esp. 1953, pp. 26, 29, 31-32; 1957, p. 35. Norway's rate fell from 44.9 (1931-35) to 20.6 (1955). (Cf. Evang, *loc. cit.*, *supra*, p. 99.) Oslo's rate (1950-53) was 19.7; Bergen's, 18.4 per 1,000 live births, but Finnmark still had 46.9. The U.S. rate (1950) was 29.2 (*Statistical Abstract of the United States*, 1953, p. 71).

²⁸ *Statistisk Årbok for Norge*, 1950, p. 20; 1957, p. 28.

²⁹ *Folkemængdens Bevegelse* 1955, p. 84.

³⁰ *Statistisk Årbog*, 1953, pp. 27, 29; 1955, p. 25; 1957, p. 36.

³¹ *Statistisk Årsbok för Sverige*, 1953, p. 52; 1955, pp. 44, 55; 1957, p. 58.

³² *Statistisk Årsbok för Finland*. Comparable figures for Finland were not available.

³³ In Hordaland 15.5 per cent, in Oslo 98.8 per cent, in Hedmark 47.7 per cent, in Aust Agder 64.9 per cent. Cf. Gunnvor Rørstad, "Fødehem," in *Sosial Håndbok for Norge*, *loc. cit.*, I, 323-25; Liv Kluge, "Mødrehjemmene," *loc. cit.*, I, 325-28.

³⁴ Karl Evang, "Helsestallets Organer," in *Sosial Håndbok for Norge*, *loc. cit.*, I, 189-90; Aslaug Moe, "Utdanning av Jordmødre," *loc. cit.*, I, 436.

However, if the double training is taken to strengthen nurses in their hospital jobs, rather than midwives on their rural jobs, the plan may fail of its purpose: there are plenty of doctors in hospitals and more midwives are needed not there but out in the "sticks." (Interviews with Dr. Mohr and Jordmor Chris Brusgaard, of the Maternal Hygiene Center, Oslo.)

³⁵ Rørstad, *loc. cit.*, I, 324. Cf. also Karl Evang, *Health Services in Norway* (Joint Committee on International Social Policy [Oslo: Tanum, 1957]), pp. 48-49.

³⁶ Twenty-three graduated in 1957 (*News of Norway*, XV [February 13, 1958]). Bergen is thought to have the better school, with twice the number of students.

³⁷ Cf. Evang, *loc. cit.*

³⁸ In Arendal, the fee at the Catholic hospital was Kr. 2.50. Most rural midwives are themselves married and their pay is supplementary to their support.

³⁹ Interviews with Jordmor Brusgaard and Dr. Mohr.

⁴⁰ Interview with Dr. Dahl, city physician of Stavanger, where, of 1,600 to 1,700 babies per year, only about 150 are born outside hospitals.

In Arendal, there was no publicly paid midwife because there were enough in private practice (four), with whom it was not desired to compete; and five were salaried by the hospitals. In 1950, only six or eight babies in the area were born outside Arendal hospitals (correspondence of city physician Dr. Knut Egeberg, January 2, 1951.)

⁴¹ Orla Jensen, *Social Services in Denmark, loc. cit.*, p. 58; *Statistisk Årbog, 1955*, pp. 33, 281.

⁴² Henning Friis, in *Scandinavia . . .*, *loc. cit.*, p. 163.

⁴³ Friis, *loc. cit.*, *supra*.

⁴⁴ Karl J. Höjer (ed.), *Svenskt Socialt Lexikon, loc. cit.*, pp. 81-82.

⁴⁵ *Social Sweden, loc. cit.*, pp. 296, 301.

⁴⁶ *Statistisk Årsbok för Sverige, 1957*, p. 251.

⁴⁷ *Social Legislation and Work in Finland, loc. cit.*, p. 139. Law of 1944. *Statistisk Årsbok för Finland, 1956*, pp. 277, 278.

⁴⁸ Measures of Family Support in Finland (mimeo.) (Social Affairs Department, 1950); *Statistisk Årsbok för Finland, 1955*, p. 281.

⁴⁹ *The Social Community: Home, Family, Children* (mimeo. abstract of five-year report of the Finnish Population Association, Helsinki, 1946).

⁵⁰ K. J. Øksnes, *Assistance to Mother and Child in Norway* (mimeo.) (Ministry of Social Affairs, Oslo, 1949).

⁵¹ See also Chapter X on Child-Rearing; cf. also Thomas D. Eliot, "Norway's Distribution of Books on Family Problems," *Journal of Documentation*, X (March 1954), 19-25.

⁵² This is a family medical reference book covering everything from cradle to grave, including home care of the sick. Karl Evang has worked on a shorter and simpler handbook for household medicine and home treatment.

^{52a} "Norway Leads in Health Clinics for Mothers and Children", *News of Norway*, XV (November 13, 1958), 155.

⁵³ Norske Kvinners Sanitetsforening (pamphlet in English), 1950, and interview, 1951. 1,222 local branches, 223,000 members (1951-52).

⁵⁴ Cf. *Vi bygger arbeidsbus for Sanitetsforeningen* ("We Build Working Quarters for the Health Association") (pamphlet) (Norske Kvinners Sanitetsforeningen, Oslo, n.d.).

⁵⁵ Cf. *Oslo, The Capital of Norway* (Municipal Office of Statistics, 1956), p. 34. Well placed through the city, about thirty are co-operatively operated under N.K.S. and other associations. A public health nurse invites mothers in, and there is no difficulty getting them to attend. There are low carfares and courtesy is given to baby buggies. Mothers are free to go to other physicians. Ninety-nine per cent of the physicians like the clinic work; many serve part-time on salary; some are simultaneously school physicians (interview with Dr. Ek, Oslo Helseråd).

Oslo also has a depot for mothers' milk. In Stavanger, the centers (N.K.S., Red Cross, and People's Aid) were mostly for infants and preschool children, with little help for mothers, though a pregnancy clinic was planned, and to include contraceptive advice if asked for by the mother (interview, Dr. Irgens, Stavanger Helseråd). Twice yearly, they have had (for nominal fees) a six-week course limited to twenty mothers, by a physician, midwife, and nurse (unpaid), on maternity and infant care.

