

A COMPARATIVE STUDY
OF
ATTITUDES
TO
GIVING AND ACCEPTING HELP

Submitted for the Ph.D. in Psychology

University of London

by

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ABSTRACT

The research was intended to explore people's attitudes to the social transaction of giving and receiving help in situations of practical and material need, to assess their willingness to give and to accept help in defined situations, and to record the circumstances which they considered to be important in deciding whether to give and to accept help.

The survey was conducted in a village in Norwegian Lapland where interesting developments in this field were said to be taking place.

A class of students at the local Youth School was invited to respond in writing to a series of need situations presented as a tape-recorded projection test. The same test, illustrated with a film-strip, was used as the basis of intensive tape-recorded interviews with selected individual adult villagers.

The results of the tests indicated that the subjects tested were not such rare givers nor such cheerful receivers as popular tradition held the Lapps to be.

A great variety of circumstances influenced them in their decisions. Sympathy, and a strong sense of obligation to help in some situations, were the main reasons for giving. Decisions to accept or reject help were considerably influenced by the urgency of the need, by the benefits which would result from

accepting, and by the wish and obligation to be independent and self-sufficient.

There were wide individual variations in willingness to give and accept help, and in the influence of the circumstances of the test situations on the decisions made. Instead of the expected inverse correlation ^{between} giving and accepting, various combinations of willingness to give and to accept were observed, which reflected the different personalities and attitudes.

It was found that none of the current theories on giving and receiving was sufficient to account for all the attitudes revealed, though each was relevant upon occasion.

(299 words)

CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM

A. DEFINITION AND SCOPE

This research is a study of attitudes to the giving and receiving of material and practical help in a need situation.

A 'need situation' is defined as a situation in which the life or physical well-being of a person is in danger, or the attainment of some goal that he has set himself, or that has been set him, is impossible or difficult because he does not possess the means for alleviating the situation.

'Help' is any practical or material means provided by another person to meet the need. It may be money, food, clothing, or a piece of equipment, or it may be a practical service like caring for some one in illness or old age, lending a neighbour a hand, or rescuing some one from drowning. This research is not concerned with help of a non-material kind, such as advice or encouragement, comfort, or arbitration in interpersonal conflicts.

Limiting the research to a consideration of this kind of help in these kinds of need situations does not imply that non-material help may not be as effective a means for alleviating those needs as material or practical help, nor does it indicate that these needs are in any sense 'primary' or 'basic', nor that they are all of the so-called 'physical' or 'biological' needs. They are a selection made with the object of confining the research within manageable limits, yet covering a usefully wide field.

A distinction is made between a 'gift' and 'help'. A 'gift' may be made by one person to another irrespective of whether there is any need or not. Only help given as a means to alleviate some kind of direct physical insufficiency or distress is being considered in this thesis.

B. SHORT REVIEW OF PREVALENT ATTITUDES TO GIVING AND RECEIVING

The twentieth century has inherited a wide variety of attitudes to giving and receiving, some preserved and handed down in codes and institutions from the past, others developed as a result of the unparalleled amount of thought and observation devoted to the subject in the last half-century by social and political reformers and state welfare workers, by theologians and philosophers, and inevitably by psycho-analysts, who have given the lead to educational and social psychologists.

1. Attitudes to giving

a. Giving as intelligent bargaining: The Utilitarian attitude, which regards giving as intelligent bargaining, as a wise egoism, suggests that it is in the interest of an individual to give up some of his material resources and services to benefit another, for in so doing he establishes a claim to some other good in return, similar help when he himself needs it, for example. Utilitarian rationalism goes one step further: having demonstrated the ultimate inter-relatedness of all life, it holds that men help

one another in immediate situations because they are aware that furthering the interests of others indirectly furthers their own (Niebuhr, 1945). On a national level, for example, giving to the poor might well be a matter of political expediency; should they be left to rot, a declining economy and falling population would threaten the wealth and security of the whole nation (Rodgers, 1949). Or feeding them might prove cheaper than policing them (de Schwenitz, 1924).

b. Giving as an automatic rational reaction: The Marxian doctrine simply states that parting with one's surplus for the relief of others is an automatic rational reaction that occurs immediately one's own needs have been met (Niebuhr, 1945).

c. Giving as the expression of feelings of social solidarity: Other social writers say that, instead of being the outcome of rational reflection, giving is rather the natural expression of feelings of social solidarity, of neighbourliness, a debt which the luckier members of the community owe to the less fortunate (Wickwar, 1936; Mead quoted by Boisen, 19).

d. Giving as a natural, independent instinct or impulse: Some writers say that giving is a 'natural impulse' or 'instinct'. Hadfield (1944) speaks of 'those instincts which compel us to regard the needs of others as well as of ourselves'. Waller (1936) refers to a 'humanitarian impulse which has always

existed in man'. Others (Beveridge, 1948; Eden, 1760), in stressing the instinctive and largely emotional character of the wish to give, add that its satisfaction, or its expression, is so pleasurable that new channels for its exercise are sought out when old ones are no longer available.

e. Giving as an expression of other instincts or of other capacities and interests: Sometimes it is held that giving derives from another instinct, such as curiosity or the impulse to save (Hamilton, 1949), or that it may be resorted to as an outlet for other capacities, such as organising ability (Jennings in Mess & Williams, 1945), or because of the intrinsic appeal of the actual specific helping activity required. A person may give to a cause in which he has a special interest because of deprivations he experienced in that field in his youth. Carnegie's gifts of libraries and organs are an example (Braithwaite 1945).

f. Giving as the sharing of divine endowments: The Christian attitude to giving derives primarily from a general belief that life itself and all that is necessary to sustain it is the gift of God. Material goods acquired by the individual, as well as the personal capacities he is endowed with, are received, free of charge and irrespective of merit, direct from God, as a gift to be enjoyed and used in the satisfaction of his need. If

there should be any one who for some reason or other (congenital misfortune, or the greed of his fellows) has insufficient for his needs, the individual holding this attitude, who himself has been given enough, will wish to share his gift with him. Sympathising with the need of his less fortunate fellow, and recognising that the latter has as much 'claim' on the bounty of God as he, the one with the greater endowment will look upon it as a trust to be shared with the other. In giving to another person in need he will be acting, not as a 'donor' giving of his own, but as an 'ambassador' or a 'steward' distributing gifts belonging in actual fact to God.

Nygren (1932) sees Christian giving from another angle: "God's love is the ground and pattern of all love; it consists in free self-giving and it finds its continuation in love for man; for he who has received all for nothing is constrained to pass on to others what he has received". Giving is not the result of intellectual reasoning, nor the automatic reaction of people whose needs have been met, but the tangible expression of love towards one's fellowman.

g. Giving as a 'virtue' yielding certain non-material rewards: When the sharing of divine endowments, in the form of material goods or practical services, comes to be regarded as a virtue it ceases to be expressive of a relationship with God but becomes

purposive, seeking to establish a relationship with God, and to increase the donor's bargaining power with God, or to enhance his esteem among his fellows.

h. Giving as a guilt-reaction: Freud (Hamilton, 1949) saw giving as a culture-formed guilt-reaction to impulses toward exploitation and aggression. This attitude, that men give in conformity with, or as a concession to the cultural super-ego, introduces again, though on a deeper level, and for rewards of a different kind, the bargaining attitude of Utilitarianism.

i. Giving as the indulgence of drives for power and superiority: Flügel (1934) considered the motive-force of giving to be the enjoyment of the sense of power and superiority it yielded, inevitably involving an element of 'Schadenfreude' as well (i.e. pleasure in some one else's misfortune because of the superiority it bestows upon you), and deriving from displaced anal-erotic tendencies and displaced parental feelings.

j. Giving as the expression of projective identification: When a donor has himself been in a similar need as a potential recipient, or is able to visualise himself in such a situation, giving is sometimes thought to be the expression of projective identification. The donor gives as it were by proxy to himself and vicariously enjoys the satisfactions he is providing for the recipient. Or, in giving, he is projecting himself into the

role of some one from whom he himself has received, inverting, from motives diametrically opposed to those above, an actual former relationship. Some social and political reform might be motivated by identification of the first kind; the decision to become a teacher or a doctor could stem from the second.

k. Giving as the expression of sympathy: The donor, from his own or other people's experience, may remember, or from the clues available, he may imagine the pain suffered by the person in need and may wish him to experience relief of this pain. Because he happens to have the means for this relief available, he supplies it.

l. Giving as a vital human need: From Aristotle onwards, moral philosophers have stressed the importance of the social needs of man, his need for affection and companionship. 'Friendship,' Aristotle wrote, 'is a thing most necessary for Life and our need for it seems to be implanted in us by Nature.' (Percival, 1940). Modern psychologists have coined their own name for what Aristotle called friendship, but the emphasis on its importance keeps recurring in psychological literature. Trotter, for instance, writes (1947): 'Social participation is a categorical need ... the individual of a gregarious species can never be truly independent and self-sufficient', and Linton (1947) expresses the same idea in these words: '... the most outstanding and most continuously operative of man's psychic needs is that for emotional

response from other individuals, and it survives when all his physical needs have been satisfied.' Using terms like 'sociability', 'warm human relationships', or 'fellowship', other writers (Robinson, 1930; Suttie, 1960; Berdyaev, 1938; Hadfield, 1944) have echoed this opinion, and they have gone a step further, pointing out that the growth and development of the personality of the individual is dependent upon such relationships with others. A valuable contribution to the understanding of these relationships has been made by Suttie. By his detailed analysis of 'responsive companionship', especially as it occurs in the mother-child relationship, he has shown that 'the abstraction of such a responsive state of love into giving and getting, with a possible balance of gain and loss, is an artificiality of our anxiety-ridden minds which cannot get away from the analogy with material transactions'. For Suttie, the nursing relationship between mother and child is 'at once both a giving and a getting, without distinction between the two'. There is 'an at-one-ment in which interaction is in no way competitive', where 'there is no question of a "balance of trade" of benefits conferred or obligations incurred. It is not even "more blessed to give than to receive"' in such a relationship, 'for every gift is in fact a gain, every transaction liquidates itself immediately. In so far then as companionship is reciprocal

and giving is an integral, inseparable aspect of it, and in so far as companionship is vital to the welfare and development of the individual, giving is itself a vital human need. It is his insistence on the need of the individual to give to others that distinguishes Suttie from many other psychologists who, while stressing the importance of companionship, tend to emphasise only the individual's need to receive affection from others.

As, in the mother-child relationship, 'the transfer of substances from the mother's to the child's body is immaterial' - it is the reciprocity of the relationship that matters - so, we might infer, in a relationship among adults, where love exists, the exchange of material gifts and practical services may be incidental also. But of course the crucial thing is the existence of the love relationship.

m. Giving as an indication of an individual's development and growth and of his capacity for socialised living: Psychology and popular tradition have long tended to regard the proportion in which material goods are given and received as indicative of the individual's development and growth and of his capacity for socialised living. It is held that, in part, the process of maturation consists in the individual's moving away from the acceptance of material gifts and the practical ministrations of others to increasing self-reliance and independence, until at last

he in his turn assumes the role of 'giver' and 'administrator' of similar gifts to others. For example, Saul (1960) includes 'progress from getting or receiving to giving' among the eight characteristics of a mature individual.

2. Attitudes to receiving

It is clear that several at least of the above thirteen attitudes to giving implicitly contain as a corollary an attitude to receiving.

a. Where giving is looked upon as being wise egoism, or intelligent bargaining, the recipient is expected to deliver in return material goods or practical services to the same value as those received, no more and no less than that. No prestige value normally attaches to the giving in such circumstances and the recipient is not humiliated by it.

b. Where giving is regarded as the equitable sharing of common gifts, the recipient's relation to the gift is the same as that of the intermediary donor; there is no distinction between them, and the relationship of each to the other is achieved either through a third party, the original Source of the gift (cf. 1. f.), or through the acknowledgement of their equal status rights in the community. In these cases there is no differential giving-receiving relationship between 'donor' and 'recipient'.

c. Where giving is regarded as a virtue however, or where the possession of material resources or physical strength reflects the personal superiority of the donor, receiving must of necessity be regarded as indicative of the inferiority of the recipient; receiving in that case would represent a conflict between the recipient's wish to survive or to achieve certain greatly desired goals and his desire to maintain his prestige and self-respect and to avoid the shame and censure attached to receiving.

d. In the kind of responsive companionship Suttie describes, there is again no clear-cut giving and receiving relationship, the relationship is reciprocal. If giving is 'an overture demanding response' from the other person, then his acceptance of the gift is itself giving. Receiving, like giving, is an integral, inseparable aspect of responsive relationship, of love.

e. Where giving is taken to be indicative of maturity and greater capacity for socialised living, receiving may come to mean the opposite, as representing an infantile dependence on others. When the need to receive material goods and practical services is exaggerated in the extreme it is regarded as a compulsive need for oral satisfaction typical of the psychopathic affectionless personality who is capable only of an exploitive type of relationship with others (Irvine, 1954).

In addition to the attitudes to receiving implicit in and

determined by attitudes to giving, the following should be noted:

f. The attitude that the soliciting and accepting of material help and practical services from others indicates the recipient's need to be assured of the affection of others (Suttie, 1960; Hamilton, 1949). This attitude is variously interpreted: those for whom stalwart emotional self-reliance and independence mean maturity see it as evidence of infantile dependence and emotional immaturity; for others it indicates an innate capacity for warm reciprocal relationships with other people.

g. Related to the above attitude is the one that sees an appeal for help as a constructive reaching out for new relationships that indicates the existence of dynamic forces making for the healthy adjustment of the personality. Refusing to appeal for help when it is needed would be indicative of morbid maladjustment.

3. Refusing to give and to receive

Naturally each attitude to giving and receiving contains an implied attitude to instances where an individual refuses to give to another in need, or where he refuses to accept when in such a situation himself. According to the Utilitarian attitude, for example, refusal to give in a particular instance would probably be attributed to the transaction not being considered a 'good bargain', while in those attitudes where the giving is seen

as the expression, or the result of a certain emotional relationship between the parties in the situation refusal would be attributed to the absence of such a relationship.

Again, the view that giving indicates maturity while receiving indicates infantile dependence might result in a refusal to give on the grounds that giving would encourage the recipient to remain on the infantile level, hindering his development toward assuming responsibility for himself and others, while refusal to receive, in spite of need, might be seen as indicating the absence of dependency needs, as evidencing a healthy independence of the practical administrations of others and of their material and emotional gifts. Such an attitude would also encourage a potential recipient to refuse help, in order to avoid the censure of his fellows and subsequent injury to his prestige.

One might continue to give examples of the attitudes to refusing which are inherent in the attitudes quoted to giving and receiving. Other attitudes are sometimes also expressly stated. Hamilton (1949) mentions the self-punishing inhibition to ask which characterises some people in need and like Suttie he points to early frustrations as the root cause of the inability of such people to give and to receive.

C. THE NEED FOR A SYSTEMATIC STUDY OF THE PROBLEM

From the above short review it is clear that there is considerable difference of opinion as to what a giving and receiving relationship involves and signifies, what needs of the people concerned are being expressed and satisfied, and what psychological mechanisms are operative in effecting the exchange of the 'gift', in bringing about the giving and accepting of the needed help.

It would seem that part of the confusion has arisen because attempts have been made to generalise about giving and receiving, as if these activities were fairly constant 'tendencies' of the individual like the 'tendency' to eat when hungry, to grow angry when irritated, and so on, whereas any giving-receiving relationship, and particularly any situation of help in need, is not only unique but is an extremely complex relationship that admits of almost limitless variation within the structure of the situation. For every such situation includes at least these aspects:

- a. the actual need-situation,
- b. what help will alleviate the need, and who is in possession of the means for providing it,
- c. the person needing and the person giving,
- d. the attitudes of each of these persons to the particular need and to the help relevant to and adequate for it,

e. their attitude, or relation to each other, the one now obtaining and the one expected to follow according to the outcome of the situation,

f. the attitude of each to himself, with its implications for his attitude to the outside world, and to the attitude of the outside world to him.

Whether help will be given and accepted in any one need-situation will depend obviously on the inter-relation among all these aspects, and clearly they will vary with each new situation that arises.

It may be that the particular composition of a person is such that he finds the exercise of power over others to be especially rewarding, but whether he will be able to find this satisfaction in giving help to others in a particular situation may depend on such things as the willingness of the recipient to submit to this power, the premium placed by the culture on 'giving' and the donor's relation to such cultural pressure, not to mention his necessity to have the means for satisfying the need at his disposal.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE RELEVANT LITERATURE AND PREVIOUS RESEARCH

IN THIS FIELD

A. THE SOCIAL SERVICE LITERATURE

By far the greatest volume of material on giving and receiving is that which might be called the 'Social Service Literature'. Social welfare workers, whose function is the distribution of material and practical help available from State or private sources to those who are in need of it, have greatly concerned themselves with the psychological aspects of giving and receiving help in need, as well as with the social and economic factors involved.

They have traced in broad outline the history of help-in-need, in so far as it has been expressed in State law throughout the centuries and in the history of voluntary organisations working for the relief of distress among persons in various kinds of need.

They have concerned themselves with analysing and understanding the causes of need and have endeavoured to differentiate between economic or general social causes, where need may, for example, be the result of unemployment in economic depression, and psychological causes, where the need may be occasioned through 'laziness', or 'unwillingness to work', or through 'lack of ability to manage one's affairs satisfactorily'.

Under pressure from three independent sources, they have

been stimulated to examine in detail the dynamics of the giving-receiving relationship, and to revise the whole concept of 'giving-and-receiving-help-in-need'. For, while popular tradition still tends to the view that giving, where little is offered in return, may injure the recipient morally or psychologically, or in both ways, psycho-analytic theory casts as much suspicion on the donor as on the recipient in such a relationship. Lastly, as socialist political theory emphasises the social (moral) right of all citizens to the opportunity to work for an adequate reward in order to satisfy their needs, 'help' is no longer 'given' to a person 'in need', first because the possibility of need occurring is all but eliminated, and second because, when conditions arise which could lead to 'need' being experienced, the individual is automatically 'eligible' for his 'rightful share' in the common resources of his community. (This aspect was emphasised in the press in June 1959 for example when National Assistance for old people was increased.) Thus any 'stigma' attaching to need is side-stepped, and the 'donor-recipient' relationship is avoided; the social worker's function is merely to 'co-operate' with the individual in the establishment of his claim and in the administration of his right (Lafitte, 1945; Jennings, 1945; Mess, 1945; Robson, 1948).

Consequently much has been written for the guidance of the social worker on the technique of administering the social

service benefits in accordance with this principle. He must be aware of his own motivation in wishing to take up this work, and he must recognise the importance also of other needs his client may have in addition to the satisfaction of possible material or practical wants, psychological needs like that for independence and autonomy of action, for example.

The amount of systematic research into these matters seems to be very limited: the literature consists almost entirely of the reflections of workers on what they have learnt intuitively from their experience. Some attempts at systematisation have been made.

B. RESEARCH CONDUCTED IN CONNECTION WITH THE SOCIAL SERVICES

1. Sidney Berengarten

Berengarten undertook a study (quoted by Hamilton, 1949, pp. 183f.) to determine what qualities of personality went with success in social work and what methods of selection of candidates for this work were most reliable, in other words, what kind of person was best able to help other people in difficulty. His results show that the best candidates were relatively free and uncomplicated, mature beyond their years, sensitive, intelligent, emotionally stable, able to regard persons very close to them personally with objectivity, yet with warmth, understanding and acceptance. They had a healthy identification with emotional problems, and with people in difficulty, tolerance for a wide variety of people and concern for broad social problems. There was a lack of hostility among them and they were conscious of a relatively deep sense of satisfaction in their current personal relationships, and many of their past relationships were of a sustained nature and had a lasting quality. Although parental relationships of some had negative aspects and their motivation for taking up social work was identification with deprived persons, in part, because of their own unhappy childhood, with others the motivation was very positive identification with both parents, who were out-going, actively helping people in the community;

still others were continuing the satisfying role of an older sister with a younger child. The initial reason given for choosing the work was usually philosophical: the conviction of the importance of doing preventive work, particularly with children, in order to forestall their breakdown as adults.

The dominant characteristic of those who were judged by Berengarten to be less suited to careers in social work was dependency which, stemming from a strong need to be loved and approved because dependency needs had been unmet in the past, manifested itself in over-acceptance of authority or a pronounced need to excel. They were generally warm and responsive but less able to form relationships with people. Some had real feeling for others, but tended to overidentify with the person in difficulty and were excessively afraid of hurting people. Those with a comfortable economic background had been stimulated intellectually to interest in bad social and economic conditions. The majority chose social work because they 'liked people and wanted to work with people', some, particularly those who showed identification with the underprivileged, took up the work 'in order to better society', others did it because of self-absorption and a desire to be important to somebody, or because of difficulty in getting jobs in other fields.

The candidates who were entirely unsuited were rigid and

highly defensive, had little self-critical ability and little capacity for independent thinking. They were basically dependent, outwardly passive and unaggressive, but with deep-rooted hostility. They had a characteristic feeling of worthlessness and inadequacy, lacked self-esteem, yet were excessively preoccupied with themselves. Some were a compulsive type, orderly, perfectionist, indecisive, while the feeling of deprivation and need for acceptance was very great. There were usually poor parent relations and a negative attitude to authority existing side by side with a keen desire to exercise it. Their motives for taking up social work were that they 'liked people and were interested in them', but later they admitted that they had chosen this career for reasons of security and status. Although those who had been extremely deprived emotionally often said their motivation was concern for all mankind, as a group they appeared singularly lacking in positive identification with others as a motive for taking up social work.

2. Cyril Smith (1957)

Smith's object in studying 130 households in the poorer half of an East London district was to investigate the sources people turned to for help in various kinds of situations: need arising from shortage of money, illness, or incapacity, the need of children for care and attention, and the need for social

life. His aim was to show that the State is not the universal provider and that considerable help is given by other people. His findings were that State help tends to be used less than other sources and that the family helps itself. Smith suggests, however, that the following factors tend to decrease the amount of help given within the family: the decline in ritual which holds people together, the dispersal of the population so that families are parted, and the increasing employment of married women so that more help is required while there are fewer people available to provide it. He is not sure whether the adverse effect of the decline in the size of the family is not offset by the extra cohesion among its members. Perhaps in the smaller, more democratic, more closely-knit family the children, though fewer in number, may be more willing to care for their parents.

3. Koos

Koos, whom Smith quotes, found the same tendency to rely on help from within the family among the 46 families he studied in a New York slum area, and in a second study he showed that the members of the middle class were even more independent of outside help. 'It is characteristic of the middle class,' he writes, 'that all human trouble, except possibly sickness and death is a thing to be kept firmly within the four walls of the house.' Though Koos seems not to suggest the possibility, this

might well be due, in part at least, to the fact that among the middle classes more help is available within the family. In the present study, for instance, subjects who were poor sometimes said, 'he couldn't go to his family for help, they were not in a position to give it'.

4. Hill

Also quoted by Smith is a study by Hill of families where the men were in the services. In case of need, help was rarely sought from the churches, from family agencies or from welfare groups, but from relatives, neighbours, and friends. Those best able to cope with crises were the well-knit, democratic families who also had limited the size of the family. Education and higher income level were of no importance in the families' ability to deal with their problems.

5. Rundquist and Sletto (1936)

Rundquist and Sletto investigated the effect of unemployment on personality in the depression, and whether this led to loss of morale, feelings of inferiority, disharmonious family relationships and so on. They found that the greater discontent among the unemployed receiving public relief was not confined to any age nor to any educational or occupational stratum. If anything, those more favourably situated with respect to these variables were the more discontented. From the point of view of the present research the following statement of Rundquist and

Sletto on their findings is of interest: 'Our data do not indicate that men receiving relief are characterised by feelings of inferiority, or unfavourable family attitudes'.

C. A SYSTEMATIC INVESTIGATION

A valuable quantitative investigation in the field of giving was made by Hartshorne and May (1929). The purpose of their study was to devise methods for measuring service tendencies in children and to throw as much light as possible on the nature and causes of these tendencies.

In their preliminary study the investigators took four very different groups of children. One group were given the opportunity to make things for children in hospital, another to participate in various social service activities in the community such as preparing Red Cross boxes, and giving to the local hospital and to Near East Relief; a third could collect books for an institute, raise money for a nursery, and so on, while the fourth were invited to give up money and ice-cream for charity.

The children were then scored according to the number of things they made, or the number of times they participated in the various projects. The percentage of helpers and non-helpers in each group was then calculated.

The investigators found no noteworthy association throughout the groups between helpfulness and age, intelligence, sex, physical condition, suggestibility, and home background. And although one of the groups of the children from an institution, rated lowest in terms of average amount of help given to all the opportunities, they were most responsive of all in certain situations, which, the investigators observe, illustrated the difficulty of setting up any test situation as an adequate sample of even a single type of behaviour.

For their main study Hartshorne and May presented a battery of tests to children from three different schools:

i) an ordinary representative school, in a community of old English stock, ii) a public school, whose pupils came from families of relatively high social level, and iii) a school in a community which was largely foreign and where 3/4ths of the fathers were unskilled labourers.

Each child was required to decide i) to work at certain tests either for the credit of his class or for himself, ii) to collect pictures, iii) to give up part of a gift to himself for children in hospital, and iv) to vote money to one of five objects, ranging from himself to an outside charity. On the basis of these tests, the children were assessed for 'helpfulness' or 'service' and comparisons between them were made.

The most important circumstances affecting service behaviour were: the mutual friendship of children in the same class-room; satisfactory school adjustment (equality of intelligence with class-mates, being graded with one's age group, good relations with teachers and class-mates); influence of the home (example of parents, cultural factors linked with occupational level, treatment of children); race and religious denomination. Age, intelligence, sex, emotional condition, the power to resist suggestion, and sociability were only loosely connected with service. Members of Sunday schools and clubs were slightly more helpful than non-members, those who frequently attended motion pictures less so. Most co-operation was to be found in an established community which was homogeneous in race, religion, and intellectual ability.

Other interesting observations made by Hartshorne and May were:

- i) the sociable children tended to be in the middle of the service scale rather than at the top;
- ii) generosity was as prevalent among the children as greed, and group loyalty was as strong a motive as the desire for reward and recognition. How much was shared with others depended on the strength of the appeal and on the attractiveness to oneself

of the object to be given away. Willingness to help oscillated with the middle 50% of cases and it also fell off with repetition and fatigue;

iii) service was not a unified trait, helpful tendencies were specific rather than general and occurred in response to the external demands of the situation rather than to the principles or ideals involved; they developed according to the experiences children gained in their environment, supported by the group code;

iv) the tendency of pupils to help one another could be changed with suitable teaching. To teach charity required the building up of group morale and the careful planning of situations to which helpfulness was a natural and successful response, increasing the complexity and difficulty of the situations so that general principles emerged to guide conduct and integration of behaviour.

Hartshorne and May's study of service may be criticised for its indiscriminate mixing of helpfulness and co-operation. They justify their action, however, by saying that neither mode of behaviour taken by itself is as socially useful as the combination of the two, for one sometimes does things for others (charity) without considering what they want done, and one may work with others (co-operation) to accomplish a purpose one shares with them without intending to be of any direct assistance to the other members of the group.

D. POLITICAL SCIENCE LITERATURE

Attitudes to giving and receiving are also found in writings outlining Socialist political theories and the history and development of co-operative and trade union movements and in writings defending the status quo or advocating alternative political, social, and economic systems.

An indirect approbation of the social and economic conditions of Victorian England is contained in Samuel Smiles "Self Help" which sets out to describe the virtue of independence and self-reliance and gives many examples of individuals who, by industrious self-help, have made good despite adverse social and economic conditions.

Kropotkin, on the other hand, in his book "Mutual Aid", seeks to establish the essential sociability of human nature and to plead for the restoration to modern Western society of the former co-operative way of life which he claims was destroyed by the rise of nation States.

He begins to prove his conviction that "sociability and the need for mutual aid and support are .. inherent parts of human nature" by describing in detail the mutually helpful activities observed among insects and animals. "There is plenty of evidence of compassion among animals .. sociability is the greatest advantage in the struggle for life."

Primitive people show similar characteristics: they rescue

companions in precarious situations, share their food catch or stores, and in numerous other ways demonstrate their sense of obligation to aid another member of the tribe in trouble. Among the Aleoutes (people like the Eskimos) both greed and begging are a shame. The Northman was required "to turn no man from his door who sought food and shelter, even though he were a foe .. The cow must be milked for yourself and for him who may ask milk". A certain tribe in Africa regard poverty as an accident which may visit any one: "Don't say that you will never wear the beggar's bag". No difference can be detected in the external behaviour of their rich and poor. "Barbarian societies in all climates and races," Kropotkin writes, "are strikingly similar in their mutual aid."

Mediaeval life was also characterised by many examples of institutions for mutual aid. The city guilds were organised on a double principle of self-jurisdiction and mutual support. As long as the free cities existed no one could die in their midst from starvation. "In fact the entire mediaeval city was an attempt at organising .. a close union for mutual aid and support, for consumption and production, and for social life altogether, without imposing upon men the fetters of the State but giving .. liberty of expression to the creative genius of each separate group .. in art, crafts, science, commerce, and political organisation" (p. 186).

With the growth of nation States the cities lost their

independence, their social self-sufficiency and their sense of community. "The absorption of all social functions by the State necessarily favoured the development of an unbridled, narrow-minded individualism .. (and) .. as the obligations toward the State grew in numbers the citizens were relieved from their obligations toward each other. In mediaeval times two 'brothers' from the guild were to watch in turn over a sick member, now it is sufficient to give one's neighbour the address of the nearest pauper's hospital." Despite all this, however, there are still today examples of mutual aid and support. These are to be found in communal lands, works and buildings in Switzerland, in associations formed between peasants who buy meadows and fields in common and cultivate them as co-owners, in co-operatives of various kinds, and in all instances where fellow villagers group together to help one of their number who is in any kind of need, the loss of his house in a fire, for example.

The ethical importance of communal possessions is greater than their economic value, Kropotkin continues. "They maintain in village life a nucleus of customs and habits of mutual aid which .. check .. the development of reckless individualism and greediness, which small land ownership is only too prone to develop."

The movement toward communal possession runs against current economic theories whereby intensive culture is believed to be

incompatible with the village community. But these theories have never been tested. Mutual aid is a better leader to progress than the war of each against all.

Kropotkin finds evidence all over the globe of mutual aid among rural communities and also of "people aiding each other in case of accident, protecting the traveller and so on". There is a rising mutual aid also in industrial communities, take the re-emergence of trade unionism, for example, or associations like the Lifeboat Association. There is a great sprouting also of clubs for the enjoyment of life, for sports and education. "Unless men are maddened in the battlefield, they cannot stand it to hear appeals for help and not respond to them." The mothers of the working classes haven't the training to pass a shivering child in the street. They cannot stand the sight of a hungry child; they must feed it. As to the bringing up of orphans even by the poorest families it is so widespread as to be a general rule.

The religious charitable institutions must be mentioned also, Kropotkin adds. "Unhappily the religious teachers prefer to ascribe to feelings (of mutual aid) a supernatural origin .. instead of recognising them as common to all mankind. Many of them pretend that man does not consciously obey the mutual-aid inspiration unless he is enlightened by the teachings of a special religion .. and do .. not recognise such feelings in the pagan savage. While early

Christianity like all other religions was an appeal to the broadly human feelings of mutual aid and sympathy the Christian Church has aided the State in wrecking all standing institutions of mutual aid and support which were before it, or developed outside of it, and instead of mutual aid which every savage considers as due to his kinsman, it has preached charity which bears a character of inspiration from above, and accordingly implies a certain superiority of the giver upon the receiver."

Kropotkin's book, although first published in 1919, is still (1972) regarded in some University and Socialist circles as obligatory reading for students of the Social and Political Sciences. His painstaking collection of evidence to support his original hypothesis that "sociability and the need for mutual aid and support are inherent parts of human nature" is impressive. "History" he says, "is distorted because only calamities, wars, and so on, are reported, the countless 'tamer' examples of mutual aid are not recorded." His book is an attempt to set the record right and give a balanced picture of the human situation. Certainly, infanticide and leaving old people to die are practised in primitive communities, but these are habits that can be explained in terms of the necessity for group survival. There were conflicts also between certain elements of mediaeval life, the lord and his serfs, the towns and their overlords, and so on, but there was mutual aid among them also. In modern towns it is indeed possible for a child to fall

into Regent's Park canal in the presence of a holiday crowd who stand by and watch, and only a dog let loose by a maid saves the child. But this is because a "motley London crowd" lacks solidarity and is not normally exposed to the kind of dangers which "maintain courage and pluck".

The chief criticism that would seem to apply to Kropotkin's analysis is that in his attempt to compensate for the overemphasis that other writers and thinkers have placed on aggression, competitiveness, and conflict, on wars and tribal fighting, and on the individual brutalities of man to man, he has presented an oversimplified and equally biased picture of the role of mutual aid. Also, to the social psychologist, much of the evidence that he brings to support his theory of the innateness of the human propensity for sociability and mutual aid would appear to be evidence against its "naturalness". For example, the elaborate, detailed regulations which were drawn up by the mediaeval guilds to safeguard the well-being of their members and to ensure their mutual aid (examples of which are quoted on pp. 171 & 172 of Kropotkin's book), together with the penalties for infringement (which are not mentioned) would seem to suggest that human nature, left to express itself in its own way, was not enough to guarantee the aid and support considered necessary or desirable. The contention that small land ownership is responsible for the development of "reckless individualism and

greediness" and that communal possessions can check this requires substantially more evidence than Kropotkin has provided to convince the psychologist.

In his last chapter Kropotkin introduces two other concepts to reinforce the motive power of the "need for mutual aid and support" and these would seem to negate the claim made for the effectiveness of the mutual aid motive throughout the rest of the book. "The idea of mutual help grows to embrace all mankind," he says. "Also it is refined to mean giving freely more than one expects to receive, which is superior to mere equivalence, equity, or justice and more conducive to happiness. Man is asked to be guided in his acts not only by love, but by the perception of his oneness with other human beings." Love, and the perception of oneness, these must be added to achieve mutual aid.

Footnote: The following two pages were inadvertently omitted in the final typing - hence the numbering 39a and 39b.

E. IMPLICATIONS OF THE FINDINGS FROM THE ABOVE LITERATURE AND INVESTIGATIONS

From the above resumes it is apparent that the social service investigations are aimed mainly at providing good social workers so that stigma is avoided and clients are not injured psychologically through being helped. Some of the studies show that groups of people do still help one another and that State assistance is not resorted to as widely as is generally believed to be the case. Hartshorne and May's study shows the connection between service and various environmental and psychological factors, though in their study service was so closely linked with class loyalty and co-operation that it is difficult to assess the contribution they have made to a study of pure service. The evidence provided by political writers like Kropotkin to support their belief in human sociability and mutual aid is insufficient for the social psychologist.

What most of the investigations reported do point to, however, is the link between the giving and receiving of help and certain more deeply seated psychological characteristics of the recipient and the giver. There is need to study these factors more carefully and to explore more widely and more deeply the various environmental and psychological conditions of giving and receiving.

Such a study would need to begin with a broad survey to establish the areas most likely to deserve attention. When the

relevant areas have been established more rigorously experimental studies could be undertaken.

F. THE AIM OF THIS STUDY

The present research therefore is a preliminary exploratory study designed to discover what features are relevant in a giving-receiving situation. Its purpose is to find:

- a. how willing a person is
 - i) to give help needed, whether asked for or not,
 - ii) to ask for help, or to accept an offer, when he is himself in need;
- b. what circumstances and relations a person considers to be important in deciding whether
 - i) to give help needed, whether asked or not,
 - ii) to ask for help, or accept it when offered;
- c. to what extent the various attitudes outlined in this chapter under Section B are exhibited in the answers given when people are questioned about concrete instances of help being needed.

CHAPTER III

A BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF THE ECONOMY AND SOCIAL CONDITIONS OF
THE VILLAGE IN WHICH THE STUDY WAS CONDUCTED

A. BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1. The reason for the choice of this area

The research was carried out in a village in Norwegian Lapland. I had first heard of the village from the Secretary of the Society maintaining the local Youth School, whom I had met at an international conference in Germany and who had invited me to come to the School, a co-educational boarding school, to live there, and to teach some English.

It was some eighteen months later when I had already embarked upon the present research that reports on Lapp attitudes to giving and receiving came to my notice and I began to explore the possibility that the village might be an eminently suitable place in which to pursue my research.

Books and hearsay described the Lapps as "rare givers", except for hospitality to travellers, and "nature's most cheerful receivers". This was attributed to their cultural inferiority and social immaturity and a long tradition of social and economic dependence upon their Fenno-Scandinavian neighbours. On the other hand there were reports from the Youth School that some students who had been obliged to borrow money for their fees insisted on

paying it back when they had finished their schooling and had begun to work. The Scandinavians believed that this indicated a growing self-awareness and racial pride among the Lapps and a general trend towards self-reliance and independence.

Besides the interesting developments that were said to be taking place there in connection with the giving and receiving of help the village seemed to offer a relatively homogeneous enclosed community whose attitudes would not be too subject to influences from outside. So I was glad to avail myself of the opportunity to use the Youth School as a base from which to conduct my study.

2. Gathering of local background knowledge

Once fluency in the language was achieved my first task after my arrival was to gain an understanding of the historical, cultural, and economic background of the villagers and the Lapp community in general. The School Library was well supplied with books and periodicals on Lapp history, culture, and current affairs. I was also greatly helped by members of the Staff who both informally and in taped interviews related what they knew and had themselves experienced and introduced me to other village organisations and personalities who could help in my quest. Every opportunity was taken to attend public and private functions,

to visit villagers in their homes, and to observe and talk with them wherever they happened to be: in the shops, post office, church, and hospital, and on the roads, river, and ski-ing slopes. Permission was obtained to accompany the District Nurse on her rounds and to attend meetings of the District Council. Ten days were spent with a group of nomadic reindeer families living in tents on their summer pasture. I was in Lapland for nine months, from mid-December till mid-September.

3. Language

The language used was Norwegian, which was the first or second language of every one in the village and a more versatile tool for the purpose of the investigation than Lappish would have been, although its use did exclude as possible subjects those few people living in outlying areas who spoke only Lappish. I was also led to believe that my use of Norwegian won me the sympathy of my Lapp subjects and informants to the extent that they tended to identify with me and to regard me as one of themselves rather than as belonging to the real, non-Lappish-speaking Norwegians. "Norwegian is not your mother tongue and it is not our mother tongue, and so we needn't be afraid to speak to you in Norwegian. We can tell you what we should be afraid to tell Norwegians", one woman confided. I stood in the same relation to the Norwegians as they did - hence the affinity.

B. THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC STRUCTURE OF THE VILLAGE

1. The history of the area*

The village was situated in the valley of a wide river and was the centre serving a district of about 2,000 inhabitants. In addition to the homes of the villagers, there were three general stores, a bakery, police station, a church (Norwegian State Church), a tiny post office, a chapel belonging to a Lapp sect, a guest-house, a small hospital (a large modern one was in the process of construction), a very large, modern State primary school with accommodation for boarders, the Youth School, and a new Council office.

The people were of mixed racial background: Finnish, Lappish, and Norwegian. Originally the valley had been the winter quarters of families of nomadic reindeer herders but in 1724 it was entered by a party of Finnish settlers who, driven by the famine following the Nordic War, were attracted by the rich salmon fishing available and by the wild life to be hunted in the surrounding hills. These Finns were farmers who kept a few head of cattle and some sheep which were fed during the winter on

* Footnote: The letters and numbers in brackets in the text are references to the transcripts of the recorded interviews held to obtain background information for the study - e.g. (Kj. 5 t).

grass that was mown at the end of the short Arctic summer.

Despite the fact that these settlers were from a higher more developed culture they became absorbed into that of their primitive neighbours, intermarrying with them and adopting their language, dress, and to a certain extent their customs. Gradually also some of the reindeer Lapps who had been accustomed to staying behind in the summer to fish and to hunt took to keeping cattle, too, and settled permanently in the valley, though they still owned small herds of deer that were grazed with those of their nomadic relatives.

When this study was made the mixed group of Finns and Lapps living in the valley were engaged in small-farming: the growing of potatoes and root crops, and dairying. As the soil was poor, the season short, and markets limited they could not live from farming alone, so every farmer also had a subsidiary occupation, such as transporting goods for the nomads, picking berries, catching birds, or working at the timber mill or on road-works.

In the winter there was an influx of reindeer Lapps into the village. A generation or two ago most of these gave up living in tents during the winter and moved into the small wooden houses of their settled relatives. Nowadays they lived in houses of their own during the winter and used tents only when with their

herds on the summer pastures.

Norwegians had been in the valley for several generations. The three shopkeepers, the police sergeant, the pastor and the school teachers, a few civil servants, the doctor and nurses, and the hotel manager constituted the old Norwegian element. After the war a new type of Norwegian came to reside in the valley: men working on the reconstruction projects. Some of these married local girls and set up permanent homes. Others, with their "hangers on", were not, in the words of a long-time resident, "the best of mother's sons".

The Norwegians and a few well-to-do Lapps lived in typical Norwegian style bungalows, with central heating, electricity, modern furniture and appliances, and with curtains and flower-pots. The rest of the inhabitants lived in sparsely furnished, one- or two-roomed cottages, heated by a very efficient Norwegian style cooking stove and lit by an oil lamp. The homes were scattered over a wide area, and those on the high-lying western bank tended to be "better class" than those situated on the low-lying flats east of the river.

2. Changes resulting from the war

The second world war brought great changes to the village. Like the rest of Norway the area was occupied by the Germans and some of the villagers were evacuated south where they observed

a way of life they had not known before. Towards the end of the war when it was rumoured that every one in the village was to be moved south the people retired to the surrounding mountains where they built themselves turf huts and "lived off the land". Later, when the occupation forces withdrew, they returned to the valley but their homes had disappeared, for the retreating Germans, fearing pursuit by the Russians, had adopted a "scorched earth policy" and most of the buildings in Lappish Norway and Finland were burnt to the ground. Perhaps one of the most deeply felt events of the post-war period was the government stipulation that houses, when they were rebuilt, had to conform to a prescribed standard. War reparation grants failed to cover the cost of these buildings so instead of building a small house that they could afford the people found themselves burdened with better homes than they wanted and heavily indebted to the bank - circumstances which irked many of them (Kj. p. 5a t. - also PH).

When hostilities ceased the roads, of course, which the Germans had built to move their army, remained, so after centuries of isolation Lapland suddenly found itself connected with the rest of Fenno-Scandia and subject to the many influences this entailed. Previously the main line of communication between the village and the outside world had been the river which was plied in summer in boats and in winter in horse-drawn sledges. The more direct

and quicker all-year-round transport made possible by road and snow-mobile traffic not only brought in a greater variety of goods but facilitated the marketing of local products, namely reindeer meat and hides, berries, and ptarmigan. The new roads were also responsible for the tremendous influx of tourists. It was estimated that 40,000 people from all parts of the world passed through the village during the summer and a booming tourist trade sprang up. Radios and newspapers appeared in the homes (Kj. p. 5 t.).

3. The Schools

Other changes came through the schools. Rebuilt with government funds (State School) and foreign aid (Youth School), with their own electricity and water plant and modern facilities and appliances, they not only provided a better education for a greater number of children but they introduced to the village an entirely different standard of domestic living.

The Youth School was owned and staffed by the Mission to the Lapps (see par. 4 following). It was a typical Scandinavian Youth School in so far as it provided a general academic education at secondary level and practical training in vocational arts and crafts for young people who had in general left school some years previously and now wished to further their education. As the primary education of many of the students had been greatly

disrupted through the war, the academic standards aspired to had to be modified, but very good work was done in crafts. The girls did dressmaking, cooking, and household management, the boys wood and metal work. Also, as the school had been established exclusively for Lapp youth special emphasis was placed on Lappish culture and handicrafts.

All thirty-eight of the students lived in, even those from the village. Most of the students came from far away districts (e.g. coastal fishing villages or other inland regions) and included children of nomadic reindeer herders. School was in session only during the winter, with breaks for Christmas and Easter.

In the State primary school most of the children were local village children, both Norwegians and Lapps. They attended as day pupils. Only those children boarded whose homes lay in remote areas. These boarding places were provided free of charge by the State.

With one exception the Staff in both schools were Norwegian, though several spoke Lappish. All were State trained.

The improved schooling available after the war had had, the pastor said, a considerable effect, for in the seven years he had been in the village he had noted a great change in the young people there, not only in their appearance but also in their

attitudes and aspirations (Kj. p. 5 b.).

In the long summer vacation the students helped at home, farming or fishing, or took casual jobs. The Youth School, for instance, was converted into a tourist hotel during the summer and several of the girls remained to work there as waitresses. The children of nomadic reindeer herders joined their families on the summer pastures. The primary school children (settled and nomadic alike) were free to entertain themselves swimming, hunting, fishing. Like the adults, they slept little in the summer, and then only at irregular hours.

4. The Norwegian Society, "Finnemisjonen" (The Mission to the Lapps)

This was a voluntary Society dedicated to the evangelisation and social welfare of the Lapps throughout Norwegian Lapland. It conducted religious missions, provided district health and nursing services, hospitals, homes for the aged, and orphanages, and maintained two secondary schools of which the Youth School mentioned above was one.

5. Local government and social welfare in the village

Local government affairs were handled by a District Council comprised of nine elected members, most of whom, including the Chairman, were Lapps. The administration of Council business was in the hands of a Norwegian clerk appointed by the Council. The

annual budget was about 900,000 crowns (£45,000 stg.) of which about two-thirds was raised from local taxation and the rest obtained as a subsidy from the State Government. There were twenty-three such Councils in Norwegian Lapland; of these perhaps two or three were self-supporting.

Age pensions were paid to men and women at seventy years of age. Unemployment insurance had been introduced about three or four years previously. Child endowment was paid for every child after the first at the rate of 240 crowns (£12 stg.) per annum. Contributions to unemployment and sickness insurance were compulsory for those in full employment. Unemployment benefits could be claimed for a maximum of three months in every twelve. After that an unemployed person had to apply to the District Council for relief. Pensions and benefits were paid by the District Council from local taxation supplemented by State grants (S. p. 1.).

A sub-committee of the local Council, with co-opted members, was responsible for local poor relief, now called "welfare". This committee worked independently of the Council, meeting once a year to set up its budget of about 50,000 crowns (£2,500 stg.). It had its own Chairman, or welfare officer, the pastor was an ex-officio member, there had to be one woman, and in addition there were about five other members. The welfare officer, a Norwegian, who in former years had been the sole storekeeper in

the village and who was now retired and lived on a small farm a long way from the village had held this post for over forty years. He was a most courteous gentleman, liked and respected by all his associates. He knew everyone in the District, the new-comers at least by sight and name, and was known to all. He appeared in the village every Tuesday and Friday to do his shopping, so any one who needed his help knew where to look for him. Applications for assistance were decided by him on the spot, or if necessary he consulted with one or another of the committee members. Making decisions was not difficult for him, he said, for he knew the circumstances of all the applicants. Often the District Nurse brought cases of need to his notice.

People needed food or clothing because they were sick and could not earn - many of the workers were ineligible for sickness and unemployment benefits because they had not contributed to schemes. Some of the old and infirm needed to supplement their pension; some people were mentally retarded. Certain villagers had an annual grant: for example, an asthmatic had 600 crowns (£30) per annum, the mother of a mentally retarded adult son also had a fixed sum annually, and so on. This was not paid over to them in cash, but, as in every case of need, the welfare officer gave the applicant a voucher guaranteeing payment of their account with the storekeeper or other creditor for certain goods

up to a certain amount. They could choose the storekeeper they wished to deal with. Clothing needed was always bought new. There was no "deal out" of second-hand wearing apparel.

In the case of urgent illness help was sometimes needed to meet transport costs to hospital (100 miles distant), and treatment charges. Because of the difficulty in contacting the welfare officer in such cases, the nurse sometimes had to apply to the Council clerk direct to underwrite these costs before patients could be sent for treatment. This was an area where friction occurred between the nurse, the doctor, and the clerk. The doctor was also the District Medical Officer and appeared to do as the clerk dictated.

Other needs arose in the village. A youth might require help so that he could attend school: money to buy clothes, or the payment of fees. A teacher wished to attend a special course, e.g. in fur-marketing. Some farmers required help to purchase a bulldozer. For such needs application was made direct to the Council.

Another avenue was to apply to the police sergeant for permission to circulate a subscription list amongst the villagers. Such a list had to be for a specific purpose and ran for a specified time. Applications could also be made to the Mission to the Lapps, by contacting one of its workers in the village and having

him or her forward the request to their headquarters. The Mission received many such requests: for help with housing or schooling, to buy a boat or mowing machine or fishing tackle, and so on. Subject to endorsement by the local worker and the availability of funds the applications were always granted (S. p. 3 t.).

There were certain private bequests controlled by the pastor, one of the storekeepers, and the church verger, the income of which was used for Christmas gifts to needy widows (N. p. 5 t.).

In the opinion of the Chairman of the Welfare Committee no one in the village who suffered need lacked support, nor did people hesitate to apply for it. He and all the other people interviewed on the matter agreed that there was far less poverty now than before the war when conditions, they said, had been appalling (Fr. p. 4 b, etc.).

6. Attitudes to giving and receiving

During my stay in the village, I made a collection of giving-receiving situations that I encountered and that others reported to me. In the interviews to obtain background information the Norwegians being questioned were asked specifically also for their opinions on Lapp attitudes to giving and receiving. Some of these incidents and opinions will be described in the discussions on the test results (Chapters VII and VIII). However,

a brief summary will be given here.

Several of the people interviewed stressed that they found it difficult to generalise about Lapp attitudes: individuals varied in their attitudes and behaviour, and the Lapps were no exception. The informants were careful to state only what they themselves had experienced and their conclusions were based on such experience. The following assertions were made in varying form by all the people interviewed.

"There is not much giving here. There is a subsidy-seeking mentality here - not 'we ought to join in and build and help, but we ought to get'. Most think like this, but not all."

Many Lapps will give generously to certain causes: for refugees, for instance, or the mentally retarded, and no one would refuse to contribute to replace a neighbour's horse or cow lost through accident.

But no Lapp in the village, apart from the Chairman of the District Council, supported the appeal to clear up the rubble remaining after the war, nor joined in to rebuild the chapel. Very few supported the national undertaking to build a seamen's church in Oslo to mark the jubilee of the King's accession.

All agreed that in times past the aged had suffered great privation and that in recent times there had been an improvement. But they differed on whether care for the aged to-day was adequate.

I was surprised at the number of foster children in the village. Even people with quite large families of their own had foster children. Sometimes children were fostered by their grandparents or a close relative because of illegitimacy, or because their own mother, though married, was over-burdened with children, or illness, or poverty. But fosterings were not limited to close relatives - a family might take in any local orphan or otherwise deprived child, for the sake of the child itself, or in order to help its family. The high incidence compared with villages in southern Norway was confirmed by the pastor. His explanation was that Lapps liked children.

All informants agreed that attitudes to giving had changed considerably during the past twenty years. It was suggested that the Lapps were giving more because they had more to give, but there had also been a psychological development among the people. There was no doubt about their showing a greater sense of responsibility towards the members of their community, as individuals; not towards the community in general, nor towards the State. This change had occurred, it was suggested, because their horizons had been widened through the evacuation during the war and through better schooling and communications. There had also been an improvement in the proclamation of the Christian message by the main religious group, the so-called Laestadians, who to-day were

putting greater emphasis on love and kindness towards fellow human beings and less on sin and judgement, the main theme in the past.

When it came to receiving, although some informants at first found it difficult to express an opinion, they all said that most of the villagers were "willing enough" both to accept offers of assistance and to ask for help that was needed. "They have no qualms about accepting help of any kind; for example, they are very keen to get grants to go to school" (Kj. p. 1). "They accept Council welfare aid for urgent needs due to sickness and unemployment and Finnemisjon aid for clothes and food; and money to build a house is accepted with pleasure and gratitude" (S. p. 2 b). "The State aid given after the war to re-establish their homes and farms was accepted by every one with joy" (S. p. 4 b). These last two statements probably reflect Informant S's own enthusiasm and that of the people in the village who wanted the kind of houses which the State war reparations made possible. There were others in the village (see Kj's and PH's comment in B.2. p.46) whose joy in the grants was offset by the irksomeness of the conditions laid down for their use.

Although the informants believed that people were willing to apply for Council welfare and only one case could be recalled where a needy person refused to do so, all but one informant

(the welfare officer himself) thought that most people disliked asking for Council welfare and did not do so until their need forced them to. It was considered in the village to be a shame to be unable to keep yourself in food and clothes. One man differed from the others in that he considered Finnemisjon help to be unacceptable also. He maintained that it was only old, sick, religious people, those who were friends of Finnemisjonen, who got things from the mission; the others did not want it and thought it a disgrace.

Another said that educational grants were not applied for in some cases, for many nomads were not interested in a formal education for their sons and did not want the grants they were entitled to. The welfare officer remembered certain people who of their own accord discontinued getting relief when they no longer needed it.

One form of help was accepted by every one: hospitality when travelling. It was an invariable custom that a traveller could enter a tent or hut en route, to rest and refresh himself with coffee. It was expected that he go to the cupboard and fetch whatever he required of coffee or utensils to prepare himself a meal. His foodstuffs he would be carrying with him. Unless he regularly used that route and regularly stayed with that family such facilities would be available to him without any

expectation of reward. "This I have seen and experienced many, many times" (S. p. 7 t).

The attitude of others in the village to those who were being helped in one way or another varied. Some thought that it was right and natural that those who could not manage on their own should be supported by the State or community and in the case of education grants or other help to improve their living conditions it was considered sensible to accept. "Yes - lucky man" (Kj.). However, it was stated that complaints were often lodged, allegedly by people who were in no kind of need themselves, protesting against the granting of aid to the Lapps. Certain citizens felt it was a reflection on the village if some of their number lived "on charity". Letters had also been written to the newspapers alleging that Finnemisjon welfare encouraged the people to be lazy. Unfortunately I neglected to enquire whether these protests came from Lapps or from others, and if others, whether they were local inhabitants or citizens from the South.

The attitude that help encouraged laziness was also voiced in a District Council meeting where the clerk sternly lectured the representatives of an adjacent hamlet who had applied to the Council for help to develop a viable economy in their area. Urging the rejection of their application he said that they should work harder and should be grateful for what they had.

At the Council meeting twelve applications for aid were brought before the Chair, six from Norwegians and six from Lapp individuals or groups. Of these four Norwegian and one Lapp were granted and in each case the clerk, supported by the doctor, overruled the suggestions and motions of all other members.

The general reaction to refusal, as witnessed in the Council meeting, and in the opinion of informants, was resignation - unless it was something the recipient believed he had a right to, or others had got, when resignation was tinged with bitterness or resentment (Kj.3).

There was little evidence, in general, it was said, of a feeling of obligation for help received, certainly not with public or semi-public assistance; perhaps there was a little with private help. The Youth Club, for example, got no thanks, neither written nor verbal for presenting the building site to the Chapel. On the other hand loans obtained from Finnemisjonen for certain purposes had to be repaid and that was usually done.

Conversely, however, recompense in some form was often expected when help was given. "It was difficult for them to do something for some one in need without expecting to be paid for it. For example, when the police sergeant called for volunteers to search for a lost man many asked what the hourly rate was to be.

On the other hand, for certain services, such as ferrying some one over the river, an offer of payment was sometimes refused. It depended upon who it was requiring the service and whether he was known and liked." It was also believed that when a parent strove to provide his child with an education he did this solely to enable his child to enjoy a better life than he himself had had, without a wish to secure his own future. Perhaps the parent enjoyed a little of the reflected glory from a successful son, but the possible glory was not the motivating force (Kj.1a).

7. Problems of identification and values

From discussions at the Youth School it was apparent that there was some confusion among the so-called Lappish students as to who of them were really "Lapps". There was no agreement on whether it was "blood", the use of the Lappish language, dress, and customs, or reindeer breeding that distinguished the real Lapps from the "mixtures", or "Norwegians". Incidentally, the legal definitions of a "Lapp" by the Finnish and Scandinavians governments were no less confusing, though in Norway at least all had Norwegian citizenship with the rights and obligations this entailed.

Whether it was a mark of esteem or derision to be called a Lapp varied, too, I found, according to the circumstances

and the company present. Some of the villagers felt that the "purer" you were as a Lapp, the less of a mixture in blood or of a compromise in culture, the nobler your status. Others believed that you rose in esteem the closer you approached the standards and aspirations of the "Norwegian upper crust". Some informants stated that among the Lapps themselves there was little class grading (Fr. p. 2 m - b). For there was little difference in material standard of living between the poor and the more well-to-do; the better-off Lapp was distinguished perhaps in that he bought his spirits from the Monopoly, while the poor man distilled them himself. Moreover, the intimate form of address was used by all Lapps in conversation with one another; there was not, as in the Fenno-Scandinavian languages, a polite or formal form (PH) Cf. p. C 86. Thus social gradings might seem to have arisen as a direct result of contact with non-Lappish cultures, and uncertainties of classification to result from unclear or ill-defined degrees of blending.

Contact with the Norwegian nation and economy brought advantages to the valley - things like better schools and houses, and greater social security. But it also meant that the villagers were expected to play an active and responsible part as Norwegian citizens, and this they found hard. For instance, in the past their interests had been very limited, revolving almost

entirely round the business of getting food. "There is only one thing that is better than food," one delightfully intelligent lad at the Youth School commented approvingly one tea-time, "and that is - more food!" Or again, by Norwegian standards they were unreliable, with a haphazard, lackadaisical attitude to time that sometimes produced friction in relationships with the Norwegian element in the village. "Time is something you always have enough of," one Lapp informant remarked.

In their dealings with the Norwegians, the Lapps, especially the settled ones, felt a certain inadequacy. For in certain parts of the country the Lapps had been looked upon as inferior and treated accordingly (Kj. p. 3a b, Fr. p. 2). Partly it was their poverty that kept them at a disadvantage. Also because of their reserve and silence in the presence of strangers and their inability to keep count of things like their age and birth dates they often seemed unintelligent. A Lapp, for instance, might come straight into some one's room, without knocking, and then stand there, sometimes for quite a while, without saying anything. Again, they were emotional people vacillating between laughter and tears, grief and frivolity. There was their ecstatic religious dancing and in some cases excessive drinking - all of which made them seem childish and irresponsible to people who saw them only when divorced from their native environment.

The language problem also put them at a disadvantage. To gain an education and fit themselves for an active part in the life of the community, and on an equal footing, they had to be able to use Norwegian. In speaking to them one got the impression that they managed this quite well. I heard a highly respected consultant on Lappish affairs deliver a lecture in Norwegian to the annual general conference of County teachers in which he advocated the use of Lappish in schools. Congratulating him on his outstanding lecture I added, gently: "On the other hand you and your lecture are the best argument against everything you have said. It was brilliant. You really can't seriously maintain that a Lapp cannot express himself in Norwegian?" A distressed expression clouded his face. "I can get along with it," he said, "but I can't use it as I can my mother tongue. And what is worse, when I'm speaking Norwegian, I'm not myself. I'm something else, not myself." On another occasion another educated Lapp maintained that in his seven years of primary school there had not been a single day on which he had not suffered some embarrassment or other because of his faulty knowledge of Norwegian (Fr. 1a).

To save their children from this sort of trouble at school, some Lappish parents had gone over to speaking only Norwegian in the home. But this line of action, far from solving

the original problem, evoked new ones, chief of which, in some cases, was that it encouraged what some people described as the greatest malady among the Lapps to-day: the flight from themselves. The loss of their mother tongue, it was said, and of the culture that went with it, the attempt to cover up their Lappish origin, these things were doing more to destroy the soul of the Lapps to-day than any economic hardships ever did.

The village was perhaps less subject to this kind of canker than other parts of Lapland. It was the winter headquarters of several families of nomadic reindeer breeders and these people with their greater wealth and personal freedom exhaled an air of self-confident authority and independence that rubbed off on to their settled friends and relatives. Also, although there was evidence of an overbearing, disdainful attitude on the part of a certain local government official towards the villagers, most of the Norwegians living there demonstrated their respect for their Lapp fellow citizens and their acceptance of their culture in ways that left no doubt as to their genuineness. For example, they recognised the superiority of Lapp clothing for Arctic conditions, and its attractive appearance, by wearing it. They tried to use the Lappish language. They visited Lapp villagers in their homes and invited them to theirs. The Lapps responded to this recognition and attempted communication in their own medium with

pleasure and affection - quite different from the response which they accorded to tourists who made undignified and at times ridiculous attempts at fraternisation by wearing "the quaint Lapp costume", or bursting into their tents or homes. Such liberties were treated with contempt and ignored.

C. CONCLUSION

It will be seen from the foregoing that the village was a much more complex community than I had expected to find. It was less isolated, less homogeneous, less static. There was an at times bewildering mixture of the primitive and the sophisticated existing side by side.

On the other hand the expectation that interesting things were happening there in the field of giving-receiving relationships was fulfilled, and there could be no doubt that the area would provide a rich source of relevant material for the purposes of the study.

CHAPTER IV

THE DESCRIPTION OF THE PRESENT INVESTIGATION

A. GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THE STUDY AND THE METHOD ADOPTED

1. The aim of the investigation

It will be recalled (Chapter II, p.39b) that the aim of the investigation was to discover to what extent selected individuals believed help would be given in a variety of need situations and to what extent they believed it would be accepted. Also their opinion was to be elicited on what circumstances and relations in the particular situation were important in arriving at a decision to give or to accept as the case might be. These situations were then to be compared with the attitudes prevalent in Western cultures today.

2. The form of test employed

In order to discover what sort of need situations occurred in the village five interviews were recorded in which Norwegians who had spent the greater part of their life in Lapland related their experiences and impression of Lapp reactions to various situations of need. Newspaper reports, personal observations, and informal conversations with the local Lapp inhabitants yielded further examples of actual need situations.

On the basis of these incidents two series of stories were constructed, one dealing with the giving of help in need and the other with receiving it. A series of questions designed to elicit opinions on whether help would in fact be given (or

accepted), and why, were prepared for each story. The text of the stories was recorded on tape, and a film-strip was made to illustrate them. The series were, therefore, constructed as a projection test which could be presented visually and orally, while the responses of the subjects were recorded on tape.

3. The advantages and disadvantages of the method employed

It was realised that the answers obtained by this method would probably be difficult to classify and, because of the small number of subjects that could be interviewed in the time available and the wide "spread" of reasons, would be difficult to compare statistically. On the other hand, such a preliminary exploratory study was essential in order to reveal what features of the giving-receiving situation were relevant; it was not possible to select in advance features which could be examined separately, or in a way that allowed an analysis of variance: the relevant features were not known, and any attempt to limit the variables would have meant prejudging them and excluding a great range. If the range was to be discovered the best way of doing it appeared to be through an extensive interview.

An attempt was made to use a test of the forced choice type as an adjunct, or even as an alternative to the proposed interview. As few of the adult Lapps were literate the use of a written test was precluded, even the most literate and intelligent

of the adults could not cope with a simple written forced choice test attempted as a pilot study. It was found impossible to construct an adequate and manageable unwritten test. So apart from the theoretical disadvantages of prejudiced and limited preselection of features this kind of test was also impracticable.

The use of a projection test, however, that could be presented visually and orally meant that an extensive, and at the same time fairly controlled interview could be obtained with individual subjects.

It is believed that the adoption of this technique for the survey resulted in a much wider range of meaningful responses than could have been obtained with a more trimly constructed test. The interest of the subjects was maintained throughout the fairly long series of stories and their involvement is typified by the reaction of one student who started up, almost shocked, when he came to the story of Per taking his child to school. Upon being asked what was wrong, he exclaimed: "But he's married! How old is he?"

It was also possible while waiting for the film-strip to be completed* to use the recorded stories on their own and to

* Footnote: Preparing the film-strip was a difficult undertaking. Arctic winter weather conditions were often unsuitable for photography and the exposed films which had to be returned to London for processing were often delayed when the mails could not get through.

present them as a group test to a class of students at the Youth School. The students were able to make their responses in writing, so this test yielded straight-forward answers to the questions whether help would be given and accepted, and the reasons for the decisions. These results could be subjected satisfactorily to statistical analysis.

4. The projection test problem

A final and important aspect that must be noted in connection with the method adopted is the difficulty inherent in any projection test of interpreting the responses obtained. Do the answers given indicate:

- i) that this is what the subject himself thinks he would do, or should do, in the given situation,
- ii) that this is what he thinks some or most other people would or should do,
- iii) that this is what he wishes the investigator to believe to be his opinion,
- iv) that this is what he believes the investigator wishes him to say,
- v) that this is what he would not only think, but in fact also actually would do in the given situation.

Although there is evidence to suggest that in many cases many of the subjects did in fact project themselves into the situation portrayed and identified with the potential donor or recipient there can be no certainty as to what their answers mean

apart from the fact that this is what they said they believed would be the case.

5. The subjects tested

The adults interviewed were 4 men aged 42, 43, 44 & 58, and five women aged 18, 29, 44, 47, & 73. They were people resident in or near the village who were approached in the course of casual meetings in the street or in the village shops and invited to come and see the film-strip.

The students were 4 girls of 16, 6 girls and 4 boys of 17, 4 girls and 2 boys of 18, 3 boys of 19, and 1 girl and 1 boy over 21. They were a class at the Youth School whose usual teacher was unavoidably absent and who requested the investigator to keep them occupied for three 3/4 hour periods. They were doing general subjects and practical courses in carpentry and blacksmithing, or sewing, cooking and housewifery.

B. THE ELEMENTS OF THE GIVING SERIES

There were 18 stories in the Giving Series presented to the interview group; 16 of these and 1 additional one were presented to the student group. The 'hero' or potential donor, remained the same throughout the series, but otherwise the situations varied as to kind of need, help required, recipient,

whether the donor was asked for the help or not, and several other minor elements.

1. The kinds of need

The following were represented in the stories:

- a. urgent biological need in an emergency situation, where a threat to life called for practical service in the form of rescue or the fetching of medical assistance (Man in the river - 2, Man lost in the mountains - 8, Sick wife - 14);
- b. less urgent biological need in an emergency, caused by physical frailty where a stronger person was called upon to sacrifice personal comfort (Man on the bus - 3);
- c. less urgent, chronic biological need, where the need was due to the person's incapacity to provide his own sustenance over a period of time on account of
 - i) the loss of a parent in extreme youth (Orphaned child - 11),
 - ii) old age (Aged father - 13),
 - iii) war (Refugee help - 9),the help required in these instances being the provision of sustenance (i.e. food, clothing, shelter) or care and maintenance, either directly, or by gifts of money;
- d. need for assistance in the performance of one's work, or set task - a temporary predicament resulting from inadequate physical strength and calling for 'lending a hand' (Loading timber - 18, Helping child with task - 12, Jammed door - 5);
- e. need caused through lack of means to pursue some desired special aim (i.e. need other than elementary need for food, clothing, shelter, care, or rescue)
 - i) need for transport in order to get to school (School-child - 6),
 - ii) need for money to go to school (Money for schooling - 17),
 - iii) wish for amusement, where the need was for a practical service, or for money, that would make the pursuit of the aim possible (Minding the shop - 7, Money

- for the cinema - 19);
- iv) wish for companionship on journey, where the need was due to fear of the dark (Girl on skis - 10);
- f. Two of the situations were of an entirely different nature. They were not need situations like the above where the donor stood outside the situation; for in the first he was himself a kind of beneficiary, being asked to co-operate with other members of the community in a project which benefited the community at large and indirectly promoted his own prestige, while in the second he was to join in a national expression of gratitude to the King. In the first case a monetary gift was required and in the second practical service in the form of labour (Gift to the King - 15, War damage - 16);
- g. There was one situation where an animal required attention for a minor injury (Wounded dog - 1) and one where an unspecified need was described (Man worried - 4).