⁵⁶ E.g.: *På kontroll-stasjonen* ("At the Check-up Center").

Det daglige arbeid ved en kontroll-stasjon ("The Daily Work at a Check-up Station").

Tannbelse arbeid for mor og barn ("Dental Health Work for Mother and Child").

Hvilke sykdommer bør vi vaksineres mot? ("Which diseases should we be vaccinated against?")

N.K.S. also circulates the pamphlets for guidance of mothers issued by the National Health Directorate, which were, indeed, partly originated by Dr. Borghild Hustad of N.K.S.:

Veiledning for svangre kvinner ("Guidance for Prospective Mothers").

Veiledning i spebarnsernaering og spebarnsstell ("Guidance in the Feeding and Care of Infants").

⁵⁷ Øksnes, *loc. cit.*, *supra*.

⁵⁸ *Yrkesykdommer og kostholdproblemer hos kvinnen* ("Occupational Diseases and Nutritional Problems of Women").

⁵⁹ E.g., the pamphlet *Om Urenslighets sykdommer* ("About Diseases of Uncleanliness").

⁶⁰ *Norske Kvinners Sanitetsforening* (pamphlet in English) (1950).

⁶¹ We have omitted any description of N.K.S. activities in other than the family field—such as tuberculosis, cancer, rheumatism, public baths, first aid, public emergency services, general clinics and infirmaries. (Cf. also N.K.S. calendar, 1952.)

Public baths (cf. *Norske Kvinners Sanitetsforening, op. cit.*, p. 18) may be considered a family health service in areas where inside plumbing is not general. Norges Badeforbund (Norway's Bath League) co-operates in promoting this work.

⁶² The Norwegian death rate from tuberculosis has fallen sharply from 9.1 per 10,000 population in 1936-40, 4.7 in 1946-50, 2.0 in 1952, to 1.6 in 1953. (*News of Norway*, XI [December 2, 1954], 4; *Sunnhetstilstanden . . . 1953* (Norges Offisielle Statistikk, Statistisk Sentralbyrå, Oslo, 1956), XI, 229, p. 31.

⁶³ About the 90 or more health centers operated by Norway's Housewives' League, cf. Ella Løken, *Laer din Organisasjon å Kjenne* (pamphlet) (Norges Husmorforbund, Oslo, 1950).

⁶⁴ These and the following data are from a tabular summary to date January 1, 1953, provided from the National Health Office. Cf. also Alfred Sundal, "Kontrollstasjoner for Svangre, Spebarn og Småbarn . . ." in *Sosial Håndbok for Norge* (Norsk Forening for Sosialt Arbeid, Oslo, 1952), I, 203-8.

^{64a} Karl Evang, *Health Services in Norway, loc. cit.*, pp. 93-97.

⁶⁵ Mimeographed memorandum to parliament, signed December 9, 1950. Dr. Mellbye, a deputy health director, has spoken out again (*Arbeiderbladet*, November 14, 1953) for an expansion of function of the health centers for mothers and children.

⁶⁶ Correspondence of Dr. Fredrik Mellbye, January 6, 1954.

⁶⁷ Interview with Frøken Nørgaard of Copenhagen's Mødrehjælps program, 1951. Cf. *Social Denmark* (Socialt Tidsskrift, Copenhagen, 1947), pp. 170-77; Orla Jensen, *Social Services in Denmark* (Det Danske Selskab, Copenhagen, 1948), pp. 50. 78-79.

⁶⁸ Henning Friis (ed.), *Scandinavia*, . . . (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1950), p. 164.

⁶⁹ *Danish Maternity and Child Welfare* (pamphlet) (Foreign Ministry and Ministry of Social Affairs, Copenhagen, n.d.).

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*; also Karl J. Höjer, *Den Svenska Socialpolitiken* (Stockholm: Norstedt, 1947), p. 52.

⁷¹ Justus Ström and Harold Johansson, *Maternity and Child Welfare Services in Sweden* (mimeo.) (The Swedish Institute, Stockholm, n.d.).

⁷² A. Lichtenstein, *Preventive Pediatrics in Sweden* (mimeo.) (The Swedish Institute, Stockholm, 1946); and Ström, *op. cit.*, *supra*; *Statistisk Årsbok för Sverige, 1957*, p. 252.

⁷³ *Social Sweden, loc. cit.*, pp. 302-3.

⁷⁴ Otto Bruun, *The Administration of the City of Helsinki* (pamphlet) (Helsinki, 1950), p. 39.

⁷⁵ Practically suspended during the Occupation period. Haakon Natvig, "Skolefrøkosten," quoted from *Sosialt Arbeid in Kvinner og Tiden* (March 1950), p. 34.

⁷⁶ *News of Norway*, XVI (March 4, 1959), 36. Trondheim 33 per cent; Stavanger 25 per cent, other cities 30 per cent. Eleven towns had no school feeding. In rural schools, the children bring each their own lunches and eat together.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*; A. Lichtenstein, *Preventive Pediatrics in Sweden* (mimeo.) (The Swedish Institute, Stockholm, 1946).

⁷⁸ Friis, *op. cit.*, p. 165; Karl J. Höjer, *Den Svenska Socialpolitiken* (Stockholm: Norstedt, 1947), pp. 90-91.

⁷⁹ *Social Sweden, loc. cit.*, pp. 196-98.

⁸⁰ *Measures of Family Support in Finland* (mimeo.) (Social Affairs Department, 1950).

⁸¹ Knut Gard, "Public Dental Service in Norway," *Journal of the American Dental Association*, XLVIII (March 1954), 251-61.

⁸² Lecture of Dr. Karl Evang, at University of Oslo, 1940.

⁸³ Gard, *loc. cit.* Knut Gard is secretary of the Norwegian Dentists Association. The writer saw attractive announcements of the local school dental program *posted in a leading dentist's office*.

⁸⁴ Cf. also Gert M. Høye, *Sosial Medisinske Undersøkelser i Valle, Setesdal* (Universitetets Hygieniske Institutt, Oslo, 1941), esp. pp. 28-49.