2. Kinds of help required

From the above it will be seen that

- a. practical services were required on ten occasions (1,2,5,6, 7,8,12,14,16,18),
- b. money on four (9,15,17,19),
- c. care and maintenance on two (11,13),
- d. the sacrifice of personal comfort on one (3), and
- e. companionship on one occasion (10).

3. Kinds of recipient

Help was required by the following persons:

- a. by the donor's parent in one of the situations (13),
- b. by his child in one (12),
- c. by his cousin in one (7),
- d. by a friend in two (4,19),

- e. by a neighbour in two (5,14),
- f. by a known member of the same community in seven (2,6,8, 10,11,17,18),
- g. by a stranger in one (3),
- h. by the community as a whole in one (16),
- i. by the nation in one (15),
- j. by foreign refugees, probably former enemies, in one (9),
- k. by an animal (1).

4. The age of the recipient in relation to the donor

Except in the case of the parent-child situations (12,13), and in that of the old man lost in the mountains (8), the recipient and the donor were assumed to be more or less the same age.

5. Whether the help was asked for or not

The stories were divided into three groups:

- a. In the first group a situation of need was merely described and the subject was asked to complete the story, that is, to relate what happened next (1,2,3,4,5,6). No direct suggestion of help being required was made in the text. The stories were left 'open' in this way in order to test the hypothesis that the great absence of offers to help observed among the Lapps was due not to unwillingness to help nor to their concept of role fulfilment but to

their not perceiving the need in a situation and how it could be alleviated, or to their inability to imagine themselves active participants in a situation, as initiators or organisers of help.

- b. In the second group the need was described but the subject was asked whether the 'hero' would offer to help in this case (13,19).
- c. In the third group the need was described and the 'hero' was asked in the text, either by the person in need himself (7,10,12,18), or by some-one else on his behalf (8,9,11,15,14,16,17), whether he would help. The subject was requested to provide the 'hero's' answer, 'Yes' or 'No'. People asking on behalf of the recipient were:

- i) the donor's wife (11),
- ii) the recipient's husband (14),
- iii) a fellow villager (17),
- iv) the village mayor (9),
- v) the police sergeant (8),
- vi) a public committee (15),
- vii) the village priest (16).

6. Resistances involved

Certain elements which it was assumed would provide special resistances to be overcome in the giving of help occurred in, or were specially added to, the situations.

- a. A certain amount of risk to the donor's own life (Man in the river - 2, Man lost in the mountains - 8);

- b. The donor's wish to pursue exactly the same aim as the recipient so that helping him would entail relinquishing his own aim (Minding the shop - 7);
- c. Varying degrees of physical and other inconvenience or discomfort connected with helping the recipient:
 - i) considerable physical inconvenience (Sick wife - 14),
 - ii) considerable sacrifice of various kinds (Orphaned child - 11, Aged father - 13),
 - iii) some physical discomfort (Man on the bus - 3),
 - iv) considerable physical exertion (War damage - 16, Loading timber - 18),
 - v) very little, or no, inconvenience or sacrifice (Situations Nos. 1,4,5,6,9,10,12,15,17,19);
- d. A history of hostility between donor and recipient, on a personal level (Sick wife - 14) and on an international level (Refugees - 9);
- e. The donor's disapproval of the object for which R required the help (Money for the cinema - 19).

7. Helping alone or with others

In twelve of the situations the donor would be alone in rendering the aid (1,3,5,4,6,7,10,12,13,14,18,19); in seven he would be joining with others (2,8,9,11,15,16,17).

The various elements of the situations comprising the Giving Series may now be presented in tabular form as follows (see page 76).

TABLE 1

ELEMENTS OF THE GIVING SERIES

Situation	Kind of Need	Help Required	Recipient	Open, Offered, or Asked for by	Resistances
1. Wounded dog	Less urgent biological due to injury	Practical service (Attention to injury)	Animal	Open	None
2. Man in the river	Urgent biological, due to danger of drowning	Practical service (Rescue)	Member of same community	Open	Risk to own life
3. Man on the bus	Less urgent biological due to ill-health	Sacrifice of comfort (Giving up seat)	Stranger	Open	Some physical discomfort
4. Man worried	Undefined	Undefined	Friend	Open	None
5. Jammed door	Temporary predicament, due to inadequate physical strength	Practical service (Pushing door)	Friend	Open	None
6. School-child	Lack of means to pursue special aim-schooling	Practical service (Transport)	Neighbour	Open	None
7. Minding the shop	Wish for amusement	Practical service (Minding shop)	Cousin	Recipient	D's wish to pursue same aim
8. Man lost in the mountains	Urgent biological, due to losing way	Practical service (Rescue)	Member of same community	Police sergeant	Risk to own life
9. Refugee help	Less urgent, chronic biological, due to war	Money	Foreign refugees	Village mayor	Little inconvenience or sacrifice
10. Girl on skis	Companionship, due to fear of the dark	Companionship	Member of same community	Recipient	None
11. Orphaned child	Less urgent, chronic biological, due to loss of parent	Care and maintenance	Child member of same community	Donor's wife	Considerable sacrifice of various kinds
12. Helping child with task	Difficulty with task, due to alleged inadequate strength	Practical service (Lending a hand)	Donor's child	Recipient	Little inconvenience
13. Aged father	Less urgent, chronic biological - due to old age	Care and maintenance	Donor's father	Offer	Considerable inconvenience of various kinds
14. Sick wife	Urgent biological, due to illness	Practical service (Lending a hand)	Member of same community	Recipient's husband	Considerable physical inconvenience & hostility
15. Gift to the king	National project, expression of gratitude	Money	King and nation	Public committee	Little inconvenience or sacrifice
16. War damage	Community project, improving appearance and prestige of village	Practical service (Lending a hand)	Own community	Village priest	Considerable physical exertion
17. Money for schooling	Lack of means to pursue special aim -schooling	Money	Member of same community	Fellow villager	Little inconvenience or sacrifice
18. Loading timber	Difficulty with work, due to nature of task	Practical service (Lending a hand)	Member of same community	Recipient	Considerable physical exertion
19. Money for cinema	Lack of means to pursue special aim -amusement	Money	Friend	Offer	Little sacrifice, BUT D's disapproval of aim

8. The questions asked at the end of each story

As explained above, the questions at the end of the six open-ended stories merely invited the subject to say what happened next, or what the hero did or said. For example, in the 'Man in the river' story, after describing how the hero and some friends saw a man fall into a river, the narrative concluded: 'Unfortunately, the man can't swim. What happens now?' No other questions were asked, for the reasons stated above.

Of the remaining stories there were, as indicated above, two stories (13,19) in which the subject was asked whether the hero would offer to help. In story 13, for instance, the hero's old father was left alone after the death of his wife, and it was clear something would have to be done for him. The question was: 'What will Per (the son) suggest for him? Will he invite him to come and live with him? What does he think about having his father come and live with him?'

In the other eleven stories the hero was asked to help, in four cases by the person in need himself (7,10,12,18), and in six by some-one else on his behalf (8,9,11,14,15,16,17). Thus in story 7, the hero's cousin asked him to mind his shop for him so that he could go on a fishing tour, and the subject was asked: 'What does he answer? Will he mind the shop?', while in story 8,

the police sergeant asked the hero whether he would join in a search for the old man lost in the mountains and the subject was asked to say: 'What does he answer? Will he go and help to look for the old man?'

In all cases the subject was asked to give a reason for the hero's decision, why he helped, or refused to do so. Up to this point the questions asked were the same for both groups. The adults, seen individually, could be interrogated further however and the interviews guided in such a way that their opinions on the following points were also elicited:

- a. the identity of the recipient. Did it matter, for instance, who the recipient was? (7,8,9)
- b. the nature of the recipient. Did it matter whether he was an unpleasant old man? (13)
- c. the age of the recipient. Would D help if R were older? (12)
- d. the identity of the person asking on R's behalf. Did it matter? (8,9,16)
- e. the manner of asking. Did it matter how D was asked? (8)
- f. payment. Was it expected? (8,10,14,16,18)
Would D give the service without? (16,18)
What would others in the village think if it were demanded? (10)
- g. the worthiness of the cause. Would D prefer another? (15)
- h. the effect of D's action on R. (7,14,18)
- i. whether there might be others who could help instead. (13)
- j. the possible reason for the need (18)

- k. the sacrifice involved. Where the money was requested, did D have a lot? (9)
- l. whether D would give if asked, although he did not offer to give (because he disapproved of the object for which the money was needed). (19)
- m. the opinion of others in the village. Would the others (or most others in the village do the same as D? (7,8,9,11,12,13, 14,15,16) What would their reasons be?
- n. reasons for refusal. Suppose D or others in the village refused, what would their reasons be? (8,9,10,11,12,14,15,16)
- o. the opinion of others about those who refused (9)

C. THE ELEMENTS OF THE RECEIVING SERIES

There were eleven basic stories presented to both groups. Of these one (No. 4) was presented in a slightly different version to each group. The adults had one additional story (No. 12) and the students had three additional ones (Nos. 13 - 15).

The need situations described varied as to the kind of need, the help offered, or to be asked for, and the person offering, or to be asked. In addition the 'hero' varied in each story, for it was not practicable to retain the same 'hero' throughout, as in the giving series.

1. The kinds of need

- a. urgent biological need in an emergency, where survival was at stake, unless aid, causing next to no inconvenience to the potential donor, was summoned at once (Danger - 10);
- b. less urgent chronic, or temporary, biological need on account of the person's incapacity to provide his own sustenance, or shelter, due to:
 - i) old age (Aged father - 7),
 - ii) illness (Money from brother when ill - 3),
 - iii) bereavement, loss of breadwinner (Bereavement - 1),
 - iv) unemployment (Unemployment - 8),
 - v) fire (Burnt house - 2),
 - vi) weariness (Hospitality on journey - 15).
- c. difficulty in the performance of a task, possibly part of earning one's livelihood, a temporary predicament, due to:
 - i) illness (Help with job when ill - 5),
 - ii) burdensomeness of the task (Heavy Sack - 6, Cutting wood - 14),
 - iii) an accident or misfortune (Drowned horse - 4),
 - iv) a physical handicap (Handicapped boy - 13).
- d. need caused through lack of means to pursue some desired special aim (i.e. need other than elementary need for food, clothing, shelter, care or rescue):
 - i) desire for education (Education - 9)
 - ii) desire for amusement (Amusement - 11).
- e. In one situation there was no need though decidedly unwelcome help was offered (Useless help - 12).

2. Kinds of help requested or offered

- a. practical services, including one case of rescue (5,6,10, 12,13,14),
- b. money (direct gift) (2,3,4a,8),
- c. money (indirect gift - provision for special interest) (9,11),

- d. welfare order form (for goods) (1),
- e. care and maintenance (7),
- f. hospitality (15),
- g. loan of equipment (4b).

3. The various donors who would be asked for, or who volunteered help

- a. the recipient's daughter (7),
- b. his father (9),
- c. his brother (3),
- d. his uncle (11),
- e. his friend(s) (8,10),
- f. his neighbour (5,4b),
- g. casual passer-by, or stranger (6,15),
- h. casual acquaintance (12,14),
- i. religious association - FM (2,4a),
- j. the District Council or the State (1)
- k. a fellow student (13).

4. Age relation

Except in the case of the parent-child situations and where the donor was an impersonal institution, the ages of the donor and the recipient were assumed to be approximately equal.

5. Whether help was expected, accepted when offered, or asked for
- a. In one of the stories (two in the student group) the need situation was merely described and the subject asked to say whether the person in need expected help to be given to him (8,15).
 - b. In six (seven in the student group) help was offered and the subject was to say whether help would be accepted or not (3,4b,6,7,9,11,12,14).
 - c. In six (seven in the student group) the need was described and the subject was to say whether help would be asked for or not (1,2,4a,5,10,13)

6. Special features of the individual situations

Certain special features were present in some of the stories, encouraging or discouraging the recipient to accept the help:

- a. obligation to others - in situations 1 and 2 (Bereavement and Burnt house) R had dependents for whom he or she was obliged to provide. In situation 5 (Help with job when ill) R may have been under contract, or others may have been depending on his fulfilling his contract, though this was not expressly stated.

- b. useless help - in situation 12 the help offered was useless and acceptance would greatly inconvenience the recipient.

7. Whether the recipient is alone or not in his need

In all the stories the recipient is alone in his particular need situation, except in two cases where he has dependents for whom he has also to provide (1,2).

For a tabular presentation of the elements of the Receiving Series see page 84 following.

TABLE 2

ELEMENTS OF THE RECEIVING SERIES

Name of Situation	Kind of need	Need due to	Kind of help	Gift/ Loan	Donor	Expected/ Asked/ Offered	Special features
1. Bereavement	Less urgent, chronic biological	Loss of parent	Welfare order form for sustenance	Gift	The District Council	Asked	Dependents
2. Burnt house	Less urgent, chronic biological	Fire	Money for shelter	Gift	Religious Association (Finnish Mission)	Asked	Dependents
3. Money from brother when ill	Less urgent, chronic biological	Illness	Money for sustenance	Gift	Brother	Offered	-
4a. Drowned horse (Version for adults)	Difficulty with task - livelihood threatened	Accident	Money for means to work	Gift	Religious Association (Finnish Mission)	Asked	-
4b. Drowned horse (Alternative version for students)	Difficulty with task - livelihood threatened	Accident	Loan of equipment	Loan	Neighbour	Offered	-
5. Help with job when ill	Difficulty with task - livelihood threatened	Illness	Practical service	-	Neighbour	Asked	Possible contract Dependents?
6. Heavy sack	Difficulty with task	Heavy load	Practical service	-	Casual passer-by	Offered	-
7. Aged father	Less urgent, chronic biological	Old age	Care and maintenance	-	Daughter	Offered	-
8a. Unemployment	Less urgent, chronic biological	Unemployment	Money for sustenance	Gift or loan	Friend	Expected	-
8b. "	"	"	"	"	"	Asked	-
9. Education	Lack of means to pursue desired aim	Wish for education	Money for education	Gift	Father	Offered	-
10. Danger	Urgent biological need in emergency	Accident	Practical service	-	Friends	Asked	-
11. Amusement	Lack of means to pursue desired aim	Wish to ski	Money for skis	Gift	Uncle	Offered	-
12. Useless help	No need	-	Practical service	-	Casual acquaintance	Offered	Help not wanted
13. Handicapped boy	Difficulty with task	Physical handicap	Practical service	-	Fellow student	Asked	-
14. Cutting wood	No special need, but possibly assistance with task	Burdensome task	Practical service	-	Casual acquaintance	Offered	-
15. Hospitality on journey	Less urgent, temporary biological	Weariness	Hospitality	Gift	Stranger	Expected	-

8. The additional questions asked at the end of the stories

As in the Giving Series these were asked in the Adult interviews only. The first question was as follows:

- In one situation, 'Will he expect help?' (8)
- In six situations, 'Will he accept the help offered?' (3,6,7,9,11,12)
- In six situations, 'Will he ask for help?' (1,2,4,5,8,10).

In the story in which the initial question was whether the recipient would expect help, two further questions were asked: 'Would he accept an offer, if it were made?' and 'Would he ask for help in this instance?' (8).

In one of the stories where the initial question was whether the recipient would ask for help an additional question, 'Would he accept an offer?' was asked.

As in the Giving Series, the subject was asked to supply a reason for the decision of the hero. The interview was then guided in such a way that the subject's opinion on the following points was elicited:

- a. the identity of the donor. Did it make a difference who the donor was? (1,2,3,4,5,6,8) Was there any one he would prefer? (7)
Was there any one he would never accept from? (3,5,6)
From what people would he accept? (9)
- b. the recipient's opinion of the donor. What sort of person did he think he was? (1)
- c. the possibility of R's being refused if he asked for help. Was he afraid of refusal? (OR might there be some who would

refuse? (1,4,8)

If he were refused, wholly, or in part, what reaction? (1,4,5)
Would he tell others about it? (5)

- d. payment. Would R offer to pay for the help? (5)
 - e. other obligations. Did accepting involve R in other obligations to D? (3,4)
 - f. interference from D. Was there a possibility of D's interference, if his gift was accepted? (2)
 - g. the form in which the help appeared. Did R prefer goods to money? (3)
Would he want a loan, or an outright gift? (8)
 - h. would he ask for a need other than illness, or for pleasure? (5)
 - i. if R refused, how could he manage otherwise? (8,9)
 - j. how did he use his own resources? (11)
 - k. when the help was unwanted, would he say straight out why he was refusing it? (12)
 - l. would he accept the help if it were useful? (12)
 - m. the opinion of others in the village. Did they:
 - approve of R's accepting help? (1,4,6,10)
 - approve of his refusing to do so? (1)
 - Would others in the village do the same as R? (2)
 - Would R mind if others in the village got to hear of his having accepted help? (3)
 - Would he tell others about having done so? (1)
 - Would he accept help if others were standing by watching? (6,10)
- His reasons?

D. THE PRESENTATION OF THE SERIES

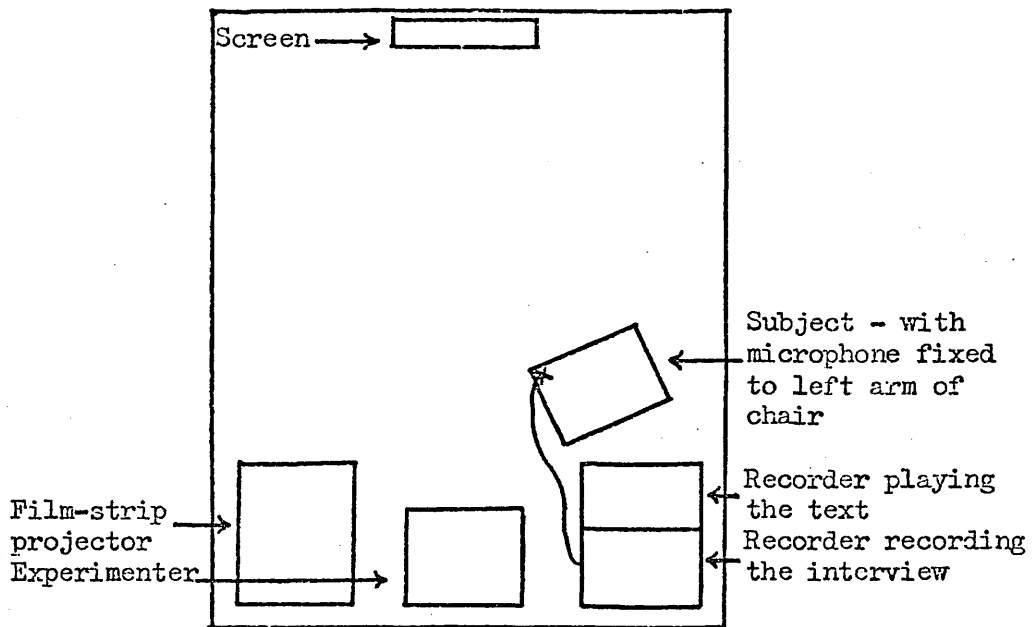
1. The group test

As mentioned on pages 68 & 69 the tape-recorded stories were presented as a group test to the class of students as part of their normal school routine. There was a pause at the end of each story to enable the students to write their answers to the questions posed. The sequence of stories in the giving series varied from that of the adults in so far as the open situations were distributed among the fixed situations and were not presented (as for the adults) as a unit beginning the series.

2. The interviews

The text of the series was recorded on tape and illustrated with a film-strip. After the general purpose of the experiment had been explained to him over coffee, the subject was brought into a small room and shown the apparatus, which consisted of a film-strip projector and screen, and two tape-recorders, one of which played the text of the stories and the other recorded the questions and answers of the interview. The following diagram shows the position of the people and the apparatus during the interviews with the Lapp adults.

DIAGRAM 1
showing arrangements for the interview



When the subject was clear about the arrangement, and his questions about the apparatus had been answered, he was seated before the screen and the room was darkened. The film-strip projector and the recorder were switched on and the presentation began as follows:

'The stories we shall hear are simple stories, describing ordinary, everyday situations any ordinary person, like this man, for instance, might find himself in. Who he is doesn't matter. We can call him Per. But there is something about these stories that is different from ordinary stories, and that is that none

of them is finished. Each story goes on for a while, and then, just before the end, the story stops. What I should like you to do is to say what you think the end might be. This is not so difficult as it sounds, for all you have to do is to answer, as fully as you can, the question or questions I shall ask you when the story breaks off.

Of course there are a number of possible endings, and some people will want to end the stories in one way while others will want to end them differently. I only want to find out what ending you think the story would have. So you see, there is no right and wrong ending. You have only to answer with the first thoughts that come into your mind when the question is asked.

Well now, just let's try one or two for practice before we begin on the real stories:

Per is about to go off for a long ride on his bicycle. Here comes his friend, John. "Good-morning, Per," says John. "Are you going far?"

What does Per answer?' (At this point the text recorder was stopped and the subject's answer was recorded on the second recorder, after which the presentation continued as follows).

'Per is practising throwing the lasso at a reindeer horn in the snow. There's to be a competition in the village next week. Here comes his friend, Nils.

"Good-morning, Per," says Nils. "How are you getting on?"

"Better and better," Per replies. Nils moves on. Per watches his retreating back, an impish glint in his eye. What happens now?' (The suggestion, familiar to all Lapps, is that Per will lasso his friend, as soon as his back is turned.)

'Well that was fine. We've got the idea of it now. So let's get on with the other stories and see what we can make of them. The stories are divided into two groups. We shall take the first group right away. Are you ready?'

(See pp A1 & A2, App. A)

Then the six open-ended stories were presented, at the conclusion of which the twelve remaining stories of the series (See pp A3 - A8, App. A) were introduced in the following way, the text being played from the recorder:

'Now we come to the second group. These deal with giving help to some one who has asked for it. Now we know that in our daily lives people often ask us for help. For one reason or another we may refuse it in some cases. In other cases we agree to give the help asked for. In these stories, various people ask Per for help. What I should like you to do when you hear the question at the end of the story is to say whether or not you think Per will give what the person has asked him for. Say what he thinks about the situation and why he has decided as he has.'

When the twelve stories had been presented and an interview conducted on the basis of these, the accepting series were introduced as follows:

'Now we come to another series of stories. These concern receiving help. In some cases it is perhaps easier for the person to accept help needed than in others. Sometimes he will expect people to help him without his having to ask them, sometimes he may ask. But it may also happen, for one reason or another, that he refuses to accept help offered. As before, there is no right or wrong answer to the questions which follow. If you just say what you think the person concerned would do, that is all that is required.'

The interview then proceeded on the basis of the twelve stories of the receiving series. (See pp A8 - A15, App. A)

CHAPTER V

THE RESULTS OF THE TESTS

A. HOW WILLINGLY HELP WAS GIVEN AND ACCEPTED IN THE SITUATIONS
AS A WHOLE

1. The giving series

a. Number and kinds of responses:

It will be recalled from the previous chapter that there were two groups of subjects, a class of 25 students who wrote their answers to the tape-recorded projection test and 9 adults who were presented individually with the illustrated recording and whose verbal answers were recorded on tape. Two types of situation were presented to the subjects in the giving series of the tests, six "open-ended" situations and thirteen "fixed". In the "open-ended" the end was left "open", that is to say, a need was merely described and the subjects were left to say what happened next. In the "fixed" situations the subjects had to say whether help would be offered, or given if asked for.

The six "open-ended" situations and ten of the thirteen "fixed" situations were the same for both student and adult groups. Of the remaining three "fixed" situations, one was presented to the students and two to the adults.

Thus in the open situations there were 150 possible responses from the 25 students and 54 from the 9 adults. In the fixed situations there were 275 possible responses from the students

and 108 from the adults.

Responses to the open situations fell into five categories:

- i) a definite offer of help of some kind was made (e.g. "He will offer the poor man his seat", Ss. in sit. 3); *
- ii) the need for help was noted, or an enquiry was made as to what was wrong (e.g. "He ought to have help from somewhere", Ss. 17 & 19 in sit. 3), but the potential donor did not commit himself to provide it;
- iii) no mention was made of any sort of help (e.g. "He went on his way", Ss. 7 & 19 in sit. 1);
- iv) a wrong, or unclear, statement was made, i.e. the statement did not answer the question, either because the subject apparently misunderstood the question, or was unable or unwilling to formulate an intelligible reply (e.g. "Don't know", S. 20 in sit. 5, or MB in sit. 5 who produced only a string of unintelligible words); sometimes the story was repeated (e.g. S. 8 in sit. 2), or the subject identified with the recipient instead of the donor and answered for the latter (e.g. Ss. 8 & 24 in sit. 3);
- v) no answer at all was given.

In the fixed situations there were seven kinds of response:

- i) a definite offer or promise to help (e.g. "Yes, certainly he will; the action to save a man's life is instinctive" PH in sit. 8);
- ii) a conditional offer or promise to help, or an offer or promise made with hesitation or reservations - a "Yes, but" answer (e.g. "Yes, if you think you'll have some use out of the girl when she's big", S. 5 in sit. 11; or "Yes, but he would have to get his father's permission first", HR in sit. 8);

* In this and subsequent chapters S. followed by a number, e.g.

S. 10, will be used to identify student subjects. Adults will be known by two capital letters, e.g. PH. "Subjects" will sometimes be abbreviated to Ss., and "situation" to sit.

- iii) a definite refusal (e.g. "No - he has enough with his own children", S. 2 in sit. 11);
- iv) a conditional or hesitant refusal, or a refusal with reservations - a "No, but" answer (e.g. "No, but he would take a boy - would prefer a boy; when the boy was big he could get some help from him", S. 10 in sit. 11);
- v) an "It depends" answer (e.g. "It depends on how the father's been to him" - i.e. how his father has treated him - HR in sit. 13);
- vi) a wrong, or unclear, answer (e.g. BL who remained in a state of unresolved conflict in sit. 15, or S. 17 in sit. 7 who misunderstood the question "Will Per mind the shop for Mikkel who wants to go fishing?" answering: "He likes Mikkel, and therefore he'll go with him");
- vii) no answer at all was given.

The sum totals for each kind of response made by the two groups of subjects in the open and fixed situations (taken separately, and combined) are shown in Tables 3a, 3b, and 3c below and overleaf.

The totals for each separate situation of the series are to be found in Tables 1a, 1b, 1c, and 1d on pages A16 - A18 of Appendix A.

TABLE 3a

Table showing the sum totals for each kind of response made by the STUDENTS and ADULTS in the OPEN situations

Group	Definite help	No help suggested	Need noted or enquiry only	Wrong, unclear, missing answer	Total responses
Student group	81	44	16	9	150
Adult group	26	24	-	4	54

TABLE 3b

Table showing the sum totals for each kind of response made by the STUDENTS and ADULTS in the FIXED situations, all 11 situations for the students being taken and all 12 for the adults.

Group	Help given	Yes, but refused	Help refused	No, but refused	It de- pends	Wrong, unclear	Missing	Total responses
Student group	184	9	62	2	-	8	10	275
Adult group	61	9	24	2	11	1	-	108

TABLE 3c

Table showing the sum totals for each kind of response made by the STUDENTS AND ADULTS in the complete giving series (OPEN and FIXED situations COMBINED), 17 situations being taken for the students and 18 for the adults.

Group	Help given	Yes, but refused	Help refused	No, but refused	It de- pends	Need noted, enquiry	Wrong, unclear	Total re- sponses missing
Student group	265	9	106	2	-	16	27	425
Adult group	87	9	48	2	11	-	5	162

The responses to the situations which the groups had in common are set out in Tables 4a and 4b below:

TABLE 4a

Table showing the sum totals for each kind of response made by the STUDENTS and ADULTS in the TEN FIXED situations they had in common.

Group	Help given	Yes, but refused	Help refused	No, but refused	It de- pends	Wrong, unclear	Miss- ing	Total re- sponses
Student group	169	8	58	2	-	5	8	250
Adult group	52	8	19	2	8	1	-	90

TABLE 4b

Table showing the sum totals for each kind of response made by the STUDENTS and ADULTS in the 16 situations (6 OPEN & 10 FIXED) which they had in common.

Group	Help given	Yes, but refused	Help refused	No, but refused	It de- pends	Need noted, enquiry	Wrong, unclear, missing	Total re- sponses
Student group	250	8	102	2	-	16	22	400
Adult group	78	8	43	2	8	-	5	144

The results shown in the preceding Tables may be expressed as approximate percentages of the total number of responses. The percentages for Tables 3a, 3b, and 4b are set below. The wrong, unclear, and missing answers have been taken together, and in Tables 5b and 5c the "reservations", "Yes, but", "No, but", and "it depends" answers have been extracted and grouped together under the heading "conditional answers".

TABLE 5a

Table showing the responses of BOTH groups in the OPEN situations expressed as percentages of the total responses.

Group	Definite help	No help suggested	Need noted, enquiry only	Wrong, unclear, missing answers	Total
Student group	54%	29.3%	10.7%	6%	100%
Adult group	48%	45%	-	7%	100%

TABLE 5b

Table showing the responses of BOTH groups to the FIXED situations expressed as percentages of the total responses. The "reservations", "Yes, but", "No, but", and "it depends" responses have been extracted and grouped together as "conditional" answers. All eleven situations presented to the students and all twelve situations presented to the adults have been taken.

Group	Help given	Help refused	Conditional answers	Wrong, unclear, missing answers
Student group	67%	23%	4%	6%
Adult group	57%	22%	20%	1%

TABLE 5c

Table showing the responses of BOTH groups for the SIXTEEN situations (6 Open and 10 Fixed) which they had in common - expressed as percentages of the total responses. The "reservations" "Yes, but", "No, but", and "it depends" responses have been extracted and grouped together as "conditional" answers.

Group	Help given	Help refused	Need noted, enquiry	Conditional answers	Wrong, unclear, missing answers
Student group	62.5%	25.5%	4.0%	2.5%	5.5%
Adult group	54.2%	29.8%	-	12.5%	3.5%

b. The students' results analysed:

In describing the results, in order to avoid having constantly to say, for example, "The subjects said that they believed that the potential donor would agree to help in so and so many cases" it will be reported that "The subjects helped in so and so many cases". This is done in the interest of brevity and readability, and the limitations of the projection test as described in Chapter IV A.4, page 69 need to be borne in mind.

When the results obtained in the open situations, where no suggestion of help was made in the presentation (see Table 3a, page 94), are tested by Chi square no significant difference is found between the frequency of "help given" and the other responses neither for the students nor for the adults (Calculation sheet GA 1).*

However, in those situations where the possibility of helping was put to them (see Table 3b, p. 95) the students helped much more frequently than they refused and gave conditional, wrong, and missing responses. Calculated by Chi square, this difference is significant at well past the 0.001 level (GA 2).

There is also significantly more help given in the fixed situations than in the open when these frequencies are compared,

* The references GA, MR, NSB followed by a number identify the calculations which were made to obtain the statistical result reported and their place in my file.

$p=.01$ (GA 3).

For the giving series as a whole, that is, for the open and fixed situations combined (see Table 3c, p. 95), the students helped significantly more than they refused and gave other responses, $p=.001$ (NSB 25).

c. The adults' results analysed:

As might be expected, from scanning the Tables on pages 94, 95 and 96, the adults did not help significantly more than they refused and made other responses, neither in the open (GA 1a), nor in the fixed situations (GA 2a), nor in the open and fixed situations combined (NSB 26) when these results are tested by Chi square. Nor did they help significantly more in the fixed situations than in the open (MR 1). It would appear that in the fixed situations the high proportion of conditional (i.e. "reservations", "Yes, but", "No, but", and "it depends") answers weights the other categories against help given.

d. The students compared with the adults:

There are no statistically significant differences between the amount of help given by the students and that given by the adults in the open situations (GA 4), nor in the fixed situations (GA 5), nor in the open and fixed taken together (GA 6 and MR 2). There is no difference in the frequency of wrong and missing answers (NSB 25a). There is, however, a highly significant difference

between the two groups in the number of reservations and conditional responses: the adults make more (p is well past .001 level - GA 7 & MR 5).

e. Evaluating the reservations and conditional responses:

An attempt was made to evaluate the reservations and conditional responses in relation to the definite positive and negative answers. It seemed reasonable to assume that a person who said "he would help, but unwillingly" (for this or that reason - Ss. BL & AO in sit. 7) was responding somewhat less "helpfully" than the one who said "Yes, certainly I will" (RE in sit. 7). (His answer might be more honest, or more realistic, more accurate, than that of the latter person, but honesty is not under discussion, nor is the test attempting to determine whether what the subject says the hero will do is what he himself would do in practice; cf. par. b. p. 97).

Similarly, the hesitant refusal, e.g. "No - but he hasn't the heart to refuse his own son" (AO in sit. 12) would appear to be less "unhelpful" than the definite "No, he hasn't time to help the boy" (HR in sit. 7).

Finally, the person who says "It depends" would surely intend it to be understood that in certain circumstances he would help and in others he would not.

In order to relate these five categories of response to one another the adoption of the following scale seemed reasonable:

a response that was unreservedly positive was scored as 1,

one that was positive, but made certain reservations was scored as $3/4$,

an outright negative was scored as 0,

a refusal with reservations was scored as $1/4$,

and ^{an}"it depends" response was scored as $1/2$.

Difficulty was experienced in assessing (and scoring) incoherent and missing answers. Obviously they were not positive, nor were they definitely negative. However, because the emphasis of the test is on the positive aspect of the reaction, that is, on giving and receiving rather than on refusing to give and refusing to accept, it was decided to treat inconclusive and missing answers as negative.

If the scoring system just described is applied to the figures obtained in the tests further tables may be constructed and the results compared on this basis. Detailed scores appear in Table 2 in Appendix A, page A19. Totals and percentages are given overleaf. Only the fixed situations are affected, as no conditional responses occurred in the open situations.

TABLE 6a

Table showing the responses of BOTH groups to the FIXED situations when the reservations and "it depends" responses have been distributed according to the scoring described above. Eleven situations are taken for the student group and twelve for the adult. Percentages are shown in brackets alongside the total score for each response.

Group	Help given	Help refused	Wrong, unclear, missing answers	Total
Student group	191.25 (70%)	65.75 (24%)	18 (6%)	275 (100%)
Adult group	73.75 (68%)	33.25 (31%)	1 (1%)	108 (100%)

TABLE 6b

As above, except that only the TEN FIXED situations are taken which the two groups had in common.

Group	Help given	Help refused	Wrong, unclear, missing answers	Total
Student group	175.5 (70%)	61.5 (25%)	13 (5%)	250 (100%)
Adult group	62.5 (69.5%)	26.5 (29.5%)	1 (1%)	90 (100%)

TABLE 6c

Table showing the results when the responses of the open situations are added to those listed in Table 6b above, i.e. for sixteen situations in common.

Group	Help given	Help refused	Wrong, unclear, missing answers	Total
Student group	256.5 (64.1%)	121.5 (30.4%)	22 (5.5%)	400 (100%)
Adult group	88.5 (61.5%)	50.5 (35%)	5 (3.5%)	144 (100%)

f. Effect of this system of scoring on students' results:

This system confirms the differences already found for the students (cf. paragraph 1. b. page 97) namely that:

they help significantly more than they refuse and make other responses in the fixed situations ($p=.001$, NSB 27),

they help significantly more in the fixed situations than in the open ($p=.01$, NSB 28),

they help significantly more in the open and fixed situations combined than they refuse and make other responses ($p=.001$, NSB 29).

g. Effect of this system of scoring on the adults' results:

Because of the large proportion of conditional responses obtained from the adults, distributing the responses in the way described in paragraph 2, p.100, has, as could be expected, a considerable effect upon the adults' ratings. Where previously there were no significant differences (cf. paragraph c, p. 98) the adults now:

help significantly more than they refuse and make other responses in the fixed situations ($p .001$, NSB 30),

help significantly more in the fixed than in the open situations (p is between $.02$ and $.01$, NSB 31),

help significantly more in the open and fixed situations combined (p is between $.01$ and $.001$, NSB 32).

- h. Effect of this system of scoring on the relation of student to adult results:

There are no significant differences between the willingness of the students and the adults to give, neither in the ten fixed situations they had in common, nor in the open and fixed situations combined (NSB 33 and 34) - a result which confirms the findings in paragraph d on page 98.

- i. Differences in response according to sex:

The Table below shows the responses of the students and adults divided according to sex: boys and girls, men and women.

Details appear in Tables 3a & 3b on pages A20 & A21 of Appendix A.

TABLE 7

Table showing the responses of the BOY and GIRL students and of the MEN and WOMEN when all seventeen situations presented to the students in the GIVING series and all eighteen presented to the adults are taken. In brackets underneath each score is the number of responses given for the sixteen situations the groups had in common.

Group	Help given	Yes, but	Help refused	No, but	It depends	Wrong, unclear	Missing	Total responses
9 Boys	84 (81)	7 (6)	49 (47)	- -	- -	5 (3)	8 (7)	153 (144)
16 Girls	181 (169)	2 (2)	73 (71)	2 (2)	- -	7 (6)	7 (6)	272 (256)
4 Men	39 (35)	1 (1)	22 (21)	- -	10 (7)	- -	- -	72 (64)
5 Women	48 (43)	8 (7)	26 (22)	2 (2)	1 (1)	5 (5)	- -	90 (80)

i) The boy students' responses compared with the girls': there is an overall difference between the responses of boys and girls which is significant at the 0.05 level when tested by Chi square in a 4 X 2 contingency table (all reservations and conditional responses having been grouped together and all wrong, unclear, and missing having been grouped together - NSB 43 - 44).

Boys make fewer straight out giving responses than girls ($p = 0.02$, NSB 37); if the scores are adjusted by distributing the conditionals (cf. Par. "e", page 99) there is no significant difference between boys and girls (chi squared just misses significance at the 0.05 level - NSB 38).

Boys appear to make more conditional responses than girls, but this is not statistically significant (chi squared just misses significance at the 0.05 level - NSB 45).

There is no difference between boys and girls in the number of wrong, unclear, and missing responses made (NSB 46).

If the conditional, wrong, unclear, and missing responses are taken together it is found that the boys make statistically significantly more of these responses than the girls ($p = 0.05$ - NSB 58).

ii) The responses of the men compared with those of the women: there are no differences between the men and the women in their responses (NSB 39) except that the women give more wrong, unclear,

and missing answers than the men (significant at the 0.05 level - NSB 48). The men appear to make more conditional responses but this difference is not statistically significant (NSB 47).

iii) The combined responses of the men and boys compared with the combined responses of the women and girls (taking the sixteen situations which they all had in common): there are no statistically significant differences between the responses of the men and boys and those of the women and girls; there is no overall difference when all categories of responses are analysed by means of a 4 X 2 contingency table (NSB 50, 51), nor when giving responses alone are tabled against all other responses, neither when straight nor when adjusted scores are taken (NSB 52 & 55); there is no difference between the sexes in the number of conditional responses (NSB 56), nor in the number of answers that were wrong, unclear, or missing (NSB 57).

2. The receiving series

a. Number and kinds of response:

It may be remembered from Chapter IV, page 79 that the class of 25 students had 14 situations presented to them while the 9 adults had 12 situations. Of the situations presented, 10 were the same for both groups, namely Nos. 1 - 3 and 5 - 11; No. 4 was presented in a slightly different version to each group; No. 12 was presented only to the adults, and Nos. 13 - 15 only to the

students.

There were therefore 350 possible responses from the student group and 108 from the adults. For the situations which they had in common there were 250 possible responses from the students and 90 from the adults.

Responses to the situations fell into seven categories:

- i) a definite acceptance of the offer made, or an expressed intention to ask for the help required (e.g. "Yes, she will go, she can't let the children starve and freeze to death" S. 2 in sit. 1);
- ii) a conditional acceptance, or an acceptance made with hesitation or reservations, a "Yes, but" answer (e.g. "She must, if things are so bad - but not till then" S. 6 in sit. 1);
- iii) a definite refusal (e.g. "No, he will try to do it himself. It's best to be independent" S. 13 in sit. 5);
- iv) a conditional or hesitant refusal, or a refusal with reservations - a "No, but" answer (e.g. "I prefer to live alone. Perhaps in a year or two I shall come and live with you. I like being alone best, so long as you often come and see me" S. 11 in sit. 7);
- v) an "It depends" answer (e.g. "If he doesn't want the other fellow to know what's in the bag, he'd refuse. If he were shy and bashful, he'd say he could manage himself. If he's tired and the sack is heavy and if the other chap were known to him and were helpful, he'd accept" HR in sit. 6);
- vi) a wrong or unclear answer (e.g. "Yes, he will cut with his three fingers" S. 8 in sit. 13 and 4 subjects in sit. 13 who turned the story round);
- vii) no answer at all was given.

The sum totals for each kind of response made by the two groups of subjects are shown in the Tables below. The totals for each separate situation of the series are to be found in Tables 4a and 4b on pages A22 and A23 of Appendix A.

TABLE 8a

Table showing the sum totals for each kind of response made by STUDENTS and ADULTS in the RECEIVING series, all 14 situations for the students being taken, and all 12 for the adults.

Group	Help accepted	Yes, but refused	Help refused	No, but depends	It depends	Wrong, unclear	Missing answers	Total responses
Student group	206	17	96	2	-	18	11	350
Adult group	61	1	35	2	8	1	-	108

TABLE 8b

Table showing the sum totals for each kind of response made by STUDENTS and ADULTS in the RECEIVING series, only those situations being taken which the two groups had in common.

Group	Help accepted	Yes, but refused	Help refused	No, but depends	It depends	Wrong, unclear	Missing answers	Total responses
Student group	150	16	62	2	-	9	11	250
Adult group	54	1	26	1	8	-	-	90

The results shown in the above Tables may be expressed as approximate percentages of the total number of responses. These are set out in Tables 9a and 9b overleaf. The wrong, unclear, and missing answers have been grouped together and the "reservations", "Yes, but", "No, but", and "It depends" answers have been extracted and grouped together under the heading "conditional answers".

TABLE 9a

Table showing the responses for BOTH groups, expressed as percentages of the total number. Fourteen situations have been taken for the student group and twelve for the adults.

Group	Acceptances	Refusals	Conditional answers	Wrong, unclear missing answers	Total
Student group	58.9%	27.4%	5.4%	8.3%	100%
Adult group	56.4%	32.4%	10.2%	1%	100%

TABLE 9b

Table showing the responses for BOTH groups, expressed as percentages of the total number of responses in the TEN situations which they had in common.

Group	Acceptances	Refusals	Conditional answers	Wrong, unclear missing answers	Total
Student group	60%	24.8%	7.2%	8%	100%
Adult group	60%	29%	11%	-	100%

If the scoring system described on page 100 is applied to the figures obtained in the receiving series the following tables may be constructed. Detailed scores appear in Table 5 on p. A24 of App. A.)

TABLE 10a

Table showing the responses of BOTH groups when the conditional responses have been distributed according to the scoring described on page 100 of the text. Fourteen situations have been taken for the students and twelve for the adults. Percentages are shown in brackets alongside the total score for each response.

Group	Acceptances		Refusals		Wrong, unclear, missing answers		Totals	
	Score	%age	Score	%age	Score	%age	Score	%age
Student group	219.25	(62.6%)	101.75	(29.1%)	29	(8.3%)	350	(100%)
Adult group	66.25	(61.3%)	40.75	(37.7%)	1	(1.0%)	108	(100%)

TABLE 10b

As above - except that only those TEN situations are taken which the groups had in common.

Group	Acceptances		Refusals		Wrong, unclear, missing answers		Totals	
	Score	%age	Score	%age	Score	%age	Score	%age
Student group	162.5	(65.0%)	67.5	(27.0%)	20	(8.0%)	250	(100%)
Adult group	59	(65.6%)	31	(34.4%)	-	-	90	(100%)

b. The students' results analysed:

The responses summarised in Tables 8a, 9a, and 10a show that the students accepted help more frequently than they refused and gave conditional wrong, unclear, or missing answers. Tested by Chi square this difference is significant at well past the .001 level - for straight scores as set out in Table 8a as well as for the adjusted scores obtained when the conditional responses are distributed as in Table 10a. (NSB 59 & 60).

c. The adults' results analysed:

Although the trend appears to be in a similar direction as for the students the adults did not accept help significantly more frequently than they refused and gave other responses when tested on the straight scores shown in Table 8a (NSB 61). When the reservations and conditional responses are distributed as in Table 10a there is a difference between help accepted and help refused which is significant, when tested by Chi square, at the 0.02 level (NSB 62).

d. The students compared with the adults:

There is an overall difference (significant at the .02 level - NSB 63) between the responses of the students and the adults when these are analysed by Chi square in a 4 X 2 contingency table (cf. Table 8b), the "Yes, but", "No, but" and "It depends" responses being grouped together and the "Wrong, unclear and missing" being grouped together.

There is no difference in the willingness of the two groups to accept help, neither when calculated on straight scores, nor on adjusted scores (see Tables 8b and 10b) (NSB 66 & 78). Nor is there any difference in the number of conditional responses made (NSB 64), but the adults gave fewer wrong and missing answers than did the students, the difference being significant at the .02 level (NSB 65).

e. Difference in response according to sex:

The Table below shows the responses of the students and adults divided according to sex: boys and girls, men and women. The details appear in Tables 6a & 6b pages A25 & A26, Appendix A.

TABLE 11

Table showing the responses of the BOY and GIRL students and of the MEN and WOMEN when all fourteen situations presented to the students are taken and all twelve presented to the adults. In brackets underneath each score is the number of responses given for the ten situations the groups had in common.

Group	Accept	Yes, but	Refuse	No, but	It de- pends	Wrong, unclear	Miss- ing	Total responses
9 Boys	74 (56)	3 (3)	38 (23)	- -	- -	6 (3)	5 (5)	126 (90)
16 Girls	132 (94)	14 (13)	58 (39)	2 (2)	- -	12 (6)	6 (6)	224 (160)
4 Men	26 (23)	1 (1)	11 (7)	2 (1)	8 (8)	- -	- -	48 (40)
5 Women	35 (31)	- -	24 (19)	- -	- -	1 -	- -	60 (50)

i) The boy students' responses compared with the girls':

There are no statistically significant differences between the responses of the boys and of the girls:

there is no overall difference when the responses are analysed in a 6 X 2, or in a 4 X 2 contingency table (a 4 X 2 contingency table is obtained when the "Yes, but", "No, but", and "It depends" responses are grouped together as "conditional responses" and the wrong, unclear, and missing answers are grouped together) (NSB 67 & 68);

there is no difference in willingness to accept help when straight scores are taken, nor when scores are adjusted by distributing the conditional responses (NSB 67 & 70);

there is no difference in the number of wrong, unclear, and missing responses (NSB 68);

although the girls appear to make more conditional responses the difference is not statistically significant (NSB 69).

ii) The responses of the men compared with those of the women:

There is an overall difference in the responses of the men and women when analysed in a 4 X 2 contingency table - a difference which is significant at well past the .001 level (NSB 70):

there is no difference between men and women in willingness to accept help (calculated on straight and on adjusted scores) (NSB 72);

there is no difference in the number of wrong, unclear, and missing answers (NSB 70);

there is a significant difference (at well past the .001 level) in the number of conditional responses made - the men make more (NSB 71).

- iii) The responses of the men and boys compared with those of the women and girls:

There is no overall difference between them when analysed in a 4 X 2 contingency table (NSB 73):

there is no difference in willingness to accept, calculated on straight and on adjusted scores (NSB 74);

there is no difference in the number of conditional responses nor in the number of wrong, unclear, and missing answers (NSB 74 & 75).

- iv) The responses of the men and girls compared with those of the women and boys:

There is an overall difference between them when analysed in a 4 X 2 contingency table, p being well past the .01 level. The difference is due to the greater number of conditional responses made by the men and girls (NSB 76 & 77).

3. Summary and discussion of how willingly help was given and accepted in the situations as a whole

a. Willingness to give:

The results show that for the giving series as a whole (i.e. for open and fixed situations combined) the students state much more frequently that the potential donor helps than that he refuses and makes conditional and wrong responses, or gives no response at all. This is true also when the fixed situations are considered on their own.

In the open situations, however, where no suggestion of help

is made and the subjects are left to decide for themselves what the outcome of the situation might be the potential donor does not help more frequently than he neglects to do so.

When the amount of help given by the students in the fixed situations is compared with the amount given in the open, it is found that the students help much more frequently in the fixed than in the open situations.

There are no statistically significant differences like this in the adult group (though the trends appear to be in the same directions as for the students) unless the conditional responses (of which the adults have a much higher frequency than the students) are distributed between the two categories "help given" and "help refused". When this is done the findings for the adults are the same as those given above for the students.

If these results are a fair reflection of the subjects' attitudes (that is, if their statements indicate their attitudes) then both the adult and the adolescent Lapps tested may in fact be more willing to help than they as a race are reputed to be when the possibility is put to them. That is not to say that in practice this "willingness" would necessarily be expressed in action. But the results do indicate that the subjects tested believed that, in the situations presented, the giving of help is more frequently the acceptable way of dealing with the problem than

the withholding of help would be.

The fact that they "help" more readily in the fixed situations, where the possibility is put, than in the open situations, where they are left to decide for themselves whether help is called for, may be interpreted in two ways: the subjects may be highly suggestible, and so yield to the implied request in the fixed situations, or they may not be able so readily to see the open situations as situations calling for help in need, either because

- i) the need is not noticed, or
- ii) help is not seen as possible, or
- iii) they do not see themselves as the appropriate helper.

Irrespective of whether the subjects are yielding to suggestion in the fixed situations, inspection of the replies in the open situations suggests that the above three possible explanations for not helping in the open situations are valid on different occasions and for different subjects. For example, in situation 1, although only eleven subjects said that D would do something to help, 14 of the 25 students noted that the dog which D had almost stumbled over was injured and in need of some kind of attention. The remainder gave no indication in their answer that the dog's injury had been perceived, though 10 noticed that D had almost stumbled over the animal. Of these 10, 8 said that D got angry with the dog, or kicked, or hit it. Logically, the only explanation for such a

reaction is that either the animal's need was not perceived, or it was treated with indifference. If its need was in fact not perceived, then either the subject's powers of observation were inadequate or in the description of the situation the injury to the animal was inadequately stressed. It should be noted, however, that part of the exercise was in fact to discover whether a simple unstressed condition would be perceived.

In other situations the need was seen but the possibility of help, of intervention, did not seem to have occurred to the subjects. For example, in situation 5 where the man was trying to open the door that was stuck few subjects seemed to get the idea that perhaps a push might help. They thought the man was weak, not being able to open it, or they thought the door was locked, although the story clearly stated it was being pushed, was always hard to open, and was stuck (a fairly common characteristic of doors in wooden buildings which it is reasonable to expect the subjects would themselves have encountered in real life).

Again in the river incident (sit. 2) 5 students and 3 adults let events run their course: "The man drowned".

In the story of the distressed man on the bus several of those who did not offer any help said that the man needed it; they pitied him but did not themselves become involved; e.g. "He thinks he ought to have help from somewhere". Clearly they did not see

themselves in the role of helper.

These results do not support the opinion of one authority, expressed to me verbally that help is often withheld by a Lapp out of deference to the person needing: "You don't interfere in what is some one else's business and so suggest that he is incapable of fulfilling his role". They do, however, tend to support the hypothesis put forward on page 73 of this thesis (Chapter IV B 5. a.) that when help is withheld by these particular subjects in situations where observers from another culture would expect it to be given this is not being done deliberately, but is due to their inability adequately to assess a situation or to see themselves as active participants in the role of an initiator or organiser of help.

b. Willingness to accept:

The results show that the students consider that help would be accepted much more frequently than it would be refused, but as help is in fact refused about half as often as it is accepted the results may also be taken to suggest that the adolescent Lapps tested are not such "cheerful receivers" in every situation as popular tradition has held them to be.

The same may also be said of the adults. They do not accept significantly more than they give other responses, unless their conditional responses are distributed. The very presence of these conditional responses, however, in itself indicates that acceptance is not the unequivocal, automatic response it has

been held to be. Although they did accept more than they refused help, the subjects tested did not accept unhesitatingly and unconditionally.

c. Conditional, and wrong and missing answers in both series:

In the test as a whole (NSB 23) and in the receiving series alone, but not in the giving series alone, there was a greater frequency of wrong and unclear answers among the students than among the adults. In the test as a whole (NSB 24a) and in the giving series alone, but not in the receiving series alone, there were more conditional responses from the adults than from the students. Some of the differences in the frequency of wrong, unclear, and conditional responses may well be due to the difference in method employed for obtaining answers from the groups: in the presentation of the series to the students, waiting for slow students and repetition of stories was not possible, whereas in the interviews the pace could be geared to the individual and a story repeated if the subject desired it. But, although the adults undoubtedly had more time for reflection, their greater number of conditional responses might point to a real difference between young and old: the young, being more impulsive and less experienced, have ready-made solutions at hand; there is after all no reason why more of them should not have said "It depends" instead of giving mainly "Yes" and "No" responses, unless, perhaps, having to write put a premium on

simple straightforward answers or school work had habituated them to yes/no answers and they were less ready to go against what they assumed to be the investigator's expectations.

Some of the wrong or unintelligible responses among the students appear to have been made deliberately and these will be discussed later (Chapter VII p.225).

d. The similarity of student and adult response:

That the opinions of the students in relation both to giving and receiving so closely approximate those of the adults (except for the differences just noted) may seem to support one of two views: that present-day adult Lapps are, as has often been asserted, "child-like and immature" in their giving and receiving behaviour, or that the young generation, in so far as they already are as "mature" in this respect as their elders, show promise of greater responsibility and self-reliance. It may simply be, of course, that culturally acceptable attitudes to help are inculcated early.

e. Differences between the sexes:

i) Willingness to give and to accept: no differences were found between the sexes (boys and girls, men and women, men combined with boys and women combined with girls) in willingness to give and to accept, except that the boys made fewer straight out giving responses than the girls (cf. p. 104).

ii) Conditional responses: In the test as a whole (i.e. in the giving and receiving series combined) the men made more conditional responses than the women, the men and boys combined more than the women and girls combined and the boys appeared to make more than the girls; in the receiving series alone the men made many more conditional responses than the women and the girls appeared to make more than the boys, though the difference just missed significance.

iii) Wrong, unclear, and missing answers: there were no differences in the frequency of wrong, unclear, and missing answers, except that in the giving series women produced more than men.

iv) Men and girls compared with women and boys: an unexpected finding was that in the receiving series the men and girls together made many more conditional responses than the women and boys together. There were no other significant differences between these groupings.

v) Interpretation of these results: because some difficulty had been experienced in gaining the co-operation of two adults and three students, and these had all happened to be male, and because the writer believed that in her own culture women tend to be regarded as more giving and more accepting than men the above results were somewhat unexpected. If the test is measuring what it is believed to be measuring, then either the sample contained

individuals who were atypical of their sex (one of the women, for instance, was old and this could have affected her attitude), or it may be a fact that giving and receiving attitudes are less linked to an individual's sex than to other aspects of his or her personality, at least in the society to which these subjects belonged.

It would be hazardous to make any serious inferences from the fact that in the receiving series the men made more conditional responses than the women and the men and girls together made more than the women and boys, especially as there are no such differences between the sexes in the giving series. (In the giving series, it may be recalled, there was a significant difference between adults and students in the frequency of conditional answers). There is no suggestion of an affinity in outlook between the girls and the men, especially when it is remembered that the "conditional" responses were a combination of the "It depends" responses of the adults and the "Yes, but" and "No, but" responses of the students. The latter represent hedged acceptance or refusal whereas the former express an appreciation (possibly springing from experience) of the complexity of situations, or the need at least to pay lip service to the possibility of complexity. However, the possible differences that have been noted in this direction between adults and younger people, and between males and females could well be investigated further with larger numbers.

B. HOW THE GIVING AND ACCEPTING OF HELP VARIED IN THE SITUATIONS
TAKEN SEPARATELY

1. The giving series

Help was given more readily in some of the situations than in others. In the following tables the situations presented to the groups are ranked in the order in which help was most frequently given. Values given to the situations are the score obtained when the conditional responses are distributed according to the system described on pages 99 and 100.

TABLE 12a

Table showing the scores obtained by both groups in the OPEN situations ranked in order of help given

Situation	Students		Adults	
	Score	Rank	Score	Rank
1. Wounded dog	11	5	2	6
2. Man in river	16	2.5	5	2.5
3. Man on bus	14	4	5	2.5
4. Man worried	16	2.5	4	4.5
5. Jammed door	4	6	4	4.5
6. School-child	20	1	6	1

TABLE 12b

Table showing the scores obtained by both groups in the FIXED situations ranked in order of help given. Rank (1) applies when all the situations presented to a group are taken, Rank (2) when only those situations are taken that are common to both groups

Situation	Students			Adults		
	Score	Rank(1)	Rank(2)	Score	Rank(1)	Rank(2)
7. Minding shop	4	11	10	4	11.5	9.5
8. Man in mountains	23	1	1	8.25	3	3
9. Refugees	19	6	6	9	1	1
10. Girl on skis	21	3.5	3.5	8.5	2	2
11. Orphaned child	16.75	7	7	5.25	8	7
12. Helping child	14	10	9	4.25	10	8
13. Aged father	15.25	9	8	6	6	5
14. Sick wife	21.75	2	2	7.75	4	4
15. Gift to king	19.75	5	5	5.5	7	6
16. War damage	21	3.5	3.5	4	11.5	9.5
17. Money for school	15.75	8	-	-	-	-
18. Loading timber	-	-	-	6.75	5	-
19. Money for cinema	-	-	-	4.5	9	-

It will be seen that, with the exception of situations 9 and 16 the rankings of the students and the adults are fairly similar. There is no statistically significant correlation between the groups when the results are taken as they stand above, that is, when the open and fixed situations are treated separately. [(Using Spearman's rho method, the correlation in the open situations is 0.71 (GA 8), and in the fixed situations 0.5)] In the fixed situations the failure to establish a correlation is due mainly to the large differences contributed by situations 9 and 16. However, if the open and fixed situations are treated as one test (which, in fact, they were - see Table 7, page A27 Appendix A) there is a significant correlation between the results of the students and the adults. [(Rho is .67, with 16 ranks (GA 9), which is significant at the 0.01 level)] With the greater number of ranks the effect of the difference between the groups in situations 9 and 16 is diminished.

The reasons for the differences in the chief deviant situations are perhaps not difficult to understand. The adults help more than the students in situation 9 and this could well be due to the fact that the adults had themselves experienced what it was like to be war refugees and they might, as a result, be more sympathetic to this particular need than the students, who were too young at the time to have had any responsibility for coping with the refugee situation.

Helping to clear the war damage (situation 16) is one of the least popular situations among the adults and this agrees with everyday experience. It was said that no Lapp volunteered when this help was requested in the village; they were willing to clear up around their own farmsteads, but nowhere else. The informer relating the incident believed that this demonstrated that the Lapps lacked a sense of community responsibility. The students at the Youth School, on the other hand, are being consciously trained to acquire a sense of corporate responsibility, and this might well account for their greater willingness to co-operate in this situation.

Thus the minor variations between the groups can be readily understood but the general order in which the various situations attract the help of both groups cannot easily be accounted for. One might expect the amount of help given to vary according to the urgency of the need, the closeness of the relationship between donor and recipient, the amount of effort required, and so on. But the decisions to help do not follow an orderly pattern like this. From the nature of the enquiry and the limitations of the experimental method employed, it is impossible to isolate the various elements of the situations and to assess their relative importance in a decision to give or withhold help, but certain negative findings are valid and these will be discussed in conjunction with similar findings for the accepting series on pages 126 f.

2. The receiving series

Help was much more acceptable in some of the situations than in others. In the following table the situations presented to the groups are ranked in the order in which help was most frequently given. Rank (1) applies when all the situations presented to the group are taken, rank (2) when only those situations are taken that are common to both groups.

TABLE 13

Table showing the scores obtained by both groups in the situations of the RECEIVING series, ranked in order of help accepted

Situation	Students			Adults		
	Score	Rank(1)	Rank(2)	Score	Rank(1)	Rank(2)
1. Bereavement	16.75	7.5	6	6	5.5	5
2. Burnt house	12	11	8	6	5.5	5
3. Money from brother	15.25	10	7	5.5	8	7
4a. Drowned horse	-	-	-	6	5.5	-
4b. Drowned horse	18	5.5	-	-	-	-
5. Help with job	18	5.5	5	7	3	3
6. Heavy sack	21	1.5	1.5	3	11	10
7. Aged father	9.5	12	9	5	9.5	8.5
8. Unemployment	9	13	10	5	9.5	8.5
9. Education	19.75	4	4	7.5	2	2
10. Danger	20.25	3	3	6	5.5	5
11. Amusement	21	1.5	1.5	8	1	1
12. Useless help	-	-	-	1.25	12	-
13. Handicapped boy	6	14	-	-	-	-
14. Cutting wood	16.75	7.5	-	-	-	-
15. Hospitality	16	9	-	-	-	-

Except for the position of the "Heavy sack" and "Burnt house" situations the preceding table, upon sight, shows a general resemblance between the two groups. But this is not statistically significant, because of the effect of the two deviating situations.

(NSB 6 & 7)

There is no apparent explanation for the disagreement between the groups in the "Heavy sack" and "Burnt house" situations. It could be that, for the students, having to carry a heavy load is a more realistic and familiar need than being without a house; the adults have had first-hand experience of losing their homes. The students are also closer to previous childish experiences when help with a load was necessary and accepting it involved no sense of failure.

As in the giving series, the order in which the groups prefer to accept help is not easily accounted for. The experimental method does not make it possible to assess the relative importance of the various kinds of need, or the various donors, or the kind of help available, or whether it had to be asked for. But, as in the giving series, certain negative findings are valid and these will now be enumerated.

C. HOW WILLINGNESS TO GIVE AND TO ACCEPT RELATES TO THE MAIN
ELEMENTS OF THE SITUATIONS

1. The kind of need

If the situations in the giving series are examined from the point of view of the priority given to the various kinds of need (cf. Tables 8, 9a & 9b, pages A28 & A29, Appendix A) it will be seen that urgent biological need in an emergency has a high priority in both groups, especially among the students. But it does not invariably attract the most help. Among the adults in the fixed situations and among both groups in the open situations a more remote need or the recipient's wish to pursue a special aim will attract more.

In the accepting series the students readily accept help in a biological emergency, but help to pursue a special aim or to perform a difficult task is also readily accepted. Less urgent chronic biological needs have a low priority. Among the adults the wish to pursue a special aim has the highest priority and all the others have medium priorities (cf. Tables 10a & 10b, pages A30 & A31, Appendix A).

The noteworthy facts revealed in these results are:

- a. that the magnitude and urgency of the need do not in themselves determine whether help will be given or accepted,

- b. that help is sometimes given and accepted even in the absence of any direct need, and
- c. that serious chronic biological need does not command as much help as might be expected.

There is thus no scale of needs according to which the subjects give and accept help.

These findings are contrary perhaps to simple "rational" expectations but not to everyday experience, where the same observation may be made in England as well as in Lapland. "The Daily Telegraph" of Thursday, 9/8/62 reports for example: "A boy aged four fell down a 50 ft. well and drowned while several men stood by, it was stated at a Stratford-on-Avon inquest yesterday. The coroner ... criticised the lack of immediate help by bystanders". The leader of the "New Daily" on 20/9/61, commenting on advertisements for dog food, concluded as follows: "An appeal for the victims of an earthquake, for refugees, for human beings in trouble of any kind may produce a comparatively generous response from the British public. But ask them to contribute towards a fund for old horses, or stray dogs, or underprivileged cats and the money will come pouring in far larger quantities than could be elicited by any human disaster. Could it be that we have got our priorities a little muddled?" Similar incidents have also been recorded in relation to the receiving of help (cf. Chapter VII B. 3 b. p. 175, and VII D. 5 e. (ii) p. 210).

2. The kind of help required or available and the cost to the donor

One might expect that certain forms of help would be more attractive than others to a potential donor. The degree of risk and sacrifice involved, the inconvenience occasioned, could also be expected to play a part in a donor's decision to help in a given situation: the greater the sacrifice, effort, or inconvenience the less readily he might be expected to give. Such considerations might also influence a potential recipient's decision to accept or ask for help.

If the situations in both series are arranged according to the kind of help required (cf. Tables 11, 12, 13 & 14, pages A32 - A35, Appendix A) and, in the giving series, according to the resistances involved (cf. Tables 15a & 15b, pages A36 & A37, Appendix A) the following facts are revealed. Money was fairly readily given by both groups of subjects and very readily accepted also, when offered indirectly to further a special interest; but it was less readily accepted, or requested, as a direct contribution towards the cost of shelter and sustenance. There was considerable variation among both groups in willingness to render practical services though such services were fairly acceptable, to the students at least, when in the role of a needy recipient. The provision of care and maintenance for an orphan or aged parent lacked appeal to both groups in both series.

The variability in the attractiveness to the donor, or to the recipient, of a certain form of help suggests that other considerations (such as the need or purpose for which the help was required) were playing a part. For example, although the students accepted help with practical tasks very readily they rejected such assistance when learning was involved, that is, when by doing a task themselves they would be developing a skill; and the adults rejected being given a hand when carrying a sack.

Despite the limitations of the method, therefore, it is possible to say that the kind of help required, or available, did not in itself always determine how readily help was given and accepted. That is to say, the subjects did not consistently prefer one type of help to another.

Nor was the degree of sacrifice or inconvenience to the donor in itself determinant. Help was given least in the situation where the donor's wish to pursue the same aim conflicted with the request of the recipient. In other situations neither the risk to his own life nor being put to great inconvenience, nor even a history of hostility between donor and recipient (on a personal or international level), deterred the donor from helping.

To understand these results, and to understand why, for example, care and maintenance were so unwelcome and why the adults did not always reject useless (even harmful) help it is necessary to

study the reasons the subjects gave for their decisions to give and to accept, or to decline, certain forms of help. The reasons also reveal the effect which individual differences in a donor's attitude, skill, liking, and resources have in his decision to give a particular kind of help, and how the recipient's assessment of these influence him in deciding to accept or ask for the particular kind of help required.

3. Whether the help was offered, or had to be asked for

Tables 16a & 16b on page A38, Appendix A show that in those situations where help is requested by some one on behalf of another it is given fairly readily. When it is asked for by the recipient himself, or when the donor is left to offer, the response is smaller. Although it cannot therefore be concluded that in general a donor is most likely to give if requested to do so by a third person it is clear from evidence in the interviews that certain subjects do in fact respond more readily to the request of a third party, especially if he is a feared or respected authority in the village. But it appears to depend upon the individual: an independent or rebellious person may withstand the pressure of some one in authority requesting him to give, when he is unable to refuse a person asking on his own behalf, direct to his face. With a different kind of donor antagonism is aroused by asking him to help instead of leaving him free to offer.

It seems reasonable to expect that it is easier for a

potential recipient to accept an offer of help than to ask for it. However, the difference between asking for help and accepting an offer is surprisingly small even among the students, and among the adults the tendency is in the reverse direction (cf. Tables 17a & 17b, page A39, Appendix A). Obviously, having to ask is not seen as a decisive factor in spite of their professed "reluctance to ask" (cf. Chapter VII G. 2. c. p.223).

It was also supposed that a recipient might easily expect an offer to be made in a particular situation although he might be unwilling to accept it and even more unwilling to ask for the help. In situation 8 the opportunity was explicitly given for the subject to distinguish between expecting his friend to offer money and asking his friend for it. Of the 18 students who answered both parts of the question, two would both expect and ask for money, three would neither expect an offer to be made, nor ask for it; seven students who would expect an offer would not ask, yet six who would not expect an offer would ask. Among the adults all those who expected an offer would accept if one were made. Nor would they hesitate, if necessary, to ask. One of those who would not expect, would likewise accept and would ask. The remaining four subjects would neither expect nor accept an offer, nor would they ask for help.

TABLE 14a

Showing the results of situations 8a & 8b in detail for the 18 students who answered both parts of the question

<u>Will expect an offer</u> Ss. 1,4,9,11,14,18,22, (16,17)	<u>Will not expect an offer</u> Ss. 2,5,7,10,12,19, (6,13,23)
<u>Will ask</u> Ss. 2,5,7,10,12,19, (16,17)	<u>Will not ask</u> Ss. 1,4,9,11, 14,18,22, (6,13,23)

TABLE 14b

Showing the results of situations 8a & 8b in detail for the 9 adults who answered all three parts of the question

<u>Will expect an offer</u> PH, RE, SL, MB	<u>Will not expect an offer</u> AO, BL, HR, JM, KA
<u>Will accept offer</u> PH, RE, SL, MB, JM	<u>Will not accept offer</u> AO, BL, HR, KA
<u>Will ask</u> PH, RE, SL, MB, JM	<u>Will not ask</u> AO, BL, HR, AO

So in this situation, although there is some indication among the students of reluctance to ask for expected help, a large proportion of the subjects exhibit little hesitation. There is, further, a previously unsuspected possibility that there might be a relation between not expecting offers of help and willingness to ask, and between expecting offers and being unwilling to ask. This finding will be further discussed in Chapter IX p. 259.

4. The identity of donor and recipient and the relationship between them

Here again, one might expect that the amount of help given and accepted would vary directly with the closeness of the relationship or the warmth of affection between donor and recipient. Formal relationships like those of blood and community were built into the stories but to avoid making the test too involved and too unwieldy no reference was made to the emotional climate existing between donor and recipient - with two exceptions: situation 14 where hostility was expressly mentioned and situation 9 where its existence was implied. Apart from these the subjects were left to make their own interpretation whether the relationship was cordial, hostile, or neutral.

As far as formal relationships are concerned the results show that the closeness of such relationships is not in itself decisive: help was given more often to foreign refugees than to a parent and accepted as often by the students from a stranger as a close relative (cf. Tables 18 & 19, pages A40 & A41, Appendix A). No indication of the effect of emotional ties can be obtained from the general results because, as was said above, interpretation of these was left to the individual subject. All that can be deduced from the results is that the existence of good or bad relations between donor and recipient is not in itself decisive: for example

in the giving series, the wife of a bad neighbour is helped more readily than the donor's own child.

But the donor-recipient relationship will be further discussed in Chapters VII and VIII, for the analysis of reasons given by the subjects, especially in the interviews, reveals that for some subjects in some kind of need this relationship is very important.

It may be noted here that help was not given very readily to the dog in situation 1 of the giving series. This may be because it was an open situation or because the injury was not made severe enough to be seen as a need situation but this result agrees with the observations made in real life that animals are treated with surprising harshness in this community (surprising, that is, to an urban Norwegian or English visitor).

5. Whether the donor (in the giving series) was expected to help with others, or alone

This might be expected to exert a considerable influence, depending upon a group's gregariousness, or sociability, or, possibly, suggestibility. Table 20, page A42, Appendix A shows that the students help rather more readily when the donor is called upon to help with others. Tested by Chi square this difference is significant at the .01 level (NSB 87). There is no statistically significant difference for the adults (NSB 88). Again the

limitations of the method prevent much dependence being placed on this finding, although it would appear to be reasonable. The students were a cohesive group and they were used to group activity, which might be an additional reason also for their greater willingness to help in the War damage situation (see p. 123 first paragraph).

6. Summary of the effect of the main elements of a help-in-need situation upon a decision to give or accept help

An examination of the replies in relation to the salient features of the situations has suggested the following broad conclusions.

- a. Kind of need: there was no scale of needs according to which subjects gave and accepted help, that is to say, the magnitude and urgency of a need did not in themselves determine whether help was given and accepted; e.g. serious chronic biological need did not command as much help as might be expected, while help was sometimes given and accepted even in the absence of any direct need.
- b. Kind of help required: the kind of help required, or available, did not in itself always determine how readily help was given and accepted; subjects did not consistently prefer one type of help to another (e.g. money to practical services), except that provision of care and maintenance for an orphan or aged parent lacked appeal both to the recipient and to the donor.

c. Cost to the donor of the kind of help required: although help was given least in the situation where the donor's wish to pursue the same aim conflicted with the request of the recipient, there were other situations where not even risk to his own life deterred him from helping. The degree of sacrifice or inconvenience to the donor was not, in itself, determinant.

d. Whether the help was to be offered or asked for: whether the donor was left to offer, or was requested to help either by the recipient himself or by some one else on his behalf did not in itself determine his response. Being requested by the recipient, or by a third party did not, in general, deter a potential donor from helping. Surprisingly little difference was found in a recipient's willingness to ask for help required and his willingness to accept an offer.

Although there was some indication among the students of reluctance to ask for expected help, a large proportion of all subjects exhibited little hesitation, and many of the students who did not expect an offer were willing to ask for help.

e. The identity of donor and recipient and the relationship between them: Relationships of blood and community between donor and recipient were not in themselves decisive, neither for giving nor for receiving help in need, e.g., more help was given to foreign

refugees than to a parent, and accepted as often from a stranger as from a close relative in some cases.

The existence of good or bad relations was not in itself decisive either: for example, the wife of a bad neighbour was helped more often than the donor's own child.

f. Whether the donor was expected to help with others or alone: The students helped more readily in those situations where the donor joined with others than when he was alone, and this difference was statistically significant. There was a similar trend among the adults but the difference was not significant statistically.

g. To understand these results it is necessary to study the reasons the subjects gave for their decisions to give and to accept help in the need situations, or to decline it.

D. HOW THE INDIVIDUALS VARY IN WILLINGNESS TO GIVE AND TO ACCEPT
HELP

1. Scoring the responses

In scoring the responses the same scale was adopted as described on p.100

In order to be able usefully to compare the subjects' giving responses with their accepting responses it was considered necessary to eliminate those subjects from the comparison who had more than three missing or incoherent answers in the complete test (that is, in the giving and receiving series combined). Three was an arbitrary limit, taken because it was the maximum number of incoherent responses for any subject in the adult group, and because fixing the limit at three left a workable group of twenty in the student section.

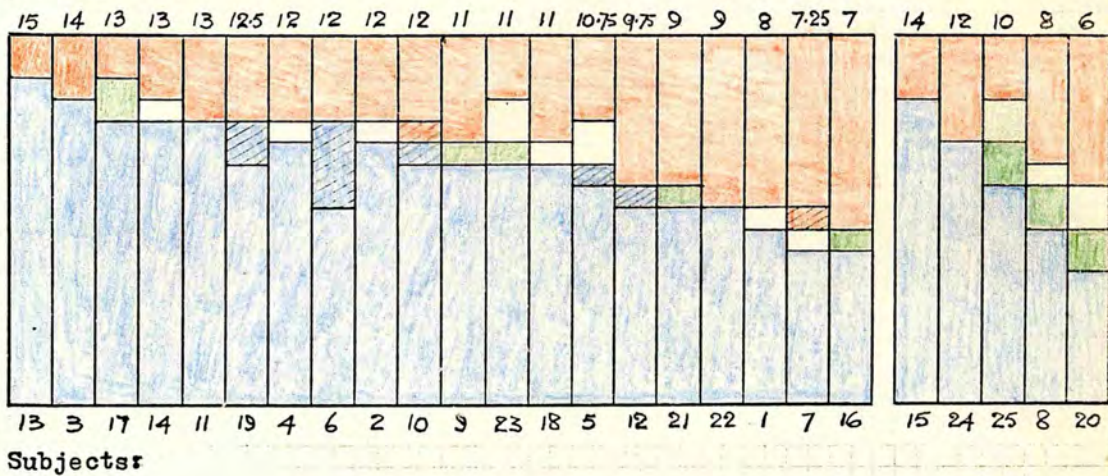
2. The giving series

The diagrams on the following page show how the members of the groups vary in their willingness to help. In the student group, where there were seventeen situations, the positive responses range from fifteen to six; in the adult group, with eighteen situations, the range is from fourteen to seven-and-a-half.

DIAGRAM 2a

Showing the initial responses of the STUDENTS to the need described in the GIVING situations. The subjects grouped separately on the right have more than three missing or wrong answers in the test (that is, in the giving and receiving series combined). Key as for Diagram 2b.

Individual scores:



Subjects:

DIAGRAM 2b

Showing the initial responses of the ADULTS to the need described in the GIVING situations.

Individual scores:



Subjects:

Score ascribed:

- 1
- 3/4
- 0
- 1/4
- 1/2
- 0
- 0

Key:

- occasions help is given
- given with reservations
- occasions help is refused
- refused with reservations
- "it depends" response
- wrong, unclear answer
- no answer at all

3. The receiving series

The following diagrams show how the members of the groups varied in their willingness to accept help. In the student group, where there were 14 situations, the positive responses range from 12 to 5, and in the adult group, with 12 situations, the range is from 11 to 0.

DIAGRAM 3a

Showing the initial responses of the STUDENTS to the question whether R will ask for, or accept an offer of, help. The subjects grouped separately on the right have more than three missing or wrong answers in the test. Key as for Diagram 3b below.

Individual scores:

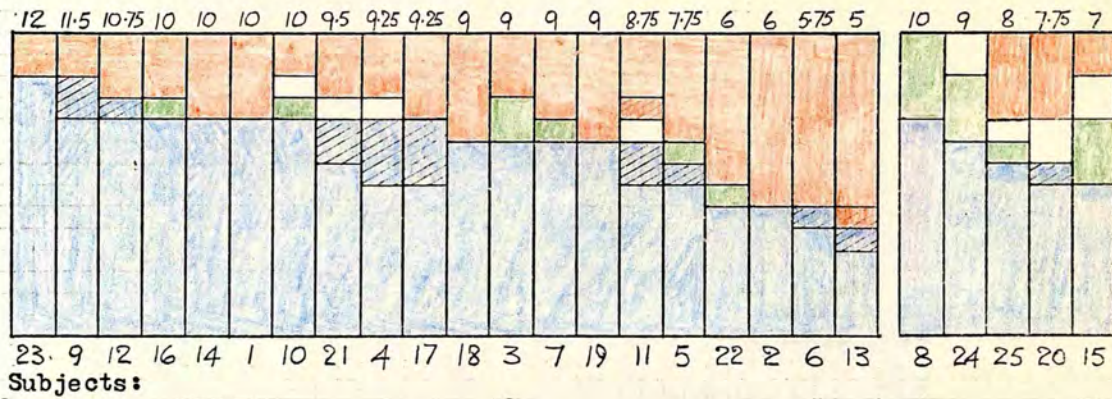
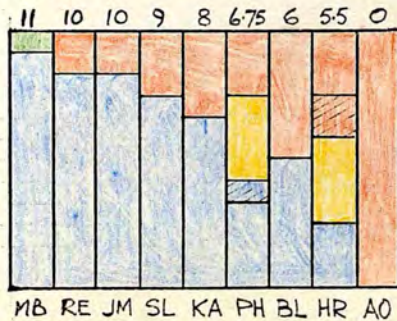


DIAGRAM 3b

Showing the initial responses of the ADULTS to the question whether R will ask for, or accept an offer of, help.

Individual scores:



Score ascribed:

- Key:
- 1 [blue box] occasions help is accepted
 - 3/4 [hatched box] accepted with reservations
 - 0 [orange box] occasions help is refused
 - 1/4 [diagonal lines box] refused with reservations
 - 1/2 [yellow box] "it depends" response
 - 0 [green box] wrong, unclear answer
 - 0 [white box] no answer at all

Subjects:

4. The relation of giving and receiving responses

It was obvious in the interviews that a person's attitudes to giving were closely related to his attitude to receiving. The following histograms were drawn in order to show the giving responses of the subjects in relation to their receiving responses.

DIAGRAM 4a

Showing the relation of giving to receiving in the STUDENT group
Key as for the adult group in Diagram 4b.

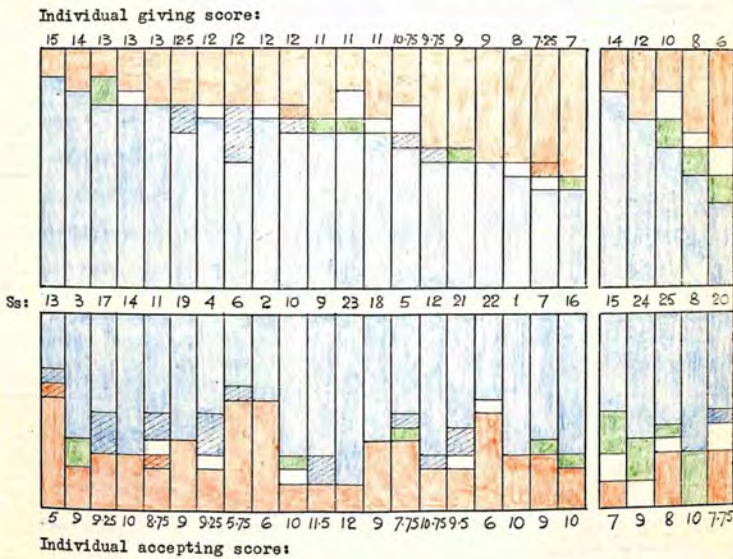
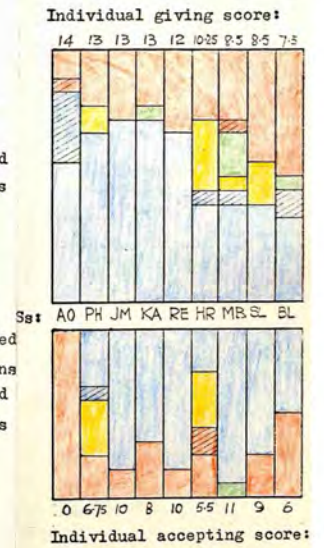


DIAGRAM 4b

Showing the relation of giving to receiving in the ADULT group



Influenced by hearsay within my own culture, and by reports on the Lapps mentioned earlier in this thesis (cf. Chapter III, p. 40), I at first expected to find an inverse relationship between giving and accepting scores: namely that the higher a subject scored in giving the lower he would score in accepting. Inspection of Diagrams 4a and 4b at once reveals that this is not the case. Testing for a rank order correlation by Spearman's rho method, a non-significant inverse correlation is obtained [rho is - 0.281 for the students and - 0.216 for the adults (NSB 89, 90)].

To discover what relationships, if any, did exist between giving and accepting scores and how the giving/accepting ratios were distributed in the groups, an attempt was at first made to take the upper and lower quartiles of the giving scores and the upper and lower quartiles of the accepting scores and construct a giving/accepting ratio table from this. It was found, however, that when the subjects were classified in this way, there were too many categories and too few subjects to make valid comparisons between them possible. It was therefore decided to divide the subjects into two groups for each series:

those giving two-thirds or more of the time and those giving less than that,

those accepting two-thirds or more of the time and those accepting less than that.

Thus when giving and accepting were related, four categories were established. These are set out overleaf.

Category Gmam

(Those giving most,
accepting most)

that is, those who gave and
accepted two-thirds or more
of the time

Category Gmal

(Those giving most,
accepting least)

that is, those who gave
two-thirds or more, but
accepted less than two-
thirds of the time

Category Glam

(Those giving least,
accepting most)

that is, those who gave less
than two-thirds, but accepted
two-thirds or more of the time

Category Glal

(Those giving, and
accepting, least)

that is, those who gave
and accepted less than
two-thirds of the time

Two-thirds was an arbitrary division line, but it was taken because it also roughly divided the number of subjects in half; any other division resulted in a great disparity in the number of subjects in each category.

The distribution of subjects into these categories is shown in Tables 21a and 21b on page A 43 of Appendix A. The relevant histograms follow overleaf.

DIAGRAM 5a

Showing the distribution of the STUDENTS in the four GIVING-ACCEPTING categories

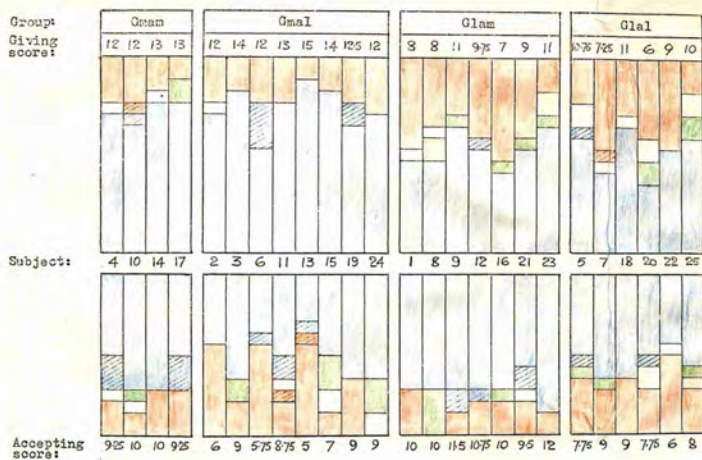
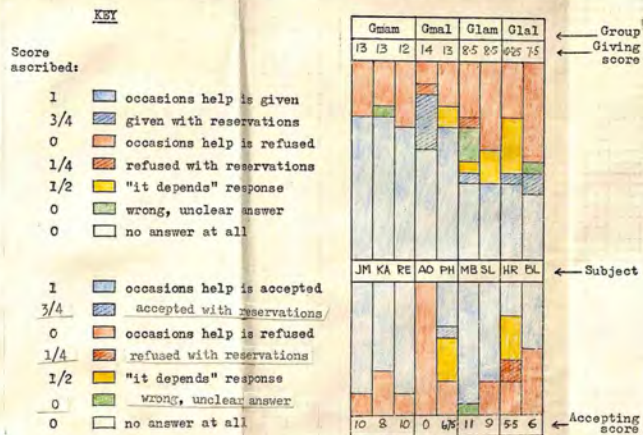


DIAGRAM 5b

Showing the distribution of the ADULTS in the four GIVING-ACCEPTING categories



It has already been mentioned that it became obvious in the interviews that a person's attitudes to giving were closely related to his attitudes to receiving (p. 141). It also seemed possible that the relation between a subject's giving and receiving responses (that is, his giving/accepting ratio) reflected aspects of his personality that might be illuminated by the explicit reasons he offered for his response. This possibility is examined in the following chapters.

E. SUMMARY OF THE QUANTITATIVE RESULTS PRESENTED IN THIS CHAPTER

From the quantitative results presented in this chapter the following statements can be made:

1. Help is given, in the student responses, much more frequently than it is not given, especially in those situations where the possibility of help is suggested.

In situations where help is not mentioned and subjects are left to react in their own way to the need described, they do not help more than they give other responses. Also the amount of help given in these situations is significantly less than the amount given when the possibility of helping is suggested.

These differences do not apply for the adults unless the conditional responses are distributed and added to the positive and negative scores, when similar results are obtained as for the students.

2. Help is accepted, in the student responses, much more frequently than it is refused.

This is not the case in the adult responses (though the trend is the same) unless the conditional responses are distributed.

3. There are no significant differences between the responses of the students and the adults EXCEPT that in the giving series the adults make more conditional responses than the students, and in the receiving series the students have more wrong, unclear, and missing responses than the adults.

4. No differences are found between the sexes (boys and girls, men and women, men combined with boys and women combined with girls) in willingness to give and to accept, except that the boys make fewer straight out giving responses than the girls. There are no differences either in the frequency of wrong, unclear, and missing answers, except that in the giving series women produce more than men.

In the test as a whole (i.e. in the giving and receiving series combined) the men make more conditional responses than the women, and the men and boys combined make more than the women and girls combined, although in the receiving series the girls tend to make more than the boys, while in the giving series the boys tend to make more than the girls.

An unexpected finding is that in the receiving series the men and girls together make many more conditional responses than the women and boys together. There are no other significant differences between these groupings.

5. There is a general agreement between the students and adults on what situations in the giving series are most likely to command help. They differ sharply, however, in two situations.

In the receiving series there is also a fairly close general resemblance between the groups as to the acceptability of help in particular situations, but two striking deviations make this statistically not significant.

6. a. Although the method employed precludes any statistically reliable comparisons being made, it is found that, when the situations are grouped according to their main elements, the decision to give and to accept help does not depend exclusively upon any one element; neither the kind of need, kind of help required, whether it is offered or has to be asked for, the identity of the donor or recipient and the relation between them, is in itself decisive.
- b. Although there is some indication among the students of reluctance to ask for expected help, a large proportion of all subjects exhibit little hesitation; there appears to be a tendency for those who expect an offer to be unwilling to ask, while those who do not expect an offer are willing to do so.
- c. The students help more readily in those situations where the donor joins with others than where he is alone. There is a similar trend among the adults, though the difference for them is not statistically significant.
7. There is a fairly wide range within the groups in willingness to give and to accept (observable upon inspection of the histograms of individual results).
8. The distribution of individual giving/accepting ratios within the groups is very interesting. There is not, as was initially expected, an inverse correlation between giving and accepting.

F. A SUMMARY OF THE IMPLICATIONS OF THESE RESULTS

1. The positive responses from both student and adult Lapps when the need is put to them suggest that they may be more willing to help than they are reputed to be.
2. The lack of help in situations in which they have to take the initiative may not be deliberate, but may be caused by inadequate assessment of the situation, or of themselves as potential helpers, rather than being a conscious expression of a culturally determined role perception.
3. Although both groups of subjects accept help much more frequently than they refuse it, they do refuse it half as often as they accept and the adults especially often accept only conditionally or with hesitation which suggests that they may not be such "cheerful receivers" as popular tradition has held them to be.
4. It would appear that among the subjects tested giving and receiving attitudes are linked less to an individual's sex than to other aspects of his or her personality.
5. The possible explanation for the differences between the students and adults in the priority given to certain needs suggests that both training in co-operation and personal experience of a certain need may play a part in determining a potential donor's reaction.
6. The individual variations in giving and accepting responses, and in the giving/accepting ratio, suggest that the particular nature of the person confronted with a situation of help in need may be as important an aspect in his decision to give or to accept as the objective circumstances of the situation.
7. The variations among the subjects in the giving/accepting ratio indicate a promising field of investigation in personality differences and invite a detailed study of the correlation of personality traits with a specific giving/accepting ratio.

CHAPTER VI

THE RESPONSES TO THE TEST SITUATIONS

A. THE KINDS OF RESPONSE

1. Responses with reasons

In the situations of the tests the subjects were asked to make a decision on whether help would be given, and accepted. They were also asked to state the reason for each decision to give and to accept help and, if help was refused, to state the reason for refusing. The decisions they made, for and against, were discussed in the previous chapter. The present chapter considers the number of responses with reasons which were supplied and their relation to the kind and the amount of help that was given and accepted.

2. Multiple reasons

Occasionally subjects gave several reasons for a decision. For example, subject 22 in situation 12 of the Giving series said that the man would refuse his son's request for help in carrying the wood he had sent him to fetch because the boy "can take one piece at a time. To teach him to obey". And subject 5 in situation 5 of the Receiving series said that the sick carrier would ask his neighbour for help with his work "because he is sick and the neighbour is willing to help".

For the results to be amenable to statistical treatment only one reason from each subject can be taken for any situation.

Therefore in cases where multiple reasons occurred a choice would have been necessary. Such a choice would have been arbitrary and therefore have had little meaning. The alternative to making a choice would have been to exclude the response of a subject providing more than one reason. As the purpose of the test was to discover the spread and variety of reasons, excluding a subject's response on these grounds, or taking only one reason of several would have defeated the initial purpose of the investigation. It was decided therefore to retain all the reasons given by the subjects and to forgo the possibility of statistical comparison of the categories of reasons in favour of a more informative study of the multiplicity of reasons provided.

3. Unqualified affirmatives and negatives

On many occasions subjects neglected to give a reason for their decision to give or withhold help, and to accept or decline it, answering only "Yes" or "No". Such responses have been classified as unqualified affirmatives and negatives.

4. Ready assent

There were also answers which showed a ready willingness to give and to accept help, but suggested no specific reason for such spontaneous readiness. For example, several subjects in situation 14 of the Giving series replied: "Yes, I'll gladly do that", and subject 4 in situation 4b of the Receiving series said: "I will

gladly accept". Such responses warranted separate listing, being neither unqualified affirmatives nor reasons in the accepted meaning of the term; they indicated, especially in the Giving series, a spontaneous, uncomplicated acceptance of the need situation and of the appropriateness of help. In the Receiving series there were occasional overtones of reluctance, but more will be said of this in Section B.1 of the following chapter.

5. Student responses

In this Chapter only the responses of the student group will be considered. Because of the difference in questioning techniques adopted for the two groups (see Chapter IV D. p. 87), the responses of the students and adults are not comparable; for instance, if an unqualified affirmative or negative occurred in an interview, the subject could be encouraged to supply a reason. Multiple reasons were also much more likely to occur in the interview situation than in the written group test.

The responses of the adults will be fully considered in Chapter VIII.

6. General summary of responses

The number of responses with reasons (both positive and negative), ready assent responses, unqualified affirmative and negative responses, and wrong, unclear, and missing answers provided by the subjects in both series of tests are tabled overleaf. The

tables show the responses as they occurred in the various situations of the Giving and Receiving series, grouped according to the kind of need described (cf. Chapter IV, pp. 71 & 80). The giving and accepting scores and the ranking for each situation in the series are also shown.

TABLE 15a

General summary of the responses occurring in the situations of the Giving series, grouped according to the need described

Kind of Response	Kind of need: Urgent biological in emergency			Less urgent chronic biological		Difficulty with task		Desire for special aim		National & Community project		Totals
	Rescue	Fetching doctor	Money	Care and maintenance	Aged	Lending a hand	Helping	Company	Money	Money	Labour War	
Situation: Giving score (with rank)	8(Man in mts.) 23(1)	14(Sick wife) 21.75(2)	9(Refugees) 19(6)	11(Orphan) 16.75(7)	13(Father) 15.25(9)	12(child) 14(10)	7(Shop) 4(11)	10(Skis) 21(3.5)	17(School) 15.75(8)	15(King) 19.75(5)	16(damage) 21(3.5)	
Ready assent	-	10	-	1	-	-	1	7	7	-	-	26
Yes, Yes but with reasons	20	5	15	14	4	8	3	6	7	15	18	115
Unqualified affirmative	3	7	4	2	12	6	-	8	2	5	3	52
Unqualified negative	-	1	1	-	6	-	-	2	-	1	2	13
No, and No but with reasons	-	2	5	3	2	11	18	-	4	4	2	51
Wrong, unclear, and missing	2	-	-	5	1	-	3	2	5	-	-	18
Number of positive reasons	23(including 1 from unclear)	5	26	15	4	11	3	6	8	14	23	138
Number of negative reasons	-	2	6	4	2	14	21	-	4	6	4	63

TABLE 15b

General summary of the responses occurring in the situations of the Receiving series, grouped according to the need described. The letters O, A, and Oe after the rank number indicate whether help was offered in that situation, was to be asked for, or whether an offer of help was to be expected

Kind of need:	Urgent biological emergency	Less urgent chronic biological					Less urgent temporary biological	Difficulty with task					Lack of means for special aim		Totals
	Rescue	Food, clothing, shelter					Care & maintenance	Hospitality	Equipment, lending a hand					Money	
Situation:	10(Danger)	1(Bereavement)	2(Burnt house)	3(Illness)	8(Unemployment)	7(Aged father)	15(Hospitality)	4b(Drowned horse)	5(Job, when ill)	6(Heavy sack)	13(Handicap)	14(Cutting wood)	9(Education)	11(Amusement)	
Accepting score (with rank):	20.25 (3) A*	16.75 (7.5) A	12 (11) A	15.25 (10) O*	9 (13) A	9.5 (12) O	16 (9) Oe*	18 (5.5) O	18 (5.5) A	21 (1.5) O	6 (14) A	16.75 (7.5) O	19.75 (4) O	21 (1.5) O	
Ready assent	-	2	-	-	-	1	-	7	-	1	-	-	-	2	13
Yes, Yes but with reasons	17	13	9	13	7	8	10	11	11	18	3	15	19	18	172
Kind of Response															
Unqualified affirmative	3	3	3	3	2	1	6	-	7	2	3	2	2	1	38
Unqualified negative	-	1	1	-	3	-	3	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	10
No, No but with reasons	5	5	10	6	8	15	5	5	3	3	12	7	2	2	88
Wrong, unclear, and missing	-	1	2	3	5	-	1	2	4	1	5	1	2	2	29
No. of positive reasons	20	14	11	13	9	14	10	12	13	32	4	21	26	20	219
No. of negative reasons	7	11	13	12	9	26	6	5	5	4	13	11	9	2	133

Tables 15a and 15b on page 161 are a similar summary, but show the distribution of responses for the individual subjects, grouped according to the giving/accepting ratio described in Chapter V, p.143.

B. THE NUMBER OF REASONS SUPPLIED BY THE SUBJECTS IN RELATION TO
THE SITUATIONS PRESENTED

As was explained in paragraphs A. 1. and 2. and can be seen from the preceding tables (15a and 15b), the number of reasons supplied by subjects for their decisions to give and to accept help (or to decline to do so) did not match the number of decisions.

The question arose whether there was any relation between the number of reasons supplied in any given situation and the nature of that situation. For example, did subjects supply fewer reasons in those situations where help was reluctantly given and accepted, or was the opposite the case? Was there any relation between the features of the situations and the number of reasons supplied?

1. The number of reasons in relation to the amount of help given and accepted

Tested by Spearman's rho method of calculation there proved to be no correlation between the amount of help given in the various situations and the number of reasons suggested for the decision (NSB p. 105), that is the situations attracting the most help did not show either the greatest or the least number of reasons supplied. Nor was there any correlation between the amount of help given and the number of unqualified affirmative and negative responses and responses expressing ready willingness to give (ready assent responses).

The same applied to the Receiving series: there was no correlation between the acceptability of help and the number of reasons, nor between the acceptability of help and the number of unqualified responses and ready assent responses (NSB p. 104).

There was an obvious inverse correlation between the number of reasons and the number of unqualified responses and ready assent responses in both the Giving and the Receiving series. Tested by Spearman's rho this result was significant at the 0.05 level in the Giving series and at the 0.01 level in the Receiving series.

2. The number of reasons in relation to special features of the situations

In the following tables the number of positive and negative reasons obtained in each of the situations of the two series of tests has been divided by the number of subjects providing the reasons, so that an average number of reasons per subject is obtained for each situation. The total number of unqualified affirmative and negative responses together with the number of ready assent responses is also shown; the number of wrong, unclear, and missing answers is included as well. The situations have been arranged according to the need described, as in Tables 15a and 15b above. In the Receiving series A or O has been added to each situation number to show whether help had to be asked for (A) or was offered (O). In situation 15 the question was whether help would be expected (Oe).

TABLE 16a

Showing the AVERAGE NUMBER of positive and negative REASONS per subject for the situations of the GIVING series grouped according to the kind of need described. The number of other responses and the giving score for each situation are also shown.

Kind of need	Urgent bio-logical emergency		Less urgent chronic biological			Difficult task		Special aim		National and Community project	
	8	14	9	11	13	12	7	10	17	15	16
Situation	8	14	9	11	13	12	7	10	17	15	16
Giving score (with ranking)	23.00 (1)	21.75 (3.5)	19.00 (6)	16.75 (7)	15.25 (9)	14.00 (10)	4.00 (11)	21.00 (3.5)	15.75 (8)	19.75 (5)	21.00 (3.5)
Average number of reasons	1.10	1.00	1.60	1.12	1.00	1.31	1.14	1.00	1.10	1.05	1.35
Unqualified + ready assent	3	18	5	3	18	6	1	17	9	6	5
Wrong, unclear, and missing	2	-	-	5	1	-	3	2	5	-	-

TABLE 16b

As Table 16a above, but for the situations of the Receiving series

Kind of need	Biolog. emerg.	Chronic biological			Care and mainten.	Temp. biol.	Difficult task				Special aim			
		1 (A)	2 (A)	3 (0)			8 (A)	7 (0)	15 (0e)	4b (0)	5 (A)	6 (0)	13 (A)	14 (0)
Situation	10 (A)	1 (A)	2 (A)	3 (0)	8 (A)	7 (0)	15 (0e)	4b (0)	5 (A)	6 (0)	13 (A)	14 (0)	9 (0)	11 (0)
Accepting score (with ranking)	20.25 (3)	16.75 (7.5)	12.00 (11)	15.25 (10)	9.00 (13)	9.50 (12)	16.00 (9)	18.00 (5.5)	18.00 (5.5)	21.00 (1.5)	6.00 (14)	16.75 (7.5)	19.75 (4)	21.00 (1.5)
Average number of reasons	1.22	1.38	1.26	1.31	1.20	1.74	1.06	1.07	1.28	1.70	1.13	1.45	1.66	1.10
Unqualified & ready assent	3	6	4	3	5	2	9	7	7	3	5	2	2	3
Wrong, unclear, and missing	-	1	2	3	5	-	1	2	4	1	5	1	2	2

a. The kind of need:

Inspection of the above tables reveals no pattern in the relation of kinds of needs to the number and kind of responses, but comment is warranted on the results of situation 13 in the Giving series and situation 7 of the Receiving. These situations dealt with a son's and daughter's offers to care for an aged father. Help was less readily given and accepted in these situations than in most other situations, situation 13 ranking 9th out of 11, and situation 7 ranking 12th out of 14. There were 18 unqualified responses in situation 13 (12 affirmative and 6 negative), only 4 reasons were suggested for taking the old man and 2 for refusing to do so, and of these only one reason was friendly towards the old man, namely "To repay the love he himself received when he was small" (S. 23 in sit. 13 Giving series). In situation 7 there were ten subjects who said that help would be accepted and fifteen who said that it would be refused. Eight of those who accepted and all of those who refused gave reasons for their answer, providing 14 positive and 26 negative reasons, the highest average in the Receiving series.

It would appear that in these two situations, where the giving and accepting of care in old age were unpopular, the subjects found it hard to verbalise a reason for helping (and for refusing to help), but necessary to provide a profusion of reasons for

accepting (and for refusing to accept). The reticence to give on the one hand and the need to justify reluctant acceptance (or refusal) on the other is suggestive of ambivalence of feeling of some kind, perhaps guilt or hostility, or both.

b. Whether the help had to be asked for, or an offer was made:

The situations in which help was asked for were compared with those in which an offer was made in order to see whether any significant differences occurred in the number of positive and negative responses with reasons, the number of unqualified affirmative, negative, and ready assent responses, and the number of wrong, unclear, and missing answers.

Tested by Chi squared in a 5 X 2 contingency table (NSB 101) there was a difference (significant at the 0.001 level) between the responses in the two types of situation. There were more positive responses with reasons, fewer unqualified positive and negative responses, and fewer wrong, unclear, and missing answers in the situations where help was offered than in those where it had to be asked for.

In the previous chapter (C. 3. p. 131) it was noted that the difference in score between asking for help and accepting an offer was surprisingly small. Help was asked for almost as readily as an offer was accepted. That there is a significant difference in the

number of responses with reasons, in the number of unqualified affirmatives and negatives, and in the number of wrong, unclear, and missing answers would seem to indicate that there was less emotional involvement in the situations where help was offered than in those where it had to be asked for.

C. THE NUMBER OF REASONS SUPPLIED BY THE FOUR GROUPS OF SUBJECTS

The division of the subjects into four groups according to their giving/accepting ratio was described in Chapter V D. 4. p. 143. Tables 18a and 18b overleaf show the distribution of responses for each of the four groups. Below in Tables 17a and 17b the average number of responses for each group are shown.

TABLE 17a

Showing the average number of responses for each group in the eleven fixed situations of the GIVING series

Group and number of subjects	Gmam(4)	Gmal(8)	Glam(7)	Glal(6)
Average no. of responses with reasons	7.0	7.625	5.710	6.166
Average no. of ready assent responses	.5	1.250	1.143	1.000
Average no. of unqualified affirmatives	3.0	1.750	2.140	1.833
Average no. of unqualified negatives	-	.250	1.000	.666
Average no. of wrong, unclear, & missing	.5	.125	1.000	1.333
Total of above averages	11.0	11.000	10.993	10.998
Average no. of positive and negative reasons	8.5	9.375	6.57	7.67

TABLE 17b

Showing the average number of responses for each group in the fourteen situations of the RECEIVING series

Group and number of subjects	Gmam(4)	Gmal(8)	Glam(7)	Glal(6)
Average no. of responses with reasons	11.25	11.125	9.143	10.333
Average no. of ready assent responses	.50	.250	.714	.666
Average no. of unqualified affirmatives	1.25	.875	2.857	1.000
Average no. of unqualified negatives	.25	.125	.428	.833
* Insert from below				
Total of above averages	14.00	14.000	13.999	13.998
Average no. of positive and negative reasons	16.00	15.875	12.286	15.500
Average no. of wrong, unclear, & missing	.75	1.625	.857	1.166

✕

TABLE 18a

General summary of the responses made by the subjects in the eleven FIXED situations of the GIVING series, grouped according to their giving/accepting ratio

Group	Gmam				Gmal				Glam				Glal				Totals									
	4	10	14	17	2	3	6	11	13	15	19	24	1	8	9	12		16	21	23	5	7	18	20	22	25
Subjects	4	10	14	17	2	3	6	11	13	15	19	24	1	8	9	12	16	21	23	5	7	18	20	22	25	
Giving score for eleven situations	9	7	10	9	7	10	9	8	9	10	9.5	10	6	7	8	8.75	5	5	7	7.75	3.25	8	4	5	9	
Yes, Yes but with reasons	7	4	5	5	6	9	9	6	6	1	9	4	4	3	5	3	-	4	5	6	1	4	2	4	3	115
No, No but with reasons	2	4	1	-	2	1	1	2	2	1	1	1	4	3	1	1	2	4	1	-	6	2	4	5	-	51
Ready assent	-	2	-	-	1	-	1	1	2	1	-	4	1	1	1	3	-	1	1	1	1	-	-	1	3	26
Unqualified affirmatives	2	1	5	4	-	1	-	1	1	8	1	2	1	3	2	3	5	-	1	1	1	4	2	-	3	52
Unqualified negatives	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	3	1	1	1	1	-	-	1	1	13
Wrong, unclear, and missing	-	-	-	2	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	-	1	1	2	2	1	1	3	-	1	18
Number of positive reasons	9	4	5	8	8	9	13	7	8	1	9	5	5	3	7	2	-	4	6	7	3	5	2	5	3	138
Number of negative reasons	3	4	1	-	2	1	3	2	4	1	1	1	5	3	2	2	2	4	1	-	7	2	4	8	-	63

TABLE 18b

General summary of the responses made by the subjects in the 14 situations of the RECEIVING series, grouped according to their giving/accepting ratio

Group	Gmam				Gmal				Glam				Glal				Totals										
	4	10	14	17	2	3	6	11	13	15	19	24	1	8	9	12		16	21	23	5	7	18	20	22	25	
Subjects	4	10	14	17	2	3	6	11	13	15	19	24	1	8	9	12	16	21	23	5	7	18	20	22	25		
Accepting score	9.25	10	10	9.25	6	9	4.75	8.75	5	7	9	9	10	10	11.5	10.75	10	11.5	12	7.75	9	9	7.75	6	9		
Yes, Yes but with reasons	8	9	10	6	6	8	5	8	4	4	9	7	8	3	9	8	4	9	9	8	7	7	7	6	3	172	
No, No but with reasons	3	2	4	3	8	3	8	3	9	2	5	-	4	-	1	3	3	2	1	5	3	3	4	7	2	88	
Ready assent	1	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	2	1	1	-	1	-	1	-	2	-	1	-	13
Unqualified affirmatives	1	1	-	3	-	1	-	1	1	2	-	2	2	7	1	2	5	1	2	-	-	2	-	-	4	38	
Unqualified negatives	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	1	1	-	1	2	-	-	2	10
Wrong, unclear, and missing	1	2	-	-	-	2	-	1	-	5	-	5	-	4	-	-	1	1	1	-	1	1	-	2	1	2	29
Number of positive reasons	11	11	11	7	10	10	9	8	7	4	15	9	9	6	11	11	4	12	10	11	8	6	6	9	4	219	
Number of negative reasons	11	2	5	6	13	3	11	6	13	2	7	-	4	-	4	5	4	5	1	6	3	4	6	10	2	133	

1. Group differences in number of responses with reasons, responses with no reasons, and wrong, unclear, and missing answers

The responses were examined to see whether the four groups differed in the number of responses with reasons that they produced (positive and negative combined), in the number of unqualified affirmative and negative and ready assent responses, and in the number of wrong, unclear, and missing answers.

a. The test as a whole:

In the test as a whole, that is in the Giving and Receiving series combined, there were significant differences between the four groups of subjects. Tested by Chi squared in a 4 X 2 contingency table the difference was significant at between the 0.05 and 0.02 level (NSB 103a).

i) There were more responses with reasons from the Gmam and Gmal groups and less from the Glams and Glals.

ii) There were fewer unqualified affirmative and negative and ready assent responses from the Gmam and Gmal groups and fewer wrong, unclear, and missing answers than was to be expected from them by chance.

iii) The Glams produced more unqualified affirmative and negative and ready assent responses, and the Glals more wrong, unclear, and missing answers than was to be expected.

iv) The Glams had about as many wrong, unclear, and missing answers, and the Glals about as many unqualified affirmative and negative and ready assent responses as was to be expected.

v) The greatest differences among the groups were contributed by the Gmals and Glams. Although they differed little from each other in the number of wrong, unclear, and missing answers, they differed widely in the number of responses with reasons and responses without reasons.

b. The Giving and Receiving series:

The same trends appeared, with minor variations, in the Giving and Receiving series taken separately, though in the Giving series the difference just missed significance at the 0.05 level; in the Receiving series it was significant at between the 0.02 and 0.01 level (NSB 103).

c. Conclusions:

It would appear that the Gmam and Gmal groups are alike in their response and the Glams and Glals are alike. Indeed when the Gmam and Gmal groups combined were compared with the Glam and Glal groups combined the above finding was confirmed: those subjects who helped most readily (that is the Gmams and Gmals) produced more responses with reasons (both positive and negative) than those who helped least readily. For both series combined the difference was

significant (when tested by Chi squared) at the 0.01 level (NNSB 93).

2. Group differences in the number of reasons provided for decisions to give and to accept, or to refuse to do so

As groups Gmam and Gmal produced more responses with reasons than groups Glam and Glal it was to be expected that, unless the Glams and Glals had a great number of multiple reasons, the Gmams and Gmals would also produce more reasons. In the eleven situations of the Giving series and the fourteen situations of the Receiving series the average number of reasons per subject for each of the four groups was as follows (the average number of reasons per subject per situation is given in brackets):

TABLE 19a

Showing the average number of reasons supplied by the subjects of the four groups in all the Giving and Receiving situations

Groups:	Gmam	Gmal	Glam	Glal
Eleven Giving situations:	8.50 (0.77)	9.375 (0.850)	6.570 (0.597)	7.670 (0.697)
14 Receiving situations:	16.00 (1.14)	15.875 (1.134)	12.286 (0.877)	12.500 (0.893)
Both series combined:	24.50 (0.98)	25.250 (1.010)	18.850 (0.754)	20.170 (0.807)

However, the average number of reasons per response (that is the number of reasons divided by the number of responses with reasons as opposed to responses without reasons) for each of the groups is as follows:

TABLE 19b

Showing the average number of reasons per response for each of the four groups in both series of situations

Group:	Gmam	Gmal	Glam	Glal
Giving series:	1.29	1.39	1.35	1.40
Receiving series:	1.47	1.45	1.42	1.27

Although the above figures cannot be statistically tested the apparent trends may be noted: The Gmams and Gmals tended to provide more reasons than the Glams and Glals in both series; however there was little difference between the groups in the number of reasons per response that they provided in both series.

3. Summary

It would appear that the Gmam and Gmal groups are not only more willing to help in the situations under discussion but are also more able, or more willing to comply with the requirements of the test itself, namely to answer the questions and to supply reasons.

The greatest difference appears to be between the Gmal and Glam groups while the Gmams and Glals tend in a milder manner to reflect the responses of the Gmals and Glams respectively.

CHAPTER VII

THE CIRCUMSTANCES AND RELATIONS WHICH THE SUBJECTS SAID WOULD INFLUENCE
THE DONOR AND RECIPIENT IN DECIDING WHETHER TO GIVE AND TO ACCEPT HELP

A. METHOD OF CLASSIFYING THE REASONS GIVEN

The reasons which the subjects supplied for their decisions to give and to accept help, or to refuse to do so, describe the circumstances and relations which they believed would influence the donor or recipient in making his decision. All the statements made were translated into English and typed out on to separate tickets, care being taken to identify the subject and the situation to which each statement related. Bearing in mind the elements built into the series as described on pages 70 & 79 of Chapter IV, the statements were examined and sorted into the following broad categories:

statements describing

- 1) the person making the decision (as a donor or as a recipient), his attitudes and characteristics, his needs and capacities, his wishes and welfare;
- 2) the relation between donor and recipient and the assessment each made of the other's needs, wishes, and attitudes;
- 3) the effect upon the donor and recipient of the attitudes and actions of others;
- 4) the kind of help available;
- 5) any other circumstances mentioned by the subjects.

Two additional judges, a chartered engineer and a woman Ph.D. in Psychology, also sorted the statements into respective

categories, their independent assessments then being compared. Differences in interpretation of the meaning of the statements or in classification were discussed by the three judges and a mutually satisfactory allocation decided upon. Sub-divisions of the broad categories were found necessary and agreed upon. Inevitably the categorisation had to be arbitrary at some points and a few statements could have gone equally well into either of two categories.

A classified list of the reasons supplied by the subjects is found on pages B1 to B34 of Appendix B. The categories of reasons and their frequency of occurrence in each of the Giving and Receiving situations, and for each subject, are shown in Tables 22 - 25, Appendix A, pages A44 to A51. Tables 26 & 27 showing the average number of responses per subject in each category for each of the four groups of subjects follow on pages A52 & A53.

B. CIRCUMSTANCES CONCERNING ONLY THE PERSON MAKING THE DECISION,
HIS ATTITUDES AND CHARACTERISTICS

1. Ready Assent (unverbalised acceptance of a principle of
helpfulness)

a. Giving:

There were responses which simply expressed a spontaneous or ready willingness to comply with the request for help, for example: "Sure, self-evidently" (Ss. in sit. 10). These are the Ready Assent responses mentioned in Chapter VI A. 4. p. 150.

From Table 22 on page A44 in Appendix A it will be seen that requests for help were readily assented to in this way in sit. 10 where accompanying the girl on skis involved the donor in a pleasant outing, in sit. 17 where a small sum of money was required for schooling, and in sit. 14 where a neighbour's sick wife required transport. With the exception of sit. 14 these were relatively simple situations where giving and accepting could be expected to occur without complications, so the ready response could reasonably be interpreted as implying an at-one-ment with the purpose of the help that just was not verbalised.

Situation 14 was more complicated because of the hostility which was said to exist between the potential donor and the unfriendly neighbour requesting help for his wife. Yet help was very readily given in this situation, hostility was not mentioned, and help was

not refused for this reason. Remembering what was said in Chapter VI B. 2. a. p.157 regarding the many unqualified responses in the Aged Father situations one might ask: Do the many ready assent responses indicate an inhibition to verbalise reasons for giving or was the hostility really of no importance to the subjects? From the fact that help was so readily given and from the tone of the ready assent responses it is reasonable to conclude that the latter interpretation is indeed true and that the reputation the Lapps have for not bearing grudges is justified.

b. Receiving:

Here also there were instances of the ready acceptance of help without reasons being given (cf. Table 23, page A46). "That's a good idea" (S. 20 in sit. 4b). Such responses occurred mainly in sit. 4b, a straight-forward situation in which the need was clear and ready acceptance could be interpreted as expressive of the recipient's confidence in the donor's goodwill, judgement, and ability to give.

However, there were a few instances in the series where help was accepted with unreasoning matter-of-factness apparently for no better reason than that an offer or the suggestion of help had been made - the chance seemed too good to miss. "Might be something in it" (S. 12 in sit. 1).

This could just as well be laziness as a real desire for the gift or service, for to accept an offer may be closing a situation in an easy way, to refuse it often means creating a new situation and is a more active thing than acceding to some one's overtures. Some unreflecting spontaneous giving could no doubt also be explained in this way. In the test situation, of course, responding with a strongly affirmative answer was easier than looking for a reason to explain the decision.

2. He acts in accord with a general principle, maxim, or custom, because he believes or disbelieves - in a particular cause, or considers it to be his, or some one's responsibility

a. Giving:

In several of the situations, a number of subjects considered that a potential donor would help because he believed in a general principle of helpfulness, for example: "He remembers one shall help one's neighbour" (S. 23 in sit. 9). Certain situations demand that something be done, for example: "It's impossible to leave a person out on the mountain; I must go and help" (S. 10 in sit. 8); or "because he feels a little responsibility for others (S. 9 in sit. 9).

There is a strong sense of obligation in these answers, obligation to meet the demands of a certain standard, or to fulfil

an accepted role. The obligation is accepted willingly. The donor appears to be genuinely interested in the cause, or object, for which the help is required. He acknowledges it as worthy, or valuable, in itself. Thus S. 6 in sit. 8 would look for the old man because "a human life is precious" and in sit. 15 S. 19 "thinks the gift is going towards something important".

There is more than conformity in these responses; there is an active participation in a recognised aim. The purpose for which the help is required is part of the donor's own scale of values and he wants to share in promoting this cause. Helping will give him the satisfaction of having done a worthwhile thing. "If they find him, then he has helped to save a person from death" (S. 13 in sit. 9). The donor is genuinely glad to be called upon, while in those instances where he is reluctant or tired, his acceptance of the principle that help should be given causes him to do what was requested just the same.

Sometimes the suggestion of a recognised authority that help should be given is maxim enough for the donor: " ... the priest said that they should clear up, so it would be looking nice" (S. 7 in sit. 16).

When the donor has no interest in the particular cause and it bears no relation to his immediate aims and interests he is likely to refuse. "He is not interested in this" (S. 20 in sit. 9).

Occasionally it was felt that it was the recipient's own responsibility to meet his need and he should learn to shoulder his responsibility " ... if he is to become a proper man" (S. 13 in sit. 7). This attitude was echoed in some cases in the Receiving series.

b. Receiving:

Here certain subjects expressed the strong conviction that if a person was fit and well, and free to work, he should manage on his own: "A proper Lapp wants to manage by himself" (S. 4 in sit. 10). Even a handicapped youth at school should learn to do a task himself, without assistance from class-mates (Ss. 1 & 15 in sit. 13). One subject, S. 13, who because of this strong belief in managing alone rarely accepted, did so on one occasion, however, in accord with " ... the old proverb: 'Never be too big to accept help'" (sit. 6). Her acceptance in this case appears to be a conscious and calculated attempt to avoid being overbearing by refusing.

Accepting help is justified by some subjects because "it is the custom", as in sit. 15 where long-distance travellers expect hospitality to be offered by people along the route, for this is a well-known tradition among the Lapps (cf. Chapter III B 6, page 57). (Mostly, in this situation, the need underlying the custom was given as the reason for the expectation.)

3. Certain aspects of the person's nature and personality determine his decision

a. Giving:

The donor is "kind and helpful" or "generous", so naturally he will lend a hand or make a contribution. It would seem the natural outcome of his disposition and would presuppose in the donor a positive, outgoing attitude to other people that makes their interest his own and leads him naturally and spontaneously to extend his activity to include their welfare with his.

b. Receiving:

The recipient refuses because he is proud, doesn't like to beg, or feels that accepting is a disgrace. In a community where people are regarded for the main part as "poor or rich" and "proud or humble" the adjective "proud" is often the equivalent of "haughty and unlikeable". But here it undoubtedly means "self-confident, self-respecting, and unwilling to be like a beggar". "He is too proud" (S. 3 in sit. 8b); "He doesn't want to be like a beggar" (S. 11 in 8b); "She thinks that it is a disgrace" (S. 19 in sit. 1).

Even the statement: "He doesn't want to crawl to the other man" (S. 13 in sit. 8b), despite an element of haughtiness smacks as much of self-reliance and was made by the subject with the highest

giving and lowest accepting scores who quoted the proverb: "Never be too big to accept help".

The recipient sometimes does not want to accept or ask and we are told no more than that, for example, "She will not want to" (S. 9 in sit. 1). Sometimes he refuses because he prefers to be independent, to manage alone, for example: "It is best to be independent" (S. 13 in sit. 5); "I am self-reliant" (S. 4 in sit. 14); "He wants very much to try to do it himself" (S. 2 in sit. 13). S. 13 in sit. 11 describes the sense of achievement that accrues from managing alone.

Some subjects reject the help saying that they would rather make a business arrangement with some one else (S. 5 in sit. 9). It is not clear whether this is because of hostility to the donor, or because of the greater freedom and convenience which independence and self-reliance ensure.

Others accept the help, though strict repayment of the money is insisted upon (Ss. in sits. 4b & 8b). The attitude of the subjects who accept in this way is different from that of those who would rather make a business arrangement, for the help is accepted as help. There is as great a degree of independence in these responses as in the former but there is also positive co-operation with the donor whose goodwill is taken for granted, and there is the

wish to reciprocate by reimbursing him for his kindness. "Yes, but you shall have payment for it" (S. 13 in sit. 4b).

A recipient may be modest in his demands or feel unworthy of the help and so decline it (S. 13 in sit. 15 and S. 4 in sit. 3). Or he may refuse in a spirit of opposition, e.g. "Old people are 'tricky'" (i.e. difficult to predict and to handle - S. 6 in sit. 7).

Apart from wanting to cope with his difficulties himself, a potential recipient may deny that there is any need for help; an illness, for example, isn't so incapacitating, or a task so arduous that he cannot manage to fulfil his obligations or his wishes himself. "Influenza isn't so dangerous" (S. 6 in sit. 5), or "It's not necessary, I haven't much to do" (Ss. 5 & 25 in sit. 14). How realistic this appraisal was will be considered in Section C 3. b. p. 188 where other attitudes to need also are discussed. It is sufficient here to note that on many occasions subjects expressed confidence in R's capacity to manage unaided.

4. Summary and discussion of Sections B. 2. and B. 3

- a. The obligation to give and the obligation or wish to manage alone:

Calculations made from Tables 22 and 23 in Appendix A show that 25% of reasons supplied for helping (or 18% of the total reasons in the Giving series) mentioned the obligation to help, while the

obligation, or wish, to manage alone accounted for 27% of the reasons for refusing to accept help (or 9.8% of the total number of reasons in the Receiving series); if R's denial of the need, and his confidence in being able to manage unaided are added to the obligation or wish to manage alone the percentage rises to 45% (or 16.4% of the total reasons).

b. The needs in which obligation is felt:

The needs in which the obligation to help was most often felt were urgent biological need where life was in danger, education, and national and community projects. Little obligation was felt towards the orphan, none at all towards the aged parent, nor to the child or youth trying to evade the task his father had set him.

The need in which the obligation or wish to manage alone was the main reason for refusing to accept help was loss of income caused by the death of the family's breadwinner and by unemployment. Help was also refused for these reasons in a situation of acute danger, namely in situation 10, where survival was at stake. But the obligation was quoted also when there was no real need at all, for example in sit. 14.

R's confidence in being able to manage was mentioned mainly in sits. 14 and 6 of the Receiving series, two of the five situations where R was engaged in somewhat burdensome tasks, and in sit. 7 where the aged father needed care, though in sit. 7 there were more import-

ant reasons for refusing.

Occasionally the obligation to be self-reliant expressed itself in a refusal to give help, but only in sits. 7 and 12 of the Giving series where a parent had set a child a task to perform.

c. Differences among the subjects making these responses:

It will be remembered that no statistically valid comparisons could be made on the basis of kinds of reasons provided by the subjects for their decisions to give and to accept help (or to refuse to do so) - cf. Chapter VI A. 2. However, inspection of Tables 24 and 25 on pp. A48-A51 of Appendix A reveals that there are fairly wide differences between individuals in what circumstances they considered important, for example, the obligation to give was mentioned 6 times by S. 13 in the Giving series, but thirteen of the other subjects mentioned it only once or not at all. Similarly in the Receiving series, S. 13 refused help mainly because of the wish to manage alone (it occurs 7 times in her answers) while ten subjects did not mention this reason at all. It is interesting to note that the obligation to support oneself is quoted by subjects who accepted as much as 71% of the time (e.g. S. 1) as well as by those who accepted only 28% (e.g. S. 13). Possibly they considered it necessary to pay lip service to a code not followed in practice.

In Tables 26 and 27 on pages A52 & A53 of Appendix A the average number of reasons in the various categories have been

calculated for the subjects when grouped according to their giving/accepting ratio (cf. Chapter V D.4., pages 143f). Here the following trends may be noted:

- i) the groups who give most (i.e. G_{max} and G_{mal}) tend to recognise the obligation to give more than the other two groups do;
- ii) they also tend to refuse to accept because of obligation or wish to manage alone more than do the G_{lams} and G_{lals};
- iii) those who give least, especially those who both give and accept least, (i.e. the G_{lals}) tend to refuse to accept help because they deny the need for help, believing in their capacity to meet it rather than in the obligation to be self-sufficient as the willing givers do.

d. Discussion of these trends:

It would appear that certain of the subjects studied were aware of strong cultural pressures to give help needed in certain situations, especially when life was at risk, or where education, or community and national projects were involved.

This is in accord with examples of Lapp rescue operations in the ordinary course of Arctic life and during the war, and in accord with the opinion expressed by Informant K_j (K_j. p. 1) that "some thought it was right and natural that .. (people) .. should be supported in the case of education". It is contrary to the facts reported by the same informant that "no Lapp, apart from the Chairman

of the District Council, supported the appeal to clear up the rubble remaining from the war .. (and) .. very few supported the national undertaking to .. mark the (King's) jubilee" (Chapter III, page 54). Community and national projects are apparently one area in which the changed attitudes to giving mentioned by informants in Chapter III, page 55 are evident (see also Chapter V B. 1. page 123).

Together with the pressure to give necessary help several subjects also felt strong pressures towards self-reliance and independence. This dichotomy of obligations could also be observed in real-life encounters with the subjects. I was once in difficulty on a snowfield when S. 6 came up, diagnosed the trouble, remedied it by defrosting my skis, showed me how to prevent the frosting reoccurring and then made off, saying: "Next time you'll have to do it yourself". He did not look back to see whether I was managing or not. In difficulty on another occasion I was helped by S. 5 who seemed to excuse my helplessness and his assisting me by saying that I was foreign and "did not know" but that for the future I should have to learn to manage by myself. I never saw any attempt made by his class-mates to help a boy, crippled by polio, up and down stairs, nor was any comment made (in my hearing) on his handicap. He himself never referred to it and almost violently resisted any attempt by the Staff to grant him concessions because of it.

From this last example, as from many of the responses in

3. b. above it is clear that it is not only cultural pressures that encourage self-reliance and independence. Personal drives towards self-realisation and fulfilment of his potential also urge the subject towards achieving his goals unaided.

That the obligation or wish to manage alone was mentioned most frequently in situations 1 and 5 of the Receiving series, that is ⁱⁿ situations involving the loss of income and consequent shortage of food and clothing emphasises the comment in Chapter III that "it was considered in the village to be shame to be unable to keep yourself in food and clothes" (page ⁵⁷50).

That people will want to manage alone even in a situation of extreme biological emergency where survival is at stake presents a problem in interpretation that will be met with again and considered in Section D. 5. e. ii) p.210.

A point of contrast between the responses quoting the obligation to give and those quoting the obligation to be self-sufficient is the strong emotional tone of the answers opposing acceptance. For example: "Never! If he's free and can work!" (S. 6 in sit. 8b). Could this over-emphasis be due to the resentment Lapps feel at any suggestion that they are inferior or lazy and not as able as the Norwegians to manage their own affairs? For this emotional fervour is not apparent in the many maxims advocating the giving of help in need nor in the solitary maxim supporting

acceptance, although the subject who quoted it, S. 13, was as forceful a personality as any of the subjects refusing to accept.

Another point of interest that future research could try to explore is the apparent tendency for those people who give readily to act more in accord with principle and the obligation and wish to be self-reliant than those people do who give less. It could also determine whether those who give less do in fact have a greater capacity to manage on their own (see par. c. iii. above) or whether their assertion that they can is merely wishful thinking.

C. CIRCUMSTANCES CONCERNING ONLY THE PERSON MAKING THE DECISION,
HIS NEEDS AND CAPACITIES, WISHES, AND ADVANTAGE

1. The person's own needs and capacities are considered

a. Giving:

A donor may help because he has the means or capacity to do so. Thus in sit. 16, D agrees to join the working bee clearing up the war damage "because he thought he could help a little" (S. 7). But this helping may be conditional: "If he can afford it" (S. 6 in sit. 17).

If he is himself in need, or ill-equipped physically or materially to assist he may refuse: "No, he hasn't any spare cash, he needs all he's got for himself" (S. 22 in sit. 9). Or "No, I haven't time" (S. 15 in sit. 7).

b. Receiving:

A recipient may accept because of a physical disability that he has or because of some special loss or misfortune that he has suffered: "He's sick" (Ss. in sit. 5); "I'm so old" (S. 15 in sit. 7); "Their house had burnt down" (Ss. in sit. 2). Sometimes it is just said that "he's in great need" (S. 7 in sit. 8b).

He may have no resources of his own and so cannot manage without help; there is no alternative but to accept whatever help is available, especially if he has dependents. "He has no money, nor anything else to build with" (S. 20 in sit. 2); "Of course he'll

call, he's helpless" (S. 1 in sit. 10).

Denial of the need and the recipient's confidence or assurance that he was able to manage alone were fairly frequent reasons for refusing to be helped. Examples of these reasons were given in B. 3. b., page 175.

Occasionally the decision to accept an offer was postponed, as in the case of the old man in sit. 7: "Perhaps in a year or two I shall come and stay with you" (S. 11). Or the original aim was given up as in the case of the youth in sit. 9: "Doesn't want to go (to school) when there's so little money (S. 17). "He can go to school when he himself has been earning" (S. 2). In other words the need is not considered urgent enough to warrant having to meet it under the present unacceptable conditions.

2. The help or what it achieves may attract a potential recipient, or advantages and disadvantages incidental to the giving or accepting of the help may attract, or discourage, the person making the decision

a. Receiving:

A recipient may accept because he desires the object being offered, or the state which the help would make possible. The offer of money seems to have an almost magnetic effect on some of the subjects even when there is no direct need for it: "Of course I will accept it! - he's partial to money"; "It's good to have a lot of

money" (Ss. 9,7,18 in sit. 3). Other positive attractions are: the chance of acquiring a long-coveted object (such as a pair of skis), of having home or health restored, of being able to get on with his job or hobby, and especially of going to school and learning something. These aims and objects are for the most part immediate and so desirable in themselves to the recipient that help in achieving them seems almost incidental and is usually accepted with enthusiasm and gratitude.

The same applies to remoter goals when the present need is seen as a link in a chain: help in getting over the preliminary difficulties is only a small part of R's own positive striving towards, for example, getting his harvest in, learning a skill, or becoming qualified to earn his living. There is a dynamic approach in these attitudes which contrasts with the mere avoidance of the unpleasant consequences of not accepting, like "losing a lot of money" (S. 3 in sit. 5), or being afraid that if he doesn't call for help, "he'll have to walk the rest of the way" (S. 23 in sit. 10).

There may be incidental advantages or disadvantages, not directly connected with the need, that follow in the wake of a decision to accept or refuse and these are considered by the potential recipient. For example: R accepts a gift so that he need not spend his own money, and "so he can get rich" or just "save it"

(Ss. in sits. 3 & 11). He may accept although the need is not pressing because he feels tired of trying alone and says so openly. This was a frequent reaction to the offer of help in sit. 6: "(The sack is heavy) and he's tired of carrying it". Or help with a task enables him to finish faster (S. 21 in sit. 14). Sometimes he declines help, as in sit. 13, because he wants to master the difficulty and acquire a skill.

Relatively unrelated disadvantages are mentioned mainly in connection with the refusal of care and maintenance in sit. 7. Despite the emphasis in the presentation of the situation on the old man's need for care, the incidental disadvantages of moving and changing his accustomed way of life are among the three most important categories of reasons given here and are part of the explanation for the low score of acceptances in this situation. However, when it is remembered that there was considerable reluctance in the Giving series to offer an old parent a home we cannot be sure that the "incidental disadvantages" in this situation are not "excuses" concealing the recipient's awareness of the donor's probable reluctance.

b. Giving:

There may be a direct advantage to the donor if he does what he is asked. He may enjoy performing the task for its own sake, as in sit. 10 where "it is pleasanter to be two" (S. 2),

or in sit. 8 "he may earn well if he goes and looks for the man" (S. 1). Or D may himself require help on a future occasion and by helping now he establishes a credit balance on which he can draw when necessary: "Another time he might have to ask Mikkel" (S. 3 in sit. 7).

In some cases the donor may help only if some advantage is forthcoming, as S. 5 in sit. 11: "If you think you'll have some use out of the girl when she's big".

In contrast to the advantages consequent upon giving, there may, on the other hand, be disadvantages for the donor which discourage him from helping. These may be no more than the fact that he gets nothing out of the transaction himself: "Would prefer a boy - when he was big he could help him" (S. 10 in sit. 11). However, the required task may be one that D especially dislikes. He may be prepared to do something else to help, but not this! For example: "He thinks it dreadful to drive alone at night" (S. 7 in sit. 14). Or, when the request is made, D may be busily engaged upon some task or enjoyment which he does not want to leave or give up. In sit. 7 for instance D had arranged to go fishing with his friends and he is very loath to give this up. Again, he may be too tired or not feel inclined (Ss. in sit. 16).

3. Summary and discussion of Sections C. 1. and C. 2.

- a. The donor's capacity to give, and the incidental advantages and disadvantages that accrue to him through giving:

The donor's capacity to give accounted for only 8.3% of the total reasons for giving and refusing to give. Incidental advantages and disadvantages to the donor, combined with donor capacity, accounted for 30.0% of the total reasons. They were the main categories of reasons quoted for refusing to mind the shop (sit. 7), for accompanying the girl on skis (sit. 10), and for taking or refusing to take the orphaned child (sit. 11).

- b. The recipient's assessment of his need:

The recipient's contention that his need leaves him no alternative but to accept accounts for 35.3% of the reasons for accepting help (or 22.5% of the total reasons for accepting and refusing). The attractiveness of the help and what it will achieve accounts for a further 19.8% of reasons for accepting (or 12.6% of the total reasons).

On the other hand the recipient's denial of need for help and his confidence in being able to manage alone comprise 22.5% of the reasons for refusing to be helped (or 8.2% of the total reasons for accepting and refusing).

The following table is an excerpt from Table 23, Appendix A, pp. A46 & A47 and sets out the responses referring to need that

occurred in the 14 situations of the Receiving series. To enable them to be seen in proportion to other reasons for accepting and refusing that occurred the sum totals of the other responses are also shown.