⁸⁵ Act of July 28, 1949. The program from three to eighteen years is operated not by local health boards but by local school boards.

⁸⁶ In 1954, two counties were fully organized under the new law.

⁸⁷ This is the only step not approved by the dentists' association, which believes that such a plan should be only for adults who have "graduated" from the eighteen-year plan, so that the population would be *gradually* covered. The association does recognize the need of such a plan in certain neglected areas. In Nordland, for example, there is one dentist for 6,000 population, vs. 1 per 1,700 for Norway at large. Realization of the permissive legislation, since it depends largely on the dentists themselves, is actually more nearly in line with the association's policy than with the terms of the law.

⁸⁸ Correspondence of Dr. S. Bryhn Ingebrigtsen, Dental Division, National Health Directorate, February 25, 1954.

⁸⁹ S. Bryhn Ingebrigtsen, *Public Dental Care in Norway* (mimeo.) (Norwegian Information Service, Washington, 1953). Traveling equipment is used in remote areas, or transport to the dentist's office by boat is arranged (Gard, *loc. cit.*).

⁹⁰ 60,000 children from three to eighteen years, at fifty-four dental clinics in Oslo, 1951-52. (Report of Dr. Ramm, chief of dentistry in Oslo, to the International Dentist's Congress, July 31, 1953.) Between one-sixth and one-seventh of Oslo's population are served by the plan, including (1951-52) 19,000 preschool children (Gard, *loc. cit.*). In 1955-56, there were 16,800 preschool patients, 14,300 young people (*Oslo, The Capital of Norway* [Municipal Office of Statistics, 1956], p. 35).

⁹¹ Gard, *loc. cit.*; and Karl Evang, *Health Services in Norway, loc. cit.*, pp. 57-61.

⁹² 6.9 to .5 per child. Report of Dr. Jacob S. Ramm, *loc. cit.*

⁹³ *Sosial Håndbok for Norge, loc. cit.*, pp. 307 ff.; *Health Services in Norway, loc. cit.*, p. 57.

⁹⁴ *News of Norway* (September 24, 1953), p. 131. But cf. *Dagbladet* (Oslo), September 25, 1954: "70000 Norwegian School Children 20% without Dentists, worst in north Norway. People's Dentistry Still Without Actuality."

One dentist served five parishes. Tromsø had employed a German, but had two clinics unmanned for lack of housing. Elsewhere clinic quarters are lacking, or dentists won't go to outlying posts. All dentists are overworked. The annual crop is now fifty new dentists, and they pledge public service for two years. Dr. Ingebrigtsen urged an intensive parental education campaign against candies and wrong diet.

⁹⁵ Gard, *loc. cit.*

⁹⁶ Friis, *op. cit.*, p. 164.

⁹⁷ *Sosial Håndbok for Norge*, p. 310.

⁹⁸ *Svenskt Socialt Lexikon, loc. cit.*, p. 191.

⁹⁹ A. Lichtenstein, *Preventive Pediatrics in Sweden* (mimeo.) (The Swedish Institute, Stockholm, 1946); A. B. Maunsbach, *Notes on the Public Dental Service of Sweden* (mimeo.) (The Swedish Institute, Stockholm, 1947).

¹⁰⁰ Otto Bruun, *The Administration of the City of Helsinki* (pamphlet) (Helsinki, 1950), p. 39.

¹⁰¹ Jensen, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

¹⁰² *Social Denmark, loc. cit.*, p. 230.

¹⁰³ *News of Norway*, October 18, 1956; February 28, 1957.

¹⁰⁴ Interview with Dr. Ek, Oslo Helseråd.

¹⁰⁵ N.K.S., *op. cit.*, p. 18.

¹⁰⁶ Natvig, *loc. cit., supra*. Also, N.K.S. playlet, "Oslo-frøkosten på Scenen" ("Oslo Breakfast on the Stage"), from *Hold Deg Frisk*, No. 1 (1947). Also Ingebrigtsen, *op. cit.*,

p. 309.

¹⁰⁷ *Husholdningsregnskaper* (Norsk Offisielle Statistikk), XI, 23, pp. 101-2.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 106.

¹⁰⁹ N.K.S., *op. cit.*, p. 21.

¹¹⁰ Ingebrigtsen, *op. cit.*, p. 309. School dental routines have developed a steadily increasing practice for dentists among the adult population.

¹¹¹ A few N.K.S. centers extend their services to ages fourteen-eighteen for those not in school. Isolated areas still have little or no such service. (Cf. N.K.S., *op. cit.*, p. 18.)

^{111a} Karl Evang, *Health Services in Norway, loc. cit.*, pp. 102-4.

¹¹² In Oslo, there are also tuberculosis tests, and regular examinations by ear, nose, throat, and eye specialists; also, for referrals, orthopedic and psychiatric diagnosis. Pupils are inoculated against smallpox, diphtheria, and tuberculosis. A school nurse follows through to the homes.

¹¹³ It is on the basis of these figures, published every five years, that the lowering age of girls' physical maturation has been noted.

¹¹⁴ L. Stoltenberg, "Skolelegevesenet i Norge," in *Sosial Håndbok for Norge*, *loc. cit.*, pp. 212-17.

¹¹⁵ Interview with Dr. Ek, of Oslo Municipal Health Council, formerly assistant chief of school health, who had visited in the United States.

¹¹⁶ Jensen, *op. cit.*, *supra*, p. 60; Friis, *op. cit.*, p. 164.

¹¹⁷ *Social Denmark* (Social Tidsskrift, Copenhagen, 1947), pp. 227-30.

¹¹⁸ *Social Sweden* (Social Welfare Board, Stockholm, 1952), pp. 306-7; Karl J. Höjer (red.), *Svenskt Socialt Lexikon* (Stockholm: Norstedt).

¹¹⁹ A. Lichtenstein, *Preventive Pediatrics in Sweden* (mimeo.) (The Swedish Institute, Stockholm, 1946).

¹²⁰ *Measures of Family Support in Finland* (mimeo.) (Social Affairs Department, 1950).

¹²¹ *Risør Arbeiderbladet*, March 10, 1951 (abstracted).

¹²² The station at Gjerstad in a southern forest area, which in 1950 had only an examination room, now has an all-round "health house," cited as a model by Karl Evang (in the mimeographed memorandum to the parliamentary committee cited above).

¹²³ Interview and correspondence with pediatrician Knut Lunde.

¹²⁴ All but six or eight in 1950: letter of City Physician Knut Egeberg.

¹²⁵ The city physician, although as a member of the Conservative party he had a feeling that government was growing too powerful, had no objection to public sickness insurance as such. He would be opposed to some systems, and was occasionally irked by printed forms or by disputes over rates; but the patients had free choice of doctors and the doctors were not limited in number of patients.

¹²⁶ Karl Evang, *Health Services in Norway*, *loc. cit.*, p. 44.

¹²⁷ Cf. Ella Løken, *Laer din Organisasjon å Kjenne* (pamphlet) (Norges Husmorforbund, Oslo, 1950), pp. 10-12; *Årsberetning 1949* (Norges Husmorforbund, Oslo, 1950), pp. 17-18. Also cf. Per Nestor, "Barnehager Lønner Seg," *Arbeiderbladet*, July 31, 1953; cf. *Langtidsprogrammet for 1954-1957* (pamphlet) (Norges Husmorforbund, Oslo, 1953).

¹²⁸ "Ten Thousand Housewives to Get Free 2-Week Vacation," *News of Norway*, XIV (May 30, 1957), 83.

Conclusion

A REVIEWING of our chapters reveals certain themes which have persisted and permeated them with some degree of consistency. They represent many of the dimensions and directions in which *families*, in Norway as in any observed national area, can be recognized *as central*. Families are responsive to the general trends of social organization and cultural change, and to the geographic and technological differences within the area. Their forms and functions are affected by class structure, and by other specific social institutions and major social structures. Families are also not without their reciprocal influences upon changes in society and culture at large. The stability and quality of family life are among the factors in social class differentiation.

The evidence presented has shown, we hope, that the gradual industrialization and urbanization of sections of Norway's population, while lagging somewhat behind most other countries of Europe, have made it possible for Norway to profit by others' experience in some respects, and to conserve (thus far) some values that seem threatened in more sophisticated, cosmopolitan, materialistic, and centrifugal cultures.

A fortunate conjunction of progress and stability was somewhat wishfully attributed to Norway by Le Play at mid-nineteenth century. His optimistic judgment has proved prophetic of the new mid-century, and, we may hope, of the century ahead. Secularization and modernization have not been without strains and difficult accommodations in every institution, especially in families. Much of Norwegian drama and fiction has reflected these changes during the century and doubtless by revealing has accentuated them, or at least has expedited the accommodation of old and new forms.

Industrialization and urbanization have meant the rise of a middle class, with new home standards. They have also produced the labor

movement and labor governments, with policies of support for higher planes of living among workers. Organized labor itself emerged as a new middle-class level.

We found inevitably, as would the reader, that families are inextricably woven in the web of the society and its culture. Considerations of family welfare are recognized as central in the Norwegian nation's planning of its economy and social structure. They have a phrase for this: *familiepolitikk*.

In addition to the legislative provisions for protection against loss of income and other hazards, there has been in Norway—as in Sweden and Finland—a development of co-operatives, which are significant not only as a “middle way” of economic organization but basically as an expression of the primacy of the consumer and of his potential power. Consumers are in general family oriented.

A combination of economic and social value considerations is also clearly evident in Scandinavian population policies as reflected both in official and in voluntary programs, which have stressed the improvement of family planes of living and the rights of children rather than merely a higher birth rate.

Norway is not a wealthy nation in natural resources or in capital, and is handicapped by a strategic vulnerability which seems to force it into military defense outlays that somewhat slow down its *familiepolitikk*. But in their family-oriented value system, in their heritage in the arts, and in their foresight, intelligence, consensus, and determination, Norway and its leaders provide a model of which Norwegians can be proud, and from which other nations can learn much. All four Scandinavian nations have focused their population programs upon family welfare rather than upon the breeding of cannon fodder.

BEYOND SOCIALISM

Families are a power in Norway. “Family policy” (*familiepolitikk*) is a basic political focus and objective of legislative programs. Its origins and goals may be at the core of collective good will.

The director of Oslo's school for social service, Liv Kluge, though herself a socialist, has recognized that there are family problem-situations which are neither altogether caused nor prevented by social legislation and economic reform; and Braatøy realized that there are psychological strains and differences in individual persons and families, affected but not totally resolved by the welfare state, unless the latter can include flexible family case-work.

Lewis Mumford, Stuart Chase, Edward Haskell, probably others, have pointed out an apparently recurrent historical pattern by which neither utopian nor ideological programs of social-economic-political organization are ever 100 per cent consistently realized, or actually exist as named or claimed; nor are they always 100 per cent rejected and lost. Where a given ideology—capitalism or communism, democracy or fascism—is dominant, observation of the society on the ground has often shown that in actual operation the contrary principles are still exemplified. Neither the "capitalistic" nor the "socialistic" states are, in present actuality and prospects, like those "economic orders" prescribed or pretended by their respective "respected" dogmas. Expedient compromises have gradually rendered practices in complacently "orthodox" capitalisms unrecognizable to Marx. It is also claimed that modern economic "necessities" have produced some *convergence* between the patterns of actual operations in so-called capitalistic and those of so-called socialistic societies. Stuart Chase predicted in the resultant changes some new pattern of social economic organization emerging—neither capitalism nor socialism—which he called "X," lest a name threaten its flexible growth. "X" promises not merely a "middle way," nor chronic conflict, but some new goals, motives, attitudes, and principles of organization which would be "beyond socialism."

In the policies of Scandinavia, one senses a wave of the future—beyond capitalism, certainly a healthy distance from any form of fascism and above communism. Perhaps their "family policy"—variously implemented in relation to population problems, consumption standards, schools, social security, housing—is the nucleus of a

new and longer view, "beyond socialism," beyond the prevailing "mass society" of extroverts and the weather-vane culture of the popular media of advertising and amusement. Emerging from widespread patterns and habits of organized reciprocal services, responsibilities, duties, and rights, from the integration of public and private bodies, from consumer-oriented legislation, and from the stubborn respect for and self-respect of human personalities, one recognizes the development of a way of life which may prove historically more valid and pervasive than the contemporary influence of power politics.