TABLE 20 *

Situation:	10	1	2	3	8b	7	15	4b	5	6	13	14	9	11
Other reasons for accepting:	1	-	1	2	5	6	4	9	3	12	-	16	14	2
R needs	13	13	8	6	3	6	6	1	6	16	2	1	-	1
Help is attractive	6	-	2	4	1	-	-	2	4	-	1	-	12	14
Incidental (dis)advantages	-	1	-	1	-	2	-	-	-	4	1	4	-	3
Need is denied	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	2	-	-
R can, will manage	1	1	1	-	-	6	-	-	1	3	1	3	2	1
R postpones aim	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-
Incidental (dis)advantages	-	-	-	-	-	8	-	-	-	-	3	-	-	-
Other reasons for refusing	6	10	12	12	9	10	6	5	3	-	9	6	3	1

It will be seen that in most cases where help is accepted because of the need, the subjects' assessment is realistic and reasonable. The circumstances of the need are almost the only reasons quoted for accepting in situations of extreme biological danger (sit. 10) and in the loss of a breadwinner by accident (sit. 1), or of a house by burning (sit. 2). Illness (sit. 3), unemployment (sit. 8b) and fatigue from travelling (sit. 15) are other needs recognised as encouraging acceptance, and these are not denied though on rare occasions a recipient felt that he could or would be able to manage alone, without help (sits. 10, 1, 2, and 5).

* Showing responses referring to need in the Receiving series.

Although there were other reasons, too, the need was stressed very frequently in situation 6 and this is somewhat surprising. It may be recalled that the students accepted help very readily in this situation (the ranking being equal first with sit. 11). Apparently, to the students, carrying a heavy sack was indeed a task that only a few cared to undertake unaided - perhaps for the reasons suggested in Chapter V B. 2. p. 125. It may also be recalled that to the adults help was mostly unacceptable in this situation.

It is interesting to note that in sits. 11, 9, 4b, and 14 need was rarely mentioned though help was readily or fairly readily accepted in these situations. Reasons other than need played a part in these situations and in sits. 9 and 11 it is the great attractiveness to the recipient of being helped towards the attainment of a special goal (schooling and a pair of skis) that influences him to accept the help offered.

It will be seen that the only situation in which there was a major difference of opinion among the subjects as to what constituted a need requiring help was in sit. 7 - the unusual circumstances obtaining here have already been commented upon (C. 2. a.)^{p 185} - a slight difference of opinion occurred in sit. 6, and negligible differences, or none at all in the remaining situations.

It would appear that aspects other than differences in the subjects' assessment of the severity of the need have to be considered when individual differences in the acceptability of help are to be

accounted for.

c. Incidental advantages and disadvantages in accepting:

Consideration of the incidental advantages and disadvantages involved in the helping situation accounted for only 7.4% of the total reasons for accepting and declining to be helped. They were mentioned in only half of the situations and occurred mainly as additional reasons for accepting in situations in which there was little real need, but where the tiresomeness of the task, e.g. in sits. 6 and 14, made help welcome. However, as already mentioned, they were among the main reasons for an aged father's refusal to let his daughter care for him.

d. Group differences:

Upon inspection of the group averages set out in Tables 26 and 27 on pages A52 & A53 of Appendix A, the following slight trends are observed:

i) Compared with the other groups, most of the Glals refuse more often to give because D cannot afford it or there are disadvantages like the dislike of the task.

ii) When receiving, the Glals stress need and the attractiveness of the help less frequently than the other groups and when refusing to be helped they more often deny need and stress the disadvantages attendant upon accepting.

e. Discussion:

i) In the light of the poverty and lack of resources said to exist in the village it is surprising that giving was only occasionally said to depend upon the donor's having the necessary resources, and then chiefly in sits. 11 and 17. Perhaps in the test situations the donor's capacity or resources were seen relative to the recipient's need, and so were not put forward as valid reasons. Also the help required was for the most part perhaps not excessively time-consuming nor demanding. In real-life situations in the village a potential donor certainly often declined to help because of lack of time, resources, or family commitments. "Haven't you heard this here also - even here in the yard: 'I haven't time'? There's nothing that can be said to that. 'He hasn't time' and that's that. It's a neat way out, and excuse enough, if you don't want to do a thing." (S. EK in a group discussion.) The "excuse" is not limited to Lapland of course, it is common also in our own culture, though in my experience "lack of time" is not as readily accepted here as "lack of ability".

It appears that there is often conflict between the things active people want to do and the demands made upon them by the needs of others. The force of inertia propelling a person towards the completion of a task may be so powerful that being interrupted may cause him considerable distress. If not thus engaged, he might

perhaps have helped willingly. Appropriate timing of a request is of course important.

If there were fewer reasons referring to capacity and resources than were expected the subjects did not hesitate to name the incidental advantages and disadvantages that played a part in decisions to give. Situation 7 (Minding the shop) was included in the series expressly to test the subjects' reaction to an unreasonable request. All but four of the subjects declined outright to help, stating frankly that they were busy with plans of their own.

The fear of driving alone at night that prevented S. 7 from helping in sit. 14 warrants comment. Fear of the unknown, of death, and of the "underground people" was a potent motivating factor in the village. The priest related an incident in which an old lady was abandoned when it was feared that she was about to die. But such fears are not confined to Lapland. I have myself experienced a case in London where a person refused to help a sick friend because she found the illness revolting and another where a woman would not hold a ladder for a neighbour with a wooden leg because she was repelled by the sight of the stump, even though the neighbour was climbing the ladder in order to do her a favour.

ii) Accepting: It was expected that the need being experienced, the threat to life and well-being which this imposed, and the wish

for the relief of the need would be the major reasons mentioned by the subjects for the acceptance of help. This expectation was fulfilled. However, their answers stressed not only the relief of the need but a positive reaching beyond it. So, for example, the sick youth accepted money from his brother not only to relieve his present distress but to "enable him to get well", or the boy accepted his father's offer to send him to school because "he wants to learn something". This positive striving is evident also in the frequency with which the handicapped boy declined to accept help (the situation ranked lowest in the accepting series) for "he hopes to learn to do it" (S. 11 in sit. 13).

D. THE RELATION BETWEEN DONOR AND RECIPIENT AND THE ASSESSMENT EACH MAKES OF THE OTHER'S NEEDS AND CAPACITY, WISHES AND ATTITUDES

1. The attention of the person making the decision is focussed upon his partner and the relationship between them

a. Giving:

i) The donor understands and sympathises with the distress of the recipient. He imagines the suffering of the person in need and is unhappy that he should be in that situation. "He is sorry for him" (Ss. 1 & 5 in sit. 8). His wish that the suffering should be alleviated prompts him to do something about it. The emphasis is entirely upon the recipient. "He thinks of what the poor chap is up against now" (S. 14 in sit. 8). "He has heard of how these people live, feels sympathy with them and wants to help them" (S. 19 in sit. 9).

ii) Occasionally the donor recalls how he himself has felt when he has been in a similar situation, or imagines how he would feel if he were in that situation, and this reflection induces him to give. "He has himself suffered a little need, hunger and so on" (S. 6 in sit. 9). "He thinks what it would be like if he were lost" (S. 20 in sit. 8).

iii) At other times the donor is aware of the discrepancy between his own comfortable circumstances and the distress of the recipients.

He wishes to level this out somewhat, so he gives. "He himself is so well off, and he wants others to be just as well off" (S. 2 in sit. 9).

iv) The donor has the welfare of the recipient at heart and sympathises with his aims. The only difference between this attitude and the preceding one is that the emphasis is less on sympathy with R's pain and distress and more on sympathy with his aims and wishes. It is a difference in the object or content of the sympathy, rather than its nature, and is closely related to the kind of need, for this latter attitude occurs in most of the situations, while the former is confined exclusively to cases of urgent biological need. The donor takes over, as it were, the aims of the recipient and makes them his own. Thus in situation 11 D takes the child so that the mother "will have more time for the other children" (S. 14). It is what the recipient wants, not what D thinks is good for him, that counts.

v) Sometimes the wish on the part of the donor to promote the interest of the recipient is due to a special relationship between them, as in the case of parents and children, or members of the same community. The transference of a gift or assistance from one to the other in these cases is incidental in the general relationship. It may be no more than a role relationship: "To honour the king" (S. 4 in sit. 15), or the bond may just be a sense of belonging together:

"He did not want his village to be disgraced" (S. 17 in sit. 16). One of the adults expressed this aspect rather strikingly in the story of the lost man: "Of course, you would look for him. The man belongs to the village picture, he'd be missing, if he weren't there" (S. PH in sit. 8). However, in most cases the general relation is one of love and affection and interest in the other person's welfare; helping in a specific instance is an expression of this and a means of promoting it; it is part and parcel of the general relationship.

vi) The absence of such a bond may be a reason for refusal, as in the case of Ss. 8 and 21 who do not want to house an old father: "He doesn't want him to live with him" (sit. 13). Other people may be closer to D than the foreigners in sit. 9: "There are enough people in Norway needing help without going outside the country" (S. 22). These reasons were mentioned only three times in the test.

b. Receiving:

Just as giving may be incidental in friendship so also accepting may be natural when good relations exist between D and R: "It's his best neighbour" (S. 7 in sit. 5). "He is his friend" (S. 19 in sit. 8b).

On the other hand help, such as hospitality in sit. 15, cannot be expected from a donor to whom the recipient is unknown

and who is unaware of his need: "Can't expect it, for the people don't know them" (S. 5).

2. The need and capacity of the other person is considered

a. Giving:

Sometimes the mere need or the circumstances causing it are mentioned as sufficient reason for giving, or the person's lack of resources, or his incapacity to meet the need because of the misfortune which has befallen him or because of the difficulty of the task. "He thinks the refugees need help, they've no home, food, clothes, and many other things" (S. 24 in sit. 9). "He's lost" (S. 8 in sit. 8).

Occasionally it is not the circumstances surrounding the need, but the inadequacy of the recipient to meet it because of his special characteristics or shortcomings that stirs a sense of equity in D and leads him to recognise his comparative superiority and consequent extra capacity to help. "She's a coward, so I must take her along" (S. 4 in sit. 10), or "He's so little" (Ss. in sit. 12).

However, if D considers that there isn't any need, or that R is perfectly fit and could well manage on his own, he may refuse. "Can take one piece at a time" (Ss. in sit. 12), or "He's big enough" (Ss. in sit. 12). These reasons occurred only in sit. 12 when the father refused to help his child with a set task.

Finally, the recipient's alleged inability to put the help to good use may discourage D from giving it or rationalise his refusal: "The boy will fritter away his time in school" (S. 1 in sit. 17).

b. Receiving:

The donor's capacity to give and the inconvenience or sacrifice involved for him is considered by the potential recipient. In many cases R puts the query to D whether he really can afford the money, the time, the extra effort, and so on. Whether accepting is conditional upon the donor's being able to give easily is not known, but the recipient has indicated that he appreciates that giving can mean inconvenience and sacrifice; the onus of deciding whether it is too much is on the would-be donor, however.

If R has considered D's circumstances and come to the conclusion that giving will mean too great a hardship for D, he will usually refuse, saying that he does not want to bother D, or to be a burden. It may be known that D can ill afford to help, as in the case of FM (the Lapp Mission) for here it is the contributions of "little people" that provide the funds and the Mission has many commitments. The same may apply to an individual donor, the boy's father in situation 9 for example, he may have few resources and heavy obligations, too. In situation 3 R feels that D is being "too good" to him and should not be imposed upon (S. 19). Most

reasons in this category come from situation 7 where the old father refuses his daughter's offer of a home with her because "I don't want to be a burden to you" (S. 4). Sometimes specific disadvantages to the donor are mentioned and these are all sound, matter-of-fact reasons that indicate an objective assessment of the situation on the part of the prospective recipient.

Occasionally, the subjects say that R will think D hasn't the time to help. This may imply that R feels he has no right, or it is not fair, to hinder another person in order to further his own interest, he should be allowed to get on with the work he is doing. On the other hand he may suspect that D will resent being interrupted. It has already been noted that in the village generally "haven't time" is a common answer to a request to do something, and an acceptable one (C. 3. e. p. 191).

There is one instance where the wish not "to bother the others" inhibits D from calling for help, at least "at first" when he loses his reindeer in situation 10 - a precarious situation.

3. The attitudes and motives of the other person are considered

The attitudes and motives of the other person play a part only in the Receiving series. That the donor is a kind person who really wants to help is among the most important considerations in the decision to accept. D's kindness and willingness are mentioned almost exclusively in situations where an offer is made. It can

therefore be presumed that the recipient interprets the offer itself as an indication of the donor's kindness and willingness: "If he wants to be so kind as to help" (S. 23 in sit. 14). "Gladly, if you would like to" (S. 13 in sit. 6), though he tests the genuineness of the offer perhaps a little by the conditional "if you would like to". There is a suggestion made by one subject that it is ungracious to refuse, and offensive to the donor to rebuff him by declining his offer: "Won't refuse when the other fellow has been kind enough to want to help" (S. 10 in sit. 14). The implication here is surely that the offer is an overture of friendship and refusing it is refusing the friendship being extended. There were no examples among the answers of these subjects of the ruse employed by some hopeful recipients of pretending that an offer had been made and accepting with words like "as you are so kind as to offer".

Several circumstances may discourage R from asking: He believes that D may not be willing to give the help required, perhaps because the task is distasteful to him, or in case of a monetary loan, because the debt might not be repaid. He fears possible refusal, though it is not clear whether being refused is unpleasant because it is humiliating, or because it is evidence of D's disfavour or hostility.

4. Reciprocity and willingness to repay

a. Giving:

The only reason in situation 13 that was friendly towards the old father was S. 23's explanation for his willingness to take his old father into his home: "To repay the love he himself received when he was small". In sit. 15 two subjects felt that the king who had fulfilled his function faithfully over many years deserved acknowledgement and a tangible token of appreciation: "He wants to thank the King" (S. 25) "because he has been king for fifty years" (S. 8). Helping out of gratitude for having been helped is a different kind of giving from that which occurs when a person gives in order to ensure that he himself will be helped when he needs it (cf. the calculating kind of giving described in C. 2. b. p. 186).

Reciprocity occurred rarely as an explanation for giving, and in the form of reprisal it did not occur at all as a reason for refusing to give. It is conspicuously absent especially in sit. 14 where it could have been expected to occur.

b. Receiving:

One of the adults said that mutual help among associates was usual. "It often happens," he said, "that if workmates like one another and if one of them gets into trouble, the other will help" (S. PH in sit. 8b). There was evidence of this also among the students - not much, but some 4% of reasons for accepting recognised

that R could give D something in return for his help. S. 19 accepts in sits. 4b and 5 for "perhaps his neighbour will help him now and he will help him in return another time".

Again, R may be aware that in giving help, D receives satisfactions of another kind, and he is willing that D should do so. For instance, in situation 15, R expects that the people will be pleased of the company and so will offer hospitality to the travellers "Because they seldom have visitors, those who live so far away" (S. 20).

Sometimes the only thing R can offer D in return is his thanks: "I'm very grateful if you will help me" (S. 12 in sit. 6),

5. Summary and discussion of donor-recipient relations

- a. Giving out of sympathy and concern for the other person's need and welfare:

Sympathy and concern for the other person's need and welfare, whether springing from a general relation of fondness, or from an understanding of a fellow human being's distress, were, together, the main reasons for helping in the Giving series, accounting for 36.6% of the reasons for giving (or 26.4% of the total reasons for giving and refusing to give). Naturally the plight of the man lost in the mountains and that of the refugees evoked the most sympathy. Sympathy was also expressed for the orphaned child and its mother. In sit. 16 fondness for his village and concern for its

reputation were the main reasons for helping to clear the war damage. Though many subjects felt that the child sent to fetch wood was big enough to do the job alone many helped out of fondness or sympathy. In other situations fondness, sympathy, and concern for R's need were rarely mentioned.

- b. The recipient's concern for the donor's capacity and willingness to help:

The donor's capacity to give was considered in 13.7% of the total reasons for accepting and refusing. In half of these instances help was accepted, in the main conditionally, in the remainder it was refused. In 13.8% of the reasons for accepting, D's kindness and willingness to help were said to be determinant. And only on two occasions, that is in less than 0.6% of the total number was help refused because D's motives and willingness were doubted.

Consideration for the donor's capacity was mentioned in all situations except Bereavement (sit. 1), Unemployment (sit. 4b), Amusement (sit. 11), and Hospitality (sit. 15). Most concern was felt for the boy's father in situation 9 (Education), for the friend offering to cut wood (sit. 14), or to lend his horse (sit. 4b) and for the daughter offering to care for her aged father (sit. 7).

The donor's willingness to help was the main reason for

accepting in situation 14 (Cutting wood), the second most important reason in situation 6 (Heavy sack) and among the main reasons for accepting in situation 7 (Aged father).

c. Reciprocity and willingness to repay:

Giving in return for help previously received was mentioned in only 1.8% of the reasons for giving. Accepting with the declared willingness to reciprocate the help being given occurred on 4.3% occasions. Withholding help for fear of not being repaid, or helping for fear of reprisal should help not be given did not occur at all.

d. Group differences:

i) In the Giving series. There was a tendency for sympathy and concern for the recipient's need and benefit to be mentioned more as reasons for giving by the subjects who gave most (i.e. the Gmams and Gmals) than by those who gave least. Table 24 in Appendix A, p. A48 shows that there were about $2\frac{1}{2}$ times as many statements relating to this sympathy and concern from the Gmams and Gmals.

The absence of any bond between D and R was mentioned only by those who gave least.

The donor refused to give more frequently because he couldn't afford the time and resources in the Glal group than in the other groups. He refused least for this reason in the Gmal group.

ii) In the Receiving series. In deciding whether to accept or not, the donor's capacity to give was considered more by the Gmal group

than by the other groups. Help was refused most by the Gmals and least by the Glams for this reason.

iii) In both series. Giving in return for something the recipient has done for you occurs only among the Glams and Glals. Being prepared in some way to reciprocate the help accepted occurs mainly among the Gmals and Glals, and is mentioned once by the Glams.

e. Discussion:

i) Sympathy and concern for the person needing. The many responses quoting sympathy as a reason for giving (together with the paucity of responses quoting lack of affection and lack of feeling for suffering as reasons for refusing to help) especially as they occurred in the situations describing the plight of the lost man, the orphans, and the refugees, would tend to support the opinion of Informant S who remarked: "They (the Lapps) really feel for these people who are suffering. In the case of the refugees they were unanimous that a collection should be taken up for them ... We have several mentally retarded persons in the village here, and these cases have made a tremendous impression on them. They are quick to feel sympathetic towards such special things ... But old people - that's something that belongs to the order of the day. You have them everywhere. You're used to seeing them about and what you see often doesn't impress you so much - not as much as it ought".

In the absence of a deeper analysis, it is difficult to know what psychological mechanisms are at work when the donor gives from

sympathy, "because he's sorry for those who suffer need" (S. 11 in sit. 9). It could be vicarious giving by the donor to himself, or empathetic compassion born of insight through personal experience. Three characteristics are implied in S. 2's statement in sit. 9, "He himself is so well off, he wants others to be just as well off": contentment with her own lot, sensitivity to the distress of others, and the wish to see them happy. It was my impression, from my knowledge of S. 2, that her attitude did not express underlying guilt about her own good fortune, but rather her modesty, sensitivity, and good-will toward other people.

The examples quoted serve to illustrate that some other quality of the personality is also at work when help is given "out of sympathy". Sympathy on its own is not enough to induce a donor to help. He may well weep over the fate of others, as one weeps over a moving story or film, enjoying the sadness of it all. Or he may be so disturbed by his "sympathetic pain" that he seeks to remove himself from it, or it from him, either by going away himself and ignoring the need of the person, or even by doing what he can to relieve the distress, though in this case, he is doing so in the interest of his own comfort, not the recipient's. His sympathy is no more than sentimentality, or what Scheler (1954) calls "mere infection" and McDougall (1948) "primitive passive sympathy". This kind of sympathy is most apparent in parents who spoil their children

and so accede to a request that is not in the recipient's real interest, nor conducive to his long-term welfare. Some of the answers in sit. 12 appear to reflect this kind of sympathy. In true compassion, on the other hand, sympathy is mingled with a disinterested concern for the welfare of the sufferer. McDougall would have said that the donor's "protective instinct" had been awakened as well. At all events it would appear that the sympathy provides the insight, or understanding, of the suffering (no matter by what mechanism), while love and concern for the sufferer initiates the helping action.

It could of course be argued that "sympathy" as such plays little part in helping, that people have firmly established role identifications that predetermine their reaction to any specific situation. They are either "donor identified" (or orientated) or "recipient identified" and react accordingly. The responses of the subjects studied would indicate however that this distinction is not so clear cut and that while one or the other identification may perhaps predominate there are overlappings of roles in all of them.

The people for whom sympathy is felt is of interest, too. For most of the subjects it extended beyond the immediate family circle to include the rest of their community and even foreign refugees. "In parts of Sicily" said Ilys Booker in a BBC broadcast on 14th September, 1961 "the notion of a 'community' is virtually

unknown and only family ties count. No one belonging to the group would think of helping any one outside it."

In view of the similar criticism lodged against the Lapps that they were helpful within the family and towards individuals in need (with the exception of their aged) but lacked a community sense and would not join in village and national enterprises the finding that wider sympathies did exist among the students studied is of some consequence. The obvious affection with which many of the subjects wrote of their village and their king ("He liked his village and wanted to honour it", "He thinks of his dear Norway and the well-loved King") and the touching sympathy accorded to orphans and refugees confirm the impression already given by the situational giving scores (cf. Chapter V B. 1. p. 123) and the trends observed in the discussion of the sense of obligation (this Chapter B. 4. d. p. 179) that the picture in this community is changing. However the change is more apparent in certain sections of its members than in others.

ii) Consideration of the donor's capacity and willingness to help. The capacity of the donor to help was not mentioned as frequently as some of the other aspects influencing R's decision to accept or refuse. It probably is common to all cultures for a person in need to assume that some one else can give at little or

no sacrifice to himself, or that the gap between the size of the donor's sacrifice and the recipient's need is a wide one. This was often experienced in Relief organisations in Australia when displaced persons from Europe were helped a great deal by local groups, often at great cost to themselves, without the recipients realising the fact. Some of them quickly became richer than their former helpers whom they then despised for their poverty.

However, in the present study, several interesting points may be noted. Consideration was expressed for a wide variety of donors, but especially for the father trying to send his son to school. This probably reflects the situation of the parents of the students in real life most of whom had difficulty in finding the money to send their children to school.

The statements in this section also help to explain why the daughter's offer to care for her aged father was often refused. The statements reveal a keen appreciation of the work and trouble involved in caring for an elderly parent in a family of young children. This did not come to light in the reverse situation in the Giving series where presumably it was more difficult for the subjects to verbalise their objections. This was indicated by S. 18 when he said in the Receiving situation: "I am only in the way for you, that's why he says he wants to be by himself".

That the boy who lost his deer in situation 10 would not call to his friends for help because "he did not want to bother them" might seem to be a facetious answer. However, the predicament described in this situation actually did occur in real life and the Lapp boy involved froze to death. Why he did not call to his friends is of course not known. But the wish not to bother them must be regarded as a serious possibility. A friend of my husband's, an Englishman in Persia, once lay in acute pain with a rupture for five hours during the night rather than waken my husband in the same room even though postponing the calling of medical attention greatly reduced his chance of survival. His reason, he said, was that he did not wish to disturb my husband's sleep.

In the situations in this study where the wish not to bother the donor was given as a reason for refusing to accept help, the possibility of R being a burden is realistic. But his need is real, too, and the offer of help in all cases is obviously sincere. These cases require a deeper analysis to probe the psychological reasons for refusal.

That the donor's willingness or unwillingness to help was not mentioned more often is a little surprising, especially as a reason for refusing to ask for aid.

iii) Reciprocity. Although instances of reciprocity and willingness to repay help received were rare in the test it was clear that some subjects saw the giving-receiving relationship as a reciprocal relationship. They were aware that the donor got pleasure out of a particular act of giving and that the recipient in accepting was in his turn giving to the donor. When the recipient accepted gladly and gratefully the relationship expressed the purest form of reciprocity possible. That this kind of reciprocal giving occurred most frequently within the framework of a general relationship of intimacy was illustrated most clearly by the adult subjects PH and AO (cf. Appendix C pp. C28 and C5). But it was not confined to such a relationship and could occur in any giving/receiving situation and with people who previously had not known each other.

E. THE EFFECT UPON DONOR AND RECIPIENT OF THE ATTITUDES AND ACTIONS OF OTHERS

1. The example of others persuades the subject to give, or to accept (or dissuades him from doing so)

There were only 9 statements in the Giving series and 3 in the Receiving series referring to the opinions and actions of other people. But they described several ways in which the opinions and actions of others could influence a person to give or to accept, or to desist from accepting.

a. Giving:

Some people give because others do: "He sees others are doing it" (S. 9 in sit. 9). Or he waits to see what they do before making up his own mind: "He wonders whether others have gone" (S. 7 in sit. 8). It is hard to say how far such imitation is due to herd behaviour, to the wish not to be conspicuous by non-conformity, or how far it is the acceptance of the judgement of others as valid so that the similar action follows automatically.

In some cases D agrees with the common object and rejoices in the sense of solidarity which a corporate effort gives. It is pleasurable for him to give to a cause he values, together with a lot of other people who value the same thing. Also the group fellowship developed is satisfying: "He wants to be ^{one} of those honouring the king" (S. 3 in sit. 15). When others join to do something

D wants to see done, he is glad: "He's glad others want to do the same" (S. 13 in sit. 9). As S. 13 is a very independent person, the satisfaction of having others join in is probably less because of the fellowship they provide than because the job will now be better done.

Another subject, a cripple, put this point of view: "Because he joined in everything else, he'd join in here as well" (S. 18 in sit. 16). This subject was very conscious of his handicap and did what he could to ignore it and assure himself that he wasn't different from any one else. This being a practical service that was required gave him a good opportunity to demonstrate his physical equality with all the rest. But it went over into social equality, too. He wanted to be as loyal as the others and give to the King's jubilee fund as well (sit. 15).

On two occasions help was refused because "there were enough others who could go" (S. 22 in sit. 16), or "who could give" (S. 1 in sit. 15). So there was no need for D to concern himself in the matter. Obviously D was not very interested in these particular causes. Nor did he feel the necessity to "run with the crowd".

b. Receiving:

There was only one instance of help being accepted "because others had done it (i.e. applied for a grant from FM)" (S. 7 in sit. 2). And there was one example of a recipient being deterred by just

this fact: "He thinks there are so many others who have applied" (S. 1 in sit. 2). It may be that R thought it unfair to strain the resources of the donor too greatly (cf. adult subject AO: "FM get money from small offerings of people" and S. 22 in sit. 2: "He thinks FM has enough to give to"). Or it might be slight disdain for the kind of people who apply for help that leads R to wish not to be identified with them (cf. Informant TF: "... only old, sick, religious people ... get things from the Mission; the others do not want it and think it a disgrace").

There was one solitary instance of a person desisting from calling for help "because his friends might think him a coward" (S. 4 in sit. 10). This statement may possibly have some bearing on the problem encountered earlier that some people will risk their lives rather than ask for help (cf. D. 5. e. ii p.210).

c. Group differences:

There were too few statements in this category to hazard an interpretation of the apparent trend that the groups who gave less (and of these mainly the Glals) were influenced more than the other groups by the opinions and actions of others. But it would be consistent with the observation that the Glams and Glals appeared to be less independent in the Receiving series than the other two groups (cf. B. 4. c ii p. 178).

d. Discussion:

It would appear from the above that the attitudes and actions

of other people are not explicitly regarded as having much effect upon most of the subjects' decisions to give or to withhold help. Some are inclined to follow the lead of others and give if they do, some just enjoy joining in a community effort, some give because others won't, some refuse because enough others will help. But there are not many instances like this. The same is the case for accepting.

The opinion of others was not mentioned as a deterrent in situation 1 where the bereaved mother was advised to seek help from the District Council although it was expected that that would be the case. However, the opinion of others possibly appears in the disguise of statements such as "She doesn't want to" and "She thinks it a disgrace" (Ss. in sit. 1).

In the Giving series reference to others occurred only in those situations involving group activities namely, sits. 8, 9, 15, and 16. In the Receiving series it occurred only in sit. 2, involving FM, and sit. 10, where the attitude of peers played a part and physical prowess was on trial.

F. THE HELP AVAILABLE

1. The kind of help required is distasteful to the potential donor

The five instances in which help was refused because the particular kind of help was distasteful occurred in situations 14 (once), 11 (once), and 7 (three times). They were discussed in Section C. 2. b. p. 186.

2. The amount of help available, or being offered, deters the potential recipient

a. The help is inadequate:

Unless the help is really going to meet the needs of the person requiring it, it is unsatisfactory. "He'll apply for a loan from a bank, he'll get a bigger loan there" (S. 5 in sit. 2); "It's not my horse, if I borrow it every day, but thanks for your trouble" (S. 6 in sit. 4b). Presumably a solution that is only half a solution is not worth the strings attached to receiving it.

b. The help offered is too much:

The statement that the amount of money that a man was offering to give to his sick brother was too much constituted 75% of the reasons for refusing the gift (36% of the total reasons for accepting and refusing) (Sit. 3). This was a quite unexpected result. The only other occasion in the series where R would not ask for help "because it is too big a job" occurred in sit. 13 (S. 7).

c. Group differences:

The statement that help was too much occurred in all groups, but rather more frequently among the Gmams and Gmals than among the Glams and Glals.

d. Discussion:

Most of the subjects gave no indication as to how or why the thousand crowns were too much: "That's too much, dear brother. He doesn't like getting so much" (Ss. 17 & 22). Apparently, the subjects had had little experience in administering sums of money of that order, and perhaps that was why the size of the gift overwhelmed them. I had not expected that the amount would seem a lot. The cost of attending the Youth School was 50 crowns a week, so 1,000 crowns was the equivalent of 20 weeks board at the School.

However, there does seem to be a fairly definite opinion that there is a limit to the size of gift that can be accepted: "It's far too much, I can't accept it" (S. 19). It may be that the recipient feels that it just is not done to denude the donor of so large a sum. It would be imposing upon his generosity. It may be that a large gift puts a person under too great an obligation. S. AO in the adult group, for example, said in relation to this problem: "He'll take a small thing, a scarf, or a little thing like that, but not such a large gift; he wants to be free, doesn't want to be bound by so large a gift". Another adult, HR, remarked: "A

thousand crowns! That's a handsome sum of money, isn't it! For a thousand crowns you can expect to bow and scrape. You put yourself under the obligation to be nice to the brother afterwards, if you accept a thousand crowns". He did accept.

For one subject the size of the gift induced a sense of unworthiness: "It is too much for me - and I'm not worth that" (S. 4). Although this statement occurred only once in the present study it is known that German recipients of relief parcels after the second world war often referred in their letters of thanks to the feeling of unworthiness which they experienced upon receipt of gifts. In this latter instance the gifts were made by members of a victorious nation to defeated former enemies. Kindness from people whom he had believed (apparently erroneously) to be evil and against whom he had nourished feelings of hostility would tend to "heap coals of fire" upon the recipient's head, adding guilt and shame to the sense of inferiority which defeat in itself might already have engendered. On the other hand, it might be, particularly in the case being considered above, that every potential recipient has a certain estimate of his worth, and, in the same way as he feels that his wages are in part an acknowledgement of that worth (Harding 1966), so he may feel that he can accept with impunity a certain amount of help. A sum over and above that is disproportionate to his own estimate of his worth. This aspect is thrown into clear relief in

the opposite kind of situation where help is resented, or even refused, because its smallness or shoddiness humiliates the recipient. It is possible therefore that the sense of unworthiness mentioned above springs from underlying feelings of guilt, perhaps on account of former hostility to the donor, or for other reasons, or that it stems from the discrepancy between the subject's estimate of his worth and the amount of the gift. His estimate of his worth is of course bound up with deeper personality factors, such as depressive trends. It is also possible that hesitation on account of an expressed feeling of unworthiness might be a subtle testing whether the donor's declared evaluation is genuine. One is reminded here of the Quaker philosophy which discourages a person from pressing some one to accept. Yes is yea and nay nay. An offer is made once, and that is all.

G. MISCELLANEOUS CIRCUMSTANCES AFFECTING GIVING AND RECEIVING

There were eight statements in the Giving series and twelve in the Receiving series which could not properly be classified under the previous headings.

1. Giving

a. God should help:

One subject, S. 18, who contributed to the Refugee relief fund (sit. 9) "To help those who are suffering" added "he thinks God should help", though how this was to be implemented he did not say. Was he applying the Christian maxim "Christ has no hands but our hands his purpose to fulfil", or was he saying "I'll help, but really God ought to be doing something about their need, performing a miracle or something".

b. A compromise is possible:

In some cases the urgency of the need was acknowledged but the donor was unable or unwilling to do anything about it himself. Thus S. 19 would be prepared to accommodate the old father temporarily until other arrangements could be made: "Till he can be sent to an old folks home" (S. 13). The same subject in another situation, sit. 17, though somewhat in sympathy with the need, felt unable to help in the way suggested, but volunteered alternative help: "I could perhaps go and collect some money for them" which might well be a more arduous task than quickly dispensing with the request by

making a token contribution.

Flat refusals without any qualification do not come easily to most subjects, especially when they feel that something ought to be done (There were only 13 unqualified negatives in the Giving situations). But taking too much responsibility, or too many commitments upon themselves is distasteful also. An interesting example of compromise was given by S. 9 in sit. 7 where D did not want to mind R's shop for him, but relented and did so on condition that R remained behind as well and then "they could go fishing together another time" which seemed a reasonable and generous thing to do. In this way R's disappointment was shared and yet D's inconvenience was compensated for, too.

c. Manner of asking:

"He was asked so nicely to go" (S. 21 in sit. 8). The manner in which a person is asked to do something was discussed at length by some of the adults. It was mentioned only once by the students.

d. More information is needed:

S. 1 in situation 9 "must investigate the matter further and have more information" so does not respond to the appeal for help to the Refugees. His reluctance may be due to a genuine wish for assurance that his gift is going to the right source, an important consideration for every thinking person. Again, S. 20 in sit. 15

does not want to give where there may not be any need: "He does not know what the king gets".

e. The little he can give is useless:

Forgetful of the proverb "Many a mickle makes a muckle" the donor who cannot give much gives nothing at all (S. 22 in sit. 15).

2. Receiving

a. R will accept at all costs:

One subject's answer to the question whether the son would accept his father's offer to send him to school was: "Yes, he'll go, let it cost what it may" (S. 22 in sit. 9). Either S. 22 was trying to be "dashing" in this reply, or she believed that R was very keen to learn, or that he was ruthless and inconsiderate of his father's sacrifice.

b. Help may be so self-evident in some cases that it is expected without asking:

In a case of extreme danger, as in sit. 10, calling for help is considered so natural that of course R would call. But S. 6 thought that R's companions would have leapt to his assistance so quickly that calling for help would not be necessary. Similarly when travelling R would expect an offer of hospitality "but if they (the occupants of the house he had stopped at) didn't (offer him hospitality) he would begin to cook his own (coffee and food)" (S. 6 in

sit. 15) - in accord with Lappish custom.

c. Asking:

It is obvious that the need to ask creates problems: the same subject stated that asking was necessary in order to get: "No one will give you money unless you ask" (S. 10 in sit. 8b) and in situation 2 she said that asking was useless: " .. he wouldn't get anything anyhow". There is a pessimistic fatalism in the answer of S. 10, "He wouldn't get anything anyway", akin to the spirit of those who will not do football pools, or take a ticket in a lottery because they are sure they'd never be lucky enough to win. Or was she distrustful of the donor's reaction?

Others would like to ask but do not dare (Ss. 1, 14 in sit. 8b and S. 9 in sit. 13). "If he were offered assistance, then he'd accept it willingly" (S. 6 in sit. 2). In situation 13 R may "not dare" because he can see that D is occupied and does not wish to disturb him, either out of consideration for D or because he fears D's displeasure or rebuff.

Whenever a person asks for help, he initiates something, the onus is on him to have judged the situation aright: whether it is permissible to ask for help in this instance. If the suggestion comes from some one else the recipient already has the assurance that it is "all right" to be helped. Part of the humiliation of rebuff is the indication it gives that asking in the first place was

"bad form".

It may be the recipient's fear that the donor is not in a position to help that makes him hesitate to ask. Thus S. 6 in sit. 2 is uncertain whether FM has the funds to make a grant, so he will not ask but "if he were offered assistance, then he'd accept it willingly".

It is interesting that in our own culture similar difficulties arise over the appropriateness of asking. In every-day conversation in England one may hear the opinion expressed that people should have to ask for what they want: "No one should be allocated a Council house without having to apply for it; having a subsidised house is a concession, not something you may claim as a right". Or "If it's worth having, it's worth asking for", that is: "If it's worth having, it's worth suffering the humiliation of having to ask" (Curwen, 1954).

On the other hand asking is often regarded as effrontery: "He had the cheek to ask me to do this for him", a remark which is interpreted as suggesting greed or lack of modesty in the applicant.

Clearly, in both cultures, the Lapp and ours, asking is fraught with difficulties.

d. Evasive answers:

There were three answers in which a decision was evaded: "No," said S. 5 in situation 10, "he won't call (for help), for

that would frighten the deer more - he sits and joiks (sings) a little". "No, I'm so old, I can't manage to go there" (S. 25 in sit. 7, also S. 20 in sit. 7).

In fairness it may be said for the last two subjects that their answers may well be serious; sometimes it is too much trouble to be helped to a better state of affairs and this is not uncommon among the very old. I also vividly remember being asked by a young pneumonia patient who was very seriously ill to desist from giving her any more sulpha tablets, to let her die, the tablets made her too miserable. So the old man might well feel: Just let me bide, I can't be bothered going to all the trouble involved in being well looked after. But the first answer is either an evasion, an attempt to be funny, an expression of boredom with the test or of opposition to me, or a kind of displacement activity in which the taking of appropriate action is inhibited and totally inadequate and even harmful activity indulged in, the kind of inability at times displayed by people "paralysed with fear" who become unable to shout or to run when shouting or running would save them.

Some of the wrong and unclear answers might also have been due to more than faulty comprehension, and may have occurred for similar reasons as that of S. 5 above.

CHAPTER VIII

ATTITUDES OF THE ADULT SUBJECTS TO GIVING AND RECEIVING AS REVEALED IN
THE INTERVIEWS AND THEIR RELATION TO WHAT IS KNOWN OF THE SUBJECTS'
HISTORY AND PERSONALITY

A. INTRODUCTION

Appendix C contains a description of each subject interviewed and an outline of the circumstances and relations he or she said would influence the donor and recipient in deciding whether to give and accept help in the situations of the projection test. In this chapter an attempt is made to summarise the main attitudes to giving and receiving that were revealed in the interviews and to relate them to what is known of the subjects' history and personality.

B. GIVING

1. The obligation to give

a. When life is in danger: All the subjects contend that help must be offered in every case where life is in danger, even if the victim has in the past done D an injury. This is a "human duty", the mark of "decent people", and "no able-bodied person can refuse in these circumstances". In fact, they say, to help is legally compulsory.

Despite this strong mandate, help is not always given. In situation 2, for example, four of the nine subjects failed to suggest that the man in danger of drowning might be helped. This may have been due to faulty comprehension of the situation and one could

dismiss it as such if exactly this result had not been observed in the real life situation that prompted the inclusion of this incident in the series. The situation is perceived as one in which life is in danger and yet nothing is done about it. Perhaps if rescue had been suggested, these subjects might have responded as they did in situations 8 and 14. This possibility was considered in Chapter V A. 3. a. p. 113f. But perhaps there is a fundamental difference in a case of drowning? Is the risk to the rescuer too great?

While subject RE admits openly that she will help unfriendly people only if their life is in danger, subject BL in situation 14 refuses saying: "Perhaps he's sick or something has come in between to prevent him going..". Both subjects shrink from contact with hostile people and it seems likely that BL is distorting the facts in situation 14 because of the conflict between, on the one hand, her beliefs that help must be given and that it is wrong to hold grudges and, on the other hand, her dread of contact with hostile people.

b. In some other situations as well: Four of the subjects consider that helping is obligatory in other situations besides threat to life. Thus PH considers that a contribution to the King's jubilee fund is a "national duty" and HR gives a little to "ease his conscience". In PH's case, and perhaps even in HR's, the endeavour is obviously to maintain the picture he has of himself as a responsible citizen. AO and BL feel obliged to help whenever a need is brought

to their notice, even in situation 7 (Minding the shop). Their need to give appears to be almost compulsive, as if they fear to refuse a request. There is an indication that remorse for her early refusal may be partly responsible for this compulsiveness in AO, and that in BL it is caused by her marked insecurity. The compulsion is not as effective in BL, however, because her disinclination to part with money is equally strong, so she is in a state of perpetual conflict.

c. In some situations there is no obligation: Some of the subjects deny the obligation to help in situations where they consider there is no need (as in sits. 7, 12, 15), or where meeting the need is the responsibility of the recipient himself (sits. 7, 12), or of some one else like the State (sits. 15, 16).

2. Concern for the recipient, his need and welfare

The sense of obligation is strongly reinforced in some of the subjects by a genuine interest in the welfare of other people and the wish to promote their comfort or enjoyment. Sometimes this interest has its roots in an already existing relationship, as between friends (sit. 19), parent and child (sit. 13), or close relatives (sit. 7). Sometimes the relation may be no more than that the person belongs to the same community and so is part of the "village picture" (sit. 8). However, most of the subjects can feel this keen interest in any one who happens to be in need. They feel a kinship with all other human beings and so sympathise with their want. The sympathy is aroused by

the plight of the person, they are sorry for him and are glad to do what they can for his relief and comfort. This is especially the case with AO, PH, JM, & KA who are warm-hearted, cheerful, and socially responsive people, showing genuine pleasure in promoting the enjoyment of others. With one exception, AO, they are willing also to accept help from others. In AO sensitivity, concern, and the ability to identify with the aims of others are combined with such a strong sense of obligation to manage alone that she can never judge a situation in which she is to respond as the recipient in the same way as she would were she to respond as the donor. Consequently, she will help another person in a need where she herself would stoutly resist any offer of assistance. Two other subjects, RE and BL, are also warmly sympathetic, but personal relations are a problem to them. They will help as long as the relationship is potentially neutral or friendly, but not if hostility is present. BL is held back also by her fondness for money. These cheerful, friendly subjects seem often to respond quite spontaneously, without much thought or reflection: "Yes, certainly, he'll gladly help".

Occasionally D's concern and sympathy are with the need rather than with the person suffering it. Little help is given in this case. HR is the best example of this. An orphan, deposited with a large foster family at the age of about $1\frac{1}{2}$ months, HR has so often been in need himself that one would expect his sympathy with others

to be more personal, but his reaction is mainly that of identification with the recipient and he cannot easily imagine himself in the role of the donor. This probably occurs with several of the other subjects as well, especially in those cases where they have themselves been in similar situations. Only when sensitivity to need born of personal experience is reinforced with real concern for R is help given (cf. PH & AO).

Conspicuous among the subjects is the absence of a feeling of relationship with their own village as an organized entity (as opposed to the individuals comprising the community), and with the King and nation. Some (JM, PH, KA) are mildly sympathetic, but only AO feels any bond between herself and her village administration, King, and country. The rest are indifferent, even antagonistic.

Ill-feeling, or the absence of any special tie or affection between D and R is rarely mentioned as a reason for refusing. Neither is meanness. And they occur only in the responses of HR, BL, RE, and MB.

3. D's capacity to help, and the gain or cost involved for him

a. The ability of the donor to help: This is rarely mentioned, except by SL and HR. The latter frequently pleads that family commitments preclude his being able to help others: "I'm a family man, I haven't time". If the cost is negligible he may be quite ready to help (sits. 10, 15). SL, who is independent and rather well off

financially, assumes that D will be able to give (sit. 9). For the other subjects D's capacity is not an issue; they consider that if D wants to contribute, he will, irrespective of whether he is in a position to do so easily or not, but the size of his contribution may vary according to whether he is rich or poor (PH in sits. 7, 13; MB in A4).

It is recognised that advantages and disadvantages of many kinds may accompany an act of helping and may play a part in the decision.

b. The kind of help required may influence the donor: A practical task may be pleasant, or distasteful, in itself. HR, MB, & BL are especially affected by the nature of the task (BL in sits. 10, 13, 18; MB in sits. 8, 10; HR in sit. 7). AO may dislike a task such as loading timber, but her feeling of obligation to help and her concern for R overcome the dislike. HR is most influenced by the inherent nature of the task.

c. Certain rewards may attract D: For instance, payment is usually expected for services rendered, except where the task is pleasant in itself, though it varies with the urgency of the need and the cost in time of giving help. All the subjects except AO and KA expect payment for performing a job of work for some one and except for RE, BL, and PH they also expect it for transporting a sick person to hospital or searching for a lost man, though when life is at stake

no one will make it a condition for helping.

d. That help given will be reciprocated is expected: Most of the subjects expect that, if they were in a similar situation in the future, R would be as ready to help them in return, though this is not an incentive, except for HR who fears the possibility of reprisal, should he refuse to help (sit. 8). Reprisal, it will be remembered, is strongly condemned, but it is feared nonetheless.

e. The prestige of giving: The prestige that giving entails is a prime consideration for HR. He will help even when he can ill afford to do so, if he wins prestige by it.

f. Other non-material rewards: AO and KA expect no rewards at all for giving apart from R's respect (KA in sit. 7) and the satisfaction of her own good conscience (AO). BL and MB will be "repaid by God" for helping (sit. 8), while for PH and JM rewards of any kind never are an issue, nor a condition; they are incidental, if they do occur, never an incentive.

g. Being interrupted in a current activity: The disadvantage that most often makes helping difficult for D is being interrupted in, or prevented from, doing something he is engaged upon and wishes to continue with (KA, SL, etc), be it work or pleasure.

h. The inconvenience and work involved in having an old father in the home deter BL and HR (in sit. 13), while

i. the expense and difficulty of bringing up a strange child

deter PH and HR, who are especially sensitive also to the expected
j. criticism of outsiders in this case. This is in line with
HR's other remarks, but surprising from PH.

4. How typical the subjects believe themselves to be of their
community

In general the subjects believe that they conform to the
general village pattern. They were asked to assess the opinion and
behaviour of other people and mostly they asserted that other people
would react just as they did; only BL hesitated to say what others
would do - she is too uncertain of herself, apparently, and too un-
certain of other people's reactions to venture to predict them.

Occasionally some subjects consider that others might be more
generous than they are (RE, SL, AO, PH). Sometimes these "deviants" are
respected for their attitude, e.g. PH: "With a woman there will be
more mother-love than with a man, who is more vulgar". But sometimes
their motives are condemned, e.g. AO: "It's vanity to go to impress
the MPs", or RE: "It's stupid to go because some one in authority
wants it".

Occasionally subjects consider that others might refuse where
they would help. Enmity might be a reason, though they, and the rest
of the village, would disapprove of this. RE believes that the
community would however sanction D's refusal to help because R did
not offer to pay him. When people refuse where HR would give, it is

because they don't think, wish to be revenged, or are well-to-do and as a result unsympathetic to the need of others. HR condemns these attitudes with such vehemence that his identification with R in these instances seems beyond doubt.

Some of the subjects had to be badgered into considering refusal as a possibility in the situations where they themselves would help, as they maintained that people just would not refuse. This was especially the case with AO and PH, but also with JM, MB, and KA. "People are kind and humane and willing to help ... and anyhow, giving is contagious." "They don't refuse - if they're rich they give a lot, if they're poor, a little." However, when forced to consider the possibility, they say that D must himself be sick, or poor, or old, or he must be busy with important work, or doesn't think the cause very necessary. MB admits that a few people just are mean, or don't think, while KA suggests they possibly haven't time, or do not consider others much; if any one refused in sits. 11 and 13 he must be very hard-hearted. PH is aware that it is said that some people refuse to help former enemies or their old parents, or will not contribute to the King's jubilee. But their attitudes are understandable, and PH, while not agreeing with them, would not condemn them. "They may be embittered through the loss of dear ones in the war", or "the practical difficulties of caring for an old parent may be great", or they may not feel much attachment for the King. Except for a good reason, normal people do not refuse. Those who do refuse unreasonably must be

"morons or sadists" and consequently can only be pitied.

In general it may be said that the subjects make a realistic assessment of their fellow villagers. MB, PH, JM, and KA are especially realistic. However, their expectations of others do reflect their own attitudes. AO, JM, and PH are on the whole more generous in their opinions of others and HR decidedly more sceptical than both my informants' and my own observation and experience of the villagers would suggest.

5. Reaction to refusal and the problem of conflict

In general the subjects say that D's refusal to help would be accepted by R. MB believes that R would be completely indifferent to it, PH that he might complain but would regard it as reasonable, while HR considers that R would refuse to help the next time that D needed help, "not out of vengefulness, but to show him what refusal was like". This again is consistent with the subjects' attitudes when responding as recipients.

The subjects vary in the degree to which they can reconcile conflicting demands such as the mandate to give with D's own self-interest, or the wish to give with the long-term interest of R (sit. 12). BL is most torn by conflict, PH, JM, KA, MB, and SL least so. RE and AO make compromises, or err on the generous side.

6. Miscellaneous features

Several minor features of interest are revealed in the interviews:

- a. the "persuasive" effect which persistent asking has on MB may be contrasted with the antagonism which asking arouses in RE;
- b, the conviction that giving will be rewarded by God (AO, BL, MB);
- c. the fact that all the subjects except RE tend disdainfully to ignore the status and power of a person in authority who appeals on behalf of some one else; HR and FH would resent a bumptious, domineering manner, but they would not "take it out" on the victim, though such a manner would spoil the pleasure which they might otherwise have had in helping.

C. RECEIVING

1. The obligation of an able-bodied person to work and support himself

This is recognised by all the subjects, without exception, which suggests a strong cultural pressure in this direction. It follows also that the self-respect of the individual and his prestige among his fellow villagers depend to a considerable extent upon his fulfilment of this demand, though the subjects apparently vary in the strength of their prestige needs, e.g. MB, KA, RE, and JM seem little interested in prestige, or else theirs rests on other qualities. The general inclination, however, is for persons to reject the help of others and to try to manage on their own. Other aspects of the situation or of the personality of the subject may reinforce this tendency.

On the other hand, certain circumstances may be generally

accepted as modifying this obligation, or the loss of self-respect and prestige may be avoided by the adoption of a special technique e.g. as in C. 5. a. p. 241, stressing R's difficulties and the courageous efforts at self-help he has already made. In some cases the problem arising when the need for help and the need to manage alone occur together is resolved harmoniously, in others there is conflict.

2. The nature of the need in which a person finds himself may mitigate his responsibility and lead him to accept help

Opinions range from the extreme position of AO, who does not recognise any circumstances as a valid excuse for R to yield up his responsibility to fend for himself, to the extreme evidenced by MB, who believes that help may be accepted or requested in all the kinds of need described in the test situations, apparently with little loss of status. Although MB admits that it isn't always pleasant to ask, little else seems to matter except the need and its satisfaction. Strong social sanction applies to the giving of help: "No one is allowed to be without help", so accepting it in need is almost a duty. A similar position is taken by SL, who rejects help only when his manly prowess is threatened.

The other subjects agree that the following needs are legitimate cases for help: sickness in old age, if the recipient is really incapacitated and the need is urgent (though for some the mere incapacitation is reason enough); a young person's need for education

to prepare him for earning his living, and also his wish to indulge in a hobby (although some subjects feel that the donor should be recompensed here); accident, where life is in danger (a valid circumstance to all but three of the subjects).

Losses that threaten R's means of livelihood, e.g. loss of husband, house, horse, or job are rarely held to relieve him of his responsibility. Although these losses are "acts of God" and R cannot in any way be blamed for them, and although the majority of subjects consider that seeking help in these is justifiable, only a minority can do so without shame.

Finally, it may be noted that managing to carry a heavy load is very much a matter of prestige for the adult subjects, so much so that no one except the old woman, the young girl, and possibly the man, HR, would relinquish it, except in special circumstances. The role relation of men and women also plays a part here, however. It is socially unacceptable for a man to let a woman carry a heavy load, and no one would do so except the old woman MB.

3. The possibility of paying for the help, or compensating D for it in some way may encourage R to accept

In some cases the wish not to relinquish his responsibility (AO in sits. 2, 3, 8), or not to become involved with a particular donor (PH in sits. 2, 4) will cause R to make an impersonal arrangement with a money lender rather than accept personal help. Or the belief

in the necessity to repay any help received while his means are too limited to make this possible will lead him to prefer physical hardship to the anxiety of monthly repayments (BL in sit. 2, and AO). Thus R avoids "being helped".

However, on other occasions, PH and BL and three other subjects recognise that help may be accepted or requested with impunity, and their self-respect and independence preserved, by paying for the help - in other words, they engage D's services in a "business arrangement", on a basis of complete equality with him, while still admitting to being helped (PH and JM in sits. 5, 8; BL in sits. 2, 4, 5; SL and HR in sit. 5).

If no direct "business arrangement" can be made, compensation may be attempted in some other way. There is a feeling that help or gifts must be requited in detail. Partly this is due to the sense of responsibility and the wish to be independent and not indebted to any one, but it may also be an acknowledgement of the kindness of the donor and R's wish to show his appreciation for the sacrifice D has made. With AO, it is probably mainly the former and she usually wishes to requite, strictly in kind and amount, gifts which she could not refuse, though a small thing that some one has offered in kindness she will acknowledge without any feeling of obligation other than warm thanks and a prayer for the blessing of God on the donor. KA, RE, and BL want to repay help given by relatives and friends mainly out of

consideration for the D of small means, and the stronger the bond of affection the greater is their willingness to repay. BL will, but KA and RE will not, repay institutions whose function is the dispensing of help in need. To a minor degree HR evidences a wish to acknowledge kindness; he will repay a neighbour to do a job when his (the neighbour's) being willing to do it is itself help enough cf. Appendix C, p. C49, and he will want at least to thank a donor, though the number of thank yous depends upon the size of the gift and its value to him, HR, rather than on the good-will or sacrifice of the donor.

4. Help may be accepted as part of a relationship of social responsiveness, friendship, and reciprocity

Where warm, friendly relations exist between D and R, respect is not threatened, nor prestige at stake and help may be passed from one to the other as part of a general give-and-take relationship. Several subjects speak of the ease with which help can be accepted from members of a social group with whom the R is identified (BL, KA). But PH is unique among the subjects for the complete reciprocity he displays, in feeling and action. The responsive companionship he enjoys with others and his trust in their genuine kindness and goodwill, make it comparatively easy for him to receive, despite his high prestige needs. Above all, he is ready to be called upon by others in their possible future needs.

In contrast to PH, BL is unsure of herself and very dependent

upon the good-will of others, and HR is more mistrustful of his fellowmen than any other of the subjects tested; they, together with AO, reject help most. AO is a case on her own - she is willing to give, but her giving is somewhat compulsive, despite being well-meant, spontaneous, and born of sympathy. She never accepts. One feels that she has stuck at one level in her personal relations whereas the personality of PH is more complex, flexible, and mature, and more adaptable to the requirements of the situation.

5. The loss of prestige may be avoided by adopting a special technique

a. Initiating an offer: One subject, HR, believes that, by diplomatically displaying his own resourcefulness and reluctance to be helped while casually indicating his need to a likely donor, he will succeed in having an offer made to him without losing any of his reputation for self-reliance. Whether he does in fact succeed in this would depend, no doubt, upon the gullibility of the donor approached, or upon his willingness to allow himself to be manouvred into making an offer.

b. Denying any loss of prestige in receiving and putting the onus or the blame on the donor: If a person is obliged to support himself, other people may be considered equally obliged to offer to help him when he is in need, merely because they are better off. If they neglect to do so, or do so grudgingly, they are to blame for the recipient's having to ask and the shame he must suffer on that account; they are the ones who ought to feel the shame (HR). The recipient can

thus protect himself by projecting his own shame on to them. (Cf. also PH's story of the man's angry reaction to refusal in sit. 4, Appendix C, p. C33).

c. Ignoring the shame, again by putting the onus on the donor: In acquiescing to the offer of help from another person, R puts the responsibility on to him, D, to have judged the situation aright. This is one of the circumstances which make the accepting of an offer so much easier than having to ask.

6. A person may capitulate to the need, suffering the shame or other disadvantages of being helped

Capitulating to the need and putting up with the consequences is a temptation of "human nature" from which some subjects (e.g. PH) rally, while others do not.

Several of the subjects occasionally consider that the advantages of being helped outweigh the possible disadvantages, including the shame attached (JM in sits. 3, 5, 11; SL in sits. 2, 11; HR in sit. 3), e.g. "A thousand crowns! For them you can expect to bow and scrape". Clearly here it is only a question of the strength of respective needs. Others, e.g. RE, may be driven by the discomfort of the need and their own helplessness to accept reluctantly, suffering acutely the shame involved. Whether there are masochistic tendencies in this subject, who is so much at the mercy of circumstances, or whether her whole attitude is coloured by her recent sad experience is not clear. (cf. p. C52.)

7. Joy in the struggle, in the triumph of managing alone, may reinforce the cultural pressure on R to be self-supporting

A certain amount of this pleasure may be assumed from the tone of the responses of KA and JM. It can be directly inferred from the comments of PH, and it is explicitly and strongly expressed by AO. It is the mark of healthy, active people who are confident in their capacity to cope with what turns up, and are willing to plunge in and take the consequences. PH and AO exhibit no self-pity in their answers, no feeling of being a victim at the mercy of hostile circumstances, on the contrary, AO especially, sees in every difficult situation a challenge to personal ingenuity and endurance.

8. R's appraisal of D's capacity to give, and his wish not to burden him cause him to reject help

The knowledge that D hasn't the means to give will deter some subjects from asking. It would be a waste of time (MB, RE, BL). In others a sense of equity prevails, so that R refuses because he feels that D should not be imposed upon by people who could do more for themselves (AO). This latter attitude is mainly the result of an honest, realistic, objective, intellectual comparison.

Genuine sympathy with the donor and unwillingness to cause him undue embarrassment or inconvenience occurs in several of the responses. R tempers the amount he takes to the capacity of D (HR, KA, JM, RE, BL). Sympathy is especially characteristic of AO and to a less degree of BL. Part of AO's sympathy might be due to her identification with D.

A person like AO who has herself often been embarrassed by being asked to give will hesitate to accept an offer, and will not ask for it. There is the possibility also that BL's reluctance to accept money may be due partly to her own unwillingness to part with it, which unwillingness she in turn projects on to the donor from whom she cannot accept unless he does give willingly.

It is to be noted that PH rarely mentions the donor's capacity to give, or an unwillingness to burden him, which may well be due to his confidence in himself and in others and to his own readiness to reciprocate help.

9. R's distrust of D, of his willingness to help, and of his motives for helping

The subjects differ in the kind of relationship they desire with the donor. A few are completely indifferent to who and how he is (SL, MB, JM). Those who are most conscious of D's part in the relationship are HR, BL, PH and RE. MB and AO exhibit no scepticism at all, nor distrust of his willingness to help, nor of his motives. BL, and to a less degree RE, are greatly dependent upon D's affection and good-will. Unless they can be sure of D's friendship and willingness to give, BL refuses and RE is reluctant to accept or to ask. PH resents condescension of any kind in D, any tendency on his part to pose as a benefactor. Unless D give spontaneously and gladly, the state of social companionship and reciprocity of feeling and behaviour which is so valuable to PH is destroyed, and D's giving merely humil-

iates R, making acceptance impossible. HR is the most sceptical of all the subjects. He seems incapable of imagining that a person could give out of sheer kindness of heart and expects taunts and criticism and interference from reluctant donors. Perhaps the less self-respect a person has, the more he expects - and invites - criticism and hostility from others in his community. HR's gaol sentences will not have increased his self-respect.

For most of the subjects one donor, the District Council, is anathema. This D "gives to the poor", and poverty is a shame and a disgrace. The Council is also, apparently, harsh and impersonal in its treatment of people. Its help is accepted only in cases of extreme urgency. From observation it appears that this aversion to the Council is due, at least in part, to the personality of the man who administers its funds (cf. Chapter III B. 6, pp. 58-59).

10. The necessity of asking will often deter a person from seeking help

RE, AO, and HR are particularly averse to asking, and all except MB say that they dislike it. Partly this reluctance is due to fear of refusal and distrust of the donor and his reaction to being asked; his hostility might be aroused. Partly it is due to the stigma which the culture attaches to asking. It is presumptuous to ask. Moreover, asking classifies you with beggars who have no self-respect at all. In the real life of the village community I found that only two people asked favours of me very readily; one of these was MB, who in the tests expressed no aversion to asking; another was an

educated Lapp, a middle-aged unmarried woman, who in many respects was said by the local Norwegians to be typical of her race, although in being educated and unmarried she was a-typical. On the whole, the test results on this point, expressing the cultural ideal of self-reliance, seemed no more at variance with daily behaviour than the ideal generally is with the actual.

D. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The interviews have given much greater insight into the complexity of giving/receiving relationships than could be gained from the single question and answer method for the student group.

The study of the responses of the nine subjects interviewed has shown that there is a general feeling of obligation to help a person in a need situation at the same time as there are strong cultural pressures on able-bodied people to reject help and to support themselves. Thus some degree of conflict around help is built into the culture.

Both the obligation to help and the obligation to rely on oneself may be modified in certain circumstances depending, for example, on the kind of need and what other advantages and disadvantages are involved. But a person's own needs and scale of values, the degree of his social responsiveness, and his sense of security appear to affect not only the amount of help he gives and takes but the quality of feeling that accompanies his giving and the degree to which he can accept without shame and without loss of prestige and self-respect.

They also determine how easily a person can refuse to give and take, that is, whether he can resolve conflicting elements without suffering from guilt or resentment.

The interviews have shown that the subjects who give most (KA, JM, RE, PH and AO) are those who have a strong sense of obligation reinforced by genuine sympathy with other people and the wish to promote their well-being. There is one exception to this, however, BL who has a strong sense of obligation but whose will to give often comes into conflict with inhibiting considerations like her own fondness for money, for example. In one case also (RE) the obligation and sympathy are limited to members of her own immediate circle.

Those who give least appear to be more dependent than the others on comfort and material possessions, but the outstanding characteristic of two of them (HR, BL) is their insecurity in personal relations, and of a third his apparent indifference to other people (SL). HR seems very distrustful of others (although he quickly strikes up a superficial acquaintance with a stranger) and BL, though anxious to have good relations, is frightened of people. (RE, who gives a lot, also is afraid, but her giving score is high because she is very generous within her close circle of family and friends). MB, the exception in the group, is out-going, confident and generous, but she is old and she expects as much in return when she gives.

The subjects fall into two groups also in the amount of help accepted: there are those who accept a lot and those who do not.

Those who accept most are those whose prestige needs are low or linked with other attributes (JM, KA), or who are secure in (KA, JM, MB), or care little for (SL), social relations, or who cannot resist the material and practical advantages of the help (MB, SL, and to a less extent BL). Two subjects (BL, RE) with little self-confidence acquiesce to the drive of the need, suffering greatly from the shame and loss of prestige.

Those who accept least are first of all those who enjoy testing their own powers of self-help and whose self-respect also rests partly on this sturdy self-reliance (PH, AO); they accept only in certain special needs, if at all, and when strict repayment of the help can be made. But they do so in a spirit of warmth and friendly reciprocity with the donor. In AO, however, this sympathy with the donor is so intense that she tends to reject all help. The others who accept least (BL, HR), and who incidentally also give least, are very insecure in their social relations and are distrustful of the donor and his motives. Further HR's acute need for prestige rests on maintaining the appearance of independence and self-reliance and his problem is to get as much as he can without losing this. BL, on the other hand, resembles PH and AO more in that she likes to earn her reputation for self-reliance.

It will have been noticed that the giving and receiving groups cut across one another: about half the subjects who give a lot also take a lot, while the other half take much less or nothing. Of those

Both persons will however give readily. Again, dislike and distrust of the donor may cause one person to reject his help because he wishes to avoid any unpleasantness with him (BL). Another person accepts despite the donor and "never mind about his reactions!" (SL). Both will resent giving. Finally the urge toward self-sufficiency may cause one person to reject help, another to accept it. With the first, self-sufficiency needs to be demonstrated, so the help is rejected (HR); with the second, it exists, there is no need to emphasise it and the person can afford to accept without losing prestige (PH). The first person, being insecure, gives when his prestige is enhanced, not otherwise; the second is generous in his giving.

To summarise: the social transaction of giving and receiving help is a focal point on which features of cultural outlook and many traits of individual personality converge. The information gathered in the interviews shows that people react to a need situation in different ways and that their reaction depends as much upon other needs and characteristics of their personality as on the immediate aspects of the need situation.

The example of those subjects who both give and receive fairly freely compared with those who do not suggests the following conclusion: that the more stable a person is emotionally, the more sociable (in the sense of socially responsive) and the more secure in personal relations with others, the more balanced will his attitudes to giving and receiving be, that is, he will be able both to give and to receive

(and to refuse to give and to receive) realistically and without compulsion, hostility, or injury to himself or to his partner in the transaction.

CHAPTER IX

THE RELATION OF THE MAIN FINDINGS OF THE RESEARCH TO
CURRENT OPINIONS ON GIVING AND RECEIVING

The research substantiates certain of the opinions on Lapp giving and receiving which were expressed by the informants quoted in Chapter III. It helps to explain some of these attitudes and indicates areas in which certain attitudes are changing.

The research also confirms some of the opinions on giving and receiving which are to be found in current psychological, social welfare, and political science literature and which were described in Chapters I and II. It questions the validity of others.

The findings will be considered under the following headings.

A. THE FINDINGS IN RELATION TO OPINIONS CURRENT IN LAPLAND

I. General willingness to give help in need

a. In situations where the possibility of helping was put:

Whether or not the subjects are "rare givers" in real life the results in Chapters V, VII, and VIII have demonstrated that in those situations where the possibility of helping was put to them, both student and adult groups felt strong cultural pressures to help people in need. When a person's life was known to be in danger few subjects failed to suggest helping, even when to help would cause the donor considerable inconvenience (e.g., in sit. G8). Other needs also were recognised, for example, a young person's

wish to go to school. Sometimes help was readily forthcoming even when the need was not urgent; in those cases the donor was fond of the recipient or there were aspects of the situation that made helping pleasurable for him (par. v, p. 195 and par. b, p. 185).

When help was refused in the situations where the possibility was put it was mainly because the donor was committed to another activity (e.g. in sit. G 7), or he considered that a child should and could manage a set task on his own, or he lacked the time or resources to help, or the task was disagreeable in itself or brought him no advantage.

In accord with their reputation the adults proved very unwilling to help clear the village of rubble left from the war. They were also reluctant on the whole to care for an aged parent. In the latter instance the attitude of the students agreed with that of the adults. In the former it was diametrically opposed, the result perhaps of training in the development of a community spirit and of experience in social co-operation.

b. In situations where the possibility of help was not suggested:

When the subjects were left to react in their own way to the need described help was given less frequently. The responses indicated that the need was often not noticed, or help was not seen as possible, or the subject did not see himself as the appropriate helper, and this may explain why help is sometimes not given by the Lapps in situations where observers from another culture would expect it to be given.

2. Willingness to accept help needed

In Chapter III reference was made to the Lapps being regarded as "Nature's most cheerful receivers". Help was indeed accepted fairly readily in the test situations, often cheerfully, but sometimes ruefully, as the only alternative to suffering want. A gift of skis from an uncle was a very acceptable form of help, so was the chance to go to school, confirming informant Kj's statement that "they are very keen to get grants to go to school" (Chapter III, p. 56). However, in the test as a whole help was unacceptable to the students approximately 26% of the time and to the adults approximately 30% of the time (cf. Tables 9a & 9b, p. 108). There was evidence among both students and adults of strong drives toward independence, self-sufficiency, and self-realisation, and being helped was by no means regarded as the most satisfying way out of a difficulty on every occasion for every subject.