Subject Index

- Abortion, 249, 252, 271-2, 466
Accident insurance, 361
Adolescence, 222-3; industrial community, 121-3
Adoptions, 266, 269, 271, 279, 343-4
Aftenposten, 388
Agriculture, 6, 26, 48, 71-90, 101-3, 175
 gard, 71-80
 milk, 85, 101
 saetrar, 83
 women in, 179
Aktuell, 409
Alcoholic cure houses, 301-4, 317-8
Alcoholics Anonymous, 286, 302, 304, 308
Alcoholism, 295-323
Alle Kvinner, 21
Arbeider parti; see Labor party;
 see Gallup polls
Artificial insemination, 466

Baby-sitters; see *Barnevakt*
Barnehage; see Kindergarten
Barnehjem, 269, 339, 344
Barnevakt, 138, 335
Barnevernslov, 340-2
Barnevernsnemnd; see Child Welfare committee
Betrothal, 160, 223; see Courtship; Marriage
Bidragfogde, 261, 263-5
Birth control clinic, 427; see Contraception
Birth rates, 169-71; related to war and housing, 371
 see: Contraception; Courtship; Marriage; Morals; Mortality; Vital statistics
Birth registration, 168-9, 273-4, 443;
 see: Non-wedlock situations
Bonytt, x
Books on family life, 413-5, 422-3, 425
Budget, 31, 35, 111, 116, 118-9, 136-7
Bureaucracy, 333
Burial, 128; see Funerals

Changes, social, 47, 58-9, 69, 100-3, 188-9; see Urbanism
Child allowances, 118, 360-5
Child care, 95, 96, 102, 120-1
 family allowances, 364-5
 literature, 193-8
 principles of, 194-5
 regulation, 193
 trends in urban middle classes, 191-217
 see *Barnehjem* (children's homes)
Child dentistry, 458-61, 463, 471; see Health insurance
Child health centers, 452-6
Child management
 children's views of, 201-9
 class differences in, 201-5, 211-2
 discipline, 199-200
 educational programs, 215
 Freudian influences, 213-4
 researches, 216-7
 rigid or permissive, 201-11
Child placing, 343-4; see Adoptions
Child protective law, 340-2
Child welfare, 360, 369
 committee, 138, 300, 340-4
 legislation, 340-2
Christian aid, 283, 304; see Lutheran church influence
Christian Popular Party; see *Kristelige Folkeparti*

- Church 53-4, 60-3
 historical, 387-398
 in relation to family life, 61, 125, 387-406
 see: *Indre Misjon*; Lutheran church influence; Religion
- Church and Education Department, national government, 410, 412, 418
- Civil marriages, 163-6
- Class, social;
 differences, 41-2, 132-6, 170-1, 201-5, 211-2, 230-2
 mobility, 149-50
 rise of middle class, 48
 see Labor, organization of
- Clothing, 19, 25, 50, 117-8, 125, 135-6
- Communist Party, 60
- Confirmation, church, 222, 399-401;
 civil, 61, 406
- Contraception, 105, 107, 124, 252-3, 272, 417
- Correspondence courses, 415-6
- Cost of living, 358; see Budget
- Council of Bishops, 195
- Council of Guardians, 342-52; see Child Welfare Committee; *Ver-
 jeråd*
- Courtship, 26-7, 40, 97-9, 123, 142
 and morals of youth, 222-36
 stages of, 223, 226-7
- Cure (alcoholism); see *Kursted*
- Day nurseries, 335-40
- Death rates, 443-4
- Denmark, 188, 252-5, 263, 266, 286, 291, 338, 359, 393, 430, 447, 450-1, 456-7, 461, 463
- Dietary education, 462
- Diets, 126, 129, 462
- Divorce, 123, 146, 166, 281-94
- Domestic relations court, 284-6
- Domestic science, 180, 417
- Drammen, 4, 5
- Drug addicts, 303
- Economic security, 358-69; see Social security
- Edruelighetsnemnd*, 285, 299; see Temperance boards
- Education, 13, 26, 39, 41, 49, 52-3, 61, 75, 96, 110, 121-2, 144, 178, 180, 191-2, 195-6; see Religious education; Sex education
- Ekteskapsrett*, 284-6
- Electric appliances, 384
- Elite, 149-53
- Emigration, 52, 105-6, 123, 173
- Engagement, 97, 123, 225, 230, 242, 250-1; see Betrothal; Courtship
- Entertainment, 110, 126
- Etterstad, 382
- Eugenics, 466
- Experiment in International Living, 131
- Families; family
 and child care, 95-6, 102, 120
 and community, 58, 101, 109-10, 122, 126
 contrasts, 7-21
 decisions, 143
 dismemberments, 282-3
 holidays, 127, 140-1
 industrial, 108-28
 law, 160-8
 life cycle, 94-100, 120-4
 meals, 126, 139
 middle class, 130-55, 191-221
 patriarchal, 70, 75-6, 102
 recreation, 127
 relationships, 91
 routines, 23, 138
 size, 102-3, 114, 124
 standards of living, 358-68
 structure-functions, 58, 87-90, 114-6, 124-6, 142-3, 146, 157
 successful, 147-8
 upper class, 149-55
 vacations, 127, 129, 140