3. The main circumstances affecting the giving and accepting of help

a. Giving:

Many circumstances and relations were said to influence a donor in his decision to help some one in need. But feeling sorry for a person (or for people) in a precarious situation (such as the refugees, the man lost in the mountains, and the orphan) and being fond of some one (such as the child wanting help with his task) were the reasons most frequently given for helping. With the students (not the adults) affection for their

village played a major role in their decision to help clear the rubble in situation G 16. Situations evoking sympathy, or occurring within an affectionate relationship would therefore appear to attract most help. This would be consistent with informant S's statement that the Lapps are very generous when their emotions are stirred by certain special needs such as the plight of refugees and persons suffering an accident of some kind (cf. p. 54^{+p 205, par. e. i.}). It is also consistent with the pastor's statement that the Lapps are fond of children and that this is the reason why so many foster parents are found among them (cf. p. 55).

However, certain situations appealed to some subjects more than they did to others. For example, aid to the refugees had top priority among the adults and only 6th place among the students (cf. Table 12b, p. 121 and the discussion of this difference on p. 122). On the other hand the students were fonder of their village than the adults were and this was reflected in the amount of help each group gave in situation 16.

Again, sympathy and affection on their own were not always decisive. Although many subjects felt sympathetic towards the orphan (sit. G 11) and the child seeking help with a set task (sit. G 12), help was not often given in these situations. In the case of the orphan the incidental difficulties and disadvantages associated with bringing up a strange child militated against help being given. In the second case help was refused mainly because the child was to be trained to accept responsibility.

Finally, help was sometimes given when sympathy was lacking. In these cases the obligation to help was strongly felt because life was in danger (sit. G 14), or helping cost the donor so little and the task in itself was pleasurable (sit. G 10).

Sympathy and affection played an important role in giving, but other considerations such as the sense of obligation to help, the incidental advantages and disadvantages entailed in helping, and so on, also influenced giving.

b. Accepting:

In the Receiving situations the urgency of the need combined with the recipient's lack of resources and alternative means of relief were the main reasons mentioned for asking for help, or accepting help offered. But in several cases the object offered (e.g. money, or skis), or what the help would enable the recipient to do were strong attractions. Sometimes the capacity and willingness of the donor to help were considered and on occasion, with some subjects, all of the positive attractions of being helped vied with the person's urge to be independent and self-sufficient, even in situations of extreme biological danger, or were weighed against certain incidental disadvantages connected with the acceptance of help, such as the old man's having to give up his accustomed way of life if he went to live with his daughter.

It was clear from both student and adult responses that great prestige attached to earning one's own livelihood and supplying one's own needs for food and clothing and shelter. This accords

with comments made by my informers and helps in part also to explain the underlying feelings of inferiority that were described in Chapter III p. 62, for if the culture attaches a high prestige value to keeping themselves in food and clothing and if their economic circumstances militate against their being able to fulfil this requirement (III 5, p. 53) self-respect and prestige must suffer.

For adult men it was also a matter of prestige to be able to perform a task requiring physical strength and endurance, such as carrying a heavy load, or managing an unruly reindeer.

4. The attitude to the aged

Much has been written in accounts of Lapp culture of the suffering endured by the aged. It was mentioned also by my informants (cf. p. 54) and by one of the adult subjects (PH, p. C82). Among the nomadic Lapps in times past the aged who no longer were able to follow the herd were left behind to perish of exposure in the snow. This custom has often been cited as an example of "Lapp callousness" to suffering. Smith (1938), however, describes the grief expressed by certain Lapps when obliged to leave their parents in this way; no alternative was available to them, if the younger members of the family were to survive. The same custom is followed by some nomadic Australian aboriginal hunters. The same criticism has been made of their "callousness". The same grief has been witnessed and described (Albrecht, 1971). The uncomplaining patience with which both Lapps and Australian aborigines endure

extreme physical pain and deprivation should be remembered when an attempt is made to understand their earlier acceptance of the custom of leaving their aged behind to die (Rilett 1956 & 1959).

Other alternatives are now available to the nomadic aged, and informants say that with the introduction of old folks homes and age pensions in Norway the plight of both the nomadic and the settled aged has greatly improved (cf. p. 54).

The results of the test situations indicate that caring for an aged parent in the home of an adult child is not the accepted solution to the problem of the aged. Help was given and accepted in this need less than in most other needs. Also the paucity of reasons for taking and refusing to take an aged father, and the profusion of reasons for accepting and refusing to accept help from a daughter in these circumstances suggest that this may be an area of conflict: ambivalence of feeling perhaps on the part of the child toward the parent, or conflict between the wish to care for him and a shrinking from the work and inconvenience involved in having him in the house when the family is poor and the house already overcrowded. There is evidence also of ambivalence of feeling on the part of the parent toward his daughter: the wish on the one hand to be with her and share in her family life and on the other hand a shrinking from over-involvement as well as unwillingness to give up an accustomed way of life and the freedom enjoyed as master in his own home.

5. Asking for help and expecting an offer

The subjects said that they did not like, and sometimes did not dare, to ask yet there was little difference in the frequency with which help was requested and offers of help were accepted. However, the fact that they were more inhibited in supplying reasons for their decisions to ask and not to ask than they were in supplying reasons for accepting and refusing an offer would indicate emotional involvement of some kind when asking was necessary. The test results therefore confirm the opinions of all informants (except the welfare officer) that needed help was applied for even though applicants disliked having to do so (cf. pp. 56 & 57).

A further finding in relation to asking is relevant here: namely that noted on p. 132 that there appears to be a tendency for people who do not expect offers of help needed to ask for it, while those who do expect an offer are unwilling to ask. The contrast is interesting: on the one hand there is the person who assumes that if you need help it is up to you to ask and not expect that people are attending to you and forestalling your request; on the other hand there is the person who expects more spontaneous attentiveness from others and may be resentful, hurt, or 'proud' if it is not forthcoming. The former are perhaps the more reliant or better adapted to a rather matter-of-fact social climate. If both types are represented among the "subsidy seekers" (cf. p. 54) it is clear which group "suffers" more. In my first

week at the School the steam heating system in my room broke down. Fearing that I had done something to cause it I reported the matter at once and was assured that the maintenance officer would attend to it immediately. I waited, freezing, for three days, then mentioned the matter again. This time it was attended to -- to my great relief requiring only the turn of a screw driver to release an airlock and send the heat flowing. When I expressed my relief, and regret at having been cold for so long, the Lapp member of staff commented: "The more fool you to have waited so long. You should have persisted in getting the thing seen to". This incident and the above findings in relation to asking cast added light on the problem discussed in A I. b, p. 253. Perhaps help is not given as often in Lapland as observers from other cultures would expect also because it is assumed that people will ask if they want helping, so it is not necessary to rush in with a spontaneous offer of help that may not be needed.

6. Wide personal differences in attitude to giving and receiving

More will be said in the following section about the personal differences between subjects, but it should be noted here that the informants had emphasised this aspect when they stated (cf. p. 54) that they found it hard to generalise about Lapp attitudes.

B. THE FINDINGS IN RELATION TO CURRENT OPINIONS IN PSYCHOLOGICAL, SOCIAL WELFARE, AND POLITICAL WRITINGS

The major finding of the research (cf. p. 250) that people react to a need situation in different ways and that their reaction depends as much upon other needs and characteristics of their personality as on the immediate aspects of the need situation has considerable relevance to the theories described in Chapters I & II of the thesis. These will now be considered in detail.

1. Giving as intelligent bargaining

There was some evidence among both groups of subject of this type of giving, where payment or reciprocation or a non-material reward of some kind was expected in return for help given (cf. VIII B c - e, pp. 231-232). Or where the advantages of helping were weighed against the disadvantages (cf. Tables A22 ~~XXXXXX~~, pp. A44 & A45). But giving also occurred without expectation of benefit or reward (cf. VIII B f, p. 232) and "bargaining" in the form of reprisal or withholding help for help not given (a "tit for tat" transaction) was extremely rare.

2. Giving as an automatic rational reaction that occurs when one's own needs have been met

Help was sometimes refused because the donor's own need was just as great, or because he lacked the time or the resources to help (cf. VII C I a, p. 182). But help was sometimes not given when the donor was considered well able to do so financially, the outstanding example of this being subject SL (p. 231).

The theory of course depends on one's definition of "need"

and upon the individual's interpretation of what is a need for him. The results of the interviews especially have shown that for many of the subjects affluence was a paucity of wants rather than an accumulation of measurable wealth (cf. the descriptions of the subjects in Appendix C). On the whole, as was noted in par. e, p. 191 and par. a, p. 230, the donor's capacity to give was not an important issue among these subjects. D's wish to give was often quite independent of whether his own needs had been met or not. But there were notable exceptions to this general trend (e.g. Ss HR and BL). There were indications in these cases of early emotional deprivations and of other insecurities and these appeared to underlie the subjects' attitudes to giving and to be exerting a greater influence than material needs.

3. Giving as the expression of feelings of social solidarity, a debt which the luckier members of a community owe to the less fortunate

Apart from the instances cited by Kropotkin (1919), one of the best examples of the working out of this theory in practice is seen in the Fijian 'keri-keri', the form of sanctioned cadging described by Harding (1966, p. 82). It is seen to some extent among my subjects in the hospitality extended to travellers and in the comments of the subjects quoted in par. v, pp 195 - 196. Apart from these instances, however, there was little evidence of giving from feelings of social solidarity, though the trend observed among the students in this direction will be remembered: the trend away from pronounced individualism towards social co-operation (p. 123).

4. Giving as the sharing of divine endowments

There were no direct references by the subjects to the "sharing of divine endowments", to being entrusted with material goods or endowed with personal capacities to be shared with others, though it might be argued that some of the answers referring to the obligation to help imply such a concept.

There was one interesting variation of the concept in the attitude of one subject (AO, p. C6) who saw each need situation as an opportunity "sent by God" to foster good relations between donor and recipient and to cement the unity of each with God.

5. Giving as a natural, independent instinct or impulse; as the expression of projective identification or of sympathy

It is possible that there is a simple, independent impulse to give; the ready assent responses of the Giving series, if they are not the expression of inhibited reasoning, may be an indication of this. The finding on p. 127 that there appears to be no scale of needs according to which help is given may be another indication of the existence of such an impulse, especially when help is given in the absence of any real need.

If such an independent impulse is a psychological reality, it would explain in simpler terms many of the instances which at present are explained by rational theories deduced from philosophical systems based on the idea of man as a co-operative social animal.

However, the well-known examples of failure to help in situa-

tions of urgent need (p. 127) remain as difficult to explain on the impulse theory as on the theories that ascribe to man an innate co-operative sociability. While Kropotkin blames "lack of social solidarity and ^{lack} (of) exposure to dangers maintaining courage and pluck" for the failure of an urban crowd to help some one in danger of drowning, the experience of persons such as life-savers and life-boat operators seems to indicate that life-saving in such circumstances is a "cultivated impulse" acquired through specialised training in the necessary techniques.

It has been noted that sympathy with the person and his need was the main circumstance influencing a donor to help. The complex nature of what is loosely referred to as sympathy was discussed at some length in Chapter VII, par. 5 a, p. 202 and par. e, p. 205. Careful consideration of the giving scores and of the statements made by the student and adult subjects would indicate that neither sympathy nor projective identification on their own are enough to induce a donor to help. These mechanisms, it was suggested, appeared to provide the insight or understanding of the need but something else was necessary to initiate the helping action, love and concern for the sufferer, for instance. Or some other motivating force such as cultural pressures to give, or the example of others.

6. Giving as the expression of other capacities and interests

There was one humorous example (in sit. G 6) of help being refused because the subject (HR) considered that D was offering to help carry his sack only from curiosity to know what was in it. (HR was known to be an illicit distiller of spirits.)

There were examples of help being given because of the "awakening of his paternal feelings" (PH in G 10, p. C77), or because of the intrinsic appeal of the task required (Ss in G 10 and G 12).

There was no direct evidence of the giving of a specific gift because of early deprivations in that particular area (cf. par. e, p. 9). No direct opportunity was given in the test for testing this possibility. But there was evidence of the opposite effect: an orphan's refusing help to an orphan in a manner that seemed related to his own early deprivations (HR p. C46).

7. Giving as a virtue yielding non-material rewards; as a culture-formed guilt reaction to impulses toward exploitation and aggression; as the indulgence of drives for power and superiority

There was some evidence in the responses of both groups of giving being consciously regarded as a virtue that enhanced a person's self-esteem and his prestige among his fellows (cf. some of the responses on pp. B1 and B2; PH & HR in par. b, p. 227; AO & KA in par. f, p. 232; HR in par. e, p. 232). Only HR's responses refer often to the prestige value of giving.

The tests of course were not designed to probe unconscious

motives, so little evidence is found among the subjects' responses of attitudes that indicate giving as a reaction to unconscious motives towards exploitation and aggression, or as the indulgence of drives toward power and superiority.

In AO's answers there is evidence that her giving is in part a guilt reaction, not to impulses of exploitation and aggression but to an early refusal that occurred apparently from fear of losing her savings.

Some of the references to obligation clearly reflect pressures to give; these may be "culture-formed" (e.g. "A lost man must be looked for." "Decent people would go."), or they may have other origins (e.g. "He'd have a bad conscience if he didn't"). But it is difficult to see these answers as reactions to aggressive impulses or drives for power.

Some of the adult subjects were aware, however, of the possible existence of such motives in others and help was refused in the Receiving series if there was any suspicion of exploitation or superiority on the part of the potential donor (cf. PH, pp. C99 and C100). They discounted such motives, on the whole, however, believing other people, in the main, to be as compassionate and as well-intentioned as themselves (PH, p. C75; AO, p. C8; JM, p. C14).

PH's reference to competitive hostility and to the inferiority of needing is of especial interest (p. C75). Here the drive for "superiority" gives way to compassion, not as a guilt-reaction but because the "capitulation" has occurred and there is no further call for competitiveness.

8. Giving as a vital human need, and as an incidental expression of responsive companionship

This research has not been able to prove that giving is a vital human need, nor that "emotional response from other individuals is the most outstanding ... of man's psychic needs". It did not intend to do so. But the findings demonstrate that for a few people both the giving and the receiving of help can be, not only the pleasurable easing of distress, but a deeply satisfying emotional experience (KA, PH: par. 4, p. 240; S. 13 in sit. A6, p. B23; S. 19 in sits. A4b & A5, p. B24).

Sometimes such giving and receiving is satisfying because it is the tangible expression of an already existing affectionate relationship (par. b, p. 196; par. 4, p. 240; also PH on p. C110 and on p. C114). Sometimes the giving and receiving transaction may create a good relationship, or may even change previously hostile partners into friendly ones (PH, p. C100 and A0, par. ^e ~~2~~, p. C6). Usually, however, the effects are not as dramatic nor as far-reaching as that, and occurred rarely in the tests.

9. Giving as an indication of an individual's development and of his capacity for socialised living

One of the most interesting findings of the research has been the relation indicated between giving/accepting ratios, attitudes toward the giving/receiving transaction, and other personality traits.

The students' results (cf. Tables A26 & A27, pp. A52 & A53)

reveal that in deciding to give or not to give all groups considered the incidental advantages and disadvantages connected with the transaction, all were deterred from helping when busy with their own affairs, and all considered to some degree the donor's capacity to give.

But those who gave most (i.e. the Gmams and Gmals) tended to be influenced more than those who gave least (i.e. the Glams and Glals) by sympathy and by the sense of obligation to help.

Those who gave least tended to refuse to give more because of the donor's lack of time and resources, they more often mentioned the absence of close relations with the recipient and they tended more than the "givers" to believe that R did not need. They were also more influenced by what others did.

In deciding to accept help, or not to do so, all four groups were influenced by what the help enabled them to achieve, by incidental advantages and disadvantages connected with the transaction, by good relations with the donor, and by his capacity, kindness, and willingness to help, but there was a tendency for those who accepted least to consider the donor's capacity and convenience more than the others did, and to refuse more than the others on this account.

The main reason that all four groups accepted help was because of the need and not being able to manage, but the Gmams mentioned this aspect more frequently than the other groups, and the Glals least frequently. The Gmams and Glams tended to be greatly

attracted by the object offered (e.g. money, or skis); the Gmals were least attracted.

Those who gave most (i.e. Gmams and Gmals) tended to accept more for what the help enabled them to achieve than did those who gave least (i.e. Glams and Glals). They refused more from the obligation and wish to manage alone, and because the help was too much.

Those who accepted least (i.e. the Gmals and Glals) were alike in that they preferred to reciprocate or repay help accepted (mainly in a business arrangement), while the Gmams did not mention this possibility at all.

It is clear from the above that certain attitudes to giving tend to occur in conjunction not only with willingness or unwillingness to give, but with a certain giving/accepting ratio. It is not just how willing some one is to give that indicates his attitude in some cases but also how willing he is to accept. The results obtained from the interviews with the adults cast more light on this aspect and reveal more of the personality traits that accompany the giving/accepting ratios and the attitudes to giving and receiving.

The interviews have shown that a person's needs and scale of values, his temperament, his degree of social responsiveness and sense of security (linked perhaps with his early experiences) affect not only how much he gives and takes but the quality of feeling that accompanies the giving and receiving, the degree to which he

can give without injury to the recipient and can himself accept without shame and the loss of prestige and self-respect, and the degree to which he can refuse to give and accept realistically, and without injury to himself or his partner in the transaction.

Suttie has shown in his analysis of responsive companionship that the abstraction of "a responsive state of love into giving and getting with a possible balance of gain or loss is an artificiality of our anxiety ridden minds which cannot get away from the analogy with material transactions" (p. 13). This research has shown that also the material transactions entail much more than the mere transfer of goods and services from one individual to another.

The findings of the research thus only partly support popular tradition and the views of some psychologists that the proportion in which material goods and practical services are given and received is indicative of the individual's development and growth and of his capacity for socialised living. It cannot support the opinion that progress from getting to giving is necessarily the mark of a mature and socially well-adjusted person.

Curle (1955) states that the balanced man is more able to appreciate the needs of his fellows but whether he helps depends on his values. The findings of the present research agree with this view. They would also suggest, however, that the more a person is able both to give and to accept fairly freely, the more

balanced he is shown to be emotionally and socially, the more secure in personal relations with others. For the approach of the balanced man to situations of giving and receiving help in need is realistic, his decision to give and to accept (or to refuse to do so) is taken without compulsiveness, hostility, or injury to himself and others.

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APPENDIX A

TEXT OF THE SITUATIONS

(Straight translation from original Norwegian of the tape)

GIVING SERIES

Open situations

1. Wounded dog

Per is crossing the yard when a dog with a wounded ear comes running right in front of his legs. Per almost falls over the dog. What does he do when he nearly falls over the dog?

2. Man in the river

It is some time after Easter and one of the men from the village is out fishing on the river. A group of men and women, including Per, are standing on the bank not so far away. They're talking. Suddenly the man, leaning out too far over the side of the boat, falls into the deep water. Unfortunately, he can't swim. What happens now?

3. Man on the bus

One evening in the dark time (i.e. winter time) Per is travelling down to the village by bus. At one of the stops a weak-looking little man comes in and as the bus is very crowded he has to stand in the gangway, near where Per is sitting. He looks weak and miserable and his face is very white. He coughs a lot and his hands are stiff with cold. It seems he cannot stand and soon, groaning and half-crying, he sinks down and tries to sit on

the floor. Per notices him and looks enquiringly at him. What does he think?

4. Man worried

In a quiet place a man is sitting with his head in his hands. He looks very worried. Per comes round the corner. He sees the man sitting there. What does Per think when he sees the man sitting there?

5. Jammed door

A man is trying to push open a door. Per is standing beside him. The man says: "This door is always so hard to open. No it's stuck, I can't get it open. But I have to get in." What does Per think? What would the next picture show?

6. School-child

Per lives 6 km. from the village and every morning he drives his son to school with his horse and trap. Along the route there's another family who also have a boy of school age. But they have neither a horse nor a trap. If the boy is to be able to go to school his father will have to hire a vehicle for him and that is expensive. Per approaches the house where the other family live. What will the next picture show?

Fixed situations

7. Minding the shop

Per's cousin Mikkel and his friends have arranged to go fishing. They intend leaving on Friday evening and coming back Sunday evening. On Friday morning, however, Mikkel's father, who is a shopkeeper, has to go to a distant town. Mikkel is very disappointed as he will have to stay at home and mind the shop. But then he goes off to Per who is the same age as he and asks him whether he'll be so kind as to look after the shop for him. But Per has also arranged to go fishing with some other friends. What does he answer? Will he mind the shop?

8. Man lost in the mountains

Here is Per on his way down to the village to do some shopping. Coming down the road towards him is the police sergeant. "Well, that's lucky, Per," says the sergeant. "I was just on my way down to your place. Old Anders went out over the fells yesterday and hasn't returned. His family are afraid he has got lost and they've been down at the police-station to ask me to send out some men to look for him. Will you come?" What does Per answer? Will he go and help look?

9. Refugee help

A group of men and women are sitting at a table drinking

coffee. Today is post day. Coffee and letters go well together. The man who is sitting at the head of the table has received a letter: Per is reading a newspaper. The man at the head of the table says: "Here's a letter from the mayor asking us to support the Appeal for Refugees. As you know there's a special effort being made throughout the country to collect money for food and clothing for the hundreds of thousands of refugees who are still living in camps in Central Europe with nowhere to go and no future to look forward to. There's a subscription list enclosed which I shall leave on the table so that those of you who wish to do so can write down your names. You can put the money in that bowl there." Does Per give anything? What does he think about the matter?

10. Girl on skis

Ella is the daughter of a rich reindeer owner. She lives up in the fells about 8 km. from the village. One afternoon in the dark time she wants to go down to the village to a meeting. She is afraid to go alone and so is very glad when she hears that Per happens to be going down, too. Per lives in the village, but he has been visiting Ella's neighbours that day. So she asks him if she may go along with him. What does Per answer? Is he willing to let Ella come along with him?

11. Orphaned child

There was a sad case in the village recently. The father of a large family fell from a truck and was killed. Here are Per and his wife sitting in their sitting-room discussing the situation.

"Perhaps we could take a child," his wife says. "The two-year-old girl, perhaps?" What does Per answer? Will he take a child? Why?

12. Helping child with task

Per has sent his son to fetch some wood. But the boy comes back and says: "I can't manage it alone, father. Won't you help me?"

What does Per answer? Will he help the boy?

13. Aged father

This is Per's old father. He had been living with his wife in a little house about 2 Norwegian miles from his son's farm. Now his wife has died and it is clear that something has to be done for him. What will Per suggest for him? Will he invite him to come and live with him? What does Per think about having his father come and live with him?

14. Sick wife

It is night. In a house about 12 km. from the village the wife of Per's neighbour is lying ill. The neighbour and Per

have not been specially good friends for a long time now, but Per is the only one in the neighbourhood who owns a horse and sled, so the neighbour decides to go along and ask him if he will drive down to the village and fetch the sister. Per is in bed when the neighbour arrives.

"My wife is worse this evening, Per. Will you be so kind as to drive down to the village and fetch the sister?"

What does Per answer? Will he drive down?

15. Gift to the King

Per is standing reading a notice that's posted up on the notice-board. (It is an appeal to the citizens of Norway for contributions to the national gift to the King on the occasion of his fiftieth jubilee.)

Will Per contribute something to the gift to the King?

What does he think?

16. War damage

The parish pastor is addressing a meeting. Per is there. The pastor says: "As you know, some MPs are coming up from Oslo to visit Finnmark in about 3 weeks time and they will also come to our village. I want to suggest that we get some volunteers together to clear away some of the rubble that has been left by the war.

It looks anything but pretty and is a disgrace to our village. If we could just get a few men and a truck or two it wouldn't take long at all to clear it up.

Does Per volunteer to help? What does he think about the matter?

17. Money for schooling (students only)

One morning Per is talking to a man from the village who tells him of a bright young lad who would like to go to the Youth School, but whose father can't afford to send him. The man says: "It's a great pity that the boy can't go. A few of us thought it would be a good idea if the people in the village contributed and raised the money to send the boy. Could you perhaps help?"

What does Per answer?

18. Loading timber (adults only)

Ole wants to load timber on to a truck. He should have engaged a man to help him but he didn't do so. Now he discovers that he cannot manage to load the timber without help. Not so far away lives Per. Ole comes over to Per who is at home to-day and asks him whether he will help.

Will Per go? What does he think?

19. Money for the cinema (adults only)

Per is out walking one evening. In half-an-hour's time there's to be a cinema show, but Per doesn't like going to the cinema and never goes. His friend, however, is very interested in films, so Per is surprised to meet him going in the opposite direction.

"But don't you want to go to the cinema to-night, Aslak?" he asks. "Yes, sure I do, there's a good film, too, but to-night I'm afraid I can't afford it."

Will Per offer Aslak some money so he can go to the cinema? Why?

RECEIVING SERIES

1. Bereavement

One autumn morning in a village in the north of Finnmark the district nurse is out on her rounds. She passes by a small house where a Lapp mother lives with her four children aged from 4 to 10. A month ago the family lost their father and it is not easy for the mother to support the children and herself.

"I will just slip in and see how they are getting on," the sister says as she passes the house, "I don't think they

always have adequate food and with winter coming on they'll be needing new boots and clothing."

Ten minutes later we find the nurse and Mrs. Berit sitting in the kitchen.

"You know," the sister is saying, "the District Council has funds to be used in just such cases as yours, Mrs. Berit. It works like this: if you went down to the Chairman he would write out an order to one of the stores in the village that they should supply you with food and clothing to a value of so-and-so much and should send the account to him."

Will Mrs. Berit go to the Chairman?

2. Burnt house

The family who lived in this house here lost nearly everything they possessed when it burnt down recently. Like most houses in the district it was not insured so the owner will have to build it up again himself. He knows that others have applied to the "Finnemisjon" for a contribution towards the cost of things they needed. Will he do the same?

3. Money from brother when ill

This is Henrik. He has been ill with TB off and on for a long time, but he can work a little. To-day his brother has come to visit him.

He says: "I've got something for you to-day."

"But that is a thousand crowns!" Henrik exclaims.

"You will accept them?" the brother asks.

What does Henrik say? Will he accept the money?

4a. Drowned horse (version for adults)

Anders and Isak live in the same village. One day Isak meets Anders in the shop and says: "You look unhappy to-day, Anders."

"Yes," Anders replies, "I lost my horse yesterday. It got into the swamp down near the bend in the river and was drowned."

"That's bad luck indeed. Driving passengers is your main source of income, isn't it?"

"Yes."

"You could ask the Finnemisjon for a grant to buy a new horse, you know."

What does Anders answer? Will he ask the FM?

4b. Drowned horse (version for students)

Anders and Isak are neighbours. One day Isak meets Anders in the shop and says: "You look unhappy to-day, Anders."

"Yes," Anders replies, "I lost my horse yesterday. It got into the swamp down near the bend in the river and was

drowned."

"That's bad luck indeed. Driving passengers is your main source of income, isn't it?"

"Yes."

"You could have a loan of my horse, if you like."

What does Anders answer? Will he accept his neighbour's offer?

5. Help with job when ill

Per is ill. He has a high temperature and cannot leave his bed. It looks as though he'll have to spend several days there.

"Hm - several days in bed," he sighs, "and there's that wood that must be loaded on to the sled and taken down to the village. It must go to-night." Per has a neighbour living quite close.

Will he send word to him and ask him whether he would do this job for him?

6. Heavy sack

A man is walking along a path with a heavy sack on his back. Another comes up behind him. "Can I help you to carry that?" he asks.

What does the man with the sack answer? Will he let the other man help him to carry it?

7. Aged father

This is old Samuel. He has been living by himself for a

number of years and up till now has managed quite well. But it's becoming increasingly difficult for him to manage now. Once a week he hobbles down to the village to buy things he needs and to collect his old age pension.

In the same village is an old folks' home. A few of his acquaintances who have no children have moved in there. But Samuel has a daughter and she is visiting him to-day. She suggests that her father should come and live with her and her family.

What does old Samuel answer to this? Will he go to his daughter's?

8. Unemployment

This man is out of work. He needs money. He believes that his friend, who has work, is aware of his situation. Does he expect that his friend will offer him some money? Will he perhaps ask the friend for some?

9. Education

This is a young man 18 years of age. He would very much like to go to the Youth School in the winter. His father is not well off. One morning father and son discuss the young man's future plans. The father says: "If you really want to go I shall manage the school money somehow."

What does the son say? Will he accept his father's offer?

10. Danger

Aslak is driving home (in a reindeer sledge) with some friends of his after a visit to the district dentist earlier in the day. His is the last pulk (sled). For some reason his deer suddenly takes fright, leaps to the side and overturns the pulk. Aslak loses his grip and falls out. The deer springs forward and Aslak cannot get on to his feet again.

Will he call to the others for help?

11. Amusement

Mikkel is 14. He is good at ski-ing but has always had to borrow skis from the school. He would very much like some of his own, and is saving up for them. He has about a quarter of the money required. One day when his uncle is visiting them he says to the boy:

"You ought to have your own skis, Mikkel. You can come along with me this afternoon and we'll go down to the village and buy you a pair."

What does Mikkel answer? Will he go along with his uncle?
What does he do with the money he has saved?

12. Useless help (adults only)

Hans is painting a chest of drawers. An acquaintance from

the village has just come up and wants to help with the painting. But Hans knows that he is rather clumsy with his hands and is afraid that he will spoil the chest.

Will he let the acquaintance help? What will he say to him?

13. Handicapped boy (students only)

One of the boys in the woodwork class at the school has only three fingers on his right hand and although he can manage to do the work of the class it takes him a long time to cut the wood with his hand saw.

Will he ask one of the other boys to cut his wood for him?

14. Cutting wood (students only)

Oscar is busy cutting a big load of wood, which is stacked near the side of a path through the woods, when a person from the village whom he knows slightly comes along the path and stops to talk to him. After a while the other man says: "If you've got another axe I'll give you a hand with this wood."

Will Oscar accept the man's offer to help cut the wood?

15. Hospitality on a journey

Two travellers are driving in a horse and sled across a long stretch of desolate road. Tired and cold they draw in to a small cottage by the roadside.

Will they expect the people in the cottage to offer them hospitality?

TABLE 1a

Table showing the responses of the group of 25 STUDENTS for each of the six OPEN situations in the GIVING series.

Situation	Help given	Need noted or enquiry only	Help not given	Wrong, unclear answer	Missing answer	No evidence of perception of need or of possibility of help	Need seen but no move towards adequate help
1. Wounded dog	11	2	12	-	-	11	3
2. Man in river	16	2	5	1	1	5	2
3. Man on bus	14	2	5	2	2	1	6
4. Man worried	16	7	1	-	1	-	1
5. Jammed door	4	1	20	-	-	13	8
6. School-child	20	2	1	1	1	1	2
Totals	81	16	44	4	5	150	

TABLE 1b

Table showing the initial responses of the group of 25 STUDENTS for each of the eleven FIXED situations in the GIVING series

* = situation presented to students only, not to adults

Situation	Yes	Yes but	No	No but	Wrong, unclear	Missing	
7. Minding shop	4	-	18	-	1	2	
8. Man in mountains	23	-	-	-	1	1	
9. Refugees	19	-	6	-	-	-	
10. Girl on skis	21	-	2	-	2	-	
11. Orphaned child	14	3	1	2	-	5	
12. Helping child	14	-	11	-	-	-	
13. Aged father	13	3	8	-	1	-	
14. Sick wife	21	1	3	-	-	-	
15. Gift to king	19	1	5	-	-	-	
16. War damage	21	-	4	-	-	-	
17. Money for school*	15	1	4	-	3	2	
	184	9	62	2	8	10	275

TABLE 1c

Table showing the responses of the group of 9 ADULTS
for each of the six OPEN situations in the GIVING series

Situation	Help given	Help not given	Wrong, unclear answer	No evidence of perception of need or of possibility of help	Need seen but no move towards adequate help
1. Wounded dog	2	5	2	4	3
2. Man in river	5	4	-	4	-
3. Man on bus	5	3	1	-	2
4. Man worried	4	5	-	-	4
5. Jammed door	4	4	1	-	3
6. School-child	6	3	-	-	3
Totals	26	24	4	54	

TABLE 1d

Table showing the initial responses of the group of 9 ADULTS for each of the twelve FIXED situations in the GIVING series

* = situation presented to adults only, not to students

Situation	Yes	Yes but	No	No but	It depends	Wrong, unclear
7. Minding shop	2	2	4	-	1	-
8. Man in mountains	6	3	-	-	-	-
9. Refugees	9	-	-	-	-	-
10. Girl on skis	8	-	-	-	1	-
11. Orphaned child	5	-	3	1	-	-
12. Helping child	4	-	4	1	-	-
13. Aged father	3	2	1	-	3	-
14. Sick wife	7	1	1	-	-	-
15. Gift to king	5	-	2	-	1	1
16. War damage	3	-	4	-	2	-
18. Loading wood*	5	1	1	-	2	-
19. Money for cinema*	4	-	4	-	1	-
Totals	61	9	24	2	11	1 108

TABLE 2

Table showing the positive scores of BOTH groups in the FIXED GIVING situations when the reservations and "it depends" responses are distributed according to the scoring described in Chapter V A 1.e.

Situation	Students Score	Adults Score
7. Minding shop	4	4
8. Man in mountains	23	8.25
9. Refugees	19	9
10. Girl on skis	21	8.5
11. Orphaned child	16.75	5.25
12. Helping child	14	4.25
13. Aged father	15.25	6
14. Sick wife	21.75	7.75
15. Gift to King	19.75	5.5
16. War damage	21	4
17. Money for school	15.75	-
18. Loading timber	-	5.75
19. Money for cinema	-	4.5
Totals	191.25	73.75

TABLE 3a

Showing the responses of the 9 BOY and 16 GIRL students to the six OPEN and eleven FIXED situations in the GIVING series. Their responses for the situation not shared with the adults (namely No. 17) are shown below the total responses. The responses for No. 17 subtracted from the total gives the number of responses for the 16 situations the adult and student groups had in common.

BOYS	No. of subject	Yes	Yes but	No	No but	Wrong unclear	Missing	Total
	19	11	2	4	-	-	-	17
	6	9	4	4	-	-	-	17
	18	11	-	5	-	-	1	17
	5	10	1	4	-	-	2	17
	1	8	-	8	-	-	1	17
	16	7	-	9	-	1	-	17
	20	6	-	7	-	2	2	17
	24	12	-	5	-	-	-	17
	25	10	-	3	-	2	2	17
	Totals	84	7	49	-	5	8	153
	Less sit. 17	3	1	2	-	2	1	9
		81	6	47	-	3	7	144
GIRLS	13	15	-	2	-	-	-	17
	3	14	-	3	-	-	-	17
	17	13	-	2	-	2	-	17
	14	13	-	3	-	-	1	17
	4	12	-	4	-	-	1	17
	11	13	-	4	-	-	-	17
	2	12	-	4	-	-	1	17
	10	11	1	4	1	-	-	17
	9	11	-	5	-	1	-	17
	23	11	-	3	-	1	2	17
	12	9	1	7	-	-	-	17
	21	9	-	7	-	1	-	17
	22	9	-	8	-	-	-	17
	7	7	-	8	1	-	1	17
	8	8	-	6	-	2	1	17
	15	14	-	3	-	-	-	17
	Totals	181	2	73	2	7	7	272
	Less sit. 17	12	-	2	-	1	1	16
		169	2	71	2	6	6	256

TABLE 3b

Showing the responses of the 4 MEN and 5 WOMEN to the six OPEN and eleven FIXED situations in the GIVING series. Their responses for the two situations not shared with the students (namely Nos. 18 & 19) are shown below the total responses. The responses for Nos. 18 & 19 subtracted from the total gives the number of responses for the 16 situations the adult and student groups had in common

MEN	Subject	Yes	Yes but	No	No but	It depends	Wrong, unclear	Total
	PH	12	-	4	-	2	-	18
	JM	13	-	5	-	-	-	18
	HR	7	1	5	-	5	-	18
	SL	7	-	8	-	3	-	18
	Total	39	1	22	-	10	-	72
	Less	4	-	1	-	3	-	8
		35	1	21	-	7	-	64
WOMEN	AO	10	5	2	1	-	-	18
	KA	13	-	4	-	-	1	18
	RE	12	-	6	-	-	-	18
	MB	7	1	5	1	1	3	18
	BL	6	2	9	-	-	1	18
	Total	48	8	26	2	1	5	90
	Less	5	1	4	-	-	-	10
		43	7	22	2	1	5	80

TABLE 4a

Showing the responses of the group of 25 STUDENTS for each of the 14 situations in the RECEIVING series

Situation	Yes	Yes but	No	No but	Wrong unclear	No answer	
1. Bereavement	13	5	6	-	-	1	
2. Burnt house	12	-	11	-	1	1	
3. Money from brother	13	3	6	-	3	-	
4b.* Drowned horse	18	-	5	-	2	-	
5. Help with job	18	-	3	-	1	3	
6. Heavy sack	21	-	3	-	1	-	
7. Aged father	7	3	14	1	-	-	
8(b). Unemployment (Help to be asked for)	9	-	11	-	-	5	
9. Education	16	5	2	-	1	1	
10. Danger	20	-	4	1	-	-	
11. Amusement	21	-	2	-	2	-	
13.* Handicapped boy	6	-	14	-	5	-	
14.* Cutting wood	16	1	7	-	1	-	
15.* Hospitality	16	-	8	-	1	-	
Totals	206	17	96	2	18	11	350

* = situations presented to students only, not to adults

8(a). Unemployment 10 - 9 - 3 3

Situation 8(a) is not separate from situation 8(b) so the figures for this situation are not included in the total. For explanation of this see Chapter V C 3.

TABLE 4b

Showing the responses of the group of 9 ADULTS for each of the situations in the RECEIVING series

Situation	Yes	Yes, but	No	No, but	It depends	Wrong, unclear	
1. Bereavement	5	1	2	1	-	-	
2. Burnt house	6	-	3	-	-	-	
3. Money from brother	5	-	3	-	1	-	
4(a). Drowned horse*	6	-	3	-	-	-	
5. Help with job	6	-	1	-	2	-	
6. Heavy sack	2	-	5	-	2	-	
7. Aged father	4	-	3	-	2	-	
8(b). Unemployment (help requested)	5	-	4	-	-	-	
9. Education	7	-	1	-	1	-	
10. Danger	6	-	3	-	-	-	
11. Amusement	8	-	1	-	-	-	
12. Useless help*	1	-	6	1	-	1	
Totals	61	1	35	2	8	1	108
8(a). Unemployment (help expected)	4	-	5	-	-	-	

Situation 8(a) is not separate from 8(b) so the figures for this situation are not included in the total. For explanation of this see Chapter V C. 3.

* = situations presented to the adults only, not to the students.

TABLE 5

Showing the positive scores of BOTH groups in the RECEIVING situations when the reservations and "it depends" responses are distributed according to the scoring described in Chapter V A1.e.

Situation	Students score	Adults score
1. Bereavement	16.75	6
2. Burnt house	12	6
3. Money from brother	15.25	5.5
4(a). Drowned horse	-	6
(b). " "	18	-
5. Help with job	18	7
6. Heavy sack	21	3
7. Aged father	9.5	5
8(b). Unemployment (help requested)	9	5
9. Education	19.75	7.5
10. Danger	20.25	6
11. Amusement	21	8
12. Useless help	-	1.25
13. Handicapped boy	6	-
14. Cutting wood	16.75	-
15. Hospitality	16	-
Total A:	219.25	66.25
Total B:	162.5	59.00

Total A is for all situations presented to the group, fourteen to the students and twelve to the adults.

Total B is for those ten situations which the groups had in common.

TABLE 6a

Showing the responses of the 9 BOY and 16 GIRL students to the fourteen situations of the RECEIVING series. Their responses for the situations not shared with the adults (namely Nos. 4b,13,14, & 15) are shown below the total responses, and are subtracted from them to give Total B the number of responses for the 10 situations they had in common with the adults

BOYS	No. of subject	Yes	Yes but	No	No but	Wrong, unclear	Missing	Total
	19	9	-	5	-	-	-	14
	6	5	1	8	-	-	-	14
	18	9	-	5	-	-	-	14
	5	7	1	5	-	1	-	14
	1	10	-	4	-	-	-	14
	16	10	-	3	-	1	-	14
	20	7	1	4	-	-	2	14
	24	9	-	-	-	3	2	14
	25	8	-	4	-	1	1	14
	Total A	74	3	38	-	6	5	126
	Less sits. 4b,13,14,15:	18	-	15	-	3	-	36
	Total B	56	3	23	-	3	5	90
GIRLS	13	4	1	8	1	-	-	14
	3	9	-	3	-	2	-	14
	17	7	3	4	-	-	-	14
	14	10	-	4	-	-	-	14
	4	7	3	3	-	-	1	14
	11	7	2	3	1	-	1	14
	2	6	-	8	-	-	-	14
	10	10	-	2	-	1	1	14
	9	10	2	2	-	-	-	14
	23	12	-	2	-	-	-	14
	12	10	1	3	-	-	-	14
	21	8	2	3	-	-	1	14
	22	6	-	7	-	1	-	14
	7	9	-	4	-	1	-	14
	8	10	-	-	-	4	-	14
	15	7	-	2	-	3	2	14
	Total A	132	14	58	2	12	6	224
	Less sits. 4b,13,14,15:	38	1	19	-	6	-	64
	Total B	94	13	39	2	6	6	160

TABLE 6b

Showing the responses of the 4 MEN and 5 WOMEN to the twelve situations of the RECEIVING series. Their responses for the situations not shared with the students (namely Nos. 4(a) and 12) are shown below the total responses, and are subtracted from them to give Total B, the number of responses for the ten situations they had in common with the students.

MEN	Subject	Yes	Yes but	No.	No but	It depends	Wrong, unclear	Total
	PH	4	1	3	-	4	-	12
	JM	10	-	2	-	-	-	12
	HR	3	-	3	2	4	-	12
	SL	9	-	3	-	-	-	12
	Total A	26	1	11	2	8	-	48
	Less 4a							
	& 12	3	-	4	1	-	-	8
		23	1	7	1	8	-	40
WOMEN	AO	-	-	12	-	-	-	12
	KA	8	-	4	-	-	-	12
	RE	10	-	2	-	-	-	12
	MB	11	-	-	-	-	1	12
	BL	6	-	6	-	-	-	12
	Total A	35	-	24	-	-	1	60
	Less 4a							
	& 12	4	-	5	-	-	1	10
		31	-	19	-	-	-	50

TABLE 7

Showing the order in which help was most frequently given by the STUDENT and ADULT groups in all the situations of the GIVING series.

Rank(1) applies when all the situations presented to a group are included. Rank(2) applies when only those situations are included that were common to both groups.

Situation	Students			Adults		
	Score	Rank (1)	Rank (2)	Score	Rank (1)	Rank (2)
1. Wounded dog	11	15	14	2	18	16
2. Man in river	16	9.5	9.5	5	10.5	9.5
3. Man on bus	14	13.5	12.5	5	10.5	9.5
4. Man worried	16	9.5	9.5	4	15.5	13.5
5. Jammed door	4	16.5	15.5	4	15.5	13.5
6. School-child	20	5	5	6	6.5	5.5
7. Minding shop	4	16.5	15.5	4	15.5	13.5
8. Man in mountains	23	1	1	8.25	3	3
9. Refugees	19	7	7	9	1	1
10. Girl on skis	21	3.5	3.5	8.5	2	2
11. Orphaned child	16.75	8	8	5.25	9	8
12. Helping child	14	13.5	12.5	4.25	13	11
13. Aged father	15.25	12	11	6	6.5	5.5
14. Sick wife	21.75	2	2	7.75	4	4
15. Gift to king	19.75	6	6	5.5	8	7
16. War damage	21	3.5	3.5	4	15.5	13.5
17. Money for school	15.75	11	-	-	-	-
18. Loading timber	-	-	-	6.75	5	-
19. Money for cinema	-	-	-	4.5	12	-

TABLE 8

Showing the KIND OF NEED presented in the OPEN situations of the GIVING series and the priority given by the subjects to these needs.

Kind of need and situation in which it occurs	Students		Adults	
	Score	Rank	Score	Rank
a. Urgent biological emergency				
Sit. 2. Man in river	16	2.5	5	2.5
b. Less urgent biological emergency				
Sit. 3. Man on bus	14	4	5	2.5
d. Difficulty with task				
Sit. 5. Jammed door	4	6	4	4.5
e. Lack of means for special aim				
Sit. 6. School-child	20	1	6	1
g. i. Minor injury to animal				
Sit. 1. Wounded dog	11	5	2	6
g ii. Unspecified need				
Sit. 4. Man worried	16	2.5	4	4.5

TABLE 9a

Showing the KIND OF NEED represented in the FIXED situations of the GIVING series, and the priority given by the subjects to those needs. Rank(1) applies when all the situations presented to the group are included. Rank(2) applies when only those situations are included which are common to both groups.

Kind of need and situation in which it occurs	Students		Adults			
	Score	Rank(1)	Rank(2)	Score	Rank(1)	Rank(2)
<u>a. Urgent biological emergency</u>						
Sit. 8. Man in mountains	23	1	1	8.25	3	3
Sit.14. Sick wife	21.75	2	2	7.75	4	4
<u>c. Less urgent chronic biological</u>						
Sit. 9. Refugees	19	6	6	9	1	1
Sit.11. Orphaned child	16.75	7	7	5.25	8	7
Sit.13. Aged father	15.25	9	8	6	6	6
<u>d. Difficulty with task</u>						
Sit.12. Helping child	14	10	9	4.25	10	8
Sit.18. Loading timber	-	-	-	6.75	5	-
<u>e. Lack of means for special aim</u>						
Sit. 7. Minding the shop	4	11	10	4	11.5	9.5
Sit.10. Girl on skis	21	3.5	3.5	8.5	2	2
Sit.17. Money for schooling	15.75	8	-	-	-	-
Sit.19. Money for cinema	-	-	-	4.5	9	-
<u>fi. Community project</u>						
Sit.16. War damage	21	3.5	3.5	4	11.5	9.5
<u>fii. National project</u>						
Sit.15. Gift to king	19.75	5	5	5.5	7	5

TABLE 9b

Showing the AVERAGE SCORE for the various kinds of need ranked according to amount of help given, all situations presented to the groups being counted. The average, and rank, obtaining when only those situations are counted which the groups had in common, when these differ from the above, appear in brackets under the former score and rank.

Kind of need	Students		Adults	
	Score	Rank	Score	Rank
a. Urgent biological emergency	22.37	1	8	1
c. Less urgent chronic biological	17	4	6.75	2
d. Difficulty with task	14	5	5.5	4.5
			(4.25)	(5)
e. Lack of means for special aim	13.58	6	5.67	3
	(12.50)		(6.25)	
fi. Community project	21	2	4	6
fii. National project	19.75	3	5.5	4.5
				(4.0)

TABLE 10a

Showing the KIND OF NEED presented in the situations of the RECEIVING series and the priority given by the subjects to these needs. Rank(1) applies when all the situations presented to the group are included. Rank(2) applies when only those situations are included which the groups had in common.

Kind of need and situation in which it occurs	Students			Adults		
	Score	Rank(1)	Rank(2)	Score	Rank(1)	Rank(2)
<u>a. Urgent biological emergency</u> Sit.10. Danger	20.25	3	3	6	5.5	5
<u>b. Less urgent biological</u>						
Sit. 7. Aged father	9.5	12	9	5	9.5	8.5
Sit. 3. Money from brother	15.25	10	7	5.5	8	7
Sit. 1. Bereavement	16.75	7.5	6	6	5.5	5
Sit. 8. Unemployment	9	13	10	5	9.5	8.5
Sit. 2. Burnt House	12	11	8	6	5.5	5
Sit.15. Hospitality	16	9	-	-	-	-
<u>c. Difficulty with task</u>						
Sit. 5. Help with job	18	5.5	5	7	3	3
Sit. 6. Heavy sack	21	1.5	1.5	3	11	10
Sit.14. Cutting wood	16.75	7.5	-	-	-	-
Sit. 4. Drowned horse	18	5.5	-	6	5.5	-
Sit.13. Handicapped boy	6	14	-	-	-	-
<u>d. Lack of means for aim</u>						
Sit. 9. Education	19.75	4	4	7.5	2	2
Sit.11. Amusement	21	1.5	1.5	8	1	1
<u>e. No need</u>						
Sit.12. Useless help	-	-	-	1.25	12	-

TABLE 10b

Showing the AVERAGE SCORE for the various kinds of need ranked according to the amount of help accepted, all situations presented to the groups being counted. The average, and rank, obtaining when only those situations are counted which the groups had in common, when these differ from the above, appear in brackets under the former score and rank.

Kind of need	Students Score	Rank	Adults Score	Rank
a. Urgent biological emergency	20.25	2	6	2
b. Less urgent biological	13.10 (12.50)	4	5.5	3
c. Difficulty with task	15.95 (19.50)	3	5.3 (5.0)	4
d. Lack of means for aim	20.37	1	7.75	1
e. No need (useless help)	-		1.25 (-)	5 (-)



TABLE 11a

Showing the KIND OF HELP required in the OPEN situations of the GIVING series, and how this relates to the amount of help given.

Kind of help required and situation in which it occurs	Students		Adults	
	Score	Rank	Score	Rank
a. <u>Practical services</u> (With risk to donor's own life) Sit. 2: Man in river	16	2.5	5	2.5
(with little or no inconvenience to donor)				
Sit. 1: Wounded dog	11	5	2	6
Sit. 5: Jammed door	4	6	4	4.5
Sit. 6: School-child	20	1	6	1
d. <u>Sacrifice of personal comfort</u> (with little inconvenience)				
Sit. 3: Man on bus	14	4	5	2.5
f. <u>Unspecified help</u>				
Sit. 4: Man worried	16	2.5	4	4.5

TABLE 11b

Taking the AVERAGE SCORE for the various kinds of help and listing these in order of amount of help given.

Students			Adults		
Kind of help given	Average score	Rank	Kind of help given	Average score	Rank
<u>Practical services with risk to D</u>	16	1.5	<u>Practical services with risk to D</u>	5	1.5
Unspecified help	16	1.5	Sacrifice of personal comfort	5	1.5
Sacrifice of personal comfort	14	3	Practical services with <u>little</u> inconvenience	4	3.5
Practical services with <u>little</u> inconvenience	11.7	4	Unspecified help	4	3.5

TABLE 12a

Showing the KIND OF HELP REQUIRED in the FIXED situations of the GIVING series and how this relates to the amount of help given. Rank(1) applies when all the situations presented to the group are included. Rank(2) applies when only those situations are included which are common to both groups.

Kind of help and situation in which it occurs	Students			Adults		
	Score	Rank(1)	Rank(2)	Score	Rank(1)	Rank(2)
<u>a. Practical services</u>						
Sit. 7: Minding shop	4	11	10	4.0	11.5	9.5
Sit. 8: Man in mountains	23	1	1	8.25	3	3
Sit.12: Helping child	14	10	9	4.25	10	8
Sit.14: Sick wife	21.75	2	2	7.75	4	4
Sit.16: War damage	21	3.5	3.5	4	11.5	9.5
Sit.18: Loading timber	-	-	-	6.75	5	-
<u>b. Money</u>						
Sit. 9: Refugees	19	6	6	9	1	1
Sit.15: Gift to king	19.75	5	5	5.5	7	6
Sit.17: Money for school	15.75	8	-	-	-	-
Sit.19: Money for cinema	-	-	-	4.5	9	-
<u>c. Care and maintenance</u>						
Sit.11: Orphaned child	16.5	7	7	5.25	8	7
Sit.13: Aged father	15.25	9	8	6.0	6	5
<u>e. Companionship</u>						
Sit.10: Girl on skis	21	3.5	3.5	8.5	2	2

TABLE 12b

Showing the AVERAGE SCORE for the various kinds of help required in the fixed situations, and their rank order, when all situations presented to the groups are taken. The average, and rank, obtaining when only those situations are taken which the groups had in common, when these differ from the above, appear in brackets below the former score and rank.

Kind of help	Students		Adults	
	Score	Rank	Score	Rank
a. Practical services	16.85	3	5.83 (5.65)	3
b. Money	18.17 (19.37)	2	6.33 (7.25)	2
c. Care and maintenance	15.87	4	5.62	4
e. Companionship	21	1	8.5	1

TABLE 13a

Showing the KIND OF HELP required in the situations of the RECEIVING series and how this relates to the subjects' willingness to accept. Rank(1) applies when all the situations presented to the group are included. Rank(2) applies only when those are included which are common to both groups.

Kind of help required and the situation in which it occurs	Students			Adults		
	Score	Rank	Rank	Score	Rank	Rank
<u>a. Practical services</u>						
Sit. 5: Help with job	18	5.5	5.0	7	3	3
Sit. 6: Heavy sack	21	1.5	1.5	3	11	10
Sit.10: Danger	20.25	3	3	6	4	5
Sit.12: Useless help	-	-	-	1.25	12	-
Sit.13: Handicapped boy	6	14	-	-	-	-
Sit.14: Cutting wood	16.75	7.5	-	-	-	-
<u>b. Money (direct gift)</u>						
Sit. 2: Burnt house	12	11	8	6	4	5
Sit. 3: Money from brother	15.25	10	7	5.5	8	7
Sit. 4a: Drowned horse	-	-	-	6	4	-
Sit. 8: Unemployment	9	13	10	5	9	8.5
<u>c. Money (indirect gift - provision for special interest)</u>						
Sit. 9: Education	19.75	4	4	7.5	2	2
Sit.11: Amusement	21	1.5	1.5	8	1	1
<u>d. Welfare order form (for goods)</u>						
Sit. 1: Bereavement	16.75	7.5	6	6	4	5
<u>e. Care and maintenance</u>						
Sit. 7: Aged father	9.5	12	9	5	9	8.5
<u>f. Hospitality</u>						
Sit.15: Hospitality	16	9	-	-	-	-
<u>g. Loan of equipment</u>						
Sit.4b: Drowned horse	18	5.5	-	-	-	-

TABLE 13b

Showing the AVERAGE SCORE for the various KINDS OF HELP REQUIRED ranked according to the amount of help accepted, all situations presented to the groups being counted.

The average, and rank, obtaining when only those situations are counted which the groups had in common, when these differ from the above, appear in brackets under the former score and rank.

Kind of help required	Students		Adults	
	Score	Rank	Score	Rank
a. Practical services	16.40	4	4.31	5
	(19.75)	(2)	(5.33)	(4)
b. Money (direct gift)	12.08	6	5.63	3
		(4)	(5.5)	
c. Money (indirect gift, for special interest)	20.37	1	7.75	1
d. Welfare order form	16.75	3	6	2
e. Care and maintenance	9.5	7	5	4
		(5)		(5)
f. Hospitality	16.0	5	-	-
g. Loan of equipment	18.0	2	-	-

TABLE 14

Comparing the amount of help given and received by the TWO GROUPS according to the kind of HELP REQUIRED and AVAILABLE. Only those situations are taken which the groups had in common.

Kind of help required or available	Students		Adults	
	Giving Score	Accepting %age	Giving Score	Accepting %age
Practical services	16.85	67.4	19.75	79
Money (direct gift)	19.37	77.5	12.08	48.3
Care and maintenance	15.87	63.5	9.5	38

TABLE 15a

Showing the RESISTANCES involved in the FIXED situations of the GIVING series and how these relate to the amount of help given. Rank(1) applies when all the situations presented to the group are included. Rank(2) applies when only those situations are included which are common to both groups.

The resistance involved and the situation in which it occurs	Students			Adults		
	Score	Rank(1)	Rank(2)	Score	Rank(1)	Rank(2)
a. Risk to donor's own life						
Sit. 8: Man in mountains	23	1	1	8.25	3	3
b. Donor's wish to pursue same aim						
Sit. 7: Minding shop	4	11	10	4.0	12.5	9.5
c. Physical inconvenience or discomfort involved						
i) considerable inconvenience						
Sit.14: Sick wife	21.75	2.5	2.5	7.75	4.5	4.5
ii) considerable sacrifice						
Sit.11 Orphaned child	16.75	8	8	5.25	8.9	7.8
Sit.13: Aged father	15.25	8.10	8.9	6.0	6.7	5.6
iv) considerable physical exertion						
Sit.16: War damage	21	4.5	4.5	4	12.5	9.5
Sit.18: Loading timber	-	-	-	6.75	5.6	-
v) very little or no inconvenience or sacrifice involved						
Sit.10: Girl on skis	21	4.5	4.5	8.5	2	2
Sit.12: Helping child	14	10.11	9.10	4.25	10.2	8.9
Sit.15: Gift to king	19.75	5.6	5.6	5.5	7.8	6.7
Sit.17: Money for school	15.75	8.9	-	-	-	-
Sit.19: Money for cinema	-	-	-	4.5	9.10.5	-
d. History of hostility						
i) on personal level						
Sit.14: Sick wife	21.75	2.5	2.5	7.75	4.5	4.5
ii) on international level						
Sit. 9: Refugees	19	6.7	6.7	9	1	1
e. Donor's disapproval of recipient's aim						
Sit.19: Money for cinema	-	-	-	4.5	9.10.5	-

TABLE 15b

Showing the AVERAGE SCORE for the various RESISTANCES involved and ranking them according to the amount of help given, all the fixed situations presented being counted. The average, and rank, obtaining when only those situations are counted which the groups had in common, when these differ from the above, appear in brackets under the former score and rank.

The resistance involved	Students Score	Rank	Adults Score	Rank
a. Risk to donor's own life	23	1	8.25	2
b. Donor's wish to pursue	4	7	4	8 (6.5)
c. i) Considerable physical inconvenience plus personal hostility	21.75	2	7.75	3 (3)
ii) Considerable sacrifice	16	6	5.62	5
iv) Considerable physical exertion	21	3	5.37 (4)	6 (6.5)
v) Little or no inconveni- ence or sacrifice involved	17.6 (18.27)	5	5.69 (6.08)	4
d. History of hostility (international level)	19	4	9	1
e. Donor's disapproval of recipient's aim	-	-	4.5	7

TABLE 16a

Showing how willingly help is GIVEN in the situations in the GIVING series when it is not asked for, when it is asked for by the recipient himself, and when it is asked for by some one else on the recipient's behalf.

<u>Help not asked for</u>	Students Score	Rank	Adults Score	Rank
Sit.13	15.25	9	6.0	6
Sit.19	-		4.5	9
<u>Asked for by the recipient himself</u>				
Sit. 7	4	11	4.0	11.5
Sit.10	21	3.5	8.5	2
Sit.12	14	10	4.25	10
Sit.18	-		6.75	5
<u>Asked for by some one else on the recipient's behalf</u>				
Sit. 8 (police sergeant)	23	1	8.25	3
Sit. 9 (village mayor)	19	6	9	1
Sit.11 (donor's wife)	16.75	7	5.25	8
Sit.14 (recipient's husband)	21.75	2	7.75	4
Sit.15 (public committee)	19.75	5	5.5	7
Sit.16 (village pastor)	21	3.5	4	11.5
Sit.17 (fellow villager)	15.75	8	-	

TABLE 16b

Showing the AVERAGE SCORE for the three categories above, ranked according to the amount of help given, all the fixed situations presented to the groups being counted. The average, and rank, obtaining when only those situations are counted which the groups had in common, when these differ from the above, appear in brackets under the former score and rank.

	Students Score	Rank	Adults Score	Rank
Help not asked for	15.25	2	5.25 (6)	3 (2)
Asked for by R himself	13	3	5.87 (5.83)	2 (3)
Asked for by some one else on R's behalf	19.57 (20.21)	1	6.62	1

TABLE 17a

Showing HOW ACCEPTABLE HELP IS to the recipient in the receiving series when it is offered, when it has to be asked for. Whether help will be expected in certain situations is also shown.

	Students Score	Adults Score
<u>Offer expected?</u>		
Sit. 8a, Unemployment	10	4
Sit.15, Hospitality	16	-
<u>Help offered</u>		
Sit. 3, Money from brother	15.25	5.5
Sit. 4b, Drowned horse	18	-
Sit. 6, Heavy sack	21	3
Sit. 7, Aged father	9.5	5
Sit. 9, Education	19.75	7.5
Sit.11, Amusement	21	8
Sit.12, Useless help	-	1.25
Sit.14, Cutting wood	16.75	-
<u>Help to be asked for</u>		
Sit. 1, Bereavement	16.75	6
Sit. 2, . Burnt house	12	6
Sit. 4a, Drowned horse	-	6
Sit. 5, Help with job	18	7
Sit. 8b, Unemployment	9	5
Sit.10, Danger	20.25	6
Sit.13, Handicapped boy	6	-

TABLE 17b

Showing the AVERAGE SCORES for the three categories above, ranked according to the amount of help accepted, all the situations presented to the groups being counted. The average, and rank, obtaining when only those situations are counted which the groups have in common, when these differ from the above, appear in brackets under the first score and rank.

	Students Score	Rank	Adults Score	Rank
Help offered	17.32 (17.3)	1	5.04 (5.8)	2 (1)
Help to be asked for	13.67 (15.2)	2	6.0 (5.0)	1 (2)
Offer expected?	13 (10)	3	4	3

TABLE 18

Showing i) who the RECIPIENT is in the situations of the GIVING series, ranked according to amount of help given by the members of each group,
and ii) whether the RELATIONS (as described in the story) are cordial (C), hostile (H), or neutral (N).

Situation	Recipient	C, H, N.	STUDENTS		ADULTS	
			Score	Rank	Score	Rank
7. Minding shop	Cousin	N	4	11	4	11.5
8. Man in mountains	Fellow villager	N	23	1	8.25	3
9. Refugees	Foreign refugees	H	19	6	9	1
10. Girl on skis	Fellow villager	N	21	3.5	8.5	2
11. Orphaned child	Fellow villager	N	16.75	7	5.25	8
12. Helping child	Child	N	14	10	4.25	10
13. Aged father	Parent	N	15.25	9	6	6
14. Sick wife	Neighbour	H	21.75	2	7.75	4
15. Gift to king	King and nation	N	19.75	5	5.5	7
16. War damage	Community	N	21	3.5	4	11.5
17. Money for school	Fellow villager	N	15.75	8	-	-
18. Loading timber	Fellow villager	N	-	-	6.75	5
19. Money for cinema	Friend	N	-	-	4.5	9

TABLE 19

Showing i) who the DONOR is in the situations of the RECEIVING series, ranked according to the amount of help accepted by the members of each group, and ii) whether the RELATION WITH THE RECIPIENT (as described in the story) is cordial (c), hostile (H), or neutral (N).