- Families (*continued*)
 weekly program, 124-6
 see Church; Housing; Family Welfare; Change, Social
- Family allowances (for children), 364-5
- Family casework, 326-9
- "Family crisis", 58, 419
- Family life education, 407-26
- Family policy, 357, 369, 375, 443, 457, 473-6
- Family problems, 237-353
- Family welfare, 324-51; see Health; Housing; Juvenile Delinquency; Social Security; Social Services
- Finland, 226, 267, 279, 291-3, 338, 430, 447, 450, 452, 457-8
- Folkhjelp*, 332, 428, 431
- Folk high schools, 53, 75, 402, 421
- Folkhøgskole*; see Folk high school
- Forlikråd*, 284-5, 293
- Forsørgsvesen*, 285, 300
- Foster homes, 342-4
- Fremtiden* (Drammen), 4
- Fulbright program, v, 132, 387
- Funerals, 141, 363, 446
- Gallup polls, 128, 147, 151, 190, 199, 201, 218, 220, 233, 293, 309, 320, 322-3, 370, 399-400, 402-3, 411, 426, 428
- Gård* (Norwegian homestead), 71-80
- Germany brigade, 234-5, 436-40
- Gonorrhea, 429-36
- Grundtvigian schools, 53, 402; see Folk high schools
- Gypsies, 36, 38, 45
- Habitat sociology, vi-vii, 36-65, 67-155
- Health, 359-60, 443-71
- Health education, 462
- "Health houses", 455-6, 464
- Health insurance, 303, 359, 362, 365-8, 440, 445, 460, 466; see Social security
- Helsehus*; see "Health houses"
- Hjemmenes Vel*, 180, 336
- Holidays, 127, 140-1; see Vacations
- Home
 husband's status in, 187
 women in, 178
 women's jobs outside, 181
- Homesteads, 90-2, 150-1
- Household
 appliances, 384
 furnishings in industrial community, 113-4
 management and finance, 116-9, 129
- Housewives
 League, 332-3
 substitutes, 335-8, 465
 vacations, 181, 335, 465
- Housing, 13-4, 17, 41, 109, 111-4, 118, 132-3, 145
 and community planning, 382-4
 and mental health, 370
 as divorce factor, 285, 293
 cooperative, 376-8
 cost equalization, 374
 deficit, 371-2
 design and family functions, 380-2
 government policies related to, 372-5
 problems and policies, 370-86
 replacement (war damage), 372
 rural, 384-5
 standards and design, 378-80
- Husmorsferie*; see Housewives, vacations
- Husmorvikarer*; see Housewives, substitutes
- Hytte*, 133, 142
- Iceland, 255
- Illegitimacy, 274
 see Betrothal; Courtship, Non-wedlock situations

- Immunizations, 461
Indre Misjon, 53, 252, 396, 398, 409
 Industrial community, 108-128
 Industry, 6, 14, 26, 30, 51, 69, 81
 women in, 176
 Infant care, 452
 books and pamphlets, 453
 see Child care
 Infant mortality, 172, 449
 Inheritance, 27, 76-80, 90-2, 167-8,
 256, 260, 264, 266-7
 see Non-wedlock situations
 Institute of Psychology, 216-7, 221
 Institute for Social Research, 186
 Institute for Sociology, 45, 186, 215-7
 Institutional care
 for children, 339, 340, 353
Institutt for Kristen Oppseding, 402, 410,
 413, 425
Institutt for Samfundsforskning, 186
Institutt for Sosiologi, 186

 Joint Committee on International
 Social Policy, 368-9, 384
 Juvenile delinquency, 282-3, 328, 340,
 343, 419

 Kindergarten, 180, 336
Kirke-spog Undervisningsdepartementet,
 410, 412, 418
Kristelige Folkeparti, 63, 409, 411
Kristen Hjelp, 283, 304
Kuratorforening, 351
Kursted, 301-4, 317-8
Kvinnens Nasjonalråd, x, 332; see
 Schools of Social Work

 Labor
 conditions, 70
 division of, by sex, 87-8, 125, 136-8,
 143, 179
 employment of women, 181-8
 organization of, 4, 37, 54-5
 union, 11, 126

 Labor Party, 4, 55-7, 60-3, 327, 332,
 351, 402
 Lambertseter, 382-3
 Laws relating to marriage and family
 obligations, 160-8
 Legal aid, 290
 Legitimation, 247-8, 250-1 253, 255,
 266
 Leisure, 21, 126-8
 Liberation, 297, 428; see Occupation,
 Nazi
 Life expectancy, 10, 25, 41
 Lutheran church influence, 102, 110,
 121, 125, 195-6, 241, 251-2, 254,
 283, 292, 331, 359, 387-406, 409,
 412-3, 416, 438

 Marriage, 26, 40-4, 97-100, 123, 142,
 160-6
 age of, 160-2
 and morals, 40
 betrothal and, 160-6
 counseling, 283-5, 327
 division of property, 167
 mutual obligations of, 166-9
 restrictions, 162-3
 successful, 147-8
 type of ceremony, 163-4
 see Courtship
 Marxism, 60, 403, 409
 Maternity
 benefits, 447
 health centers, 452-6, 468
 homes, 264, 268, 279
 mortality, 449
 Mate selection, 223-5; see Betrothal;
 Courtship
 Meals, 23-4, 126, 139
 Medical care, 445-6, 462; see Health,
 Social security; Health insurance
Menighets fakultet, 389, 397
 Mental hygiene, 328, 424, 426, 456
 Midwifery, 450, 467
 Milk consumption, 297