Situation	Donor	C, H, N.	Students		Adults	
			Score	Rank	Score	Rank
1. Bereavement	District Council	N	16.75	7.5	6	5.5
2. Burnt house	Religious Association	N	12	11	6	5.5
3. Money from brother	Brother	N	15.25	10	5.5	8
4(a). Drowned horse	Religious Association	N	-	-	6	5.5
(b). Drowned horse	Neighbour	N	18	5.5	-	-
5. Help with job	Neighbour	N	18	5.5	7	3
6. Heavy sack	Passerby, stranger	N	21	1.5	3	11
7. Aged father	Daughter	N	9.5	12	5	9.5
8. Unemployment	Friend	N	9	13	5	9.5
9. Education	Father	N	19.75	4	7.5	2
10. Danger	Friend	N	20.25	3	6	5.5
11. Amusement	Uncle	H	21	1.5	8	1
12. Useless help	Passerby, acquaintance	N	-	-	1.25	12
13. Handicapped boy	Fellow student	N	6	14	-	-
14. Cutting wood	Passerby, acquaintance	N	16.75	7.5	-	-
15. Hospitality	Stranger	N	16	9	-	-

TABLE 20

Showing the situations of the GIVING series grouped according to whether the DONOR helped WITH OTHERS or ALONE

Donor helping alone		
Situation	Students score	Adults score
7. Minding shop	4	4
10. Girl on skis	21	8.5
12. Helping child	14	4.25
13. Aged father	15.25	6
14. Sick wife	21.75	7.75
18. Loading timber	-	6.75
19. Money for cinema	-	4.5
Total	76	41.75
Average	15.2	5.96

Donor helping with others		
Situation	Students score	Adults score
8. Man in mountains	23	8.25
9. Refugees	19	9
11. Orphaned child	16.75	5.25
15. Gift to king	19.75	5.5
16. War damage	21	4
17. Money for school	15.75	-
Totals	115.25	32
Average	19.21	6.4

TABLE 21a

Showing the distribution of the STUDENT subjects in the four GIVING-ACCEPTING categories

	Giving on 2/3rds or more occasions, i.e. more than 11 times out of 17 possible	Giving less than 2/3rds, i.e. 11 and less times out of 17 possible																																
Accepting on 2/3rds or more occasions, i.e. more than 9 times out of a possible 14.	<table border="0"> <thead> <tr> <th></th> <th style="text-align: center;"><u>Gmam</u></th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>S4</td> <td style="text-align: center;">(12G, 9$\frac{1}{4}$A)</td> </tr> <tr> <td>S10</td> <td style="text-align: center;">(12G, 10A)</td> </tr> <tr> <td>S14</td> <td style="text-align: center;">(13G, 10A)</td> </tr> <tr> <td>S17</td> <td style="text-align: center;">(13G, 9$\frac{3}{4}$A)</td> </tr> </tbody> </table>		<u>Gmam</u>	S4	(12G, 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ A)	S10	(12G, 10A)	S14	(13G, 10A)	S17	(13G, 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ A)	<table border="0"> <thead> <tr> <th></th> <th style="text-align: center;"><u>Glam</u></th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>S1</td> <td style="text-align: center;">(8G, 10A)</td> </tr> <tr> <td>S8</td> <td style="text-align: center;">(8G, 10A)</td> </tr> <tr> <td>S9</td> <td style="text-align: center;">(11G, 11$\frac{1}{2}$A)</td> </tr> <tr> <td>S12</td> <td style="text-align: center;">(9$\frac{3}{4}$G, 10$\frac{3}{4}$A)</td> </tr> <tr> <td>S16</td> <td style="text-align: center;">(7G, 10A)</td> </tr> <tr> <td>S21</td> <td style="text-align: center;">(9G, 9$\frac{1}{2}$A)</td> </tr> <tr> <td>S23</td> <td style="text-align: center;">(11G, 12A)</td> </tr> </tbody> </table>		<u>Glam</u>	S1	(8G, 10A)	S8	(8G, 10A)	S9	(11G, 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ A)	S12	(9 $\frac{3}{4}$ G, 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ A)	S16	(7G, 10A)	S21	(9G, 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ A)	S23	(11G, 12A)						
	<u>Gmam</u>																																	
S4	(12G, 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ A)																																	
S10	(12G, 10A)																																	
S14	(13G, 10A)																																	
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S16	(7G, 10A)																																	
S21	(9G, 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ A)																																	
S23	(11G, 12A)																																	
Accepting less than 2/3rds of the time, i.e. 9 times and less out of 14 possible times	<table border="0"> <thead> <tr> <th></th> <th style="text-align: center;"><u>Gmal</u></th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>S2</td> <td style="text-align: center;">(12G, 6A)</td> </tr> <tr> <td>S3</td> <td style="text-align: center;">(14G, 9A)</td> </tr> <tr> <td>S6</td> <td style="text-align: center;">(12G, 4$\frac{3}{4}$A)</td> </tr> <tr> <td>S11</td> <td style="text-align: center;">(13G, 8$\frac{3}{4}$A)</td> </tr> <tr> <td>S13</td> <td style="text-align: center;">(15G, 5A)</td> </tr> <tr> <td>S15</td> <td style="text-align: center;">(14G, 7A)</td> </tr> <tr> <td>S19</td> <td style="text-align: center;">(12$\frac{1}{2}$G, 9A)</td> </tr> <tr> <td>S24</td> <td style="text-align: center;">(12G, 9A)</td> </tr> </tbody> </table>		<u>Gmal</u>	S2	(12G, 6A)	S3	(14G, 9A)	S6	(12G, 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ A)	S11	(13G, 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ A)	S13	(15G, 5A)	S15	(14G, 7A)	S19	(12 $\frac{1}{2}$ G, 9A)	S24	(12G, 9A)	<table border="0"> <thead> <tr> <th></th> <th style="text-align: center;"><u>Gla1</u></th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>S5</td> <td style="text-align: center;">(10$\frac{1}{2}$G, 7$\frac{3}{4}$A)</td> </tr> <tr> <td>S7</td> <td style="text-align: center;">(7$\frac{3}{4}$G, 9A)</td> </tr> <tr> <td>S18</td> <td style="text-align: center;">(11G, 9A)</td> </tr> <tr> <td>S20</td> <td style="text-align: center;">(6G, 7$\frac{3}{4}$A)</td> </tr> <tr> <td>S22</td> <td style="text-align: center;">(9G, 6A)</td> </tr> <tr> <td>S25</td> <td style="text-align: center;">(10G, 9A)</td> </tr> </tbody> </table>		<u>Gla1</u>	S5	(10 $\frac{1}{2}$ G, 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ A)	S7	(7 $\frac{3}{4}$ G, 9A)	S18	(11G, 9A)	S20	(6G, 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ A)	S22	(9G, 6A)	S25	(10G, 9A)
	<u>Gmal</u>																																	
S2	(12G, 6A)																																	
S3	(14G, 9A)																																	
S6	(12G, 4 $\frac{3}{4}$ A)																																	
S11	(13G, 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ A)																																	
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S20	(6G, 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ A)																																	
S22	(9G, 6A)																																	
S25	(10G, 9A)																																	

TABLE 21b

Showing the distribution of the ADULT subjects in the four GIVING-ACCEPTING categories

	Giving on 2/3rds or more occasions, i.e. 12 and more times out of 18 possible	Giving less than 2/3rds, i.e. less than 12 times out of a possible 18														
Accepting on 2/3rds or more occasions, i.e. 8 or more times out of a possible 12	<table border="0"> <thead> <tr> <th></th> <th style="text-align: center;"><u>Gmam</u></th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>JM</td> <td style="text-align: center;">(13G, 10A)</td> </tr> <tr> <td>KA</td> <td style="text-align: center;">(13G, 8A)</td> </tr> <tr> <td>RE</td> <td style="text-align: center;">(12G, 10A)</td> </tr> </tbody> </table>		<u>Gmam</u>	JM	(13G, 10A)	KA	(13G, 8A)	RE	(12G, 10A)	<table border="0"> <thead> <tr> <th></th> <th style="text-align: center;"><u>Glam</u></th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>MB</td> <td style="text-align: center;">(8$\frac{1}{2}$G, 11A)</td> </tr> <tr> <td>SL</td> <td style="text-align: center;">(8$\frac{1}{2}$G, 9A)</td> </tr> </tbody> </table>		<u>Glam</u>	MB	(8 $\frac{1}{2}$ G, 11A)	SL	(8 $\frac{1}{2}$ G, 9A)
	<u>Gmam</u>															
JM	(13G, 10A)															
KA	(13G, 8A)															
RE	(12G, 10A)															
	<u>Glam</u>															
MB	(8 $\frac{1}{2}$ G, 11A)															
SL	(8 $\frac{1}{2}$ G, 9A)															
Accepting less than 2/3rds, i.e. less than 8 out of 12 possible times	<table border="0"> <thead> <tr> <th></th> <th style="text-align: center;"><u>Gmal</u></th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>AO</td> <td style="text-align: center;">(14G, 0 A)</td> </tr> <tr> <td>PH</td> <td style="text-align: center;">(13G, 6$\frac{3}{4}$A)</td> </tr> </tbody> </table>		<u>Gmal</u>	AO	(14G, 0 A)	PH	(13G, 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ A)	<table border="0"> <thead> <tr> <th></th> <th style="text-align: center;"><u>Gla1</u></th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>HR</td> <td style="text-align: center;">(10$\frac{1}{4}$G, 5$\frac{1}{2}$A)</td> </tr> <tr> <td>BL</td> <td style="text-align: center;">(7$\frac{1}{2}$G, 6A)</td> </tr> </tbody> </table>		<u>Gla1</u>	HR	(10 $\frac{1}{4}$ G, 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ A)	BL	(7 $\frac{1}{2}$ G, 6A)		
	<u>Gmal</u>															
AO	(14G, 0 A)															
PH	(13G, 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ A)															
	<u>Gla1</u>															
HR	(10 $\frac{1}{4}$ G, 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ A)															
BL	(7 $\frac{1}{2}$ G, 6A)															

TABLE 22

SHOWING CATEGORIES OF REASONS FOR GIVING AND REFUSING TO GIVE AND THEIR FREQUENCY IN SITUATIONS ARRANGED ACCORDING TO KIND OF NEED

KIND OF NEED	Urgent Biological Emergency		Less Urgent	Care and Maintenance		Difficulty With Task		Special Aim		National and Community Project		Totals		% age of Reasons for Giving	% age of Total Reasons
	Sit. 8 Moun-tains	Sit. 14 Wife	Sit. 9 Refu-gees	Sit. 11 Orphan	Sit. 13 Aged F.	Sit. 12 Child	Sit. 7 Shop	Sit. 10 Skis	Sit. 17 School	Sit. 15 King	Sit. 16 War Damage				
READY ASSENT		10		1			1	7	7			26	26	15.9	11.5
CATEGORIES OF REASONS FOR GIVING	Principle, agrees with cause	6	1	8						3	5	23			
	Tired, reluctant, but will		3		1				5			9			
	Authority said									1	3	4	36		
	D's kind, helpful			1	1					1	2	5	5	25.0	18.0
	D is able to, so does				2						1	3			
	If D is able	1			2	1				1		5	8	4.8	3.5
	Advantages to D	2			2		1	1	5			11			
	If it's to D's Advantage				1	1				1		3	14	8.5	6.2
	D is sorry for R	7		5	2							14			
	Thinks how he D, has felt	1		5								6			
	Compares his position with R's			1								1			
	for R's welfare & benefit	2	1	1	2		4	1			4	11	26		
	R needs because of misfortune or lack of resources	2		2	2		2					8			
	R needs because of his inadequacy						4		1			5	60	36.6	26.4
	Reciprocity to thank or repay R					1					2		3	3	1.8
3) (If) Others are, D will help	(1)		2							3	1	7	7	4.3	3.1
5) Miscellaneous :	God should											1			
	Compromise possible					1		1	1			3			
	Manner of asking	1										1	5	3.0	2.2
Situation Totals	23	15	26	16	4	11	4	13	15	14	23	164		100.0	72.2

TABLE 22 (Contd.)

SHOWING CATEGORIES OF REASONS FOR GIVING AND REFUSING TO GIVE AND THEIR FREQUENCY IN SITUATIONS ARRANGED ACCORDING TO KIND OF NEED

KIND OF NEED	Urgent Biological Emergency		Less Urgent	Care and Maintenance		Difficulty With Task		Special Aim		National and Community Project		Totals	% age of Reasons for Giving	% age of Total Reasons												
	Sit. 8 Moun-tains	Sit. 14 Wife	Sit. 9 Refu-gees	Sit. 11 Orphan	Sit. 13 Aged F.	Sit. 12 Child	Sit. 7 Shop	Sit. 10 Skia	Sit. 17 School	Sit. 15 King	Sit. 16 War Damage															
CATEGORIES OF REASONS FOR REFUSING TO GIVE	Not interested in cause R's responsibility												2	8	12.7	3.5										
	D's own need is as great has no resources, no time												6													
	No advantage to D												2	11	17.5	4.8										
	Dislikes task												5													
	He's busy with something else												15	26	41.3	11.5										
	Too tired, Doesn't feel like it												4													
	Absence of close, fond, relations												3	13	20.6	5.7										
	R doesn't need, big enough can manage												9													
	R will waste the help												1													
	Others can or will help												2	2	3.2	.9										
	Miscellaneous : More information Little he can give is useless												2	3	4.8	1.3										
													1													
	Situation Totals												-	2	6	4	2	14	21	-	4	6	4	63	100.1	27.7

TABLE 23

SHOWING CATEGORIES OF REASONS FOR ACCEPTING AND FOR DECLINING HELP AND THEIR FREQUENCY IN SITUATIONS OF THE RECEIVING SERIES ARRANGED ACCORDING TO THE KIND OF NEED

KIND OF NEED :	Urgent Biol.	Less Urgent Chronic Biological					Less Urgent Chron. Biol. Care and Maintenance	Less Urgent Temp. Biol. Hospitality	Difficulty with Task					Special Aim		Totals		% age of Accepting Reasons	% age of Total Reasons
	Rescue	Food & Clothing, Shelter					7 Aged Father	15 Hospital-ity	Equipment & Lending a Hand					Money					
	10 Danger	1 Bereave-ment	2 Burnt House	3 Money fr. Brother	8b Unem-ployed	4b Horse			5 Help with Job	6 Heavy Sack	13 Handi-cap	14 Wood	9 Educa-tion	11 Amuse-ment					
READY ASSENT		2					1		7		1				2	13	13	5.6	3.6
Principle, Custom								2		1*						3	3	1.3	.8
R's need : Disability					1		3	6		2	1					13			
Loss or burden "He needs"		1	3								11					15			
R cannot manage	2	1		2	3				1		1				1	12	40		
has no resources	6	2					3				3	2				18			
Must, has no alternative	1		3	3												7			
Has dependents	4	5	2							2						13			
Subject is attractive		4														4	42	35.3	22.5
What help achieves	1			3										10	13	16			
Link in chain			2	1	1				1	2				2	1	19			
Outcome considered	5								1	1		1				5	46	19.8	12.6
Incidental advantages		1			1		2				4	1	4		3	16	16	6.9	4.4
D's capacity, convenience					2		2		4		1		5	11		25	25	10.8	6.8
Good relations with D						1	1			1						3			
D's kind, helpful									3		3		4		1	11			
D's willing, wants to help							3				6		7		1	18	32	13.8	8.8
R's willing to reciprocate										1	1			2		4			
R aware D's satisfaction																1			
R is grateful																1			
Accepts, but as business arrangement					3				1							4	10	4.3	2.7
3) Others accept			1													1	1	.4	.3
5) Miscellaneous :																			
He'll go at any cost														1		1			
Must ask																1			
If others didn't he would	1							1								2	4	1.7	1.1
Situation Total	20	16	11	13	9	15	10	19	13	33	4	21	26	22	232	99.9	63.6		

TABLE 23 (Contd.)

CATEGORIES OF REASONS FOR REFUGING TO ACCEPT	KIND OF NEED :	Urgent Biolog.	Less Urgent Chronic Biological				Less Urgent Chron.Biol.	Less Urgent Temp. Biol.	Difficulty with Task					Special Aim		Totals	Xage of Reasons for Refusing	X of Total Reasons			
	HCLP REQUIRED :	Rescue	Food & Clothing, Shelter				Care & Main- tenance	Hospital- ity	Equipment & Lending a Hand					Money							
	SITUATION (Number & Name)	10 Danger	1 Bereave- ment	2 Burnt House	3 Money Fr Brother	6b Unem- ployment	7 Aged Father	15 Hospital- ity	4b Horse	5 Help with Job	6 Heavy Sack	13 Handi- cap	14 Wood	9 Educa- tion	11 Amuse- ment						
	Principle	1	1			1					2	1					6	6	4.5	1.6	
	R is proud	2	1			3											6				
	*R will not crawl					1											1				
	*R will not beg			1		1											2				
	R thinks it is a disgrace		1														1	10			
	R doesn't want to Wants to manage alone		6						1								7				
	R prefers to be independent (Sense of achievement)		1	3		1	1				1	1					7				
	R prefers business arrangement													1	1		2	17			
	R is modest, unworthy					1											3	3	2.3	.8	
	R is "tricky"						1										2				
	There is no need								1	1		2					4				
	R can manage						1										8				
	R will (or I shall) manage	1	1	1			5			1	1	3					12	24	18.0	6.6	
	R will postpone, give up aim						2										6	6	4.5	1.6	
	Incidental (dis)advantages						8					3					11	11	8.3	3.0	
	D's capacity, convenience considered	1		4	2		6		2	1		3	4	2			25	25	18.8	6.8	
	D's motives, willingness doubted									1		1					2	2	1.5	.5	
	D&R unacquainted, D unaware need																3	3	2.3	.8	
	3) Others : Too many other accept Others may mock	1		1													1	1	2	1.5	.5
	4) Help : is inadequate is too much			1		9			2			1					3	10	13	9.6	3.6
	5) Miscellaneous :			1													1				
	Would accept offer						2					1					3				
	Doesn't dare			1													1	1	5		
	Asking no use						2										3	3	6.0	2.2	
	Evasive answers	1															1	1			
	Situation Totals	7	11	13	12	9	26	6	5	5	4	13	11	9	2		133	100.0	36.2		

TABLE 24

SHOWING THE CATEGORIES OF REASONS SUPPLIED BY THE STUDENT SUBJECTS
GROUPED ACCORDING TO THEIR GIVING/ACCEPTING RATIO, IN THE GIVING SERIES

SUBJECTS		Gmam				Gmal								Glam							Glal					Totals				
		4	10	14	17	2	3	6	11	13	15	19	24	1	8	9	12	16	21	23	5	7	18	20	22	25				
CATEGORIES OF REASONS FOR GIVING	1) READY ASSENT		2			1	1	1	2	1		4	1	1	1	3		1	1		1	1			1	3	26	26	26	
	Principle, agrees with cause		3	2		1	2	2	1	4	2	2			2	2				1					1	1	23			
	Tired, reluctant, but will	1							1	1				1		1				1						9				
	Authority said													1												4				
	D's kind, helpful			1	1															1						5	41			
	D is able, so he does									1																1	3			
	If D is able		1					2				1									1					3	8			
	Advantages to D						2	3					1														5			
	If it is to D's advantage								2					1											1	1	11	14	63	
	D is sorry for R			2		1	1		2			2		1		2				1		1				1	14			
	Thinks how he, D, has felt	1					1	1	2												1			1			6			
	Compares his position with R's																							1			1	21		
	For R's welfare benefit	6		2	3	2	1	4	2				1	1						1		2		1			26	26		
	R needs because of misfortune and lack of resources				1			1	1		1	1			1							1				1	8			
	R needs because of his inadequacy	1			1								1	1												1	5	13	60	
Reciprocity to thank or repay R														1						1						1	3	3	3	
3) (If) others are, D will help					1	1			1						1						+1	2				6+1	7	7		
5) Miscellaneous : God should Compromise possible Manner of asking										2					1											1	3			
																								1		1	5	5		
Totals	9	6	5	8	9	9	14	8	10	2	9	9	6	4	8	5	-	5	7	8	4	5	2	6	6	164				
Total less ready assent	9	4	5	8	8	9	13	7	8	1	9	5	5	3	7	2	-	4	6	7	3	5	2	5	3	138				

TABLE 24 (contd)

CATEGORIES OF REASONS FOR REFUSING TO GIVE	SUBJECTS	Gmam				Gmal								Glam							Gla1					Totals		
		4	10	14	17	2	3	6	11	13	15	19	24	1	8	9	12	16	21	23	5	7	18	20	22		25	
1)	Not interested in cause R's responsibility	1						1												1							2	
	D's own need is as great, Has no resources, no time		1			1			1				1									3	1		1		11	
	No advantage to D		1																				1				2	
	Dislikes task					1		1															1	1			5	
	He's busy with something else	1	1	1					1	1		1	1	1	1	2							1		1	1	15	
	Is too tired, does not feel like it	1																								2	4	
	2)	Absence of close, fond, relations													1												1	3
		R does not need, is big enough can manage R will waste the help		1				1	1							2		1		1			1			1	9	
															1												1	13
	3)	Others can or will help																								1	2	
	5)	Miscellaneous : Needs more info. Little he can give is useless																								1	2	
		Totals	3	4	1	-	2	1	3	2	4	1	1	1	5	3	2	2	2	4	1	-	7	2	4	8	-	63
		Wrong, Unclear, Missing				2		1							1	1	1			1	2		2	1	1	3	1	18
		Unqualified Affirmative	2	1	5	4		1		1	1	8	1	2	1	3	2	3	5	1	1		1	1	4	2	3	52
		Unqualified Negative					1		1							1	1	3	1	1		1	1			1	1	13

TABLE 25

SHOWING THE CATEGORIES OF REASONS SUPPLIED BY THE STUDENT SUBJECTS
GROUPED ACCORDING TO THEIR GIVING/ACCEPTING RATIO, IN THE RECEIVING SERIES

		Gmam				Gmcl							Glam							Glel					Totals			
SUBJECTS		4	10	14	17	2	3	6	11	13	15	19	24	1	8	9	12	16	21	23	5	7	18	20	22	25		
	READY ASSENT	1			1			1			1					2	1	1	1			2		1	1		13	13
	Principle* custom	1	1							1*																	3	3
	R's need : Disability	1		1					1		1		1	1	2	2					1	1			1		13	
	Circumstances	1		1		1	2	1			1	1	1	1	2		1		1		1						15	
	"He needs"	1	3	1				1		1			3				1	1	1								12	
	R cannot manage	1		2				1	1			2	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	2				1	2		16	
	Has no resources	1	1											1	1					2							7	
	Must, has no alternative				2			1	2		2								3	1	1	1		2			13	
	Has dependents	1		1		1			1															2			4	82
	Object offered is attractive	1	1		1	1								1		2	1	1	1	1			2	1	1		16	
	What the help achieves attracts	2		1	2	1		1	1			1	1	1	1	2		1	1	1	1		1		1		19	
	Help is a link in chain	1		1		1			1																		5	
	Outcome is considered					1	1						1							1							6	46
	Incidental advantages		1	1		2			1			2					3		1	2		1		2			16	16
	D's capacity, convenience	1	1		1	1		1		1	2	2		3	2	1		1	1	1	2		3		2	25	25	
	Good relations with D										1									2	1	1					3	
	D's kind and helpful		1	1		1			2		2									2							11	
	D's willing, wants to help		2	1		1			1	1	1		2	2	1	1	1	2		1	3				1	1	18	32
	R's willing to reciprocate					1	1				2																4	
	R's aware D has satisfaction																										1	
	R is grateful															1											1	
	R accepts, but as business arrangement								1		1										1	1					4	10
	3) Others accept																					1					1	1
	5) Miscellaneous :																											
	He'll go, at any cost																									1	1	
	Must ask		1																								1	
	If others didn't offer he'd take or accept							2																			2	4
	Totals	11	12	10	8	10	10	10	8	7	5	15	9	10	6	13	12	5	11	12	11	10	6	7	9	5	232	
	Total less Ready Assent	10	12	10	7	10	10	9	8	7	4	15	9	10	6	11	10	5	11	11	11	8	6	6	9	4	219	

TABLE 25 (contd)

CATEGORIES OF REASONS FOR REFUSING TO ACCEPT	SUBJECTS	Gmam				Gmal							Glam							Glal					Totals					
		4	10	14	17	2	3	6	11	13	15	19	24	1	8	9	12	16	21	23	5	7	18	20			22	25		
1)	Principle	1						1			1		1										1		1		6	6		
	R is proud	2			1			2																	1		6			
	R will not crawl*, will not beg								1	1*																1	3			
	R thinks it is a disgrace											1															1	10		
	R doesn't want to				1				1	1																1	7			
	R wants to manage alone															1		1	1									7		
	R prefers to be independent	1									4	1	1															7		
	Sense of achievement										1																	2		
	R prefers business arrangmt.												1											1				1	20	
	R is modest*, unworthy	1									1*																	2		
	R is "tricky"									1																		1	3	
	There is no need									1														1				4		
	R can manage	1								1																		8		
	R will (I shall) manage	1			1				1		1													1		2	2	1	24	
	R will postpone, give up aim	1			1				1		1								1	1								6	6	
	Incidental (dis)advantages				1	1			1	1		2												1	1	1	1	11	11	
	2)	D's capacity convenience considered	1	1		1			5		3		3		2								1		1		4	25	25	
		D's motives, willingness doubted				1			1																				2	2
		D & R are unacquainted* D's unaware of need							1						1*									1*					3	3
3)	Others : Too many others except Others may mock																											1		
		1																										1	2	
4)	Help is inadequate is too much	1			1			1		1		1		1										1		1		3	13	
		1		1	1			1		1		1		1												1		10		
5)	Miscellaneous :																													
	Would accept offer									1																		1		
	Doesn't dare				1																							3		
	Asking no use Evasive answers				1																						1	1	8	
Totals	11	2	5	6	13	3	11	6	13	2	7	-	4	-	3	5	4	5	1			7	3	4	6	10	2	133		
Wrong, unclear, missing	1	2					2		1	5	5			4			1	1				1	1		2	1	2	29		
Unqualified affirmative	1	1		3			1		1	1	2	2		2	7	1	2	5	1	2				2			4	38		
Unqualified negative				1					1						1				1	1				1	2		2	10		

TABLE 26

SHOWING THE AVERAGE NUMBER OF RESPONSES IN EACH CATEGORY
FOR EACH OF THE FOUR GROUPS OF SUBJECTS - GIVING SERIES

GROUP		G1em	G1a1	G1em	G1a1
NUMBER OF SUBJECTS IN GROUP		(4)	(8)	(7)	(6)
TOTAL NUMBER OF REASONS SUPPLIED		36	85	54	52
UNQUALIFIED AFFIRMATIVES		3.0	1.75	2.14	1.833
UNQUALIFIED NEGATIVES		-	.25	1.00	.666
WRONG, UNCLEAR AND MISSING ANSWERS		.5	.125	1.00	1.333
REASONS PER SUBJECT		9.0	10.625	7.710	8.666
REASONS FOR GIVING	1) READY ASSENT	.50	1.25	1.143	1.000
	PRINCIPLE, ETC. D'S HELPFUL ETC.	2.00	2.25	1.714	.500
	D'S CAPACITY : CAN IF HE CAN	.25	.125	-	.166
			.375		.333
	INCIDENTAL ADVANTAGES	-	1.0	.285	.666
	2) SYMPATHY WITH R AND HIS NEED	4.25	3.125	1.143	1.666
	RECIPROCITY	-	-	.285	.166
	3) OTHERS - (IF AND AS)	-	.375	.143	.500
	5) MISCELLANEOUS	-	.250	.285	.166
	REASONS FOR REFUSING TO GIVE	1) NOT INTERESTED IN CAUSE	-	-	.143
R'S RESPONSIBILITY		.25	.500	-	.166
D'S OWN NEED NO TIME ETC.		.25	.375	.285	.333
NO ADVANTAGE TO D		.25	-	-	.166
DISLIKES TASK		-	.250	.143	.333
BUSY WITH OTHER THINGS, TOO TIRED, ETC.		1.00	.500	.857	.833
2) NO BOND, R WILL WASTE * HELP		-	-	.285	.166
				.143	
NO NEED		.25	.25	.571	.333
3) OTHERS CAN OR WILL HELP		-	-	.143	.166
5) MISCELLANEOUS		-	-	.143	.333
TOTALS		9.00	10.625	7.711	8.658

APPENDIX B

THE REASONS SUPPLIED BY THE STUDENTS

CLASSIFICATION OF REASONS FOR THE DECISION TO GIVE

CIRCUMSTANCES CONCERNING ONLY THE DONOR

Ready assent

Yes, he will go (drive to the village) - 5,9,12,22,25 (G 14)

Yes, I'll gladly do that - 10,13,21,24 (G 14)

Yes, I'll go at once - 2 (G 14)

I'll gladly help (or try to help) - 7,8,10,12,15,24,25 (G 17)

Yes, certainly, they want to have the child - 24 (G 11)

Sure, self-evidently - 1,6,11,12,13,23,24 (G 10)

Sure, I can do that all right - 25 (G 7)

Principle or maxim

He feels if others have no food and clothing, he must give - 9 (G 9)

It's impossible to leave a person out on the mountains, I must go
and help look for him - 10 (G 8)

He thinks he ought to be looked for - 17 (G 8)

He remembers one shall help one's neighbour - 23 (G 9)

He feels called to this - 24 (G 9)

He thinks he must do it - 24, 25 (G 8)

It's impossible to let the wife suffer, without getting help -
19 (G 14)

It is because he feels a little responsibility for others -
9 (G 9)

For perhaps there won't be any others who will go - 2 (G 16)

Agrees with object or cause

One must help some one who is in need, a human life is precious -

6 (G 8)

If they find him, then he has helped to save a person from death -

13 (G 8)

He thinks it's a useful thing and it's worth giving them something -

10 (G 9)

He thinks it's an important thing and that something should be

done for those who suffer need - 11 (G 9)

He feels the need to do it - 10 (G 15)

He wants to support this for he can't imagine anything else -

12 (G 9)

He thinks the gift is going towards something important - 19 (G 15)

He does it because it's going to a good purpose - 13 (G 9)

Money is going to a good cause - 13 (G 15)

And in any case the rubbish had to be cleared away - 6 (G 16)

Because he wants to join in and help so that everything from the

war is removed - 13 (G 16)

So there would be enough men - 17 (G 16)

To help it go more quickly - 12 (G 16)

May be tired or reluctant but will help

We've enough children and don't like taking others, but thinking it over, we'll do it - 4 (G 11)

He's very tired, but he'll try - 1, 3 (G 14)

He considers, but starts dressing to go - 11 (G 14)

I haven't very much, but I'll help with what I can - 3, 9, 13 (G 17)

Yes, I could perhaps try to help - 22, 23 (G 17)

Authority said so

And because the priest had suggested it - 7 (G 16)

Because he believed that what the priest said was right - 19 (G 16)

He sees on the placard that he shall give money - 21 (G 15)

Because some people were coming from Oslo and the priest had said that they should clear up, so it would be looking nice - 8 (G 16)

D is a kind, helpful person

He thinks like this because he's helpful and nice - 13 (G 9)

He is helpful and wants to help all who are in pain - 17 (G 11)

Because he is generous - 14 (G 15)

Because he is helpful - 21, 23 (G 16)

D is able to help, so does

Because he himself has only two children - 13, 22 (G 11)

Because he thought he could help a little - 7 (G 16)

If D is able to do so

If he hasn't more important things to do and isn't himself sick -
5 (G 8)

And if he can afford it - 6 (G 17)

If he, D, can afford it - 10 (G 13)

If only she can manage having the girl, too (i.e. the wife can) -
19 (G 11)

If we don't get more children - 6 (G 11)

It's to D's advantage to help, he enjoys the task, he'll earn well

He likes helping his child - 2 (G 12)

He will enjoy a trip out in the open air - 18 (G 8)

It's pleasanter to be two - 2 (G 10)

It's nice for me to have company - 3, 22, 19 (G 10)

He needs company, too - 20 (G 10)

We have two boys - 3 (G 11)

It's fun to have a girl - 21 (G 11)

He thinks he'll earn well, if he goes and looks for the man -

1 (G 8)

Another time he may have to ask Mikkel - 3 (G 7)

If it's to his advantage, he'll comply

If you think you'll have some use out of the girl when she's big -

5 (G 11)

If the old man is nice and healthy - 6 (G 13)

If they are people he knows will repay - 6 (G 17)

CIRCUMSTANCES CONCERNING THE RECIPIENT AND HIS RELATION WITH
THE DONOR

Sympathy with R - feels sorry for him or his family

Sorry for those who are without parents - 9 (G 11)

Poor man, we must look for him - 9 (G 8)

He thinks of what the poor chap is up against now - 14 (G 8)

It's sad for an old man to be lost - 22 (G 8)

He feels sorry for R - 1, 5 (G 8)

Sorry for the small orphans - 11 (G 11)

It's sad that he might lose his life - 3 (G 8)

He is sorry for the poor children - 2 (G 9)

He's sorry for those who suffer need - 11 (G 9)

He's sorry for those who suffer - 14 (G 9)

He has heard how these people live, wants to help them and feels
sympathy with them - 19 (G 9)

He's sorry for those who suffer hunger and need - 23 (G 9)

He is sorry for the old man's family - 19 (G 8)

Thinks how he has felt or would feel

He thinks what it would be like if he were lost - 20 (G 8)

He thinks : If I were a poor refugee, that would be gruesome -
3 (G 9)

It's a good idea; possibly he's also had some experience of this -
4 (G 9)

He thinks of those who suffer and haven't any future. It's not
good to be in the world without any future - 5 (G 9)

If he were the poor things who were suffering - 6 (G 9)

He has himself suffered a little need, hunger and so on - 6 (G 9)

D compares his position with R's

He himself is so well off, he wants others to be just as well off -
2 (G 9)

For R's welfare or benefit

Special relation already existing :

parent-child : He doesn't want it to work hard unnecessarily -

4,11, 17 (G 12)

He is fond of his child - 4 (G 12)

He's so alone - 6 (G 7)

member of same community : It's the man he saw at the cafe - he

must find him - 4 (G 8)

Bond between donor and own village or king :

king : Because he is fond of the king (5)

(G15) He thinks of his dear Norway and the well-loved king (17)

To honour the king (6)

He wants to honour his king (4)

village : To honour his village - 1

(G16) So the village should not be disgraced - 2

It wasn't pretty at all as it was - 3

He liked his village - 4

And wanted to honour it - 4

He felt an urge to clear up and get things looking nice - 5

In order to save the honour of the village - 6

He did not want his village to be in a mess when people
were coming right up from Oslo - 11

So the village is nicely cleared up when the visitors
come, so it doesn't look as though there aren't any
proper men in the whole village - 14

He thought the village should not look ugly - 24

He did not want his village to be disgraced - 17

Other persons
outside the
group :

The widow has too many to look after - 23 (G 11)

Then she'll have more time for the other children -
14 (G 11)

Yes, I can do that - unless it's better to get the
woman down to the village - 6 (G 14)

So he doesn't lose his life - 2 (G 8)

To help those who are suffering - 18 (G 9)

R is in need because of misfortune and lack of resources

He's lost - 8 (G 8)

He thinks the man may have a broken foot and there is no one to help him - 11 (G 8)

Because they need - 6 (G 9)

He thinks the refugees need help, they've no home, food, clothes, and many other things - 24 (G 9)

Help was necessary - 22 (G 11)

Because the father was killed - 15 (G 11)

He knows the boy isn't managing it - 5, 17 (G 12)

R needs because of his inadequacy to the task

He's so little - 1, 17, 25, (G 12)

He's too young to manage such heavy work - 24 (G 12)

She's a coward, so I must take her along - 4 (G 10)

Reciprocity or willingness to repay favours received - emphasis on the other person

To repay the love he himself received when he was small - 23 (G 13)

Because he has been king for fifty years - 8 (G 15)

He wants to thank the king - 25 (G 15)

THE INFLUENCE OF OTHER PEOPLE'S ACTIONS AND OPINIONS

Others are helping, so D follows suit

He sees others are doing it - 9 (G 9)

Because all the rest give - 2 (G 15)

He wants to be one of those honouring the king - 3 (G 15)

Because he joined in everything else, so he'd join in here as well - 18 (G 16)

Because he wants to join in everything - 18 (G 15)

He's glad others want to do the same - 13 (G 9)

Reason from unclear response :

He wonders whether others have gone - 7 (G 8)

MISCELLANEOUS

Thinks God should help

He thinks God should help them - 18 (G 9)

Compromise possible

Doesn't want to, but thinks they can both stay at home and go fishing together another time - 9 (G 7)

Yes, perhaps I could go and collect money for them - 19 (G 17)

Yes, till he can be sent to an old folks' home - 19 (G 13)

Manner of asking

He was asked so nicely to go - 21 (G 8)

CLASSIFICATION OF REASONS FOR REFUSING

CIRCUMSTANCES CONCERNING ONLY THE DONOR

D is not interested in this cause

When the post comes he reads his letter, he thinks about his letter - 8 (RG 9)

He is not interested in this - 20 (RG 9)

This is R's own responsibility - (He shall learn to meet it)

If R's father is ill, then he can stay at home and mind the shop - 4, 13 (RG 7)

Thinks it will do R good to have some responsibility - 13 (RG 7)

He's got to manage alone, if he's to become a proper man - 13 (RG 12)

Shall learn to do something - 22 (RG 12)

To teach him to obey - 6 (RG 12)

His own need is just as great, has no resources, time, etc.

He can't afford to give money away, he needs all himself - 7 (RG 15)

He hasn't any money. He thinks it would be good to give help to the refugees, because he wants to be helpful - 7 (RG 9)

No, he hasn't any spare cash, he needs all he's got for himself - 22 (RG 9)

Has got enough with his own children - 2 (RG 11)

I haven't any money - 11, 18 (RG 17)

He can't give a hundred crowms - 21 (RG 17)

He can't afford to give so much - 1 (RG 15)

Because he had no time - 10 (RG 16)

No, I haven't time - 15 (RG 7)

He hasn't time to help the boy - 7 (RG 12)

There is no advantage in this for D

Want a boy, have two girls themselves - 7 (RG 11)

Would prefer a boy, when he was big, he could help him - 10 (RG 11)

Dislikes the particular task to be done

That's too big a responsibility - 6 (RG 11)

He thinks it dreadful to drive alone at night - 7 (RG 14)

Per prefers to go fishing to standing in a shop - 2 (RG 7)

He doesn't want to go to the shop - 16 (RG 7)

Looking after the shop is too big a responsibility - 18 (RG 7)

He is otherwise engaged or busy, wants to use his money for something else

Will miss going fishing with the others if he has to mind the shop, so says he has no time - 14 (RG 7)

Wants to go fishing - 19 (RG 7)

He's arranged to go with another group - 1,12, 21 (RG 7)

He's going fishing himself - 4,8,10,11,13,20,22,24, 7 (RG 7)

Gives a little but not much because he thinks he can save his money for other things - 12 (RG 15)

-B12-

He's too tired, doesn't feel like it

Because he was tired - 22 (RG 16)

He is so tired - 4 (RG 14)

You shall do it yourself, when I'm fed up - 21 (RG 12)

Because he didn't feel like it - 22 (RG 16)

CIRCUMSTANCES CONCERNING THE RECIPIENT AND HIS RELATION WITH
THE DONOR

Absence of close or fond relationship

He does not want him to live with him - 8, 21 (RG 13)

There are enough people in Norway needing help, without going
outside the country. He's seen and heard about people in poor
circumstances - 22 (RG 9)

R doesn't need help - there's no need, he can manage alone

Can take one piece at a time - 6,7,9, 20 (RG 12)

You need not take so much at once, my boy - 3,16, 23 (RG 12)

He's big enough - 9, 10 (RG 12)

R will waste the help

The boy will fritter away his time at school - 1 (RG 17)

THE INFLUENCE OF OTHER PEOPLE'S ACTIONS AND OPINIONS

Others can or will help

There were enough others who could go - 22 (RG 16)

There'll be others who give - 1 (RG 15)

MISCELLANEOUS

Need more information

He must investigate the matter further and have more information -

1 (RG 9)

Because he doesn't know what the king gets - 20 (RG 15)

The little he can give is useless

He thinks what can the king do with the few pence he gives -

22 (RG 15)

CLASSIFICATION OF REASONS FOR ACCEPTING
CIRCUMSTANCES CONCERNING ONLY THE RECIPIENT

Ready Assent

But later on, when she has reflected a little, she will - 9 (A 1)

Might be something in it - 12 (A 1)

I will gladly accept - 4 (A 4b)

I can certainly do that - 15, 16 (A 4b)

That's a good idea - 20 (A 4b)

I'd like to very much - 23, 25 (A 4b)

That would be fine, and he likes things fine - 7 (A 4b)

It's good to have help - 6 (A 6)

He will come and live with her - 17 (A 7)

As the uncle offered them to him - 9 (A 11)

One doesn't always get skis given one - 7 (A 11)

Principle or maxim

Answers like this because he thinks of the old proverb : "Never
be too big to accept help" - 13 (A 6)

Custom

Because it's the custom - 10 (A 15)

Because they're used to people being hospitable when they're
travelling - 4 (A 15)

R's physical disability

Because he's been in hospital for many years with TB - 8 (A 3)

He's sick - 5, 8 (A 5)

And I'm old and not so strong - 4 (A 6)

I should like to come to your place for now I am old - 9 (A 7)

Fine for me to live with you, for I am so old - 15 (A 7)

I am so old - 24 (A 7)

Because they're long-distance travellers and are tired - 1 (A 15)

Because they're tired and worn out - 9 (A 15)

Because they were tired and needed rest - 11 (A 15)

Because they're worn out and the horse is, too - 14 (A 15)

Because they're tired and have driven a long way - 22 (A 15)

Because they're tired and would like a good rest - 7 (A 15)

The special circumstances causing the need are quoted

Because the children had lost their father - 8 (A 1)

Because their house had burnt down - 8, 21 (A 2)

Because he lost nearly everything - 14 (A 2)

The sack is heavy - 1,2,3,4,5,6,12,15,19, 24 (A 6)

And I've a long way to go - 3 (A 6)

The fact of his needing is stated

Yes, because she needs help - 10 (A 1)

Of course, because he needs money - 10 (A 3)

I have need of it - 21 (A 3)

He needs it absolutely - 17 (A 4)

The man thinks he needs help - 24 (A 6)

He needs it absolutely - 2 (A 8b)

He needs money - 16 (A 8b)

He's in great need - 7 (A 8b)

He's in need and needs help - 10, 11 (A 10)

He needed the money to buy skis - 24 (A 11)

That'd be fine, he needs help - 24 (A 14)

He cannot (or it is difficult to) manage on his own

And it was difficult to manage alone - 8 (A 1)

She's glad to get help, when she can't manage to look after them
alone - 23 (A 1)

He couldn't do it himself - 8 (A 5)

Because he can't manage himself - 14 (A 5)

And he can't manage alone any longer - 6 (A 6)

If he can't manage it alone - 20 (A 6)

Because he can't manage it alone - 22 (A 6)

And I can't manage to look after myself. (But it will be strange
to move) - 9 (A 7)

He can't manage so well alone any more - 19 (A 7)

That I can't manage any longer - 24 (A 7)

He can't manage to stop the deer - 3 (A 10)

Of course he will call for help, he can't manage to get up by himself - 12 (A 10)

Because he can't manage to get up again - 14 (A 10)

He can't manage alone - 16,19, 22 (A 10)

He can't manage with his three fingers - 4 (A 13)

He can't manage by himself - 23 (A 13)

He has few or no resources of his own

Reason is that he has nothing himself - 9 (A 2)

He has no money, nor anything else to build with - 20 (A 2)

Because he himself hasn't any money to build a new house - 23 (A 2)

Because he is penniless - 3 (A 3)

And also he had none (i.e. money) before - 10 (A 3)

I will gladly accept them, for I haven't any money - 7 (A 3)

Of course, he'll call - he's helpless - 1 (A 10)

He must accept he has no alternative

She feels she must - 5 (A 1)

She must, if things are so bad - 6 (A 1)

If she absolutely must (but she'd prefer not to, she'd rather manage alone) - 13 (A 1)

But she is obliged to - 17 (A 1)

She's obliged to, they'll starve to death, if the father is
dead - 21 (A 1)

He must do it - 17 (A 2)

Because it's impossible for him to manage in any other way - 3 (A 2)

He has to - 21, 22 (A 5)

If he's in such a bad way, he'll have to, I suppose (If the others
haven't already done something about it before he calls) -
6 (A 10)

But if he sees he must, then he might call - 13 (RA 10)

He has to - 21, 22 (A 10)

R accepts, for her responsibility to others leaves her no
alternative

She can't let the children starve and freeze to death - 2 (A 1)

Only for the children's sake - 4 (A 1)

But she thinks of the children and the approaching winter -
11 (A 1)

Because she needs food and clothing for the children and herself -
14 (A 1)

The object offered is attractive

Of course I will accept it - he is partial to money, that's why
he wants it - 9 (A 3)

Of course, it's good to have a lot of money - 18 (A 3)

He's glad to get so much money - 23 (A 3)

He would like a pair of skis very much - 1,2,3,4,9,10,12,16,17,
18,20,21, 22 (A 11)

What the help will achieve is desirable

And he has to have a house - 3 (A 2)

So he gets a house again - 17 (A 2)

Just because he wants to get well by entering hospital and having
a specialist's advice - 4 (A 3)

Then I needn't worry about having to buy one for a while - 12 (A 4)

If getting the timber down is urgent - 1 (A 5)

He has to get the timber down - 11 (A 5)

So he can manage - 17 (A 8b)

He wants to learn something here in the world, just like everybody
else - 4 (A 9)

It's fine to learn something before I get too old - 5 (A 9)

Very much wants to go to school - 6,9,12,19,21,22, 23 (A 9)

He wants to learn something - 24 (A 9)

Yes, if he wants to save his life - 18 (A 10)

Then I can go ski-ing whenever I want, and needn't borrow them -
14 (A 11)

The present need is seen as a link in a chain; satisfying this need will enable R to pursue further goals and achieve future objects directly dependent upon the satisfaction of this present need

He's grateful for the offer, he has so much to do in the Spring work - 3 (A 4)

He needs money - 24 (A 5)

Can't become anything without school - 13 (A 9)

Wants to learn and become something - 14 (A 9)

And he wants to learn it, too - 4 (A 13)

The outcome of the situation is considered

He will lose a lot of money if he doesn't get the timber down - 3 (A 5)

He can't stay there in the snow - 2 (A 10)

He can't lie there and freeze - 9 (A 10)

He doesn't want to walk the rest of the way - 23 (A 10)

Yes, he'll call - otherwise he'll be left behind - 24 (A 10)

He's afraid of losing his life - 7 (A 10)

Incidental advantages, perhaps not directly related to the present need, are seen to result from accepting the help, and this prospect is said to attract R

To save her money for other things, if she has any - 20 (A 1)

So he gets rich - 20 (A 3)

He's tired of carrying the (heavy) sack - 7,11,14, 23 (A 6)

He says this because he thinks he'll be well off there, and
won't have to work so hard - 10 (A 7)

I'll gladly come to your place; here it's so lonely - 12 (A 7)

Then he doesn't need to use his own money - 19, 23 (A 11)

Because he is alone - 19 (A 14)

Will be a long time before he can save enough - 2 (A 11)

It's so slow otherwise - 12 (A 13)

Because he's glad to finish quickly - 2 (A 14)

It'll be much quicker for me - 12 (A 14)

Then we're finished faster - 21 (A 14)

THE RECIPIENT CONSIDERS THE DONOR AND HIS RELATIONSHIP WITH HIM

The donor's capacity to give and the inconvenience or sacrifice
for him is considered

If the brother is well off - 6 (A 3)

If his brother is quite sure he can spare all this for him - 17 (A 3)

But how can you manage without your horse? - 1 (A 4b)

Just think, if your horse drowns, too - 5 (A 4b)

If you're not needing it yourself in the next weeks - 9 (A 4b)

Only if you're not using the horse yourself - 18 (A 4b)

And (if you) have time - 25 (A 6)

And if I'm not in the way for you and yours - 5 (A 7)

If it isn't too much trouble for you - 19 (A 7)

If the father can manage about the money - 1,4,10,12,13,15,18,
19,21,23, 25 (A 9)

If you've time - 1,2,9,15, 18 (A 14)

Good relations exist between D and R

It is his best neighbour - 7 (A 5)

For he likes to be with his daughter - 5 (A 7)

He is his friend - 19 (A 8b)

D's character and motives and his willingness to help are taken
into account

D is kind, helpful:

It is kind of you to offer me your horse - 11 (A 4b)

It is nice of you - 14 (A 4b)

Many thanks, this is frightfully nice of you - 19 (A 4b)

And it would be very kind of you - 2 (A 6)

That's kind - 22 (A 6)

That would be kind of him - 23 (A 6)

If you are so kind - 25 (A 11)

If you ask to - he is helpful - 11 (A 14)

That's frightfully nice of you - 19 (A 14)

If he wants to be so kind as to help - 23 (A 14)

Won't refuse when the other fellow has been kind enough to want
to help - 10 (A 14)

D is willing, wants to:

And D is willing to help - 5 (A 5)

Fine, if you would like to help - 1 (A 6)

If you want to - 9, 25 (A 6)

And the man wants to help - 11 (A 6)

Gladly, if you would like to - 13 (A 6)

If you will - 19 (A 6)

If you want to have me - 5 (A 7)

Yes, if you absolutely want me to come - 10 (A 7)

But if you would like me to come, I can come - 21 (A 7)

If you can be bothered making me a present of them - 5 (A 11)

If you want to (would like to) (lenda hand) (help me) (you can
just as well start chopping) - 1,2,10,12,16, 21 (A 14)

Because as he himself wants to help him - 14 (A 14)

The exchange of help between D & R is on a reciprocal basis

R is willing to help D in return should D later require similar assistance, or to repay financial help:

I'll help you later, if you need it - 19 (A 4b)

Perhaps his neighbour will help him now and he will help him in return another time - 19 (A 5)

Will repay father later - 3, 6 (A 9)

R is aware that, in giving help, D receives satisfactions of another kind and he, R, is willing that this should be so:

Because they seldom have visitors, those who live so far away -
20 (A 15)

R is grateful:

And I'm very grateful if you will help me - 12 (A 6)

The help is accepted, but as a business arrangement

Yes, but you shall have payment for it - 13 (A 4)

Will ask for a loan, but not a gift - 7,5, 19 (A 8b)

THE INFLUENCE OF OTHER PEOPLE'S NEEDS, ACTIONS, OR OPINIONS

Others, in a similar situation, are accepting, or have accepted help, too

He will do so because others had done it - 7 (A 2)

MISCELLANEOUS

Yes, he'll go, let it cost what it may - 22 (A 9)

Yes, and if they didn't he'd not wait, he would begin to cook his own (coffee) - 6 (A 15)

No one will give you money unless you ask - 10 (A 8b)

If the others haven't already done something about it before he calls - 6 (A 10)

CLASSIFICATION OF REASONS FOR REFUSING TO ACCEPT

CIRCUMSTANCES CONCERNING ONLY THE RECIPIENT

Principle or maxim (help is not accepted, it is not done, if you're fit and well you help yourself)

Her conscience won't let her do that - 18 (RA 1)

Never! If he's free and can work - 6 (RA 8b)

Like a proper Lapp boy he wants to manage by himself - 4 (RA 10)

He has to learn to do it himself - 1 (RA 13)

He should manage by himself - 15 (RA 13)

Because he thinks he shouldn't help him - 22 (RA 14)

R is proud

Berit is a proud woman and does not want to go to the Chairman just yet - 3 (RA 1)

No, he is too proud - 3 (RA 8b)

He is too proud for that - 4 (RA 8b)

He is too proud to beg - 22 (RA 8b)

He's proud - 4 (RA 10)

No, he wants to be proud and not do so - 17 (RA 10)

R doesn't want to crawl to the other man - 13 (RA 8b)

R does not like to accept, or will not beg

He doesn't want to beg - 22 (RA 2)

He doesn't want to be like a beggar - 11 (RA 8b)

R feels it is a disgrace

She thinks that it is a disgrace - 19 (RA 1)

R does not want to accept, or to ask

(If she absolutely must,) but not till then - 6 (A 1)

(At first she will not want to go) - 9 (A 1)

(Doesn't like to) - 11 (A 1)

She doesn't want to go to the Chairman - 16 (RA 1)

She doesn't want to - 17, 22 (RA 1)

No, I don't want to borrow your horse, when I've lost mine -

21 (RA 4)

R wants to manage alone

(But she'd prefer not to, she'd rather manage alone) - 13 (A 1)

He wants to manage by himself - 13 (RA 2)

He wants to build it by himself - 15 (RA 2)

Wants to try to manage by himself - 19 (RA 2)

Wants to manage by himself - 13 (RA 7)

And he wants to manage alone as long as possible - 13 (RA 8b)

Wants very much to try to do it himself - 2 (RA 13)

R prefers independence

It's best to be independent - 13 (RA 5)

Because I don't want to ask others for help, and am self-reliant -
4 (A 14)

There is a sense of achievement in managing alone

It's much more fun to buy them yourself when you have with lots of
difficulty been saving up for them. When he finally gets them his
joy will be twice as great - 13 (RA 11)

R prefers a business arrangement

(Yes, but could borrow the money from some one else, repaying it
later) - 5 (A 9)

No, they'll go in and buy, and they'll get it - 12, 19 (RA 15)

R is modest

No, they're not so demanding - 13 (RA 15)

R feels unworthy of help

(And I'm not worth that) - 4 (AC 3)

R is tricky

Old people are tricky (i.e. perverse) - 6 (RA 7)

The potential recipient maintains there isn't any need, he can, or will, manage on his own

There is no need:

Influenza isn't so dangerous - 6 (RA 5)

It's not necessary - 21 (RA 6)

No, it's not necessary, I haven't got much to do - 5 (RA 14)

I don't need help - 25 (RA 14)

R says he can manage:

Oh, I can manage to carry the sack myself - 16 (RA 6)

I can manage by myself - 21 (RA 6)

(I can live alone) - 21 (A 7)

No thanks, I've got money of my own - 6 (RA 11)

No, when he can do it himself - 20 (RA 13)

I can manage alone - 20, 7 (RA 14)

(Yes, thanks, but I'd manage it alone also) - 4 (A 14)

R will (or 'I shall') manage:

She will try to manage by herself - 22 (RA 1)

And will try to manage by himself - 12 (RA 2)

He will try to do it by himself - 13 (RA 5)

I think I shall manage to carry it by myself - 18 (RA 6)

O, I'll manage alone for a while still - 1 (RA 7)

I'll manage all right for a while still - 2 (RA 7)

I'll manage for a while still. I'm still so fine that I'll
manage alone - 4 (RA 7)

Haven't a clue as to what old folk think! Oh, I'll manage alone -
6 (RA 7)

I'll manage alone - 14 (RA 7)

(But will also try to earn a little myself) - 12 (A 9)

(Yes, but thinks he might manage the lot himself) - 20 (A 9)

No, because he thinks he can manage alone - 20 (RA 10)

R will give up, or postpone, his aim if achieving it causes
hardship to the donor

He can go to school when he himself has been earning - 2 (RA 9)

Doesn't want to go when there's so little money. He'd prefer to
begin earning himself so he (and his father) is better off -
17 (RA 9)

(But will give up the idea of going to school, if father can't
afford it - 4, 21 (A 9))

Perhaps in a year or two I shall come and stay with you -
11 (RA 7)

I can do that a little later - 16 (RA 7)

There may be incidental disadvantages resulting from the acceptance of the help which R prefers to avoid, or there may be advantages in managing alone (e.g. only by doing the job himself can he acquire the skill he desires)

And because he has lived there so long, he doesn't want to leave his house - 2 (RA 7)

I think I'll stay here for a while, for you know, I prefer to be here - 3 (RA 7)

(But it will be strange to move - 9 (A 7))

I prefer to live alone. I like being alone best, so long as you often come and see me - 11 (RA 7)

Because here I can do as I please, and at your place it's all so lovely and clean - 14 (RA 7)

(But it's not easy for him to leave his farm - 17 (A 7))

He says he wants to be by himself - 18 (RA 7)

Old R answers that this is the home of his youth and so he wants to live there as long as possible - 7 (RA 7)

He wants to learn it - 5 (RA 13)

Wants to try and do it himself; it's slow work, but he hopes he'll learn to do it more quickly - 11 (RA 13)

(No, when he can do it himself) and wants to learn more - 20 (RA 13)

THE RECIPIENT CONSIDERS THE DONOR AND HIS RELATIONSHIP WITH HIM
The donor's capacity to give and the inconvenience or sacrifice
for him is considered

Because FM has enough with its own commitments - 2 (RA 2)

Because FM has a lot of things to build for God's business, he
must get a loan from somewhere else - 6 (RA 2)

He wants to save FM this - 12 (RA 2)

He thinks FM has enough to give to - 22 (RA 2)

His brother needs the money himself - 2 (RA 3)

He thinks his brother is far too good to him - 19 (RA 3)

It was nice of you, but you need your horse yourself - 10 (RA 4b)

You will be needing your horse yourself, I can't accept help from
you - 22 (RA 4b)

He thinks his neighbour hasn't time - 2 (RA 5)

For he thinks the daughter has enough to do with her own family -
2 (RA 7)

Because I don't want to be a burden to you - 4 (RA 7)

(Doesn't want) to be a burden to other people - 13 (RA 7)

I am only in the way for you, that's why he says he wants to be by
himself - 18 (RA 7)

He doesn't want to be in any one's way, as long as he can manage by
himself - 22 (RA 7)

He doesn't want to be a nuisance to her - 23 (RA 7)

Friend needs it himself - 12 (RA 8a)

Friend hasn't got much money - 19 (RA 8a)

Sen says father needn't throw away his only money - 2 (RA 9)

So ... his father (is) better off - 17 (RA 9)

Not at first, for he doesn't want to bother the others - 13 (RA 10)

He can't be wasting the other fellow's time - 6 (RA 13)

Doesn't want to bother him, perhaps he's got enough to do with his own work - 13 (RA 13)

He doesn't want to be a burden to the other fellow - 19 (RA 13)

And you needn't bother to chop wood when you've got such fine clothes on - 5 (RA 14)

No, you needn't help. Woodcutting lasts all day and it doesn't pay you to work all day for nothing - 6 (RA 14)

He'll do it himself, so the man can go on and doesn't need to be detained - 16 (RA 14)

You mustn't do it, it's too much trouble - 22 (RA 14)

The potential recipient doubts the donor's willingness to help

And (thinks his neighbour) won't like to - 2 (RA 5)

No, because he's scared the other fellow hasn't time and will say no - 14 (RA 13)

D and R are unacquainted

Can't expect it, for the people don't know them - 5 (RA 15)

Perhaps they're not known to one another - 19 (RA 15)

D is not aware of R's need

No, because the people mightn't know they have come such a long way - 2 (RA 15)

THE INFLUENCE OF OTHER PEOPLE'S NEEDS, ACTIONS, OR OPINIONS

Too many others accept help

Because he thinks there are so many who have applied - 1 (RA 2)

Accepting incurs the criticism or scorn of others

And because his friends might think he was a coward - 4 (RA 10)

THE NATURE, SOURCE, OR AMOUNT OF HELP OFFERED OR AVAILABLE

The help offered is inadequate

He'll apply for a loan from a bank, he'll get a bigger loan there -
5 (RA 2)

It's not my horse, if I borrow it every day, but thanks for your
trouble - 6 (RA 4b)

That's not such a bad idea, but he needed one of his own -
2 (RA 4b)

The help is too much

And a thousand crowns is too much - 2 (RA 3)

It's too much - 12,13, 14 (RA 3)

It's far too much, I can't accept it - 19 (RA 3)

That's far too much, dear brother. He doesn't like getting so much - 22 (RA 3)

It's too much for me (I'm not worth that) - 4 (A 3)

Thank you very much, but I don't know whether I should take so much (but changes his mind and does) - 11 (A 3)

Doesn't like taking so much money - 17 (A 3)

No, he won't, because it is too big a job - 7 (RA 13)

MISCELLANEOUS

But if he were offered assistance, then he'd accept it willingly - 6 (RA 2)

He would like to ask, but he doesn't dare - 9 (RA 13)

He does not dare - 1, 14 (RA 8b)

Because it's of no use to apply, he wouldn't get anything anyhow - 10 (RA 2)

No, he won't call, for that'd only frighten the deer more - he sits and joiks a little - 5 (RA 10)

No, I can't manage that - when I can manage, I'll come - 20 (RA 7)

I am so old, I can't manage to go there - 25 (RA 7)

THE INITIAL REASONS SUPPLIED BY THE ADULTS

CLASSIFICATION OF REASONS FOR THE DECISION TO GIVE

CIRCUMSTANCES CONCERNING ONLY THE DONOR

Principle or maxim

A lost man must be looked for - HR,KA,RE,BL,SL,JM,PH (G 8)

One shall be helpful - BL (G 7)

It is a human duty - HR (G 8)

One can't refuse when another is in need - AO, SL (G 14)

Decent people would go - MB - (G 14)

It's not good to refuse - MB (G 14)

Not because of the king, nor because of the church, but as a national duty - PH (G 15)

He would have a bad conscience if he didn't - AO (G 7) & (G 8)

He'll give a crown (whether he has much or little) - to ease his conscience - HR (G 15)

Agrees with object or cause

Because a church is to be built - HR (G 15)

It will benefit the seamen - (AO G 15)

It's necessary to clear up - MB (G 16)

Instinctive, natural to help

Saving a man's life is instinctive - PH (G 8)

She's a child, so his paternal feelings will awaken - PH (G 10)

He is glad, it's a real pleasure for him to help some one in need - AO & PH (G 8)

He's glad to get her home safe and sound (would wait for her and see that they got down together; being a man, he could go much faster - PH (G 10)

Authority said so

He has no choice, the police compel - MB 4, (G 8)

D is a kind, helpful person

R is sick and wants help and D is a kind chap - JM (G 14)

He is so helpful - BL (G 8)

He wants to help people - JM (G 9)

He is so kind and helpful - KA, AO, HR, (G 18)

He is so kind and helpful - KA (G 19)

He's industrious and willing to work

If he's an industrious person and willing to work - HR (G 18)

D is able to help so does

He has a little money to spare, so may as well give his bit - SL (G 9)

If D is able to do so

If he has time - PH, SL, HR (G 18)

Depends on whether he has a wife to look after the old man - SL (G 13)

Depends on how many children he has - HR, MB, (G 13)

Costs him nothing

It costs him nothing - HR (G 10)

Am no poorer and no richer if I give or don't give; many a shilling disappears - HR (G 15)

She's a child, so his friends won't chaff him - HR (G 10)

No retaliation

Doesn't want to retaliate - PH (G 14)

In order to repay evil with good - HR (G 14)

It's to D's advantage to help; he enjoys the task

It's more fun for him to have a girl's company - MB (G 10)

She looks so gay - BL (G 10)

Has none (i.e. children) of his own - SL (G 11)

D will earn something through helping - PH,HR,RE (G 18)

God repays those who give - MB (G 9)

Fear of reprisal

He may suffer reprisal should he be in a similar situation later on - HR (G 8)

To boost his prestige

If he wants to make a big name for himself, he'll give more than he can afford, and people will say that he, HR, has given 50 crowns! - HR (G 9)

So he has given - discharged his obligation - HR (G 9)

So the person asking will look up to me - HR (G 16)

Manner of asking

He asked so nicely - AO (G 7)

CIRCUMSTANCES CONCERNING THE RECIPIENT AND HIS RELATION WITH THE DONOR

Sympathy with R - feels sorry for him or his family

Feels sorry for the poor woman and children - AO (G 11)

He hasn't the heart to refuse his own boy - AO (G 12 & 18)

Sad for them to have lost their father - KA (G 11)

Is sorry for him - RE (G 19)

Thinks how he has felt or would feel

He has himself been evacuated, so will give all he can - BL (G 9)

D compares his position with R's

We're so fortunate, they're so miserable; we are healthy and prosperous, so should give as much as we can - AO (G 9)

For R's welfare or benefit

Special relation already existing:

parent- child: Old man won't want to go elsewhere - RE (G 13)

Old man prefers to be with his child - BL (G 13)

Fathers help sons - JM (G 12)

It's his father - self-evident - PH,KA (G 13)

cousin: So the cousin could go - RE (G 7)

friends: He liked him - RE (G 7)

They were such good friends - JM,PH (G 7)

He's his friend - SL, JM (G 19)

king: It's Norway's king - own king - AO (G 15)

village: The man belongs to the village picture - PH (G 8)

So the village is nice - JM (G 16)

It would be pleasanter for the whole village - HR (G 16)

Because the MPs are coming - KA (G 16)

Other persons outside the group:

She's afraid of the dark and it's unpleasant for her to go alone - HR,RE,KA,BL (G 10)

So she can get there - AO (G 10)

All are God's creatures - AO (G 9)

To help the poor woman who's left with the children - AO (G 11)

Wants to help the family - JM (G 11)

He knows R wants to go - RE, AL (G 19)

Enmity ceases

Enmity ceases when one of the parties gets into a need situation -- PH (G 14)

R is in need because of misfortune or lack of resources

They need - PH,KA,RE,HR,MB (G 9)

She's in a sort of need situation, too - PH (G 10)

They have lost their father - BL (G 11)

Boy can't manage alone - SL (G 12)

Possibly R can't afford to pay a man - KA (G 18)

He has to get the timber loaded - PH (G 18)

Depends whether he's old enough to get a pension to pay for the old folks home - MB (G 13)

R needs because of his inadequacy to the task

He's young - RE,KA (G 12)

Reciprocity or willingness to repay - emphasis is on the other person

If R is a pleasant, helpful young person who has often in the past done D a favour, he's glad to send him off - PH (G 19)

Depends on how his father's been to him - HR (G 13)

If R is satisfied

If R is satisfied with what he can give him - AO (G 13)

THE INFLUENCE OF OTHER PEOPLE'S ACTIONS AND OPINIONS

Others are helping so D follows suit

If his friends go, too - SL (G 16)

Any others available?

Depends on whether or not he's an only child - HR (G 13)

MISCELLANEOUS

No amount stated

It's not stated how much he's to give - HR (G 9)

CLASSIFICATION OF REASONS FOR REFUSING

CIRCUMSTANCES CONCERNING ONLY THE DONOR

D is not interested in the cause

Not within his field of interest - HR (RG 19)

Not D's role nor concern

Pay my tax - that's enough - HR (RG 15)

Have wife and children - that's enough, I suppose - HR (RG 15)

It's not a private individual's duty - PH (RG 16)

Let the MPs come and see how well they've done their job - PH (RG 16)

This is R's own responsibility (He shall learn to meet it)

R shall shoulder his responsibility - PH (RG 7)

He shall learn to be self-reliant - HR (RG 12)

He is big enough - is good for him - MB (RG 12)

To teach him obedience - PH (RG 12)

His own need is just as great, has no resources, time, etc.