- Mobility, 50, 58, 105-7
 emigration, 52, 105-6, 123
 social, 149-50
 travel; see Vacations
- Mødrehygienekontor*, 417, 427
- Modum, 3, 4, 6, 47, 70
- Morals, 222-36
 public views of, 233-4
 see Night courtship; Germany
 brigade
- Mortality, 10, 25, 41, 171-3, 449
- Morgenblad*, 411, 426
- Mot Dag*, 407
- Mothers' allowances, 262, 264, 290,
 335, 366; see Social security
- Mothers' milk depot, 469
- Municipal aid, 335
- Mutterschutz*, 280
- National Association Against Tuberculosis and for the People's Health, 455
- National Dentists' Association, 459
- National Housing Bank, 112, 118,
 374-5, 378-9
- National Temperance Council, 306,
 309-10
- National Women's Health Association, 215, 454-8, 462, 465, 468
- Nattefrieri*; see Night courtship
- Nazi; see Occupation, Nazi
- Night courtship, 40, 97-8, 250, 254
 see Betrothal; Courtship; Non-wedlock situations
- Non-wedlock children, 268
 acceptance of, 123
 allowances for, 366
 percentage of, 97-8
- Non-wedlock situations, 240-80
 attitudes, 252, 272
 class differences, 248-50
 during Nazi occupation, 270-1
 historical, 242-5
 international comparisons, 252-3,
 274
 legislation, 255-67
 registration, 273
 research, 250, 271-2
 rural-urban, 242-3, 246-51, 267, 276
 see: Betrothal; Courtship; Night
 courtship; Premarital relations
- Norges Husmorforbund*, 336, 351
- Normalplan*, 408
- Norsk Folkeferie*, 181
- Norsk Forening for Sosialt Arbeid*, 325
- Norsk Ukeblad*, 21
- Norske Folkehjelp*, 181, 428, 430-1
- Norske Kvinners Sanitetsforening*
 (N.K.S.), 454-8
- Norske Stats Husbank*, 373-5
- "Norvik", 70, 108-28
- Norwegian Mental Hygiene Association, 215
- OBOS cooperative housing, 376-82
- Occupation, Nazi, 146-7, 165, 234,
 270-1, 281-2, 291, 296, 319, 345,
 371-2, 397, 427, 440, 444
- Old age, 360, 362-3
 assistance, 335, 362-4
 see Health insurance; Social security
- Orphanages, 339
- Oslo, 49, 51, 130-1, 199-201, 216,
 231-3, 325-8, 334-7, 378-80
 survey, 40-2
 see Institute for Sociology; OBOS;
Institutt for Samfunnsforskning;
Institutt for Sosiologi; *Ungdomsnemnd*
- Park tante*, 335, 340
- Paternity, 249, 257, 259-61, 265, 267
 see Betrothal; Courtship; Non-wedlock
- Pedagogisk Forskningsinstitutt*, 218-9
 see: Hambro; Sandven (Index of
 names)

- Pensions, 111, 119
 old age, 362-4
 see Health insurance; Social security
- Planes of living, 358-61
 industrial community, 3-35
 rural, 71-80
 urban middle class, 134-6
- Politics, 54-7
 suffrage, 54
 see Labor Party
- Population, viii, 50
 association, Finnish, 338, 457-8
 emigration, 52
 in proportion to housing, 372
 mobility, 50, 58, 105-7
 Norway, viii, 50
 policies, 474
 rural trends, 103
- Premarital relations, 223, 226-30,
 240-80, 421, 437
 see Betrothal; Courtship; Morals;
 Night courtship; Non-wedlock
 situations
- Prophylaxis, 234-5, 436-40
 see Contraception
- Prostitution, 427-8, 430, 434
 see Occupation, Nazi
- Protective League, 328, 342
- Provincial Family Health, 463-5
- Public baths, 469
- Quislings, 147
- Railroad, 51
- Rationing, 373
- Reconstruction, 371-3
- Recreation, 93, 110, 126, 136, 141-2
 see Vacations
- Red Cross, 455, 469
- Religion, 7-8, 48-9, 53-4, 60, 62-3, 79,
 102, 125, 142, 195, 387-406
 baptism, 398
 Bible belt, 398
 christianization, 391
 reformation, 392
 see Church; Lutheran church in-
 fluence
- Religious education, 394-402, 408, 411
- Rent control, 372
- Reproductive controls, 466
 see Contraception
- Research, 271-2
- Retirement, 128, 145
- Rural families, 69, 71-108
 care of members, 74
 relations between, 92-4
 see Families
- School health, 458, 461-3
 see Education
- Schools of social work, x, 312
- Selvsbyggernes Boliglag*, 377-8
- Settlement work, 325
- Sex
 education, 407-26
 education in schools, 407-13
 knowledge or instruction, 124
 license, 123
 need for social education, 201
 venereal disease campaign, 428
 see Occupation, Nazi
- Situational approach, 307
- Skolehjem*, 339
- Smallholder's Bank, 375
- Social case work, 26, 265, 268, 283-6,
 305-9, 311-7, 326-9, 345-51
 see Social work
- Social insurance, 361-4
 see Health insurance; Social security
- Social mobility; see Mobility, social;
 Class, social, differences
- Social security (social welfare), 28, 61,
 101, 111, 128, 138, 145, 358-68
 see Family allowances
- Social work, 324-53
 governmental, private, and reli-
 gious, 329-34
 schools, 326, 329
- Sollia, 81-107

- Sosialkontor*, 350
Sosial kuratorer; see Social case work
Sosialt Arbeid, 325; see Social work
 Standard of living, 57, 473
 maintaining family, 358-69
 see Cost of living; Social security
 Stavanger, 469
 Sterilization, 466
Storgaarder, 150-1
 Study groups, 415-6
 Sweden, 254-5, 261, 264-6, 286, 289,
 292-3, 299, 310, 338, 359-60, 393,
 420, 430, 448, 450, 451, 457, 461,
 463
Sykekasse (sickness funds), see Health
 insurance
 Syphilis, 431-6
 Temperance
 boards, 295, 299-302, 308-9, 311-3
 council, 309-10
 see Alcoholic cure houses; Alco-
 holics Anonymous; Alcoholism;
 Edruelighetsnemnd
Trygdekasse, 350; see Social security
 Tuberculosis, 444, 469, 471
 Unemployment, 360-1
 aid, 335
Ungdomsnemnd, *Oslos*, 236, 351
 Urbanism, 43, 50-1, 63, 69-70, 241,
 271-2, 473
 see Families, industrial; Housing;
 Industry
Urd, 415
Utsattskontor, 328, 344; see Child
 placing
 Vacations, 20, 22, 127, 140-1
 for children, 441
 for housewives, 181, 335, 465
 see *Hytte* (vacation cabin)
 Vaccinations, 461
 Vagrants' families, 328
 Venereal diseases, 239
 anti-V.D. propaganda, 428-9
 conquest of, 427-42
 importation of, 434-7
 incidence in Norway, 430-3; Army,
 436-40; rural, 436; urban, 434
 reporting and treatment, 429-30
Verjeråd, 282, 351-2; see Child wel-
 fare committee
Vernelag, *Oslos*, 328
Vernesamband, *Norges*, 328
 Vital statistics
 birth rates, 169-71
 birth registrations, 168-9
 rural, 102-5
 Voluntary parenthood, 417
 Weddings, 123, 141-2
 precipitated by pregnancy, 97
 type of ceremony, 163-4
 Welfare; see Social case work; Social
 security
 Welfare state, 62, 358-69
Woman and the Times, 415
 Women
 division of labor, 87, 115, 136-8,
 143, 178-81
 emancipation of, 176-8
 employment, 15, 45, 117, 182-8
 housewives' vacations, 181
 in industry, 176, 183, 186
 pay scales, 184
 scarcity in population, 173
 status of, 9, 88, 143
 work in home, 178-9
 work outside home, 181-8
 Workers' education, 37, 39, 402
 Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. (KFUM and
 KFUK), 416
 Youth, 222-36
 class differences, 231-3
 commission, 339
 views re morals, 231-3
 see *Ungdomsnemnd*