D hasn't time to help the boy - HR (RG 12)

Would gladly come, but as a family man, haven't time. Puts it like this so they don't think him mean - HR (RG 16)

If D's own need was great and he was financially dependent upon the fish - PH (RG 7)

There is no advantage in this for D

No payment - HR (RG 18)

Dislikes the particular task to be done

Disliked looking after a shop - HR (RG 7)

Afraid of being out on the mountain himself - MB (RG 8)

It is heavy work - HR,BL (RG 18)

He is otherwise engaged or busy

He was busy with his own work - AO (RG 18)

Wants very much to go fishing, will not give it up - HR,MB,KA,SL(RG 7)

D wanted very much to go fishing - BL,AO (RG 7)

He's too tired; doesn't feel like it

Doesn't feel like it - perhaps doesn't like the government - BL(RG 16)

The cost to D is too great

It's a lot of work to nurse him alone - BL (RG 13)

Old man is in the way - HR (RG 13)

Costs extra food and clothing - PH,HR(RG 11)

Hereditary traits may make the upbringing very difficult - PH (RG 11)

Would spoil his clothes - HR (RG 18)

Other disadvantages for D

Less complaining from wife if the old man is in a home - HR (RG 13)

If she is grown up his friends will chaff him for being with a girl - HR (RG 10)

The rest of the population as well as the mother will criticise the way in which he brings the child up and cares for it - PH,HR (RG 11)

Has already helped a lot

He has already helped so much - BL (RG 18)

Special characteristics of D make helping hard

If D is a lazy person - HR (RG 18)

D is niggardly - MB (RG 19)

Anxious to give, but hasn't anything. Very hard for him to part with money, he is fond of it, so fond of it, he has so little. But if he were rich, it'd be harder still for him to give - BL (RG 15)

CIRCUMSTANCES CONCERNING THE RECIPIENT AND HIS RELATION WITH THE DONOR

Absence of close or fond relationship

Have children of their own, don't want other people's - RE (RG 11)

Perhaps he's sick, or something has come in between to prevent his going. It's not because they're bad friends, for he would have forgiven him everything - BL (RG 14)

R doesn't need help - there's no need, he can manage alone

R's need was not so great - PH,HR (RG 7)

R can manage without help - AO (RG 12)

King's salary is not so small - HR (RG 15)

King is rich, he doesn't need - RE, SL (RG 15)

R will be better off with different kind of help

Better off in a home - HR (RG 13)

If his wife is nasty, he is better off in a home - BL (RG 13)

Well looked after in a home - AO (RG 13)

R doesn't deserve help: he is lazy, lying

If R is a lazy person, too lazy to get some one else - BL (RG 18)

D is angry with R for taking so long about the job; he thinks he's lying - BL (RG 12)

D disapproves of the purpose for which R wants the help

Nothing there to see - AO (RG 19)

If he, D, doesn't like going, R shaft go either - BL (RG 19)

Thinks R gets nothing out of his cinema-going - PH (RG 19)

THE INFLUENCE OF OTHER PEOPLE'S ACTIONS AND OPINIONS

D is responsible to, or under an obligation to some one else

Permission from father is necessary first - HR (RG 8)

Previous promise to help cousin - AO (RG 8)

Others can or will help

Somebody will probably take it, the Norwegians would - MB (RG 11)

Others can do it, he hasn't time - RE (RG 16)

MISCELLANEOUS

It's vanity to give to impress others

It's vanity to do it because the MPs are coming - AO (RG 16)

Compromise is possible

Can visit the old man in the home - HR (RG 13)

CLASSIFICATION OF REASONS FOR ACCEPTING

CIRCUMSTANCES CONCERNING ONLY THE RECIPIENT

Principle or maxim

She will, of course she will. One is not allowed to be without help - MB (A 1)

It doesn't do not to let him - MB (A 6)

Custom

He'd get help if he asked, sick or not sick, that's the custom - MB (A 5)

Human nature

It's human nature to cast our burdens on others and evade them ourselves. So why not toss the bag on to the other fellow's back and let him carry it! PH (A 6)

Old people don't think so rationally any more, they're so taken up with their rheumatism and their arterial sclerosis - he won't think of the consequences of his action for his daughter, or of what her husband will say to it - PH (A 7)

R's physical disability

As a sick man, he needs - HR (A 3)

He's sick - KA (A 3)

Sick and elderly folk, they need, they accept - MB (A 3)

Yes, because he's sick - BL (A 15)

Yes, he asks and he will get - because he's sick - MB (A 15)

If he's physically weak - PH (A 6)

If he's tired - HR (A 6)

If he's old, he'll almost certainly go - PH (A 7)

The special circumstances causing the need are quoted

As he has lost his horse - SL, BL (A 4)

If the sack is heavy - HR (A 6)

The fact of his needing is stated

Yes, of course, it's no fun if you lose your horse, and everybody needs a horse - MB (A 4)

Needs assistance - HR (A 10)

He has few or no resources of his own

Of course he will. A boy of 18 is dependent on his parents (especially when trying to widen his horizon and to acquire the means for earning his livelihood) - PH (A 9)

He must accept, he has no alternative

It's unpleasant enough to have to ask for public assistance,
but there was nothing else she could do in the circumstances -
PH (A 1)

He asks, he has to do so - SL (A 5)

He is obliged to - SL (A 8)

The object offered is attractive

Everyone loves money - MB (A 3)

What the help will achieve is desirable

If the boy really wants to go - HR (A 9)

The present need is seen as a link in a chain

If he badly needs the money - HR (A 5)

Especially when trying to widen his horizon and to acquire
the means for earning his living - PH (A 9)

The outcome of the situation is considered

Yes, he has to, he'll lose his deer otherwise - SL (A 10)

Incidental advantages, perhaps not directly related to the
present need, are seen to result from accepting the help and
this prospect is said to attract R

Can eat as much as he likes there - MB (A 7)

Can be at home there, people aren't fussy there - MB (A 7)

He'll save his money - yes - BL (A 11)

The help may not be essential, but is welcomed by R

Always accept money that's offered - SL (A 3)

The help is accepted, but as a business arrangement

And then he will pay him for his work - this isn't a question
of help, but a financial arrangement - PH (RA 15)

And then he'll pay the man for his work, for he doesn't want

a double gift; it's already one gift that he drives the load down, he doesn't want him to do it for nothing - HR (RA 15)

He will ask for a loan, but not a gift - PH (A 8)

He will ask for a loan, he will repay it when he has work again - JM (A 8)

THE RECIPIENT CONSIDERS THE DONOR AND HIS RELATIONSHIP WITH HIM

The accepting is expressive of an existing relationship between donor and recipient

D & R are acquainted:

If the other chap were known to him - HR (A 6)

Parent-child relation:

It's his own child - KA,MB (A 7)

Good relations exist between them, or if they do:

If relations between them were good he would certainly accept - PH (A 3)

Likes to be at his daughter's - JM,RE (A 7)

Especially if he had a liking for his daughter, even though it mightn't be very strong - PH (A 7)

Of course he'll go, certainly. If the uncle offers, relations between them are very intimate and he'll certainly accept - PH (A 11)

Depends on how his son-in-law behaved towards him - HR (A 7)

The donor's capacity to give and the inconvenience or sacrifice for him is considered

The brother must be able to afford it if he offers. So he would say: "A thousand, thousand thanks - but you mustn't give away so much that you yourself go short - HR (A 3)

I'm a strong, healthy fellow, I can manage that, I'll carry it for you - HR (A 6)

Depends on his daughter's circumstances - HR (A 7)

If the father can manage - HR (A 9)

Yes, certainly. It's only a question of what he'll do with the money he'd saved. To ease his uncle's burden, he'll add his savings, too - HR (A 11)

D's character and motives and his willingness to help are taken into account

If I needed something myself, I'd go straight to FM and ask, for they are so kind - BL (A 2)

They wait till one is able to repay the money - BL (A 2)

When he knows that FM is helpful and ... - BL (A 4)

(If the other chap) were helpful, he'd accept - HR (A 6)

(If R knows that) purely out of human kindness D will want to help him - PH (A 6)

(If R knows that) D has a genuine liking (and respect) for him - it's this background music that's decisive - PH (A 6)

His father was going to get the money together for him - BL (A 9)

The exchange of help between D & R is on a reciprocal basis

Mutual help between associates is usual:

Often happens that if workmates like one another and if one of them gets into trouble, the other will help - PH (A 8)

D has perhaps been helped by ^R on a previous occasion:

Perhaps the man (i.e. R) has been a very helpful person in other ways - PH (A 6)

R is willing to help D in return should D later require similar assistance, or to repay financial help:

Possibly later also, he'll buy something for his uncle - PH (A 11)

Yes, but he will perhaps want to repay his father later - RE (A 9)

R is aware that in giving help D receives satisfactions of another kind and he, R, is willing that this should be so:

But you can try, and if you spoil it, I can paint it over again. But you won't get any pay for it - HR (A 12)

R is grateful:

I can't repay you a thousand crowns, so you shall have a thousand thanks - HR (A 3)

THE INFLUENCE OF OTHER PEOPLE'S NEEDS, ACTIONS, OR OPINIONS

R is under contract to others

If he has to get the load down because of some contract - PH (A 5)

Others would have to help if D's offer were refused and they are less able to help than D is

She won't want to be a burden to her relatives and closest neighbours - PH (A 1)

R does not want to be under an obligation to others who would have to help if this D did not

(She won't want) to be under an obligation to them (her relatives and closest neighbours) - PH (A 1)

THE NATURE, SOURCE, OR AMOUNT OF HELP OFFERED OR AVAILABLE

Might have been an inheritance he was sharing - brother must have got the crowns from somewhere - PH (A 3)

Will accept a gift, but not a loan - MB (A 8)

MISCELLANEOUS

Of course he will - at least, he won't call for help, but that he's lost his deer, they shall catch his deer - PH (A 10)
(Interpretation: He co-opts his fellows, doesn't request help)

CLASSIFICATION OF REASONS FOR REFUSING TO ACCEPT

CIRCUMSTANCES CONCERNING ONLY THE RECIPIENT

Principle or maxim

First she would try to manage on her own - BL (RA 1)

(But seen from another point of view: even if R knows D likes him and respects him, I doubt whether he'll accept, for a situation like this is one of life's trivialities) and normal, intelligent people don't plague their fellowmen with such trivialities - he'll carry the bag himself - PH (RA 1)

If you take a loan, you're either sick or lazy. You work, if you're healthy - BL (RA 8)

He's well able to look for work himself - KA (RA 8)

He must run on till he's tired - AO (RA 10)

If he's not so old, and is physically fit, with his power to reason intact he won't accept - PH (RA 7)

R is proud

Or if he's proud - PH (RA 3)

He does not like to accept, or will not beg

Doesn't like to go and beg there - AO (RA 2)

Will get work somewhere else, can't go to a friend and beg - AO (RA 8)

Thinks it's horrid to beg for cash - AO (RA 11)

R does not want to accept, nor to ask

No, he doesn't want to ask - AO (RA 5)

He doesn't want him to buy him skis - AO (RA 11)

R is shy, or modest

Perhaps she's modest - BL (RA 1)

If he were shy and bashful, he'd say he could manage by himself - HR (RA 6)

R wants to manage alone

(And if it were) he'd prefer to manage by himself - AO (RA 3)

R prefers independence

Wants to be free, doesn't want to be bound by so large a gift - AO (RA 3)

Wants to be independent - HR (RA 4)

There is a sense of achievement in managing alone

It's fun to have saved it all yourself - AO (RA 11)

The potential recipient maintains there isn't any need, he can, or will manage on his own

There is no need:

Or perhaps she's rich - BL (RA 1)

But if there's no hurry the load can wait till he's better - HR (RA 5)

Job can wait till he's better - AO (RA 5)

Bag's not so heavy - SL (RA 6)

He will carry it, he hasn't far to go - JM (RA 6)

He says he can manage:

Can manage by himself - BL,KA,AO,SL (RA 6)

No, I'll do this job myself - AO (RA 12)

He is doing the painting himself - KA (RA 12)

R will (or I shall) manage:

She will try to manage on her own as long as she can - AO (RA 1)

I shall try to work myself - AO (RA 9)

He'll manage alone - KA (RA 10)

He will manage in the end to catch the deer - AO (RA 10)

I've saved some money, I'll soon be able to buy skis. He doesn't want him to buy him skis - AO (RA 11)

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There may be incidental disadvantages resulting from acceptance of the help which R prefers to avoid, or there may be advantages in managing alone

If he doesn't want the other chap to know what's in the bag, he'll refuse - HR (RA 6)

Better off in an old folks home, too many children making a noise (at his daughter's) - SL (RA 7)

R prefers a business arrangement

Will try other legitimate public channels open to him - insurances, war damages, etc. - PH (RA 2)

He will try to get a loan from a bank - AO (RA 2)

R cannot repay

For he will never be able to recompense him for so large a gift - AO (RA 3)

He won't be able to repay a loan - AO (RA 8)

THE RECIPIENT CONSIDERS THE DONOR AND HIS RELATIONSHIP WITH HIM

The refusal is expressive of an existing relationship

He's crying, his daughter hasn't been nice to him - BL (RA 7)

He'll consider the attitude of his son-in-law, and even if he were nice would not accept - PH (RA 7)

The donor's capacity to give and the inconvenience or sacrifice entailed for him is considered

D is unable to help, i.e. he hasn't the ability:

He can do the job better himself - BL (RA 12)

He can't paint and make it as nice as he himself can - SL (RA 12)

He's not used to painting and the chest would not be so nice - RE (RA 12)

You don't understand this job, it is much better that I do it myself - PH (RA 12)

Don't know whether you can. If you can't do it as I like it,

then I don't want it spoilt - HR (RA 12)

R does not wish to inconvenience D who can perhaps ill afford to help:

People in DC have to work and struggle hard and pay taxes and she doesn't want to be a burden - AO (RA 1)

She doesn't want to be a burden - HR (RA 1)

FM get money from small offerings of people - AO (RA 2)

And if it were a kind brother, he'd think: "No, poor soul, he's giving this out of the kindness of his heart" - AO (RA 3)

FM very much need the money they get, can't go begging from them. They haven't got huge bank accounts they can just go and draw from, they have to work themselves - AO (RA 4)

Would say he doesn't want to bother the other fellow - AO (RA 6)

Doesn't want to bother the daughter, who has so many children and has enough to do. But if she didn't have any children he would like to be with his daughter - AO (RA 7)

He'll consider his daughter's circumstances and the size of her family and the attitude of her husband; he'll thank her for her offer, but he won't accept - PH (RA 7)

You haven't so much money - AO (RA 9)

Father shall not toil for me - AO (RA 9)

Doesn't want to bother the others now that they are so far ahead - AO (RA 10)

I should thank him for offering but should say: "I don't want to bother you, I will do it myself - AO (RA 12)

The potential recipient objects to the donor's motives for helping or suspects that he will want to interfere in R's use of the gift, or he doubts his willingness to help

He'll never take if it smells of almsgiving - HR (RA 3)

For it is terribly difficult to get help from people, for people are so unwilling to help and they want guarantors and it's difficult to get a guarantor, so he'd do what he could on his own and

then try this method with FM - HR (RA 2)

He doesn't want other people telling him how to build it - HR (RA 2)

If there was any irony (sarcasm) or ill-will in the tone of the offer he'd refuse - PH (RA 6)

Receiving from this particular donor is unwelcome

It's the last resort to apply to private institutions - PH (RA 2)

(It's unpleasant enough to have to ask for public assistance) - PH(RA 1)

THE INFLUENCE OF OTHER PEOPLE'S ACTIONS OR OPINIONS

Too many others accept help

Enough other people go and beg from FM - AO (A 2)

THE NATURE, SOURCE, OR AMOUNT OF HELP OFFERED OR AVAILABLE

Help in this situation is impossible, or the amount offered is inadequate

They can't do anything, if the deer has been frightened - KA (RA 10)

Begging little amounts from friends won't get him anywhere - HR (RA 8)

The amount offered is too much

But what should a person convalescing do with all that money? He'd take less - PH (RA 3)

It's too much - he'd take less - RE (RA 3)

It's too much. He'd take only as much as he needed to manage - BL (RA 3)

The particular kind or form of help available concerns R

It can't be honest money if it came from a younger brother - AO (RA 3)

She wants to choose what she needs in the way of good useful clothing, she doesn't want any rubbish, and she'll manage the food herself - HR (RA 1)

Will accept help in finding work, but not money - BL (RA 8)

Would prefer kind words to money - BL (RA 3)

Not customary - people here go the police-sergeant and ask for a list - PH (RA 4)

MISCELLANEOUS

Help is not necessary, he's entitled to unemployment relief, and the labour exchange will find him work, which is much better - HR (RA 8)

She will pray to God. He took her breadwinner, so He must do something for her - AO (RA 1)

Will pray to God for help - AO (RA 8)

And if he's sick and can't manage, it's God who is trying him - AO (RA 3)

Will try to manage alone, by building a small house, then would bring his efforts to the notice of an FM man and rely on help being offered. Won't ask for help, will just state his difficulty. Thus he will have demonstrated his superiority and self-reliance, he will not have asked for help, he will merely have put the idea into the FM man's head - HR (RA 2)

If they haven't offered, she won't go and ask - HR (RA 1)

Hasn't time to call - JM (RA 10)

APPENDIX C

DESCRIPTION OF THE ADULT SUBJECTS

A. SUBJECT AO

1. General background

Subject AO, aged 44, was 8th of 11 children whose father died when she was about 7. Since then she had worked for many people, "both kind and not kind". She learnt no Norwegian at school, all the Norwegian she knew she picked up from the N.....s for whom she worked and with whom she had lived for 33 years. She said she had had a bad schooling; the teachers, Norwegians, were old and bored to death with the children. They used Lappish and did not bother to teach the children Norwegian. These Lappish children, they said, would never need it, they would never become doctors, teachers, or pastors, so why should they bother? This was very different now, of course; the Norwegian teachers now used Norwegian in the schools and the children wanted to become doctors, pastors, teachers and so on.

AO was an alert little woman, with bright eyes and neat face, and a limp. In 1947 she was awarded the King's service medal for 25 years' faithful service in her place of employment and in the community. In the interview she answered quickly and easily, greatly admired the pictures and said she very much enjoyed the visit and would like to send her sister. The stories and questions never had to be repeated, but her answers were hard to hear, she spoke softly and away from the microphone.

AO said she answered as she herself thought, and as she herself would have behaved. Once, she said, a man wanted to borrow 10 crowns from her, but she refused. "And, oh dear, I had a bad conscience afterwards. Oof." (Why so?) "That I hadn't helped him." (But you hadn't much money yourself. And you needed it too, yourself.) "No, I didn't have very much but at that time, of course, I was young and stupid and thought: 'What if he can't manage to pay me back?' And since then I have thought like this: 'No, it was stupid that I didn't lend the money.' Oof. I have regretted that since, and have regretted it, and have felt sorry for the man; he had a mass of children and was in very bad circumstances." (But why did he need the money?) "I suppose he wanted to buy something for the household. It was the time I was starting at the N.....s. I think it was the first winter I was there. I wasn't very old then, I was stupid and didn't think very far. But since then I have regretted that, and still regret it today, but I've never said anything to any one about it. But I think that when I'm talking to that man again I shall tell him how much I've regretted that and have had a bad conscience that I didn't help him with that money." (He didn't come again then?) "No, poor fellow. But since then I've loaned to many people. Some have repaid me and some have not. I remember, there was a man here in K....., he borrowed 50 crowns from me. And he was so honest, he came and talked to me about it, and I think it was nice of him to come and talk about it, that he wasn't able to pay me. I was grateful for

that. And he gave me 2.50 crowns or so and said: 'You're to have some interest on that money'. I accepted that. He gave me a crown, or 1.50, he was so good-hearted a man, but he couldn't manage to pay. And I think that's in order, he at least told me he couldn't pay." (But why couldn't he? Did he have children or ..?) "No, he couldn't manage, but later on, several years later, he paid me back. He hadn't been able to pay before, he had a family also. And I have lent money to Finnish people and they have now paid me back. And my eldest brother, when he borrows money, he pays me back immediately when he has money again. He is so honest."

AO gave more readily than any of the subjects. In most cases her impulse was to help, in some she hesitated because of certain resistances, but upon reflection quickly decided in favour of helping. Only in two test situations did she refuse outright. She declined *in* every situation to accept, the only one of the subjects to do so. From her responses it appears that the following key attitudes guided her decisions.

2. Characteristic attitudes

- a. Great sensitivity to the needs of other people and sympathy with them, combined with a keen appreciation of the economics of help:

AO immediately understands other people's needs and wishes, and warmly sympathises with them contrasting her own relative comfort

with the suffering of others, the refugees in G.9* for instance. She gives freely, in nearly every kind of need, and to any one at all, irrespective of who they are and how they've behaved (G.8, 9, 13).

This sympathy extends also to a person or institution approached for help, and in this she displays a keen awareness of where the money comes from that is available for distribution: namely, "from the small contributions of kind-hearted people who have themselves to work hard to make a living" (A.2). She is a little prejudiced here for she forgets that there are contributions also from people who are well-to-do. AO has, of course, often been in the position of donor in her own life and being asked for help has sometimes put her into a critical position, torn between sympathy with the need of the person, her strong belief in self-help, and her own needs and small resources, so that she tends perhaps to identify as much with the donor in the receiving situations as with the recipient. But her refusal herself to accept help is not only due to sympathy with the donor. There is a strong sense of fairness and the conviction that it is unethical for funds to be used and people's kind-heartedness imposed upon by those who could do more for themselves. Her aversion

* "G" and "A" followed by a number identify the situation of the Giving and Receiving (Accepting) series.

"D", as in the rest of the thesis, refers to the donor and

"R" denotes the recipient.

to begging thus contains mild reproof of those who do beg (A.2).

b. Pleasure in giving and in the recipient's enjoyment of the gift:

A0's sensitivity to need and her genuine liking for people are expressed in the pleasure she shows in making others happy, providing facilities for their benefit, and enabling them to achieve their aims (G.13,15). This leads her to give even when she is not particularly sympathetic to the need (G.12), nor to the person (G.14), and when she would be involved in considerable inconvenience and even sacrifice (G.7, 8).

c. Surrender to the principle that help should be given even in the face of strong resistances:

Certain resistances cause D to hesitate in some cases:

- i) being busy with his own work (G.18),
- ii) having plans for his own pleasure (G.7),
- iii) having previously promised to help some one else (G.8),
- iv) being on bad terms with R (G.14).

Any initial hesitation is soon overcome, however, for upon reflection she will relent, or will find a way out of the dilemma. The obligation to help is felt very strongly by A0. It is an imperative and refusal would sear her conscience. She vividly conveyed her lasting regret for the occasion in her earlier life when she did refuse (cf. General Background).

d. The joy of managing alone and the wish also for independence:

Apart from any belief that people should manage alone, there is, for AO, joy and adventure in the struggle for independence and self-sufficiency. She wants to manage, as a child wants to dress itself. But she is realistic about what she can manage, and limits her aspirations and needs to what is possible for her. Thus she would rather have a turf hut than apply for a grant for the large house the government would demand and on which she could not afford to repay the additional loans (A.2).

e. The belief that need situations are a challenge from God:

There is an element of challenge in every need situation, whether it is seen from the donor's or the recipient's point of view. Thus in G.14 the wife's illness "was sent by God, to give the hostile parties the opportunity to mend their differences, for one will help, the other will be grateful and so the rift will be healed" (G.14). AO does not think of the possibility that being helped by a person he disliked could cause R to hate D. She assumes, quite characteristically, a lot of latent good-will on both sides. In other situations, the need is seen as a challenge to R's faith and trust in God and to his resourcefulness and integrity. Other people are not involved in this relationship, it is a matter between R and God alone and can be resolved by prayer to God for help and by patient resign-

ation or hard work.

f. The identity of donor and recipient and the relation between them:

No distinction is made between people, because whatever the relations between them "they are all God's creatures" (G.9, 13) and must be treated as such, with respect and good-will. AO never questions the motives a person may have in giving or in asking. She always assumes that he is open and frank, and favourably inclined towards the other person. When she is forced to consider the possibility of a donor refusing the only reasons she can envisage are some physical disability, his own destitution or lack of resources, or parallel obligations. Thus a recipient will never resent a refusal either (A.2). AO is remarkable for the complete absence of hostility in her answers.

g. The matter of rewards and recompense for help given and received:

In the Receiving Series there is evidence of a strict sense of reciprocity and the obligation to repay any kind of help received. The burden of repayment lies heavily on AO (A.2, 3, 8). Usually recompense must be made in the same kind and amount, and when this is impossible, the help is usually refused, though in A.4 she says that R would feel no obligation to those who gave for "they have given from the goodness of their heart. He will thank them nicely and

pray for them". The contrast between AO's attitude and that of HR is worthy of special note in this connection.

As a donor, however, AO expects no reward of any kind for help given beyond the satisfaction of having a good conscience and knowing the recipient is pleased. She does not even resent losing a loan she has made, if R comes and tells her in a nice way that he cannot repay. She is gratified by his honesty and courtesy. There is little evidence in her responses that giving has any prestige value for her in the eyes of her associates, and the ease with which she leaves it open for the recipient to accept or not suggests that she is, in giving, neither trying to impose her will in a dominating way, nor canvassing for deference or gratitude. Her independence of prestige values is further suggested by her refusal to help when prestige is at stake (G.16).

h. Her assessment of the opinion of others in the village and her independence of others' opinions:

In most situations AO believes that people would help as she does. "Never heard of any one refusing" (G.8, 10, 11). This reflects, perhaps, her own generosity and her good-will toward her fellow-villagers more than the objective facts. Occasionally, however, she is in accord with reality, for she suggests in G.7, 15, 16 that some people might act differently from the way in which she would act.

As a recipient AO is well aware that she risks being thought

unreasonable by her friends for her refusals to ask for help in some instances (G.10), and other people may say that she is proud and doesn't want to be helped. But she denies these charges and maintains they are not true: she thinks differently, and has other reasons for refusing. It is fairly clear that in this assessment and in this assertion she is right.

3. Summary Subject AO

AO is a person of decided character, guided by well-defined principles, and with great sensitivity and the capacity for warm and joyous human relationships. She is unusually understanding of and sympathetic towards the needs and wishes of other people and can subjugate herself to their welfare and interests to a remarkable degree. She gives generously, without expectation of material reward, partly because she considers it right to do so, but mainly because she enjoys seeing other people happy. Any of the normal resistances to helping are quickly overcome.

There is an unusual lack of hostility of any kind in her approach to people and to situations. That approach may perhaps seem to be a little too unanalytical, tending to become stereotyped, and perhaps even compulsive, and one wonders whether the regret she feels over her first refusal hasn't led her into adopting an all-or-nothing attitude that makes the decision to give easy and safe, if at times unreasonable.

As a recipient AO finds it difficult to imagine herself in the position of some one in real need. Obviously healthy and well able to look after herself, she tends on the whole to identify more with the donor in the situation, and to sympathise with his position rather than with her own need as a recipient. Her wants are modest and she seems never to be driven by impulse or desire and strictly disciplines herself, cutting her coat to suit her cloth.

There is no self-pity anywhere in her responses, and no suggestion that the person needing is the victim of hostile surroundings and forces and so entitled to compensation of some kind from some source or other. On the contrary she has a strong drive toward independence and self-reliance and sees situations of need as a challenge to her resourcefulness and energy and to her trust in God. When, however, the need is too great for her own capacities she will accept help with touching humility and gratitude and give in return what she can of other than material worth.

B. SUBJECT JM

1. General background

Subject JM, aged 42, had six sisters and four brothers; he was the second, though his eldest brother had been dead for a long time. His home was 30 miles down the river so as he worked in the general store he had a room at the local cafe. He was unmarried. He had had 2 sisters at the Youth School and spoke appreciatively of its Head. Asked whether he was a Laestadian, he said he didn't know. He went to the cinema, which Laestadians wouldn't do, but he attended their meetings, so "I suppose I adhere to them".

He was very shy and it was exceedingly difficult to get him to answer. It is possible that he was a little deaf, for he seemed sometimes not to understand a simple question. But he wanted to be co-operative. During a break in the test he went out to smoke "in order not to spoil the pictures". He liked them and said they were fun, as was the written test. There had been no difficulty in getting him to agree to come and do the test and he arrived punctually on the appointed day.

He was very ready both to give and to accept help needed. In the 12 fixed situations he refused only once to give (G.13); in the 6 open situations, however, he did not seem to see the need in four of them, and helped only twice. In the accepting series he refused on two occasions only (A6, 10).

Finding reasons for his decisions proved very difficult for him, especially in the accepting series, but from the little he said it is clear that he did discriminate on some points, and had a well-defined attitude to them.

2. Characteristic attitudes

a. A positive friendly attitude to others, combined with shyness:

This is JM's most striking characteristic. He seems genuinely anxious to comply with the wishes of other people, partly because he is a friendly, co-operative person who likes to see others comfortable and happy, and partly because he is too shy and self-effacing to refuse. This applies as much to the accepting as to the giving series. Possibly to acquiesce with the suggestion in the very question is natural to so shy a person, and compliance is the smoothest, gentlest way out. It should be remembered how readily he agreed to do the test and how hard he tried to do it well.

b. The identity of donor and recipient and the relationship between them:

In urgent need this is of no consequence at all. The status of a person appealing on behalf of another does not matter either (G8, 16). When there is no great need and it is only a matter of doing some one a favour, at his own expense, JM will help a friend gladly but not some one whom he dislikes (G.7). Like RE, JM appears to shrink from any contact with unpleasantness. It is possible that

this is the reason for his refusal to take his old father into his home (G.13) and for his refusal to accept from the District Council (A.1). Otherwise, although he prefers some donors to others, a brother or a friend or FM, for example, he will accept from almost anyone (A.3, 5, 11), even some one who has been unkind, possibly because in this case the contact is brief. He observes the conventional role relation between men and women and would not let a woman carry the heavy sack in A.6.

c. A degree of self-reliance and willingness to repay in certain situations:

A wish to manage alone, when he is confident that he can, especially where manly prowess is concerned, is indicated in the refusal of help in carrying the heavy load and managing the runaway deer (A.6, 10). Also he tempers his accepting to the capacity of the donor (A.3). He does not expect to have to repay a grant made by FM or a gift offered by a voluntary donor, but he will wish to pay for services or financial assistance requested (A.5, 8). JM has the same aversion to asking that most of these subjects displayed (A.3,4).

Although as a donor he would in most cases expect a money reward for giving a practical service, this is not a condition for his helping (G.8, 18), nor would he talk about the matter if an expected reward was not forthcoming (G.14).

d. His assessment of the reaction of others and his agreement with village opinion:

JM believes that most people will give as he does, certainly his friends would (G.7, 10). Some might refuse where he would give if they were busy, or sick, or very poor, or did not think the object very necessary (G.10, 7; G.8; G.9; G.16, 19). In his assessment of other people's reactions JM is generous, yet realistic, emphasising again his gentleness and lack of hostility. He has enough courage, though, to defend a loyalty he values, and is prepared to stand by a decision to give in the event of unfavourable criticism (G.15).

As a recipient, JM also has confidence in other people's agreement with him and in their approval of his decisions and so does not mind their knowing of his having received, even in situation 1.

3. Summary Subject JM

Subject JM appears from this interview to be a friendly, kindly person, and though extremely shy and reticent, he is anxious to fit in with others. This causes him to acquiesce easily to suggestions to give as well as to receive help. He is gently disposed to others even if they thwart him, though he may on occasion take avoiding action. When faced with practical difficulties which he is confident he really can surmount he is able to display decided self-reliance and so, at times, he will regard a giving-receiving relationship as a straightforward transaction in which appropriate rewards are made for services rendered.

C. SUBJECT KA

1. General background

Subject KA, aged 29, was 5th in a family of 10; in addition, she had 3 elder half-sisters. She had very little elementary schooling and said she learnt nothing until at the age of 24 she came to the Youth School as a student where she was taught Norwegian and Arithmetic. At the elementary school they had been taught in Lappish and those who could not keep up were left to themselves and did nothing all day. She was the cook at the Youth School and was considered to be reliable and willing in her work, though needing supervision.

She was a gentle person, very shy, but anxious to please, and fond of company. At first she said she could not answer any questions, but with encouragement, she became quite co-operative and was keen throughout. She had asked to see the pictures.

KA helped in all but one of the fixed situations and did so readily and with great good humour. She seemed to see the need in only 3 of the 6 open situations and helped in 2 of these, the 3rd she treated as funny.

She accepted fairly readily, too, 8 out of 12 times, refusing only when she considered R well able, or willing, to work for himself.

She had the usual difficulty in finding reasons for accepting, reasons for giving came more easily.

2. Characteristic attitudes

- a. Sympathy with the need of the recipient and concern for his welfare:

These are KA's main reasons for helping. There is not much thought in her responses and they tend to follow the easiest line, so that her sympathy is sometimes mingled with a degree of weakness, as in G.12, where she yields to the pleas of the child shirking its task. But help is given out of kindness and concern. When she is in the position of receiving help herself, she attributes the same motives of good-will and kindness to the donor. In real life, when some one gave her a hand in the kitchen, she always accepted with obvious pleasure and the phrase: "You are very nice and kind".

- b. The identity of donor and recipient and the relationship between them:

When KA is the donor, the identity of the person in need does not matter at all; strangers, foreigners, bad friends will all be helped if they require help (G.8, 9, 14) and an unrelated orphan will be taken in (G.11). In the only situation where she refuses (G.7), she might change her mind and help if R were a very good friend, or a brother, instead of being just a friend. Nor does it matter who asks on behalf of a recipient (G.9, 16), nor in what manner D is approached, for KA is sure it will be pleasant enough (G.8).

However, when KA is an applicant for help she does distinguish between possible donors. It is easier for her to ask for or to

accept help from persons or institutions she is related to or closely connected with, and she will not ask some one who has been unkind (G.5), nor accept an offer from him for she would be running the risk of having him quarrel with her afterwards (G.3).

The relative ages and resources of donor and recipient are of interest to KA. R, she says, would not accept financial help from a younger or poorer person (A3), nor from a smaller man (A.6).

The role relations between men and women is observed here, too. R, if a man, will not let a woman carry a heavy sack for him - "It's not usual" (G.6). If they did refuse, they were people who did not consider others much, or harboured grudges. And only "very hard-hearted" people could refuse to take an orphaned child or an aged parent. Village opinion would condemn any one who refused to help because of ill-feeling. Thus she would not be angry if she herself were refused for public opinion and sympathy would be "on her side".

When receiving help herself, KA would prefer others not to know about it, even though they approved of it, but their knowing would not make any difference, nor would their disapproval cause her to change her mind (A.6, 10).

Like most of the other subjects, KA regards the District Council as an unwelcome donor. To receive from this body is so shameful that she would not tell even her closest friends if she had had to approach them for help (A.1). KA's reason for this is unclear but it is not fear of other people's criticism.

c. The obligation of a person to work to support himself:

KA is herself an industrious and hard-working person. She considers that wherever possible a person is obliged to support himself rather than accept help. "If he were not ill, he'd work himself" (A.3, 5).

d. Rewards and repayment:

R does not expect to have to repay a grant from FM (A.2, 4) but will pay for help from a neighbour or parent. It appears that to KA, R's obligation to D is great if the relationship between them is close or if it is not D's function to help. R is also obliged to be "nice to D afterwards", if he has accepted a gift (A.3).

When KA is in the position of a donor, she will not expect any kind of reward (G.8, 10, 14) and will help some one with his job without payment (G.18). She expects, though, that people will respect her for giving (G.7).

e. Her assessment of the opinion and reaction of others in the village and their agreement with her:

KA believes that most people will do the same as she does. Some might not give where she does (G.13, 14, 12, 16) but no one is likely to refuse to look for the lost man, or to give for the refugees (G.8, 9).

3. Summary Subject KA

Subject KA is a pleasant, friendly, sociable person, enjoying the company of others, even though she is often shy. She helps fairly readily, mainly out of sympathy with the person in need, though sometimes from weakness. She appears to be a fairly self-reliant person, prepared to work hard, but willing also to receive help from people she is closely connected with, if the need is caused by circumstances beyond her control. She is not greatly affected by the opinion of others about her, nor is she perturbed should they refuse to help.

D. SUBJECT SL

1. General background

Subject SL, aged about 44, said he was the youngest of 5 children (his sister said they were 9, 7 of whom were still alive). He was unmarried and lived with his single sister in a very pleasant house, not a cabin, well-furnished in Norwegian style, and he was apparently comfortably off. He was a small-farmer and led the congregational singing in church and was a respected person in the village. His father had been the local forester, his brother still was.

The interview with him was quite unsatisfactory; he was cross and unco-operative. Although the purpose of the interview had been made clear to him beforehand and he had been keen to come, he kept asking whether the pictures weren't finished yet, his boredom and annoyance being only too obvious. Gradually, however, he grew less antagonistic and discussion of the situations, though limited, was possible. Unfortunately, it was not till the end that I realised that he had probably been double-crossed by his sister who had greatly encouraged him to come to the interview to further his amorous ambitions, not to help in the investigation. In fact she had double-crossed both the subject and the investigator. He refused to do the written test although, of course, he was literate.

In the fixed situations of the Giving Series SL gave fairly

readily, 7 times out of 12; in 3 he said "it depended" and in 2 he refused outright. In the open situations he did not help at all. The open situations were included in the test because of the remark by the village priest that many Lapps would not help in situations where a Norwegian would take it for granted, and he quoted the example of SL who stood by and did nothing while he, the priest, strove to open a jammed door (situation 5). Since SL did help in the fixed situations, where the possibility was put to the subjects, it appears that his not doing so in the open situations was more likely due to his inadequate perception of the situation and the absence of personal involvement than to real unwillingness to help. For instance, in situation 5, his answer after a long silence was: "Perhaps he thinks this: 'You can't really open that door'". In other words: "It can't be done, so let it be". The possibility of lending a hand and trying did not seem to have entered his head.

SL readily accepted help, 9 out of 12 times, refusing only when to accept would injure his manly pride, or the task he was engaged upon, or when there were incidental disadvantages in accepting.

For what it is worth, the following information on SL's attitudes can be gleaned from the interview.

2. Characteristic attitudes

a. The obligation to help when life is in danger:

SL believes that when some one's life is in danger an able-

bodied person is legally obliged and has no choice but to help (G.8, 9, 14). Other needs are of little interest to SL.

- b. In a giving situation SL considers mainly the donor's circumstances and advantages, and in a receiving situation only the recipient's:

In both kinds of situation SL assumes that the donor is able to afford to help financially, so why shouldn't he (G.9), and why shouldn't the recipient accept? When practical help is required the donor will give if he is able and has time (G.13, 18), or if there are rewards or advantages to be had from the giving (G.8, 14, 18, 10, 11). With the recipient, too, the emphasis is on the material comfort and convenience of the help.

- c. The identity of donor and recipient and the relationship between them:

This is of little importance to SL. In cases of urgent need it does not matter whether R is known or unknown, young or old, friendly or hostile (G.8, 9, 14). It is admitted that some people might refuse because of personal dislike (G.10, 11), or former hostility (G.9), but this would not be approved by the majority of the villagers. Friendship does play a part in some cases and help is readily given to friends even in a trivial need (G.19). No loyalty or affection is felt for the King and a contribution is refused (G.15).

When himself in the position of recipient, SL will accept from almost any one at all, even people who are unkind or interfering,

"so long as he gets the gift" (A.2, 11). The only donor he prefers to avoid, if possible, is the District Council for "they're so hard" (A.9). He is the only one of the subjects, apart from old MB, who, if it were really very heavy, would let a woman help him to carry a load (A.6).

His lack of interest in personal relationships is indicated also in his reaction to refusal. "He is not disappointed (if refused), will go to a bank" (A.4).

d. Pride and self-reliance:

SL does display a certain amount of pride and self-reliance in so far as he won't be helped in carrying a heavy load, unless it is quite beyond his capacity (A.6). And he will also not go round collecting subscriptions from his fellow villagers if he loses his horse; this method is far too unpleasant (A.4). If he cannot get help from private sources, he will go straight to a bank.

e. Rewards and repayment:

To SL rewards and repayment are an important aspect of a giving-receiving relationship. As a donor, he usually expects to receive a reward of some kind for help given, even when a person's life has been in danger (G.8, 14), though his help in this case is not conditional upon the receipt of payment. When it is a question of helping some one with his job, he will not do so without payment. If the performance of a task is pleasant in itself or intrinsically satisfying, payment is not expected (G.10, 11).

As a recipient, he expects to have to repay a grant from FM (A.2, 4) and he will offer to pay a neighbour for his services to him when ill (A.5). Like his sister, he is very fond of money, but unlike her he "will always accept it, if it's given" (A.3); he is also less reluctant to part with it than she is - perhaps because he has more of it.

f. His feeling of solidarity with his group:

SL believes that most people in the village will do as he does and that they would approve of his decisions (A.1, 2, 4, 10). Some might give where he refuses, to the King's jubilee fund for instance (G.15) and some might refuse former enemies, whom SL helps (G.9). But refusing because of enmity will be strongly condemned by the rest of the community. In his assessment of the villagers' attitudes to giving, SL shows himself to be realistic, as well as socially secure.

3. Summary Subject SL

The interview probably gives a distorted picture of this subject. His answers were impulsive and erratic. But it is possible also that this is a representative sample of his behaviour. If this is so, he appears as a fairly ego-centric personality, genial and well-meaning no doubt, but with considerable limitations and little capacity to appreciate the circumstances about him and the needs and feelings of his fellows. His interests seem centred on his own material well-being rather than on personal relationships, though there is some indication that he values friendships.

It is significant that he tends, much more than any of the other subjects, to project on to the hero of the situations his own peculiar attributes, ascribing to the hero the marital, domestic, and financial circumstances that apply to himself. This excessive projection led in some instances to serious distortion of the given facts of the situations (G.13, G.11).

E. SUBJECT PH

1. General background

Subject PH, aged 43, was the eldest of 4 children. He had a half-sister from his mother's first marriage, who was five years older than he, but he had little to do with her; he called himself the eldest of the family. He was married, with one son of about 16. He came from a reindeer herding family, but lost his deer and had lived a precarious life as a farmer on a small holding since then. He lost his job as leader of the congregational singing in church on Sundays, due to being drunk on Saturdays. Now, however, he didn't overdrink. He was highly talented as a sketcher and carver, and had an unusually pleasant singing voice. He had made recordings for Norwegian museums. He was a thoroughly likeable, sociable person, regarded with admiration by local settled Lapps and with a mixture of respect and disapproval by the FM people. He was most co-operative throughout the test, striving with sympathy, intelligence, and honesty to solve the problems presented in the situations.

PH gave very readily, 12 out of 18 times, and probably two more times as well; only on 4 occasions did he refuse outright. He accepted much less readily, 4 times out of 12; 5 times acceptance was conditional, and 3 times he refused. His judgements were guided by the following key concepts.

2. Characteristic attitudes

- a. In serious need help will be given and accepted without hesitation:

In a case of necessity or serious need, where there is a simple biological threat to a human being, help will be given without hesitation (G.1, 2, 3, 8, 9, 13, 12), except in the case of the orphan child (G.11) where the burden of the task and the fear of criticism outweigh the appeal of the need. Help will also be accepted if the need is too great for R's own capacities and there is no other way out (A.1, 10).

In less urgent needs help will still be given freely, but accepted subject to certain conditions only (A.3, 8, 9, 11, 5, 6, 7). PH will readily promote the aspirations of people close to him (G.5, 6, 7, 10, 18, 19) and refuses only if the object is merely R's pleasure (G.7, 19) or convenience (G.4) and out of proportion to the cost to D of helping (G.4, 7), or if having his wish fulfilled is not in R's best interest (G.12, 19). His giving and accepting of help in less urgent need is more the result of his good relations and sympathy with the recipient or donor than of the need in question.

PH will never accept help when there is no need and no bond of sympathy or affection. He will give, however, in the absence of biological need and personal affection, as a duty, to fulfil his role as a citizen (G.15), with one surprising exception: no duty is acknowledged to join in a common enterprise in his own village (G.16).

There are two reasons for this: i) the conviction that clearing the war damage is the duty of the Central Government, and ii) the feeling that he has no part in the village as an organised civic entity. Now PH is fond of his village and can regard the people in it as a social group, so the explanation for this feeling could perhaps lie in a specific local feature of the administration of the village.

b. His goodwill toward people and his confidence in their kindness and good intentions:

These are PH's most striking characteristics. He enjoys giving, seeing the other person's need alleviated or his wish to pursue a chosen goal fulfilled. To him the giving and receiving of help is part and parcel of responsive companionship and where this reciprocity of feeling and good-will exist between D and R the help is incidental. Thus among friends or workmates, mutual help is natural and usual, and within the family where "relations are very intimate" the recipient will accept with joy and gratitude (A.11). PH will even accept an offer from some one who has been unkind in the past, for he will assume that his rival is trying genuinely to make up with him and "he will go and meet him half-way" (G.3).

c. A gift must be given willingly and freely:

When PH is in the position of potential applicant or recipient it is very important to him that the donor gives spontaneously and willingly, and without any strings attached. His confidence in other people's good-will leads him to assume that mostly this is the case.

If, however, there is irrefutable evidence to the contrary, he will refuse the help: for example, if D is obviously reluctant to give, or wants to do so to enhance his own prestige, or to wring from R a loyalty or deference which he cannot or will not give. Then he would not accept the greatest gift, not even in the direst need. (G.1).

To PH, part of the joy of giving is having freedom of choice in the matter, and this is what may make asking friends or members of the family difficult at times, even when there is mutual affection, for in asking them "you force them to give to you for friendship's sake. A stranger has an open choice whether or not he will help you, a friend cannot say no". It is easier for R to be sure of D's real willingness if D offers.

d. The identity of the donor and recipient is mainly unimportant:

When PH is the donor, the identity of the recipient or of the person asking on his behalf usually does not matter at all. Any one is helped, even foreigners and former personal and national enemies. Besides sympathy with the need, two allegedly typical Lappish tendencies probably help to account for this: the tendency to ignore national demarcations, and the absence of vengefulness and lasting ill-will. Also, PH suggests that enmity ceases naturally when one member of a quarrel gets into trouble, for he now stands lower than his rival, and the latter's pity awakens.

Blood relationship is not important, at least its absence is no

reason for refusing, though its presence may on occasion be a reason for helping: for example, a father will do what he can for his son, because he is his son, and vice versa. But PH will not sentimentalise the relationship and will subject it to other considerations such as training the boy for his duty. Moreover, his paternal protection is also extended to other young persons. He notes, however, that a person sometimes tends to help those less to whom he is bound most closely, possibly because he is sure of their affection and does not need to use being helpful as a means to solicit it.

The official status of a person requesting help on another's behalf does not impress PH nor encourage him to give, nor does an offensive, official manner deter him from giving, although it spoils his pleasure in doing so; he ignores the intermediary and reacts only to the need of the recipient.

e. The donor's capacity to give is rarely mentioned by PH:

A donor may help according to his capacity, he may sometimes even refuse because his own need is just as great, but capacity is not an issue with PH. If he is willing, and he usually is, D will find a way to help, to the best of his ability. He will, however, consider the effect his wish to help might have on other people involved, his wife, for instance, and will not unthinkingly 'rob Peter to pay Paul' (G.7, 13).

f. Self-reliance and a certain degree of independence:

These are strong characteristics of PH. He believes that,

on the whole, a person will want to stand on his own feet, partly because of the feeling of achievement it brings and partly for reasons of prestige among his fellows. No one wants pitying condescension: "He's a poor fish, he needs". Only "a beggar ... can beg ... he has nothing to lose". So where he can, PH will manage on his own, or will negotiate a loan, or come to a business arrangement with D. There may be a degree of conflict between what PH calls "human nature" (i.e. the wish "to cast your burdens on the other fellow") and the wish for self-reliance, but in PH the drive toward self-reliance usually proves stronger.

PH's need to maintain his prestige is greatest in relation to his parental family. Having already lost so much in their eyes, he can afford no more and he "will never take from his family. He won't admit his need to them ... will act a part in front of them" (Sit.8).

PH's belief in the value of self-reliance and independence sometimes causes him to refuse to comply with a plea for help, as, for instance, when a task is the recipient's personal responsibility, or one which he shall learn to shoulder as part of his training or when a project is decidedly the responsibility of some one else (G.7, 12, 16).

g. The sense of obligation and the willingness to reciprocate help received is always present:

Partly this is the result of the wish to maintain prestige, partly it springs from the gratitude which PH spontaneously feels

for the kindly good-will expressed by the donor in helping. "You know, liking evokes liking. Whenever you come across affection in life, it costs you nothing to return it" (A.11). So R will readily perform a service for D in return when required, or make him a present himself at a suitable opportunity. On the other hand, this very sense of friendship may at times cause R to postpone the formal repayment of a friend's loan, "because you don't jeopardise your friendship by delaying as you would with strangers".

When giving, however, PH does so without any thought of reward for himself, unless the task is long and arduous and part of R's ordinary routine, in which case he will expect piece-work rates. Any other help is freely given.

PH's relation with the State is interesting from the point of view of reciprocity. He will seek State aid for housing and education, for instance, as this is something which, as a citizen, it is his right to claim. But he is equally willing that reciprocal rights are claimed from him as a citizen: support for the government in taxes and loyalty to the King.

The sense of reciprocity appears to be the root of his unwillingness at any time to accept help from FM. He cannot give back to FM the loyalty or the support of its religious views which he very likely believes is implicit in the acceptance of their help.

h. PH's reaction to refusal:

This is consistent with his touching optimism about the good-

naturedness of his fellowmen. He believes that a normal person will not refuse to give unless he has a good reason, so a potential recipient will not fear refusal and if it occurs will accept it without bitterness or resentment. On the other hand, he admits that although a recipient recognises a donor's refusal as justified, he might, on occasion, be put out by it and complain, especially if he is young. And PH has witnessed an "amazing reaction" on the part of a fellow villager whose request was refused. The only excuse PH could find for him was that "he hadn't enough culture to be able to evaluate the situation" (A.4).

i. PH's feeling of solidarity with his group:

Despite his independence of other people's opinions, PH believes that his own reactions are typical of his group. Most people will decide as he does. People are kindly and "humane" (i.e. sensitive to human needs and values and willing to help). There may be a few individuals who react differently from him and from village practice. Some may help where he wouldn't. A woman, for instance, may be more willing to take in an orphan child than he is. Others might refuse where he would help, might, for instance, refuse to give to former enemies of the country, or to take in an aged parent, or contribute to the King's gift. In this assessment of village opinion PH is correct. He is also unusually tolerant of those who react differently from himself and can always find extenuating reasons for their

behaviour though he himself stays by his decision to give (G.4, 6) or to accept (A.3, 10) irrespective of what other people do or think. Even a donor's possible interference in the way he, PH, used a grant would be evaded and ignored.

3. Summary Subject PH

PH is a gentle, kindly person, friendly and outgoing to people, expecting good from them and willing to show the same good-will to them, no matter who they are. The giving and receiving of help is merely incidental in the general relation of responsive companionship. If the good-will is absent, or if the donor helps only in order to extract other concessions from R, then receiving is impossible for him.

PH assumes full responsibility for himself and his needs. His self-respect and his prestige with others depend to a considerable degree upon his fulfilment of this responsibility and he will oppose any "natural" tendency to accept help as the easy way out of a difficulty. When help is really necessary and is available from the kind of donor described above, it will gladly be accepted, and reciprocated.

F. SUBJECT BL

1. General background

Subject BL, aged about 47, was 7th in a family of 9, 7 of whom were still living. She said she had only one sister, a younger one, who died; she had a younger brother. She seemed to have been very attached to her parents and was very fond of the younger brother, with whom she lived. Her father had been dead for 19 years and she nursed her ailing mother till her death some years before. She said she paid 80 crowns in local taxes (to the District Council), that her brother paid 800 and that she earned only what she got from FM in the two weeks in which she gave special sewing lessons at the school, but this could not be quite accurate, for she also sold milk and took in lodgers, at least occasionally.

She was very friendly and co-operative, and punctual. She was shy about answering in Norwegian, saying she would not hesitate if she could use Lappish. But this shyness did not persist and when the interview had to be broken off because of a failure of electric current she asked whether she could return to finish later, it had been such fun to do the test and it was so nice to look at the pictures.

She seemed a little slow mentally, but she was known in the village for her friendliness and industry. Her home was spotlessly

clean and attractively furnished and even her animals (cows, sheep) were washed regularly.

She gave the impression of being a fairly emotional person, sometimes rather unsure of herself, and rather dependent upon the good-will of other people. Quarrels with neighbours, or with her students at the school, distressed her greatly.

BL gave least of all the subjects, less than half of the time, and accepted less than most also, in only half the situations. In the Giving Series she was apparently unable at times to appreciate the point of the situation (Open Sits. 2, 5) and she gave more unclear responses than the other subjects (G.3, 6, 15). There was evidence that she was in considerable conflict throughout both series and her difficulty in coming to a decision sometimes led to inconsistencies and in one situation, (G.15), to a mild frustration reaction. The considerations and attitudes that promoted the conflicts are outlined below, as well as other points that are relevant for her.

2. Characteristic attitudes

- a. The general principle that one must be helpful and that one must not hold grudges, together with the wish to maintain her reputation for being a kindly, helpful person:

These are strong motives for giving help which are then either reinforced by, or in conflict with other aspects of the situation.

b. Sympathy with others:

BL is sympathetic to the needs of others when they are hungry, orphaned, afraid, old, or lonely (G.9, 10, 11, 13). When this natural sympathy reinforces the above principle she gives readily. She is even willing to overlook grouchiness in an elderly person: "You have to forgive elderly folk when they've grown childish" (G.13).

c. The identity of D and R and the relations existing between them:

BL stoutly maintains that this does not matter. If people are in need they will be helped, even though they may be former enemies (G.9). It is suspected, however, that poor personal relations are at times an obstacle for her, and the reason for conflict and confusion, although she denies it. For example in G.14, she says that D will not help, but she is at a loss to account for this: It can't be because they're bad friends "for he'd have forgiven him everything ... Perhaps he's sick or something. Something has come in between".

When BL is in the position of recipient, warm, friendly relations with the donor are admitted to be of the greatest importance. For example, her harmonious relations with FM, and their kindness and willing helpfulness, make them her favourite donor (A.2, 3, 4, 8, 9). On the other hand, the alleged ruthlessness of the District Council in their treatment of people in need is one of the three reasons why

BL would never accept from them (A.1, 8). She will never accept from strangers or casual friends, nor from any one who has been unkind, except in illness (A.5). It may be concluded, from her frank admissions in the Accepting Series, that personal relations probably play a much greater part in her decisions to give than she herself is aware of.

BL was the only one of the subjects who described the facial expression of the donor in the pictures and used this as an indication of his decision. Several times she remarked: "He looks as though he doesn't want to ... he looks so sour".

Occasionally D's estimate of the moral worthiness of R is decisive: a person who is assumed to be lazy or lying will not be helped (G.12, 18).

d. Other conditions that conflict with BL's belief that one must be helpful:

i) inherent difficulties in the actual tasks required; for example, looking after an old father is arduous (G.13), and loading timber and clearing away rubbish are heavy work which do not appeal to her (G.18, 16),

ii) her fondness for money, which makes parting with it very difficult (G.15),

iii) the attraction of an enjoyment she had planned (G.7),

iv) disapproval of the purpose for which R wants the money (G.19),

e.g. for the cinema.

In two of the situations the conflict resulted in help being given with considerable hesitation (G.7, 13). In the rest help was refused (G.15, 16, 18, 19).

e. BL's belief that able-bodied people should support themselves and her pride in her reputation as an industrious person:

In conversation with BL it was apparent that her great aversion, apart from quarrelsome people, is lazy ones and that she sets great store by industry, striving to maintain the reputation she has for always being busy and keeping her house nice. This came out also in the interview. "If you accept, you're either sick or lazy" (A.8; also A.1 and G.18). The stigma attached to poverty is partly due to the possibility of its being an indication of the moral crime of laziness. A recipient's reputation can be redeemed, however, by the repayment of help and BL is willing to do this, as long as she is not subjected to intolerable pressure (A.2, 4, 5, 8). As a donor, she would herself also expect payment for services given (G.18), except in cases of urgent biological need, where "God will repay" (G.8), and in cases where the performance of the task is enjoyable in itself (G.10).

It is clear, therefore, that BL will accept help only when her reputation for industry is not endangered and her relations with the donor are good. When she is able to manage alone, or when the donor is unkind or unwilling to give, she will refuse.

f. The capacity of the donor to give:

BL's sympathy with others forbids her to abuse a donor's generosity if he is unlikely to be able to afford to give. Thus she would hesitate to approach parents or members of her immediate family (A.8, 9) and is reluctant to allow a brother to sacrifice things he might himself be needing in order to give to her (A.3). But on the whole she is inclined to believe that a person will not offer unless he can afford to give (A.11).

g. Her attitude to money:

Despite an avowed affection for money, she shows a marked disinclination to accept it in situations in which R is presumed to be able to work himself (A.3, 8). "Good words" are always preferable to money, she says, whether because of the strong feeling that healthy people do not accept help, or because of her considerable dependence upon the affection of others, so that she wants affection, not a substitute for it. Her reluctance could be due in part at least to her projecting her own disinclination to part with money on to the donor. After all, she wants the donor to give willingly - and he might be more willing to give words than money! It is not clear why this is so.

h. Assessment of the opinion and actions of others in the village:

BL finds it difficult to predict what others would do (G.15),

though in general she believes that they would act as she does (G.8, 15). This seems to emphasise the insecurity she feels in relation to others and possibly may help to explain it. Being unable to predict their reactions may cause her insecurity.

3. Summary Subject BL

Subject BL emerges from the interview as a healthy, able-bodied person, anxious to assume responsibility for herself and her affairs, on principle, and on account of the enhancement to her esteem that this entails. When in need because of illness or other emergency, not due to her own fault or laziness, she will accept help, but as she is very dependent upon the good-will and affection of others she will turn only to some one who is known to be kind and helpful.

She acknowledges the obligation to give and wishes to be acknowledged as helpful. A friendly person, she is also sympathetic to the needs of others. But the will to give often comes into conflict with inhibiting factors such as her own fondness for money, comfort and convenience, and occasionally, though this is denied, ill-feeling between donor and recipient. Her outstanding characteristic is perhaps her emotional dependence upon others and the insecurity she feels in relation to her social environment, so that giving/receiving relationships are rarely gratifying for her, but occasions of conflict and anxiety.

G. SUBJECT HR

1. General background

Subject HR, aged 58, was the youngest of three children whose father died when he was 1½ months old. All the children were sent to other families. His was a big one, and he stayed there till he was 14. He saw his elder sister and brother when he was about 17 but not again until some weeks before the interview for there were no real ties or feeling of belonging to them, and when it came to the point, he couldn't afford it, having his own children to bring up.

He lived about 10 miles from the village, having moved on to a farm there from the coast. He said he spoke 4 languages, a not uncommon feat in the district.

He appeared to be confident and self-assured, ready to take the initiative in striking up an acquaintance with a stranger, though when a meeting was arranged with him for the test he did not turn up and evaded me for a long time afterwards. He was eventually "caught" when on the school premises for an Agricultural meeting and though uncertain of himself at first, soon assumed charge and entered into the spirit of the test with gusto. He expressed great relief at having at last got the business over; he could now appear in the village without fear of meeting me.

He was considered by FM people as an intelligent but somewhat a-moral deviant, having served several prison sentences for the illegal distilling of spirits.

HR helped very readily in the open situations, 5 out of 6 times, but not in the fixed situations, only 2 out of 12 times; he refused outright 4 times; on 6 occasions the help was conditional; in 1 open situation he did not seem to see the need.

He accepted in 3 of the 12 situations and refused in 3; in 7 the decision "depended upon the circumstances". HR thus both gave and accepted less than the average adult subject, and had far more conditional responses.

2. Characteristic attitudes

- a. The material and practical advantages and disadvantages for himself:

Whether he is involved as a donor or a recipient, the material and practical advantages (or disadvantages) for himself are HR's prime concern. In the Giving series, 25 of his 45 initial responses mention this aspect. Except in cases of urgent need, he will give easily only when to do so costs him little or nothing in time, money or energy (G.6, 10, and even 9), or when he can expect something in return for the help, either immediate payment (G.18) or some future recompense (G.8). In G.11 the only possible motive he can find for taking an orphan is "to earn money by having it, and have help later on", though even this did not tempt him to face the disadvantages which fostering the child would entail. Should a task be distasteful in itself (G.7), or if giving laid him open to criticism or ridicule, he would refuse (G.10, 11).

In the Receiving Series, the difficulty caused by the need and the advantages of the help are the main reasons for accepting, though loss of prestige and distrust of the donor's motives are the main reason for refusing.

- b. His needs for prestige and for independence and freedom of action:

HR is very sensitive to the opinion of other people. He will give to gain prestige in the eyes of others (G.16), and sometimes he will give as much as they are giving, a sixpence or a shilling (G.9). There is considerable prestige in showing willingness to give, however, apart from the size of the gift. So when confronted with a need or cause that he and public opinion regard as justified and worthy, he gives a token gift, or finds a socially acceptable excuse, such as "I'm sick today", or "Yes, I would very gladly join in, but I have so little time. In reality I may feel quite the opposite, but I just say that. I've not refused, I've shown I'm not mean" (G.16). The phrase "as a family man" also frequently occurs in the interview. "As a family man I have enough to do with my own affairs." It seems to be HR's chief pride, refuge, and excuse (e.g. G.15). "You can always find a reason for something you do not want to do. But there are two kinds of reason: real, valid reasons, and sort of castles-in-the-air."

In the accepting series HR's prestige and independence seem under constant threat, and constitute (together with distrust of D) his

main reasons for refusing. (e.g. A.4). He never feels able to ask outright for something he needs, partly because of the disgrace attached to needing and to asking, and partly because he fears refusal (A.4). As a result, he has to resort to a round-about method of inviting offers of help, or get some one else to ask on his behalf. "Thus he will have demonstrated his superiority and self-reliance, he will not have asked for help - he will just have stated his difficulty" (A.2).

c. His distrust and fear of people and the absence of sympathy and liking for others:

His distrust and suspicion of others runs through all his answers. Sometimes it deters him from giving: "If you take some one else's child ... people ... come to spy, to start ill-feeling and to slander you" (G.11). Sometimes it encourages him to give "This time it's him ... another time it might be me, and if I say no to him then he will probably say the same to me" (G.8).

As a recipient he is suspicious of people's motives in offering to help (A.6). He fears the donor will claim the right to interfere in the use to which he puts the gift, or will demand subservience and deference in their future social meetings, or D will resent having to help him and will say so (A.1, 4, 6). HR disagrees with such attitudes and says it is because they have never been in need themselves that such people are so callous in their approach to need in others (A.1).

This subject has experienced how disagreeable needing help can

be. He described in graphic detail his experiences during the depression and how humiliating it was to have to stand in a queue waiting for the dole, and to bear the taunts of people who said you were lazy and didn't want to work (A. or G.9). The hostility he describes may actually have been met with, but there is the possibility that some of it is surmise on his part and projection of his own lack of sympathy with others. In A.1, for instance, he shows astounding lack of feeling with the predicament of the widowed mother. The children are treated like chattels, and their feeding and clothing organised with complete disregard for any emotional attachment they and the mother may have to one another. "She should give away those children who cost her the most", taking care that when they're earning they are returned to her. He seems to have developed very little capacity for emotional responsiveness, and the possibility that people could offer to help out of sheer kindness of heart does not seem to occur to him.

In contrast to AO and PH, HR never expresses any satisfaction or pleasure in giving apart from the salving of his conscience and the prestige afforded in the eyes of others. When he sympathises, it is with the need, rather than with the people affected, and even then he is inclined to pass the buck: "I would rather not do it - try some one else" (G.11). A sense of equity is entirely missing. All is tit for tat. "I pay my taxes and the likes of them eat them

up" (G.11). The only reference to pleasant, reciprocal social relations occurs in G.13, 18 and A.7, where a certain gentleness and warmth of feeling is indicated between a father and his sons, and where the possibility of R's having been pleasant and helpful in the past will encourage D to help him now.

It may well be that the general hardness of life in the Arctic and the struggle for existence against the elements and against poverty has helped to produce this lack of feeling. Or it may be due to the peculiar circumstances of HR's own upbringing. The following statement, for instance, should be assessed in the light of the old former habit among nomad Lapps to abandon their old people when they no longer were able to follow the herd, the old folk agreeing to being left behind. "I shouldn't be at all unhappy, or angry with my sons if they said to me: 'Now then, father, we're married and also have children, can't you go to the old folks' home?' I'd say: 'Yes, yes, yes, I'm an old chap and that's no fun for you, I'm just in the way for you young people - all right, I'll go to the old folks' home - but you will have to come and see me there'".

d. The obligation to give in certain circumstances and the obligation to be self-supporting:

When a person's life is endangered through some sudden emergency HR will help without hesitation, without expectation of reward and irrespective of who the person is and how he has behaved. This is

obligatory (G.9, 14), "a human duty" (G.8). Retaliation is wrong, evil must be repaid with good, so former enemies and "bad friends" will also be assisted in this kind of need. HR is very sympathetic to biological need.

There is no obligation in other kinds of need: ordinary national or local enterprises, or a person's mere wishes and aspirations, HR has little interest or sympathy for these. He may give if he approves of them in principle (G.19) but only if it costs him little or nothing or is to his advantage, or if R has been kind to him in the past.

In some circumstances the donor is definitely obliged to refuse to help: when a child is shirking its responsibility and must be trained to self-reliance and independence (G.12). "You can't manage alone? ... Be a man for yourhat and learn some self-reliance!" Incidentally, this is one of the few occasions in the interview when the obligation to be self-supporting is expressed. It appears that HR feels the obligation fairly strongly, though in reality he seems rarely to achieve self-sufficiency. This conflict is perhaps one of the keys to an understanding of his insecurity.

e. The matter of rewards and the repayment of help received:

Except in cases of urgent biological need and except when help can be given at no cost to the donor, a reward of some kind will always be expected by HR, and help will rarely be given without it. When a recipient himself, he is also prepared to pay for services

rendered. "He doesn't want a double gift; it's already one gift that he (D) drives the load down, he doesn't want him to do it for nothing" (A.5). If he can make no other recompense, he is willing to acknowledge a kindly gift "with warm thanks at least" (A.3). However, the gratitude he feels to the donor depends in the main more on the size of the gift than on the warmth of the giver. "For a thousand crowns you can expect to bow and scrape" (A.3), for a small gift "you're under no obligation to maintain a friendship ... they've given of their own free will, they were under no obligation ... and there's no need for you to bow and scrape for the few pence they've given, and they can't expect you to, either" (A.4).

f. The identity of donor and recipient and the relationship between them:

From what has already been said, it is obvious that personal identities and relationships are of little importance to HR. There is a slight preference for members of his own family, for any one who has helped him in the past, and for an institution like FM (though it must be remembered that he was interviewed in an FM setting!). Like the other subjects, he considers it socially unacceptable for a man to let a woman help him with a heavy load (A.6), and like them he is also not impressed by the status or manner of an official appealing on some one else's behalf. "It does not matter in the least who it is, so long as he is authorised to make the appeal" (G.8, 16). But

he would prefer to be invited, rather than ordered, to help. "It is hard to comply with a 'you shall'. The police-sergeant, although he ... can compel, must study how to attract people to do a job willingly" (G.8), that is, without injuring their prestige and freedom of decision.

g. Reaction to refusal:

HR believes that a recipient will not be unduly upset by refusal, but will accept it and apply elsewhere (G.18, 7.A.4, 5). The donor's own need, with which HR has sympathy, is probably the reason for the refusal (A.8). Should it, however, be meanness, R will himself refuse D next time he needs help, not out of vengeance, but "to remind him of what it was like" (G.18).

h. HR's assessment of village opinion and his agreement with it:

HR believes that most people in the village will react as he does. Some may differ (G.11). Those who refused where he would give would be "well-to-do people who don't think - they have never been in a need situation and don't know what it's like." (G.8). HR attacks with vehemence the well-to-do who refuse to give and who criticise the needy. HR is so completely identified with the "have-nots" in the village, that he is able to see things only from their point of view.

3. Summary Subject HR

The picture of HR that emerges from the interview is that of a man continuously up against financial and other difficulties,

who is striving nevertheless to preserve his dignity and to achieve some degree of social status and of recognition as a man of independence and self-sufficiency. There is little tenderness in his relations with other people whom he tends to fear and to distrust, and he expects little real friendliness and general helpfulness from them though there is a hint of mild affection for the members of his immediate family.

He accepts when driven by the need, taking pains to uphold a facade of self-reliance and independence. He will give without hesitation when life is in danger, without thought of reward and irrespective of identity and character. In other needs, he carefully weighs the advantages and disadvantages to himself and decides accordingly whether to give or to refuse. On the whole he tends to identify with the recipient rather than with the donor in a giving-receiving relationship, which is regarded as a transaction of material benefits in which a careful balance is maintained between the donor's gift and his reward. Thus he is willing to recompense help received, even as he expects repayment of help given. Insecurity, the absence of pleasant reciprocal social relations and the struggle for prestige seem this subject's major characteristics.

H. SUBJECT RE

1. General background

Subject RE, aged 18, on the domestic staff of the Youth School, where she formerly was a student, was shy and reserved, but reported to be a good worker. Although apparently greatly inhibited, she was co-operative throughout the test. She had a younger brother and came from a poor family. At the time of the test she had just been "jilted" by a master at the school.

RE helped very readily, 12 out of 18 times; only on 3 occasions did she refuse outright; in 3 of the open situations she neglected, rather than refused, to help. She also accepted very readily, 10 out of 12 times, refusing only harmful help and what she considered too large a sum from a brother. It was easier for her to suggest reasons for giving than for accepting help, most of her responses in the latter series being unqualified affirmatives. However, from the rest of the interview, the following considerations emerge as important for her.

2. Characteristic attitudes

a. Liking and emotional reciprocity between donor and recipient:

These are the most important considerations of all for RE and she is the only one of the subjects for whom it is so very important. If she likes some one, she will sacrifice her own comfort and pleasure for his, even if she disapproves of the purpose for which he wants the help (G.19). She is very ready to help a friend and members of

her family (G.7, 12, 18, 19), but not strangers nor persons whom she dislikes or who have done her an injury, unless their life is at risk, when the strict rule that no reprisal may be made for evil suffered overrules the disinclination to help. This disinclination seems due much more to her fear of hostile people than to any active desire for revenge or for their discomfort (G.8, 9, 14). She seems to be shrinking from contact with them so that they have less power to hurt her (G.8).

In accepting she will take less from a younger brother than from an elder, nothing from parents, or a person poorer or weaker than herself. She will also take less from a person she is fond of, more from an acquaintance than a friend, and all that is offered by a stranger (A.3, 6, 8, 11). On the other hand, she prefers help from friends to that from a neighbour or the FM (A.4, 5), and she prefers a gift in kind to money, "for money is worth more, gifts are not so dear".