Names Index

- Aarek, W., 218
Allardt, Erik, 294
Allwood, Inga W., 386
Allwood, Martin, 46
Anderssen-Rysst, Rannveig, 261
Anker-Moller, Katti, 417
Arnholm, Carl J., 173
Aubert, Vilhelm, 183
- Backer, Julie E., 173, 280
Balstad, Bjarne, ix
Barth, Fredrik, vii, 69, 70, 81
Berggrav, Eivind, 62, 397
Bjerve, P. J., 368
Blakstad, Cecile, x
Blomquist, Sven, x
Boulding, Elise, 281
Boyesen, E., ix
Boysen, Carsten, 41
Braatoy, Trygve, 213, 281, 370, 385
Brochman, Odd, 380
Brofoss, Erik, x, 56
Bruun-Gulbrandsen, Sverre, 232
- Castberg, Frede, 48
Castberg, Johan, 256
Christensen, Harold, 253
Croog, Sydney H., 253, 280
- Dahl, Eyvind, ix, 295
de Schweinitz, Karl, 410-1
Dummer, Ethel Sturges, 260
- Eliot, Jean Doyle, xi, 132
Eliot, Thomas D., v, 293, 351, 403,
405-6, 424-6, 442
Evang, Karl, ix, 214, 280, 409, 411-4,
422, 428, 455, 468
- Flaatten, Else, 418
Flint, John T., viii, 387
Friis, Henning, x, 368
- Gard, Knut, 470
Geddes, Patrick, 29
Geis, Gilbert, 236
Gjaever, Fru, x
Gilhus, Kåre, ix, 295, 352
Gjessing, H. C., 429, 431, 436, 440
Gronn, Gunvor, ix
- Hågâ, Eli Piene, 414
Hallesby, Ole, 388-9, 397
Hambro, Cato, x, 199, 201-5, 219-20,
420-1, 424
Hareide, Bjarne, ix, 402, 425
Hauge, Hans Nielsen, 48-9, 53, 394
Hill, Reuben, 281
Hillman, Arthur, 36, 386
Hillman, Stinâ Eklund, xi
Höjer, Axel, x
Höjer, Karl, 470
Holm, Sverre, ix
Holter, Harriet, 186
Hovde, Bryn J., ix
- Ibsen, Henrik, 65, 177
Ingebrigtsen, S. Bryhn, 470
- Jahn, Gunnar, 30, 45, 384
Johanning, Else, 453
Johnsen, Gordon, ix, 304-5
Johnson, Alex, 425
- Key, Ellen, 280
Kiaer, Dakky, x
Kinsey, Alfred C., 223, 235

- Kluge, Liv, x, 175, 262, 327
 Koht, Halvdan, x, 32
 Krane, Borghild, 424

 LePlay, Frédéric, vii, 3, 5, 23, 29, 36
 Lunde, Anders, 174, 276, 287
 Lysgaard, Sverre, 230

 Mannio, Niilo, x
 Michelet, Nanna, x, 325
 Mohr, Otto Lous, 410
 Mohr, Tove, ix, 295, 304
 Munch, Peter A., vii, 69, 71
 Myrdal, Alva, 254, 280, 292-3, 419, 424

 Nielsen, Ruth Frøyland, x
 Nordland, Eva, viii, 191-221

 Ødegård, Ørnulv, 283, 321
 Olden, Ole, x
 Ottesen-Jensen, Elise, x, 280

 Palmström, Henrik, 221
 Parmann, Øistein, 231
 Petersen, Max, ix, 293

 Qvam, Eli, x, 31

 Riesman, David, 58-9, 236
 Rinnan, Frode, 382
 Rolfsen, Erik, 384
 Rummelhoff, Ivan, 328
 Rumohr, Marianne, 410
 Rygg, Nicolai, x, 8, 45, 246-51, 384

 Sandven, Johannes, ix, 197-8, 218
 Schiodt, Liv, x
 Schiøtz, Carl, 458
 Schjelderup, H., 197, 218
 Schjelderup, Kristian, ix, 131, 214, 388-9, 397, 413, 425
 Sethne, Anna, 218
 Simenson, William C., 226-7
 Sivertsen, Dagfinn, x
 Skabo, Torger, 305
 Skard, Åse Gruda, ix, 216, 218-9, 410, 413-4
 Skard, Sigmund, x
 Skårdal, Olav, 107
 Sørensen, Ingjerd, ix
 Stabrun, Trygve, 425
 Stephenson, John C., 69, 70, 108
 Stoltenberg, L., 425
 Strindberg, August, 280
 Sukkestad, Oline, 425
 Sundal, Alfred, 193-5, 217-8
 Sundt, Eilert, vii, 8 10, 36-47, 160, 241, 250, 384
 Svalastoga, Kaare, 63-4, 174, 190, 217, 235, 292-3

 Thrane, Marcus, 3, 30, 32, 37, 54-5
 Tranmael, Martin, 55

 Waal, Nic, 218
 Waris, Heikki, x
 Webb, Beatrice and Sydney, 359
 Winje, Trond, x

 Zacchariassen, Aksel, ix, 4

COLLEGE LIBRARY

UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA



3 1262 05611 2252

301.4209481

E42n

C.2