It appears that REis torn between, on the one hand, sympathy with those whom she loves and the wish not to distress them by calling on their help, and, on the other hand, a preference to share her troubles with those on whose affection she can rely and who will not betray her need to others. She will never accept help from some one who has been unkind or superior.

b. Sympathy with other people's biological and emotional needs:

Her sympathy with others is very strong. Even if an aged parent were nasty and she would not have him in the house, she would still try to do her next best for him, so that he was as comfortable as possible. Where there is no need, she is unwilling to help, especially if there is no personal tie with R. It is her sympathy with a potential donor's own need and limited resources that makes her so reluctant to ask ^{for} help from members of her family and close friends, all of whom, apparently, are poor.

c. Sensitivity to the stigma attached to receiving:

Co-existent with the sympathy for need, there is sensitivity to the stigma of receiving and this makes accepting difficult, though the stigma varies according to the reason for the need. Poverty, or the inability to maintain yourself when in health, is worst. Need due to illness or some sudden emergency outside the control of the person concerned is not so shameful (A.5). Thus help from the District Council is resented and State help acceptable because the former "give to the poor" whereas the latter "give to the sick". Apparently RE feels that a person has a strong obligation to support himself, and if he fails is somehow to blame for his poverty, hence the stigma. But she does not say whether this personal failure is the result of laziness, lack of intelligence, or other shortcoming.

d. The shame of asking:

To the shame of poverty is added the shame of asking. Asking

is a presumption, and disgraceful, and RE prefers to await an offer rather than ask for help (A.1). She objects also to being asked, as a donor, and will refuse a request, even though she would readily have offered, if not asked (A.9).

e. Submission to the requests of a person in authority:

Although RE admits that "it is not sensible to do something because some one in authority asks you", she asserts on the other hand that the request of people like the priest, the police-sergeant, or the mayor are more likely to be complied with than those of an ordinary citizen (G.9). A donor is also more likely to perform a favour for the son of an influential person in the village than for some one of no consequence (G.7). This seems to indicate another area of conflict and ambivalence of feeling in RE: submission and rebellion occur simultaneously in relation to persons in authority.

f. The matter of obligation, and repayment of help received:

Help given among friends or relatives, or to persons in danger of their lives, or where there is no cost or inconvenience to the donor, is taken for granted and no reward is expected (G.8, 10). Help received from a private charitable body, or a civic authority need not be repaid, nor is any obligation felt other than to use the money for the purpose for which it has been given. Any other interference by D will be resented by R. The only occasion on which RE would expect payment as a donor would be for helping an acquaintance or a stranger with his job, when she would not help without it, even

if the person could ill afford to pay (G.18). On the other hand, she would wish to repay some one who had helped her, if his means were limited (A.9), and if she were fond of him (A.11).

g. Reaction to refusal:

As an applicant for help, RE's reaction to refusal seems to depend partly on the donor and partly on the cause of the need. With a donor she respects, she responds with self-blame; the sting of the refusal lies in the disdain which she feels D would have for her for having asked. With the District Council her shame quickly turns to stubborn indignation and she retaliates by refusing to accept any help at all and "will wait till some private individual offers assistance". If, however, the cause is illness the donor is blamed for refusing to help (A.5).

h. Her assessment of the opinion and actions of other people and her feeling of solidarity with her group:

In general, other people are thought to react as she does. A few may give when she refuses (G.11, 15, 16), or refuse where she gives (G.18). In some cases she approves of their motives (G.11, 15, 18), in one case she disapproves (G.16). The community as a whole would support RE's decisions and agree with her reasons for giving or accepting. For example, if any one refused in a situation where RE considers refusal impossible, that is, in situations G.8, 9, 14 where life is at stake, such an action would be strongly condemned by the

rest of the village, for such a person could only be acting from motives of hostility and ill-feeling, and these are not permissible.

3. Summary Subject RE

The picture of RE that is revealed by the interview is that of a shy, hesitant person, dependent upon the affection of her closest friends and relatives to whose needs she is warmly sympathetic and for whose comfort and convenience she will do what she can, even to sacrificing her own pleasure for theirs. Loyal and considerate to this immediate circle, she feels little attachment or obligation to people outside it and will help them only if their life is in danger, because that is regarded as obligatory.

Acknowledging the "rightness" of personal industry and self-help, she hesitates to accept help except in the case of illness or special emergency, because of the stigma attached, but does accept nevertheless. As a result she seems to be left with a feeling of having been harried by the exigencies of the situation into a position of dependence from which she hasn't the strength to extricate herself. She suffers it, with sad patience. She is in a similar dilemma over accepting help from those she loves: although she welcomes their help and would rather have it from them than any one else, she shrinks from overburdening them.

I. SUBJECT MB

1. General background

Subject MB, aged 73, lived in a cabin on the river bank with a son of about 40 who drank heavily. She was a friendly, sociable person, eager to make the acquaintance of strangers. Although unmarried, she was held in respect in the village and had been called "the aristocrat of K....." I invited her to see the pictures one day when she was paying me a social call, and when I told her that this would be rather like a visit to the cinema - which I knew she often went to - she offered to pay a little for "the show". When the apparatus was demonstrated to her she showed no interest in it except to remark on how costly it was. Though the test was carefully explained to her, she was confused at first, trying to locate the scenes and recognise the faces. She often remarked on how beautiful they were. Half-way through the test, however, she grew tired and said that I must be making a lot of money with these pictures, and became impatient when I denied this. "Dear, kind you, I know that you are earning a lot of money, this is all so expensive and one doesn't work with something like this without earning a lot of money for it. If I sew a bonnet, I earn money for that!" So it was explained to her how the apparatus was acquired and what the ultimate purpose was. She said no more, but still seemed sceptical that any one would do something she did not get money for. So I reminded her that she had told me, during a chance meeting in the local Post Office,

that she had collected for the Mission in three cardboard boxes which the Pastor's wife had given her and had got "tremendous thanks but no money" for this. Many people had given, she had said they had done so:

- i) because she could be bothered collecting. "If you can be bothered collecting, then we can just as well give you a bit",
- ii) because she had explained the benefits these gifts would bring to those who received them, and
- iii) because she had asked nicely and gently.

Some of course had refused, for many were old and themselves needed help.

During the interview she mentioned an occasion on which she herself refused to give (G.19). Some one had asked her for money to go to the cinema. She refused. She suggested the girl could go to a cafe and work and earn the money to go. The girl said she wasn't used to cafe work and didn't like to go there, they paid so little. But MB was unmoved. Her reason was that the girl's parents had very often eaten at her place when they came to the village to shop, and had promised that they'd catch some pike, of which she was very fond, and send them to her. But they never did. It was too much trouble to mend and set the nets, pike are fish that eat big holes in nets, and the girl said her mother couldn't be bothered going into the water and setting the nets. That was why MB refused to give the girl money for the cinema.

She also told of her own reluctance to ask. "I haven't built (a house) - not for a single øre, and I have not asked. No one, no.

(Why?) No, I don't know. I have sat here the whole winter without the use of my hand and could not work and I have not asked for money.

(Why?) No, I don't know, I don't dare. I think that perhaps they will not want to give." (She had broken her arm).

When I was about to leave the village and went down to her to say good-bye, MB went, with great ceremony, to her various casks of fish and selected pieces from them as a farewell gift. In the course of this she mentioned casually that if I had any cups or anything I did not want to trouble packing when I left for England she would have them. The pieces of fish were not a bribe - but they may well have been a subtle form of barter.

MB helped in 6 of the 12 fixed situation, refused in 3, and had reservations in 3. She helped once in the open situations, did not see the need in 4 and gave 1 incoherent answer. She accepted, or asked for, help in every situation in the test series, except in A.12, where her answer was confused. Thus she was among those who helped least of the group, and was the one who accepted most. Her decisions appeared to have been guided by the following considerations.

2. Characteristic attitudes

- a. Sympathy with human need, a feeling of oneness with other people, and a spontaneous pleasure in being associated with them:

MB is sensitive to the needs of others and sympathises with them, though in a more practical, detached way than AO. She has confidence

in the ordinary humanity of other people and that they will feel the same sympathy as she does with need and have the same pleasure in contact with others. Consequently, any one asking on behalf of another needs only carefully to explain the situation and the effect the help will have and all but the thoughtless will be moved to give (G.9). For MB a giving-receiving relationship is a two-way relationship, an expression of responsive fellowship that at the same time encourages mutual dependence and makes it easy for her to give and to receive.

b. The obligation to help:

The belief that help must be given when life is in danger reinforces her natural sympathy and sociability. It is expected of "decent people" (G.14), and the citizen can even be "compelled by the police" (G.8); society brooks no refusal on the part of young, able people. There is some ambiguity whether D is free to decide for himself in less urgent needs. It would appear that he is, for, although MB states categorically in the Receiving Series that people must give if asked, whether they like to or not (A.1), and whether the need is urgent or not (A.5), in the Giving Series her D refuses, and in real life MB herself does. She also hesitates to ask because she fears possible refusal (cf. General background above).

c. Circumstances that justify refusal:

In general, lack of resources is no reason for a person's refusal to give; if he is poor he will give a little, if rich a lot (A.4). But some people are thoughtless and some are mean; these

are not taken seriously by MB, their refusal is accepted, and ignored. A person's capacity to give is taken into consideration by a potential recipient, however, and those who are unlikely to be able to give much are not asked (A.3, 8, 9).

Refusal to help is natural in the following circumstances:

- i) when the help requested means the performance of a boring or disagreeable task and D has an attractive alternative (G.7),
- ii) when D is afraid of the dark, or of being out alone on a mountain (G.8, 14),
- iii) when R has not been appreciative of former help and is unwilling to do anything for D in return (G.19),
- iv) when D is old and younger people are anxious to help (G.11),
- v) when a child has been set a certain task and it must learn self-reliance (G.12).

It should be noted that there is no hostility in MB's refusals, just matter-of-fact common sense, and, in some cases, a yielding to greater attractions.

In the Receiving Series R never refuses to accept, but MB recognises that some people might do so, for they "are so terribly proud ... also in olden times they'd never take help. If he's small others will say: 'My, my, you are strong and clever, you can do that, you little fellow, my, my!'" (A.6). But it seems impossible for MB to identify with these people. They are all young and strong.

d. Recognition of the obligation to work if fit and able:

MB recognises that a person who is fit and healthy can and should work, and that others would be justified in not giving so much to some one who was fit and able to support himself (A.3, 9).

e. A strict sense of reciprocity and repayment:

MB's concept of reciprocity and the need for repayment is complex. On the one hand she says that a donor expects some kind of recompense. This seems to vary with the kind of need and the period for which the help is required (G.8). Sometimes the intrinsic pleasure of performing the required task is recompense enough (G.10) and when no compensation can be paid direct "it is certain that God will repay those who give" (G.9, 11). On the other hand she states that a recipient will not feel obliged in any way for a gift or grant (A.2, 3, 4), nor will he offer to pay for a service (A.5), though some young people want to pay back monies advanced to them for schooling (A.9). In real life MB was very ready to extend favours to people, but expected these to be reciprocated, and ceased to give unless they were. It seems fairly clear that she was not indulging in calculated giving in order to extort considerations in return. It was just that she herself had given freely and so expected the same treatment when she herself wanted something.

f. The identity of the recipient or the person asking on his behalf:

This is not important for MB. Former hostility (G.9, 14),

blood relationship (G.11), the official status of the person asking (G.8, 16) are of no consequence at all. If some one needs he is given to, subject to certain conditions outlined above.

g. The persistence of the recipient in asking:

This may have an interesting effect on D. If continued long enough it can change his disapproval of an object wanted by R into approval, so that he, D, develops the same need (G.19). However, in the situation in which this occurred R wished to go to the cinema. As MB is herself an ardent cinema-goer, her D's conversion is perhaps not so striking as those sometimes reported in other connections, for example, when non-smokers become smokers "because they can no longer bear the unpleasantness of other people's smoke", or when in brain-washing the washers themselves occasionally become washed.

h. Her assessment of the opinion of other people in the village:

MB feels at one with the people in her community. They will do as she does, most of the time (G.7, 8, 9, 11, 13, 15). If they don't give where she would they will have a good reason, either they are poor themselves, or old, or afraid. Some may be mean, but no one is really nasty. She is not affected by other people's opinions, attempted interference, or criticism (A.2, 3, 10) and goes her own way, avoiding friction by lying when necessary, but so good-humouredly that it seems quite legitimate.

3. Summary Subject MB

MB is friendly and sociable and expects people to act with the cheerful, sympathetic responsiveness that she extends to others. Compared with AO, for instance, she is about as generous, but in a more matter-of-fact way. She is less self-effacing and more alert to her own opportunities and convenience. She is willing to give, enjoying the association, but demanding as much back in return.

From her responses in the Accepting Series she appears willing to ask and to accept unhesitatingly and indiscriminately, taking help for granted, without any obligation of recompense or repayment. She does believe, however, that people ought to work to support themselves, if they are fit and well. Some even refuse help because they are proud or wish to manage on their own.

From her account of her own behaviour, however, it would seem that she is, in practice, not quite so ready to ask for help in every instance as she appears in the interview. This might well be due to her age. In the interview her reaction may well be that of weary wish fulfilment: she is too tired, in a hypothetical situation to bother about independence and recompense, whereas in actual practice she does still strive to observe the habits of more youthful days.

TRANSLATED TRANSCRIPT
OF THE
INTERVIEW WITH SUBJECT PH

The answers which Subject PH gave to the initial questions asked in the projection test and to the additional questions posed by the interviewer are set out below.

A. THE GIVING SERIES

1. Wounded dog

PH: He would catch the dog and see what the matter was with its ear and take it back to its owner.

2. Man in the river

PH: If that chap Per can't swim he'll soon go under in that cold water. Oh I see, it's Per on the bank. Well, he'll quickly call to the others to get into a boat and row out to the man.

3. Man on the bus

PH: The man must be sick. And very likely he'll also get up and perhaps give him his seat. If possible.

4. Man worried

PH: Yes.* His first thought will no doubt be - as it's a young man who is sitting there with his head in his hands - yes, wonder what it is that's lying so heavily on his heart. Perhaps, if it's at the Youth School - as it of course is - perhaps it's love-sickness.

* PH's "Yes" introducing an answer is not usually an affirmative answer. It's a sort of affirmation of the problem under discussion, an acceptance of it, and the start of his thought on the problem.

That would be the first thing now. But I think that what Per is thinking is simply this: How can he get rid of all that wood? That is why he has sat down - perhaps he's to cut up all that wood there. But I doubt that Per will ask to be allowed to help cut the wood!

5. Jammed door

PH: Per of course thinks that he's probably a better hand at the job. And perhaps he would be able to open it if he, for instance, took the key. And the outcome will probably be about the same, I suppose. If there's something the matter with the mechanism of the lock, he's probably not the fellow either to get it open. But meanwhile he will at all events try to help his chum get in.

6. School-child

PH: Apparently it would show - if he really is a humane organism and is aware of his neighbour's financial position - then he will of course do his best to help his neighbour, so that he can also get his son to school. I suppose that would be the first thought that would - that's if he is a humane type.

7. Minding the shop

PH: Ye..es (long silence). It's really very hard to say what he would answer in such a situation. But (long silence).. but it's quite possible, you know, that he might go and look after the shop for his chum. That's quite possible. As long as he only intended going on a mere pleasure trip. Then he'd undertake to do it. But if he were going on a fishing trip especially for the sake of economic gain, or

to get a food supply for the home, then he would of course not be able to undertake the job. Not in that case. For then - we can say - financial circumstances will play a part. But if it is only an ordinary pleasure trip, and he's really a good friend, then it's very likely that he would mind the shop for him. But looking at it from another side: He's a shopkeeper's son, and in reality he probably has much more free time, he's got more freedom of movement, than an ordinary, average man who's dependent upon his toil and exertion. He'll perhaps also take that into consideration. That is, seen from a purely pleasure point of view. And perhaps he'll decline. He'd maintain that the boy is free nearly the whole year round and if his father has now given him a little responsibility while he is away - I think that if he's a smart lad he'll certainly decline. He won't do it. For if his father has given him a job, given him a little responsibility, then he must also shoulder his responsibility. Therefore, if Per is a smart lad and really thinks things out, he won't go and send him off on a pleasure trip, simply at his expense!

MF: Would he have done so, if it had been a brother who asked? Would that have been a little different, or have been the same?

PH: Well, that depends. Also in that case - let us say it was a brother, let's say it was a twin brother, so they were the same age, too, so you cannot talk about age or anything - it's quite possible that he would - but it - that he would let his brother go. But it's so often the case - it's so peculiar and strange - it often happens that where family ties are closest, the helping hand is furthest.

Very often. If the helping hand then comes, it's because of duty. Not that a wish of the heart is a duty. Doing it as a duty.

MF: If it were only an acquaintance, not a friend or a relative, but only an acquaintance?

PH: Yes - if they were on the same level, the same cultural level, economic level and so on, there might be many things playing a part. If Per were absolutely dependent upon a fishing tour, financially, then he would hardly give it up, to the other person's advantage. If he knows that the person concerned who is asking for it is more or less on the same financial footing as himself.

MF: And if he were the son of an important man in the village, how would that be?

PH: It often happens - unfortunately - it often happens, the son of an important man, he perhaps often has to put up with many unpleasantnesses on his father's account. For one must remember this: there is both opposition and support, isn't there, for the father. And it often happens that sons and daughters have to suffer on that account, and have to listen to many undesirable things in this connection. If people oppose the man.

MF: Will he mind the shop for him?

PH: I don't think so. I don't think so. Decidedly not. If he's an ordinarily smart chap and knows the real circumstances: that his father has told him to be in the shop while he is away - he won't do it. He would weigh up the situation like this: Now you must shoulder your responsibility!

MF: And Mikkel, what will he think about this? Will he consider it reasonable?

PH: Yes, if he's a very intelligent - yes, he doesn't need to be very, he can be moderately intelligent - he'd also agree that actually Per is right. It is perhaps not right of me to leave the shop like that. And without anybody proper - just go and find some one out in the village and get him to be in the shop. His father, for instance, he wouldn't just take anybody as a servant, or assistant in the shop. Without considering the honesty of the person and who he happens to be. It's not just a matter of pushing off one's responsibility.

MF: And his friends? Those he should have gone with?

PH: His friends will also very possibly - if Mikkel laid his cards on the table honestly and straight-forwardly and said that he had asked a friend, Per for instance, whether he would mind the shop, but Per answered that he did not want to undertake the job: "Now you must be equal to your responsibility while your father is away". And when it comes to the point, Per is right. I think I'd better postpone the trip for a while, you see, till it suits me better. I don't want to let my father down. I don't want to shirk my responsibilities. That's what he'd do. But you know, young boys' top-knots - heads - they don't work like that. They don't. They would probably more likely say: "He's a stubborn wretch, Per, that he won't look after the shop!"

8. Man lost in the mountains

PH: That's self-evident. He'll immediately answer that of course I'll come along. There's no question of my not doing so. There's no question of that. That's what he'll immediately answer. For it doesn't matter in what situations a person might fail or how he might react, the purely human part of him - if not his intelligence, then at least his instinct - will tell him that this now is something that is absolutely essential. Here is something that is difficult. Some one is in a difficult situation. Perhaps the situation is so difficult that he can't get out of it, without help. No here, here the purely human part of him will be aroused. Animal instincts don't exist in such cases. If that person was not born with sadistic tendencies.

MF: He knows old Anders, of course. But if it were an unknown person?

PH: Yes, makes no difference whether he is known or unknown. And especially if he were a known old man. Popular or unpopular. Just the same. Anders was a figure in his home town whom they would miss now if he were gone forever. He was perhaps - whether or not he was a queer fellow - just the same he was a familiar figure. He sort of belonged to the village picture.

MF: If it had been a young man, not an old one?

PH: Yes, just the same, makes no difference. In a need situation he would certainly immediately say that it will be a real pleasure for me to join in. We have to find him.

MF: He goes along?

PH: He does.

MF: Even if he were busy?

PH: Just the same. He would throw away - push away the thought of any other work in a need situation like this.

MF: And does he expect the police sergeant to pay him if he goes?

PH: I don't think so. I don't think his thoughts would even touch anything that might be called financial gain in such a situation. Neither before he goes out or after he had come back again.

MF: If it was not the police sergeant who had asked him - if some one else had told him about it, just on the road, for instance.

Would that be different?

PH: I don't think so either. It's the same, whoever it was. No matter who had asked, I think the purely human part of him would have won.

MF: And the way in which the sergeant asked him to go?

PH: Yes. The sergeant's manner was of course quite usual. That's no more and no less than the dry manner in which the police put a question. Yes.

MF: Will most people in the village do the same as Per?

PH: Yes. But let's say that the sergeant had put the question - not a question - but had given - formulated it so it became an order more or less, that there was no human quality in his demand to have him out on the search - then he would possibly react in another way. But not so that Anders lost his life. He has to be looked for. But he will react strongly towards the police or whoever it was who had

told him: he must! For this with orders - it's so peculiar and strange, with all people, all orders are, a forced order, it's always harder to carry this out than a voluntary job.

MF: And the others in the village, will they do the same as he?

PH: Definitely, definitely, they will.

MF: No one would refuse?

PH: I don't think there would be a single one. And if it should happen that there was a person who refused, then, intellectually, he'd have stood low.

MF: What sort of reason might he have, if he ..

PH: refused? Yes. In such a case there's really no reason at all. Let's say that he - well, there could be a reason. Let's say that it was a matter of sickness. That he was completely alone. But in that case he would try to find some one else, a woman, or a man, to stay - some one who perhaps couldn't go out on the search - get him to look after the person at home. For any one who is at home, he is after all safe there at home within his four walls. That's safe. But some one out in the desolate wasteland, who doesn't know where he is, he's never safe. He has perhaps fallen into a hole he can't get out of - something or other - broken his foot or something like that, hurt himself so he can't get up.

MF: And Anders's family?

PH: Anders's family will also immediately themselves - even if relations aren't particularly cordial at home - old Anders who's away - what do you mean?

MF: I mean: what do they think about Per's joining in the search? Do they think it's self-evident, or do they think it was kind of him to go? Or what do they think about his joining in?

PH: They think it was kind of him to go, that he also did his best to make himself available. They'll certainly think that. That is, if they are ordinarily cultured, cultured people. But unfortunately, it's often the case that there are people who always maintain that the things others do are a duty. But if they themselves are entrusted with some responsibility, then they maintain that it isn't a duty then - when it touches their own person.

9. Refugee help

PH: Yes. He'd do that all right, certainly. He will indeed be glad to give something. According to his financial capacity.

MF: Has he money to spare? (PH disregards the question)

PH: Yes. He'll do that all right. That's certain. This is a case of need, too. Even if this situation of need that we're talking of here isn't so close, isn't local, he'll still do his utmost to be able to contribute his mite, also to that cause, which is in fact about the same as when he went out to look for that man who also was in a need situation.

MF: Does it matter for him that they are abroad, that they are not fellow-countrymen?

PH: Yes. You know, as was said, as I mentioned before - actually that now is an individual matter, because everyone does not react in the same way. But let's assume that he's a humane type. It's

clear that he will also in this case give. Let's say that he is more or less the main person there in that group sitting round the table, then he'll certainly say: Well, to tell the truth, I really think that we ought to contribute a little mite to a cause like that where there are people who are really up in a need situation.

MF: Even if it is perhaps their own fault - even if they belong to an enemy country? were enemies during the war?

PH: Suppose they were. That's just what is so remarkable, so peculiar and strange. From the moment - let's say there are two enemies and that they are ordinary, refined, ordinarily sensitive people, a humane type as I mentioned - the moment one of them gets into a need situation, into a misfortune, or let us say also critical financial difficulties, their enmity ceases at once. For even instinctively - here it's not a matter of intelligence - but instinct alone tells you that the actual capitulation has already occurred. Now he is, you know, much lower than I. In such cases it often happens that then pity is awakened, while as long as they are healthy, man for man and on the same level, we can say on the same physical, psychological, and economic level, the enmity can be bitter. But as soon as one of the parties really gets into a serious need situation, a humane type, then in the case of a humane type, the purely - the finest feelings will then come into their own.

MF: If it were not the mayor, but some one else who suggested that they should give something? Does that matter for him?

PH: I don't think so. I don't think so. As long as he got a complete

account of how the money was being spent. Let's say that he perhaps read in the papers he's looking at there, about the need situation down in Europe - let's say in the war-torn European countries - then I don't think it would matter for him what sort of "body" actually came along with the demand, with the question whether he would contribute a little mite for those who were suffering.

MF: And the others? His acquaintances and so on - how would they react?

PH: That's so peculiar and strange - if some one has the ability to put a matter in such a way that he moves the others around him, then it's strange, it's almost as if it's contagious. The one does not want to do less than the other fellow. Perhaps in many cases it's like this: when the others give, then he doesn't want to be a less worthy fellow. Even if he, as regards his own feelings, isn't as humane in his attitude. But it is often the case that, we can say, his pride forces him to help. Don't you think? That's to say, such a gift we call - yes, it's not given from the heart.

MF: Let's say there was some one who didn't give - what reason might he have?

PH: Yes, he might have many reasons. That depends on his attitude. What sort of attitude he adopts to the situation. He could of course say that - let's say that - Norway and Germany had been at war, of course - he could say of course: "The Germans, no, that would be the last straw!" Perhaps he had a brother who fell in the war, perhaps he had - or he had lost his father, or a sister, whatever it may be, he's lost one of his nearest and dearest. And that's hit him very

hard, so that he feels, you might say, almost "hard" to everything. He could advance this as a reason, therefore. That is to say, the good is almost extinguished in him.

MF: What do the others in the village think about him, if he doesn't -

PH: Yes, if he doesn't give? I don't think that they - as far as - they would have anything they might have said. As far as they could evaluate his thinking, he who was directly concerned. Personally concerned. They could possibly - no matter how humane they were - find a valid excuse for his not giving.

10. Girl on skis

PH: Of course he would be willing to let Ella come along. She's only a child. There his paternal feelings simply would awaken. This is also, in a way, a person in a need situation. Also in her way. And let's assume that Per is - he's now been a humane fellow, all along the line here now - and here he will especially feel a certain, yes, duty, and a certain joy in being able to help her on her way so that she gets home safely and well.

MF: If it were the light time of the year, not the dark time?

PH: Well, also in that case - even if it were the light time, as Per was going the same way - wasn't he? Yes, he would of course both wait for her - he as a grown man will go considerably faster on skis, won't he than she - he will certainly do his best so they arrive in the village together. That's clear. For it's so peculiar and strange this, no matter how vulgar and common a man might be, in relation to a child it's as if the finest cords are touched.

MF: Will he demand payment for this?

PH: No, I couldn't imagine that - I don't believe that would enter his head.

MF: If he refused for one reason or another - what reason could it be?

PH: Yes. That would possibly have to be because he was not going in the same direction. Or else he would be making such a long detour that he was afraid that the girl would tire and not be able to keep up with him. Then he could have a reasonable excuse. No, my dear girl, I can't take you along because I'm making such a long, long detour, I'm not going direct. I'm going - let us say, perhaps, we're talking of the mountains here - that the reindeer village was right up at Isjkoras and he was to go perhaps to Biskinjjarre - then she couldn't - that would be too far for her.

II. Orphaned child

PH: Yes. You know with a woman there will be more mother love - not only in relation to her own children, but also to the children of other people - than with a man who despite everything is more vulgar in all possible ways. He is and remains an ox. Doesn't he!

MF: I don't quite agree!

PH: Well, never mind. That can be a matter of opinion. But of course the paternal feelings can also be very, very - yes, what do you say again - deep-seated - or very intense. That's also possible. That's true. But with a woman - it's not only her physique that - just physically she appears gentle, doesn't she? Gentle and loving.

MF: Does he do it for his wife's sake if he takes the child?

PH: Yes, he might possibly also take the child. Now he will probably say to his wife: "Well, now, let's have a look at the matter, if we've really got the financial possibilities to take such a responsibility upon ourselves - bringing up a child and all, that's not our own. And remember this, too. In addition, we'll also constantly be sort of under observation, both by our neighbours and others, whether we really do care for that child as well as for our own." For despite everything, a man will go much, much deeper weighing up things than a woman. There are exceptions, of course, but a man will in any case first and foremost consider the purely financial aspects and then the moral.

MF: Does it make any difference whether they are relatives of the family or not?

PH: That doesn't make any difference at all in such situations. If the situation is already so critical that the children might possibly have to be sent away, and it's really possible that the children could find a good home in the vicinity then that would be preferable. They might possibly be children who already are big enough to understand a little.

MF: Would this be usual? Would most people do the same? Would most people take a child?

PH: Yes, I don't know, most people. I don't think most people would do it.

MF: No? For what reason?

PH: Because it's always a bigger responsibility with a child that's

not their own flesh and blood than with their own. Always, always, much greater responsibility. It's as if they're loading a much, much heavier burden on to themselves. Let's say, the child eats the same food, but also the purely material things, clothes and so on. They must also be exactly the same as for their own children, and not to talk of bringing them up! And Heaven help me! That's the greatest snag. Let's say - yes, however one brings up one's own children, that's that - but bringing up a child that's not your own, isn't yours really. And if it becomes evident that the child was born with certain hereditary tendencies, then these tendencies are often attributed to the foster parents, aren't they? Therefore the burden lies ever so much more heavily on one's shoulders than when it's one's own children. So I think that Per will say to his wife: "Let's go deeper into the matter" so his wife also will have some doubts about the matter, about taking upon herself the upbringing of the child, taking the child into her home. That's what I think.

12. Helping child with task

PH: Yes, it depends what sort of wood that is. Perhaps the wood is so big that the boy really cannot manage to carry it. But no doubt he's supposed to fetch the wood into the kitchen for the house, then it's clear that he'll send the boy off: "Now, stop making a fuss. Go, fetch the wood." In such a case he'll send the boy off, all right!

MF: If he were younger, the boy?

PH: Yes, makes no difference - yes, younger and younger. But let's say that the boy would be say 6 or 7 - let's say, he's 7 or 8, 7, 8. It's clear he'll send the boy off to fetch the wood. He won't accept any excuses, he won't.

MF: Would most parents do the same?

PH: Yes, most. That's clear. It's clear most parents would do that. And that's, you see, the first training in obedience.

13. Aged father

PH: That's clear, that. That goes without saying, that - it's his father. That's clear. Per wanted to - how was it? that he asked?

MF: His wife had died.

PH: Yes, his wife had died, that was it. But now he was alone -

MF: He was alone and the question was: "What will his son suggest in that case?"

PH: His son will for the time being simply not suggest anything. Not to his father. But he will simply talk to his wife first and see how she feels about the matter. And what she thinks, and whether she will perhaps be able to manage to take his old father into the house, too. For this is after all a question that depends very much upon his wife, for it is she who will have to keep clean both the house and the old man, and see that he has good, clean clothes and so on, and so on. Actually, this is - a man has very little to say in such a case - that he - if he is a chap of ordinary average intelligence, then he'd discuss the matter with his wife, that's

clear. And put the facts of the case before his wife. And let's say that his wife was rather less enthusiastic about the matter, then he would of course use his powers of persuasion, also on his wife. He would certainly do that. For should - you understand that an elderly person - let's say he was perhaps close to 80 - and if he's perhaps no longer so energetic, then it's still worse - then it would simply be a case of putting a tremendous burden on to his wife. And a man is as a rule away at work and so on, he's not so taken up with the home, but she has to be there all the time. I think that he would do - self-evidently he will do his best. And if he has a wife who - they would at all events try, they would under all circumstances try and see whether they could manage.

MF: And what does he think about the old man?

PH: That's after all, that is - now you shall hear. Since you're now asking me about that, I can mention this. It has unfortunately been ever so common here - not only here, but in many other places, too, that when - they don't really want to have so much to do with the old people when they get so old - even if they are their children. I've often been surprised at that. I don't mean that the Lapps are inhuman (i.e. not humane) in this respect, not that, but you understand that there is much that comes into the picture. It's so strange this. And as a rule there's this, that when two elderly persons have lived a long life together and one is left, then as a rule the other begins to fail very rapidly, too. For the moment he

has lost his better half a feeling of loneliness will immediately come over him, and with old people it's ever so intense. It's killingly intense. It's also a great responsibility and - both a responsibility and at the same time difficult to take an elderly person into your home. That's true, you know. But I think that they'll try just the same, that's certain, they'll do their best and will take their father into their home.

MF: And if there were other brothers and sisters, what would he suggest?

PH: It's clear that he in that case - he will of course suggest the following: that the one with the smallest family - and here their income also plays a part.

MF: He would not suggest that he should go from one to the other?

PH: No, I don't think so. I think they will consider the size of the family. Let's say, the one who has the smallest family, has fewest children and so on, and perhaps has a good, big house - that they could take him.

MF: The people in the village - what do they think he should do with his father?

PH: Yes, they would also consider that it was right, what he did. That's clear.

MF: They share his opinion about the matter?

PH: Yes, they will share his opinion absolutely. Let's say that he was living in cramped conditions, that he didn't have much room at his place and had a large family and so on. In these circumstances he would talk it over with his brothers and sisters.

14. Sick wife

PH: It's night time. He won't This is also a need situation. As I mentioned before, when the need is really serious, all that goes by the name of enmity ceases. It's clear that he will go. He won't even think of their perhaps not having been such good friends. All of that, those thoughts will simply be pushed aside. Suppose the neighbour's old woman there, had been a shrew, an abusive old woman, that is actually of so little importance in such a case. For what we call neighbour's wrangling and neighbour's quarrelling, that is, unfortunately - it often happens that it's like this - but this wrangling and quarrelling among neighbours never really goes deep. There can be many things contributing to the quarrel. It can be jealousy in one way or another. Perhaps the one is better off financially, perhaps he has just been a little luckier in the struggle for existence. Neighbours' quarrels and suchlike are, when you come down to it, not so deep-seated.

MF: So he'll go?

PH: It's clear that he'll go. For the need situation will immediately tell him that -

MF: He thinks the woman is seriously ill?

PH: Yes. It's clear that he will do that.

MF: Would most people do the same as he?

PH: I think so, I think so, no matter whether - Any way, I've

seen so many cases like that. One's closest neighbours or kinsfolk have got into a dangerous need situation, then I've always seen that in such cases they generally offer a helping hand.

MF: Does he expect something in return for driving down?

PH: No - not at the moment that he goes. It won't - I don't think that mere finances will enter his head. But it is quite possible that later on when the shrew belonging to the neighbour is well again, well and fit, and again begins with her wicked tongue, then it's quite possible that he will remind him that it is owing to him that he had to get up in the middle of the night to fetch - Who is going to pay for that? And so on. You know, it's what we call life's merry trifles that most often create quarrels.

MF: Would they be better friends afterwards?

PH: That depends on the situation. It's quite possible that they could be better friends afterwards. Let's say that to begin with these two neighbours - well, now, Per's family is fit and well. Per's old woman may at the least, out of pure, merely out of pure curiosity go over to the neighbouring farm to see whether the old woman is still under the weather. That's first of all mere curiosity, and so perhaps they'll be sitting together there and chatting away - just something light, and just superficially friendly and perhaps she will also pay visit number two, three also. And with that a more friendly atmosphere will gradually grow up between them. So that a good relationship may develop between them. It's often like that, you know, if neither of the

parties is up against any real difficulty, it often happens that they will continue to be rather distant to one another but a little need situation can often bring enemies together again so that they become friends, good friends. Even if they have never been friends before. Because it's also like this, more or less, that in such cases they'll be a little more open with one another. And more understanding. As we've already seen in the former stories, in a need situation, they are often friends. I always say, for example: we have, in Norwegian, the designation "De" and "du". We should always say "De" to strangers. Well, yes, that's all right as far as it goes, from the point of view of etiquette, that can be right enough. In Lappish we don't have this distinction. We are all "du's". But in Norwegian we're not "du's" except in the hour of need. Then we're "du's". Even if we've never seen one another before, we're "du's" then.

15. Gift to the king.

PH: A placard like that one there - it is of course, in its way, it's also for a humanitarian cause, that's true. But it's so peculiar and strange, all this, when kings, presidents, ministers, are mentioned then purely political evaluations will also come to the fore. And Norway has of course been a so-called monarchical country, ruled by a king, like England, for example, and Holland, and so on and many other countries. And King Haakon he has won a certain degree of popularity, not on account of, as they would say, direct active courage as a soldier, but on account of his

fortitude over against the enemy. That was that. You know, the first thought - not the first thought - but he will evaluate what we call the monarchy, that's obvious. And the peculiar and strange thing is that people today are no longer such fanatical royalists. For us who live up here in the cold north all the hero worship of the king, this princess and prince worship, seems extremely idiotic. All this that their every movement and all that, is, so to say, commented upon and written about all the time. But you know, those things really are mere trivialities. So I assume that he will also contribute his mite in such a case. He would certainly. Yes, he would.

MF: Why?

PH: He would perhaps also go as far as this in his thoughts: for if he has kept up with current events, the so-called seaman's mission in distant countries, then - But I don't think that, if he in that case gave his mite to King Haakon's church, no. He would simply be giving it as a national duty. It would be for that reason, I think it would be. I don't think he would have gone so deeply into the so-called evaluation. But as a national duty, yes. He will certainly do it for that reason.

MF: Does he think it was a good thing to build such a church?

PH: Ye-es - you know, all this, this purely monumental kind of thing, this actually never is so direct, so personal, it's not of direct, personal interest, is it? Everything that smells of monuments, that's never so tied to one's heart. It doesn't touch the

cords of your heart, as we would say. The moment it doesn't directly touch the roots of your heart, it becomes a duty. Then it's no longer a matter of the heart. But I think he will contribute his mite merely as a duty, not from a sense of pure humanitarianism.

MF: And the others in the village? Will they do the same as he?

PH: Ye-es - the others and the others. There are so many others in the village. And there are so many different capacities for evaluating, aren't there? But I think, always, where such things as that placard are concerned - remembering that it was very beautifully set up and all that - but it never calls forth the same response as for example the refugee help, and a need situation, for example, in India and in many other countries. In this case your human feelings tell you immediately that this matter is a serious one. But a monument, to build a church as a monumental symbol, that, in reality, is and remains a dead thing, even if its effect isn't a dead thing.

MF: If there were some one who said: "The king does not need, he has enough money. He has not done anything specially for Finnmark, either." Would Per agree?

PH: Ye-es he would, no doubt, as we mentioned - they call that a gift to the King, the King's gift. Actually, it's really rather ludicrous, that. It is and remains a national gift. But of course with the formal acceptance on the part of the King. That's so. But it will not get the same response from the people, no. It's a monument,

even if its effect isn't that of a monument. Of course, it does have to do with religious - but a church in the right sense of the word is and remains a monument. Like a statue of Henrik Wergeland.

16. War damage

PH: Yes.

MF: Will he go along?

PH: Yes.

MF: For what reason? (This is an example of my misunderstanding of PH's initial "Yes". But he was not put off by it!)

PH: Yes. Now you shall hear. Personally, I think this: that Per will immediately think like this: of course, it's good, and beautiful that we should clear up our village, and all that rubbish, and the stuff the Germans left behind. But I think that Per will have gone still more deeply in his thoughts. Now the MPs are coming up, now we're supposed to clear up, just now that they're coming. Previously there'd been no talk about clearing away. But now that the MPs are coming up, now it's to be cleared. Why not let it lie there? Just let them see it! Let them see how it was. And let them at the same time see whether the State has really done its best to reconstruct the village. I don't think personally that Per will actually volunteer to do that for nothing. No, I don't believe that. I don't believe that for a moment. For there's a limit to what's called both good-naturedness and - yes, let's just say good-naturedness. There are limits to everything. For it is

not a private individual's duty. And a private individual cannot, when it comes to the point, clear up after a war. That is and must remain the duty of the State. It's their business. I think he'll simply say: "No, not one day, no!"

MF: And if it had not been the pastor who asked, but the mayor or some one else?

PH: Makes no difference at all. Even if the Prime Minister himself asked whether you'd clear up. They'd simply answer: "Yes, we'll do it all right, but we must be paid for our work. Here the purely financial side of the matter will come into consideration. Immediately.

MF: So he'd think it was not the business of the private individual?

PH: No, it's not a private individual's job. He alone - it was not he who started the war, that's certain. And the strange reaction would come here: that just now when the MPs are coming up!

MF: If the MPs had not been coming and it was suggested to clear up would he have done it?

PH: I don't think so. When all's said and done I think that when it's a matter of clearing up after a war, he would restrict himself entirely to his own property.

MF: And the others would think the same?

PH: Absolutely the same, all of them. I think that in 99 cases they would think like that. For I've seen an example of that here in K .. , not only in K .. , but throughout all Finnmark - K .. is not the worst place in this connection - but over the whole of Finnmark. There we

had the same sort of thing, that all that goes by the name of clearing up after the war was not a voluntary business. It had to be paid for.

18. Loading timber

PH: Yes. It's obvious that in that case he would go there, for when it concerns - he should, you say, have loaded timber on to a truck? It's obvious that if Per really has time to spare he'll do it, because first of all, that other fellow, he won't ask him to do the job for nothing, to do heavy work, to get to work and start loading timber. But if it's not such a terribly big load, he might well help him to get the few logs he's got lying there loaded, without thinking of the purely economic gain there. It depends on the size of the load. But if he really has to be detained there for hours, then it's questionable whether he will not expect ordinary time payment.

MF: Have you lost your matches?

PH: No, I've got them. That's obvious. And a man working with timber would also assume that it was not necessary to ask any questions about payment. He'd get that in any case.

MF: Yes, he gets it. But what does Per think about Ole's not employing a man - he should have employed a man to help him and he didn't do so. What does he think about that?

PH: Yes, he could perhaps have thought that he had reckoned with the pieces of timber being so small that he would manage by himself.

Yes. He would quite probably think that. Yes, it depends. The fellow who's to have help, perhaps he's financially not so well off, since he didn't want to do that, just to save, and Per is well enough informed of his financial position, so I think that if the work doesn't take too long, then I think that he might also help him without counting on harvesting any sort of financial gain from it.

MF: And if he had refused for one reason or another, what would Ole do?

PH: Yes. If he had refused for one reason or another? Obviously, he would in that case try to find some one else.

MF: He's not angry with Per?

PH: No, he couldn't possibly be, because Per - he must be able to realise that he, Per there, he was completely unaware that he might be dragged out on a job, that's obvious. Perhaps he was busy with his own work, too. And was very busily engaged on it and hadn't reckoned with - . Perhaps he could find fault with him, Ole there, for this: "Yes, but why in all the world shouldn't you? You must know very well that timber work isn't such light work that one can do it by oneself, alone. So you should have fixed up with a man already before. And you understand, I've also got my - as you see - I'm struggling and toiling away to get finished today" - some work or other, whatever it may be. But if it doesn't take - perhaps he will look at the clock and say: "Yes, if it doesn't take more than say half-an-hour, we'll toss them up in half-an-hour, well, so I'll come". In such a case, it might be like this.

19. Money for the cinema

MF: Will he do it?

PH: Didn't he say that he, Per, was not interested?

MF: Yes. He doesn't like the cinema and never goes.

PH: Never goes.

MF: And the question is whether he will offer money to his friend who likes going.

PH: I don't think so.

MF: No?

PH: I don't think so.

MF: Why not?

PH: Yes, because - let's say, he could possibly be so narrow-minded that the things that were of no interest to him were really not - well, this is the first evaluation: he gets neither gain nor use out of his cinema-going. That's the first thought now. Because he himself doesn't like it. So we have to reckon with the fact that in 90 cases out of 100 they'll answer no. For it's curious: the first point from which you start is the ego. The "I". If he doesn't understand how to evaluate things from the point of view of the other party, that is. One person can be terribly fond of books - like reading very much. Another again can't understand why he is constantly sitting down with a book, has his nose in books. And at last he will simply almost look down on him: "He's not half a queer customer!" I'm almost certain that he belongs to one of those 90 Pers.

MF: If the fellow asked him for it? If Aslak asked him for money, would he give?

PH: Yes. No. I think he would simply refuse. But let us say - it depends on what sort of, yes, who the person concerned was. Let's say that he was a young boy he often had use for - perhaps he'd been helpful and so on, he too. Perhaps he'd helped him on the farm with this and that, without - perhaps in many cases - without having got a penny for it. Then it's quite possible that the purely human part of him would also win there, that he would gladly do Per (PH means Aslak, not Per) the favour and stand him a ticket to the pictures!

B. THE RECEIVING SERIES

1. Bereavement

Silence

PH: She'll do that. It's very likely -- if she's just at this moment in such a critical situation that she has nothing else in sight, and she doesn't want to be a burden to her closest neighbours, either.

MF: Doesn't she? She wouldn't rather ask them than the District Council?

PH: She would rather ask the Council in such a case. I don't think that she would complain about her needs in such a manner that she would thereby be in a way bound -- yes, we can say bound by her neighbours. It's so strange and peculiar with this. Let's admit that there is a certain amount of repugnance in applying for public assistance also. That's a fact that. But I rather think she would choose that first. In so far as she has no other possibilities.

MF: Will she tell her friends that she's been down and got assistance from the mayor?

PH: Yes, that's quite possible -- that she would tell, at all events, those she was on intimate terms with. She would possibly tell them.

MF: If the people in the village got to hear of it, what would they think? Do they think it's reasonable of her?

PH: Yes. I don't think that any one would have reacted to that, specially. In such a critical case, when she has no other financial resources in any way. She was left with small children and so on, perhaps.

MF: Would she perhaps apply to Finnemisjonen?

PH: Tja - that I really do not know. That I really do not know. But - as we can also safely assume - here we've got a case of need. Exactly the same as in the previous stories. I also think this, that human feeling will automatically also be aroused in the village people. They will also keep in touch and be more or less informed about her position, how she's managing and so on. That's clear. And in this way they can start some kind of assistance scheme or other so that she gets financial support.

MF: And she'll accept that, of course. And the mayor, she's not afraid that he will refuse her if she goes down to him?

PH. She'll hardly fear that. She'll hardly do that. She won't be afraid of the mayor. For in such a critical position, things just are like that. But a sensible woman, she would decidedly discuss the matter with a person who she knew was by nature a very helpful and trustworthy chap. She would absolutely, certainly do that. She would ask his advice. And perhaps she would rather, instead of appearing herself directly, she would submit such an application via other channels.

MF: The District Nurse herself, perhaps?

PH: Perhaps the District Nurse. Perhaps, let's say, one or other

of the Council members, or some one like that. Perhaps the police sergeant, or whomever she had a certain confidence in.

MF: If she for one reason or other did not get as much as she needed, how would she feel? If she didn't get as much as she needed from the Council, for example?

PH: Yes. No, I don't think that she would have started grouching and complaining in that case. I don't think so, for the facts of the case would in themselves give a clear picture just the same, whether she had got sufficient help for her actual needs. That's how she'd judge the matter, too. But she would certainly also do her best so she could earn herself. Lend a hand with this or that. And we've had examples of that also in the village here. It's happened that - there is actually only one person who I know really is being kept by the Council here in K . . . The wife of that fellow there at the hospital, that queer chap. But that's another story.

2. Burnt house

PH: I think, in spite of everything that he would investigate all the channels where one can get the necessary grants and state assistance and so on. We had, for example ... (lists all the grants they got after the war, war reparations etc.) We had national assistance and so on, and so on. He would no doubt first of all get these together. War damages we all had. So he'd get that. So he'll also with his own assurance plus 50%, plus the grant (I could not follow here), so he'll decidedly not go to any private institu-

tion. If there's a possibility to get a state contribution, he'll self-evidently do that. And if he happens to be a builder himself, then he'll self-evidently also do his bit.

MF: If he should receive help from other people, would they perhaps wish to stipulate how the house was to be built? How does he feel about that?

PH: Yes, you know it's so peculiar and strange with a person - we all have our own ideas, that's clear. Let's say that, as has been customary here, that they are supposed to build according to a certain standard plan - it isn't at all certain - you know, two men will probably not like the same style of architecture, won't like the same division of rooms, and so on. Just as if - you know, it would be a vexing business if all men liked one and the same kind of woman!

MF: Yes, terrible! Does it make any difference to him who decides, when he's considering the possibility of getting a grant somewhere?

PH: Actually that won't make a great deal of difference, but he'll no doubt also try to wield his influence so that he can perhaps arrange a few alterations.

MF: To suit himself?

PH: To suit himself and his occupation and so on. We've had so many examples of this here in K . . . Frightfully. There's hardly a single house that, for example, that the architect had designed - nearly every single house has been corrected. For this, you understand, this here standardisation of houses, that's a terrible thing.

And so in a way it's a healthy thing to introduce a little of what we call private initiative, private variation. So that it gets a certain amount of personality.

3. Money from brother when ill

PH: It depends on what the circumstances are. It's clear he will accept it. I think - you know, we people are not all the same. If it (i.e. the gift) smells of what is called charity - and if the man has a proud nature, then he will never, never accept such a gift. But if it's - let's say, it can be a bequest, it can be an uncle of his, a distant relative, or some one, who has sent him the money. It could also be that. One can reckon with this, too, that he would hardly get 1,000 crowns direct from home all in one go. What, in fact, would a convalescent do with so much money all at once. It might possibly be some one or other he's got the money from.

MF: If it were an elder brother, would he accept?

PH: Yes, he would, certainly.

MF: A younger?

PH: Yes, even if it were a younger brother.

MF: And if it were some one who had previously not been particularly nice to him?

PH: Yes, yes, I think so. For it is so peculiar and strange this - there are certain things in life that can't be explained. There're the so-called waves, aren't there? See how strangely a person can react towards a person he has never known. So one can, without

wanting to, have a certain antipathy to a certain person without knowing what occasions it. But if the person is kindly disposed - even if the relationship between the two persons has not been good before, and that person comes along with really - quite genuinely - to sort of make up to his opponent, then the invisible waves will already have told that person everything: "Here there is something good on the way."

MF: But would there be some one he'd never accept from?

PH: Would there?

MF: Yes, would there be some one he'd never accept something from?

PH: Tja! One could possibly think of some situation or other where he would refuse to accept money. There's no unlikelihood of that. I could for instance well imagine that he might accept money from his comrades and friends - suppose they had taken up a little collection for him. He'd accept that. He'd accept with warm thanks. But in such a case, as I said - as I mentioned just before - if the gift were given in the form of charity, a man with a bit of honour and pride would not acknowledge, would not accept it. For it is so peculiar and strange, a gift of charity, that is a gift of duty, there's none of that we call "heart-disposition" - there's nothing connected with that, nothing but the cold: "He needs". No more than that. He is a poor blighter, therefore. He or she is a poor blighter. He needs it - or she needs it. And with such a gift - such a gift, I don't think he would accept. No, with such a gift he would feel a certain barrenness and coldness.

A certain icy coldness.

MF: Does he feel under any sort of obligation if he accepts?

PH: No, as I said before, apart from a gift of charity. Or to a gift of charity he'd simply say no, even if it were 1,000 crowns - or 10,000! But let's say he accepted from a friend or brother, a sister, even if they were ever so well off financially, so he knew that they could afford it, that they would well afford it, they wouldn't be going without anything themselves through having given to him, yet a man with his full feelings of honour intact would always feel a certain debt to those others.

MF: Would he have preferred gifts instead of money?

PH: Yes, that's the question. You know that will always be an individual question that. Even if he is a convalescent, and one would think that he would in fact hardly have any great need for money. For he has food, he possibly also has clothes. But it is so peculiar and strange with money, that here you can yourself determine what you'll use it for. Whereas on the other hand, a gift is and remains a gift. Whether it's useful or not. Considering this, therefore, I think that he'd be absolutely much more delighted if he got the gift in the form of money. At least a person in this sort of situation. But on the other hand, a person who is well, and with his full vitality in order, he will absolutely, especially from his friends, good friends and acquaintances, decidedly, for all the world value a gift much, much more than, for instance, money.

MF: If the brother did not send it personally, but through the post, would that make a difference?

PH: No, I don't think that that would make a difference. You know, it could always be that the brother was living a long way off and so on. But no doubt he'd think it peculiar and strange that his brother sent it by post or via some one else, if he himself were in the vicinity.

MF: Does he, the one who is ill, think that others will get to know about his having received this money from his brother? Would it matter to him if they did, or not?

PH: Yes, I think so, no doubt. That's so peculiar and strange - if for no other reason, the demon of curiosity sits tight in every single body. He will undoubtedly decidedly do his best to find out and be informed where the gift came from. For here we're certainly up against this again - a person accepting a gift will always at least feel this duty: that he owes him, the donor, at least a thank you. And for that reason he would absolutely demand to know where he had got it from.

MF: Does he think that others will come to know that he's got a gift from his brother?

PH: I don't think that that would matter much to him - because others wouldn't get to know about it, unless the brother tells them, or he himself does. That is something between them.

4. Drowned horse

PH: I don't know, but at all events it's been a general custom here, especially here in K .. , that - there have been many who have lost their horse, just in the time that I've been here in K .. - many, many, many. That happens every year or two. And as a rule they go along to the police sergeant and apply for permission to take up a so-called general collection - from private individuals. That is, we can say, voluntary donors. So the sergeant sets down a fixed sum - let's say he's given permission to collect say 1,000 crowns. So he goes along and tries to collect it. But something - you know we people are, as I've said before, not all alike. Personally, I, I could never have gone round with a list like that. Never! And I'd never even have applied, either, never in my life! If I've lost my horse, all right, I've lost it. I would never apply for that.

MF: Why not?

PH: Yes - the reason for that ^{is} ~~is~~ this that, I believe, I know this almsgiving from my own experience also - this business of applying for permission - that's of course a routine matter - a straightforward matter - applying to be allowed to collect. But it's another matter to go round collecting from people. That is and remains a charity, a begging for alms. There's no denying it. And at the same time there's this: that when one goes along to friends and acquaintances and perhaps also to others in the village whom one in fact doesn't even know, just knows who they are, that's one and

the same thing as going round with a begging list. And it's even worse to go along to one's friends, good friends and acquaintances, because no matter how normal a person feels in himself, when I come along with a list, that means the same as that they shall give. That they are in duty bound to do so. So in a way I force them, simply, to give. Perhaps often, in many cases also, they are in fact not so well off - can't afford to give money away. But just the same, from a mere feeling of obligation they then give. So I would never go. Never! And if I got 10,000 crowns to go along with that list to collect 10,000 crowns, there is no question as to whether I should go. Never! I'd prefer to let it go.

MF: You'd not want to force others in this way?

PH: No.

MF: Would there also be some who perhaps did not give?

PH: Oh yes, there'd be those who didn't give, that's clear. For we've all of us, we all have our sympathisers and non-sympathisers. We've all of us got these. And it's certain - you know there are many kinds of person. But one might reckon that at all events in 90 cases they would give. Only 10% might possibly refuse.

MF: If he went around with a list like that and there was some one who didn't give, how would he feel about it?

PH: Yes, I've seen all kinds of reactions, personally. It's no more than two, three years ago that I saw a remarkable reaction. It doesn't matter, but it was a person from down here, just before

you get to the village, who was collecting for a horse. And so the person approached refused to give anything. For he said: "I know that you aren't so badly off financially that you could not manage to buy a horse without having to go around with a list like that". He said it straight out. And Lord God! How mad he got! He who was collecting. I was so surprised at his reaction. First of all, it must be very humiliating to go round with the list like that. And at the same time it seemed to me as if the fellow who was going round with it had no feelings. He, yes, it's I suppose - I suppose he probably wasn't cultured enough either to be able to judge, for that matter. At least that's the only excuse I can make for him.

5. Help with job when ill

PH: Yes. (Long silence) Yes. But that was rather strange. What should the reason be really, that it's so urgent to get that down - this evening?

MF: I don't know.

PH: One reason or another. But never mind. Let's assume there was a reason. Perhaps he'd made a contract that he was supposed to finish. It's clear that he'd in that case turn to his neighbour and ask him to do the remainder of the contract. That's obvious. At the same time when he later on was fixing up with the fellow who drove it down - you know that's a business matter. A straightforward matter - in such a case.

MF: Is there any one whom he'd ask than his neighbour?

PH: Tja. That depends. But he might well have a workmate who was living further away than his neighbour, whom he could more easily - a good friend, or workmate.

MF: Will he pay him for it?

PH: Of course he'll pay him. That's obvious. For it's not a matter of direct help. It's a business matter, this.

MF: If the neighbour had not been particularly nice to him, would he ask him?

PH: Yes -- you know in an urgent job like this, all that sort of thing doesn't matter. If it's urgent. He takes the first, the nearest help he can find.

MF: If the neighbour refused?

PH: Yes. There's nothing to be done about that.

MF: Will he tell others that his neighbour refused?

PH: Whether he'd tell? And then he went and asked another person who did really agree to do the job, then he'd certainly relate the incident with the underlying idea: I have at least offered work to my neighbour, but he didn't want to undertake it. So that he couldn't perhaps come along with this, for instance: Yes, why didn't he offer me that work, who lives close to him. You know, we call this an ordinary - to justify himself.

MF: If he was not ill, but was busy, would he ask?

PH: Yes, obviously he'd ask, you can be sure he'd ask.

6. Heavy sack

PH: It's human nature now, that we'd rather lay the burden on another and get off lightest ourselves. Isn't it? So why not toss the bag on to the back of the other fellow! Yes, indeed.

MF: And let him carry it?

PH: Yes, indeed. Let him carry it. It's so peculiar and strange this. Now you listen here. There are only two reasons why the fellow in question offered to carry it. Perhaps he knows that his friend is weak physically, so that he wants to help him purely out of human kindness. And then there's another thing: or he has such a great liking for him - perhaps this fellow here has been very helpful in many other ways and so on. And so he says: Now I'm a big, strong fellow, I can manage that. I can carry that for you. That's a sign that he has a certain liking for him and wants to help him in that way.

MF: If he were a smaller man, would he let him help?

PH: Ye - es. You know, but listen here now. From another point of view again - let's say the one with the bag on his back - even if he knows that the other fellow has a certain liking for him, or says to him "I will take the bag", and knows that the other fellow looks up to him, still I don't think he'll surrender the bag. For that's one of the things we call life's merry bagatelles, life's merry trifles. That's one of those small things we constantly come up against in life: this business of bothering our fellowmen with such bagatelles. An ordinary, normally intelligent person won't

stand for that. He'll do the job himself. Even if he lost his visiting card in his pants over it!

MF: If there had been others standing by, would he have done the same?

PH: Sure, that's clear. Would make no difference if there were a whole 17th May procession standing by watching them!

MF: Does the way in which the man offers to help make any difference?

PH: No, I don't think so. No real difference. For it is the "music" in the question that's decisive. The music. If there's a certain irony or malice in it - But just the same - if you are on intimate terms with some one you can allow yourself - now how shall I put it, inconsiderate expressions which one would not use with other people.

MF: Would he let a woman carry the sack?

PH: No. At all events not a sack! (Puns on the verb "bæ re", to carry). Well, now, at all events not a sack! You know, that would be a different matter. Many a thing would come into consideration: gallantry, for instance. And another thing again: it is and remains one of life's firm rules: it is and remains a certain, uncongenial sight if a man stands and watches a woman carrying something heavy.

MF: Would he let a child help him?

PH: Help? No! But Africans and people like this, for them it is a natural thing for a woman to be a sort of horse. And they themselves walk along behind, empty-handed. But that's inherited down

through thousands of generations. It's so implanted this here, that it seems almost a pity for a man to be seen walking along carrying something. It's the woman who's to be used as a pack animal.

MF: But here it's different?

PH: Here it's different. Yes, here it's different. Here we have the opposite.

7. Aged father

PH: Yes. I am almost certain, in a case like this, the old man will decidedly, as long as it is a daughter, it is a child he had an ordinary liking for - and even, even if that wasn't so frightfully strong - he'd join her. For it is common, it's very common among old people, I will not say all, there are exceptions - but let's say the majority - they've lost a good deal of what we should call a healthy power of discrimination. You know, there's a so-called rheumatic and arterial calcification that occupies them so much. And he would join her. I don't think he'd reflect greatly on the consequences, what consequences it may have for his daughter. I think he wouldn't even ask: "What does your husband say to this?". But if he's a bright fellow, a man with his full vitality, physical powers, that would be the first thing he would say. He would thank her for the offer. He'd also be so well-informed of her family circumstances and of the size of her family - possibly he'd also know his son-in-law - he might also know him as a likeable man.

But just the same I don't think that he would accept. At all events not with his full powers of discrimination.

MF: Would he prefer to go to an old folks home?

PH: He would prefer to sort of have his main base there. But he would perhaps say "In the summer I shall stay with you". You know, in the summer everything is ever so much easier, isn't it? "But in the winter I would prefer to be here in the old folks home, for you have children and so on - and you have a lot to bother about yourselves." But in the summer, I think, that he would amble along and stay with his daughter. It would be an ordinary, healthy, sensible oldman who would do this. But a thoughtless old fellow, he'd join her with pleasure - and sing by himself, he would!

(That is, he'd be happy - but he'd be the only one!)

8b. Unemployment

PH: Yes, it's so peculiar and strange in one's working life, where there are workmates who know one another intimately - it often happens that if they have a mutual liking for one another, then it often happens that the one may help the other. Let's say the one is unemployed and the other has work. Also in the same way, if one is in monetary difficulties he will not not ask for help when he needs it. He will straightway turn to his friend and ask. "Now I'm in a difficult situation. I'm wholly unemployed and am simply dry-cleaned of everything that is called 'Mammon'."

MF: Will he take the help as a gift?

PH: Not as a gift. No, he won't accept that. No. He will ask for a loan, that's clear. There's no question of that.

MF: Would he want to go to his family, or to a friend?

PH: He would prefer to go to a friend first. Decidedly. Before he'd go to one of his family.

MF: A relative?

PH: Yes, sure.

MF: An unknown person?

PH: No, not to an unknown person, but he would go to a friend, a good friend. For it's so peculiar and strange, this. It's just your nearest and dearest you try to hide your difficulties from the longest.

MF: Why?

PH: That's really not so strange. You know, no one wants to be the black sheep in the family. Even if he is ever so black. He doesn't want to reveal to his relatives, does not want to admit to them his real need. He will in other words try to hide that as long as he can and lead them round the mulberry bush where that's concerned.

9. Education

PH: That's clear, that he will accept his father's offer. A young boy of 18. It's clear that he will - for we must remember that young people of that age are more or less dependent upon their parents. And especially when it is a matter of trying to widen their

horizon. Who is the nearest person a son can turn to than just to his father? That's clear.

MF: Are there other sources that he could perhaps try?

PH: No, he would of course - now it's like this with young people that they will at all events mention what they want, both to their father and their mother. That's clear. And it's perfectly natural. If he's grown up in a home he'll continue to be a child there no matter how grown-up he's considered to be outside the home. He'll always be a child in the home.

MF: He would not rather ask his relatives?

PH: No. That's clear.

MF: Or apply to the Council or to the State?

PH: No. Yes! That's another matter, for this business of applying for grants. That is namely a duty. Everybody is entitled to get grants. That's not considered a charity. And in reality it's not a charity, that. For it is a national obligation, it is the duty of the state to give its youth the financial support they need to be able to equip themselves for the fight for their daily bread, for the struggle for existence.

MF: He won't give up the idea of going to school if he knows his father can manage only with great difficulty?

PH: He will decidedly not give up the idea of going to school. That's clear.

MF: And if his father were rich? Would he apply to the State or to the Council for grants?

PH: Yes, at all events so long as he was a minor. But as soon as he'd reached his majority, so that he could decide for himself what he would do (was responsible for himself) he'd apply for grants. Even if his father were rich. For the state is under the obligation also in that case to give grants, because he wants to stand on his own feet. No matter how rich his father is, they're obliged to give grants. And the boy, he may also decline his father's help if he wants for instance to go to a teachers' school. That takes two, two to three years. So he needs, in order to manage, he needs perhaps, let's say, a little over 15,000 crowns. And the state is obliged to give him that. That's clear.

10. Danger

PH: That's clear.

MF: He does that?

PH: Yes, certainly.

MF: Do his mates think it is sensible of him to call?

PH: It's clear that he will call for help.

MF: Would he have called if there had been others in the vicinity standing watching?

PH: Yes. Let's say - well, the assumption is that he is out on the vidde. That's the assumption. He won't call for help. Not directly for help. He'll simply call that he has lost his draught deer. "Try to catch it!" He won't call for help. For the business of help, that's not so important. He's lost his draught deer. That's the thing, and he'll try to get it back again.

11. Amusement

PH: What will he buy with his savings?

MF: Yes, will he go down with his uncle and let him buy skis for him?

PH: Yes, he'll certainly do so.

MF: Yes. What will he do with his savings?

PH: He'll go on saving them; he will.

MF: What sort of man is his uncle? Is he nice?

PH: Yes, that one can safely assume, that he has a soft spot for the lad. If he asks about something like that. And directly asks the boy to go and take. You know, when a relationship is so intimate that he directly offers to buy skis for him, then you can safely assume that the whole family relationship is very intimate. If even the uncle shows a certain amount of concern for his nephews and so on, don't you think?

MF: Yes.

PH: Wherever we come across affection in life, it costs us nothing to repay that affection.

MF: Yes, that's true. That's a fine picture of Per, isn't it?

PH: Yes, quite good.

12. Useless help

PH: Yes, here he'll certainly say - one must assume it's an acquaintance of his. He'll absolutely say: "Honestly, Hans old boy, this is a job you can very easily spoil. I think it's much better that I do the job myself."

MF: If he were a skilled painter, would he let him help in that case?

PH: Yes, sure, that's quite different, quite a different matter. That's clear. You can be sure of that. Acquaintances among themselves - it often happens that they let one another know in what directions their talents lie, and in which not!

End of the PH interview.

END OF THE THESIS

CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS

Abbreviations: l. = line; b = from the bottom of the page;
 t = from the top of the page; subs. = substitute.

- p. 5, l. 6 t: after "correlation" delete "of", subs. "between".
- p. 6, between l. 6 and l. 7 b: insert "help in these kinds of need situations does not imply that non-material".
- p. 42, l. 6 b: delete comma after "speaking".
- p. 47, l. 6 b: delete "par. 7", subs. "section 4".
- p. 56, l. 6 b: after "B.2. p." insert "46".
- p. 61, l. 11 b: after "(PH)." insert " Cf. p. C 86."
- p. 87, l. 5 b: after "one" add "of which".
- p. 90, l. 10 t: after "presented" insert "(See pp A1 & A2, App. A)" and
l. 11 t: after "series" add "(See pp A3 - A8, App. A)"
- p. 91, l. 1 b: after "series" add " (See pp A8 - A15, App. A)"
- p. 100, l. 8 t: after "and" insert "an".
- p. 132, l. 1 b: after "Chapter" add " IX, p. 259."
- p. 144, where omissions occur in the Key, insert
- | | | |
|-------|-------|----------------------------|
| " 3/4 | _____ | accepted with reservations |
| 1/4 | _____ | refused with reservations |
| 0 | _____ | wrong, unclear answer " |
- p. 152, l. 2 b: last column, delete "164", subs. "138".
- p. 153, l. 5 b: last column, delete "232", subs. "219".
- p. 153, l. 13 t: delete asterisks after "A", "O", and "Oe".
- p. 156, l. 14 t: after "Unqualified" add "and".
- p. 180, l. 7 t: after "is" insert "in".
- l. 10 t: after "page" delete "50", subs. "57".
- p. 187, l. 7 t: after "for" delete "30.7%", subs. "26.0%".
- p. 189, l. 5 b: after "a." insert "p. 185".
- p. 205, l. 6 b: after "people" add a dash.
- l. 5 b: before "that's" delete the dash.
- p. 212, l. 2 b: after "be" insert "one".
- p. 231, l. 10 t: after "required" delete colon; after "donor" add colon.
- p. 242, l. 1 b: after "clear." add "(See p. C52)."
- p. 255, l. 7 t: after "p. 54" insert "and p. 205, par. e. i."

- p. 257, l. 1 b: after "Australian" delete "aboriginees", subs. "aborigines".
- p. 258, l. 8 t: to "result" add "s".
- p. 260, l. 2 t: for "wreck" subs. "cause".
- p. 261, l.12 t: after "cf." subs. "VIII" for "III".
- p. 261, l.14 t: for "Tables 22 & 23" subs. "Table 22".
- p. 264, l. 4 t: after "solidarity and" insert "lack".
- p. 267, l.10 b: after "PH" subs. "p. C 100" for "p. 100".
after "par." delete "2", subs. "e".
- p. 272, l. 2 b: after "Harding, D. W.," delete "Psychology", subs. "Social psychology".
- p. 276, l. 6 b: after "1950" add "Also, New York: National Association of Social Workers, 1957 (Revised edition)."
- p. A16, Table 1a: the columns headed "No evidence" and "Need seen" should be ruled off separate from the rest.
- p. A17, Table 1c: the columns headed "No evidence" and "Need seen" should be ruled off separate from the rest.
- p. A32, Table 11a: ranks numbered "2" and "4" should be "2.5" and "4.5".
- p. A36, Table 15a: rankings after 2 require adjustment.
- p. A52, before column 1, insert "Reasons for giving" and "Reasons for refusing to give".
- p. A53, before column 1, insert "Reasons for accepting" and "Reasons for refusing to accept".
- p. B 1, Heading required under " -B- ": "The Reasons Supplied by the Students".
- p. B18, l.12 t: after "accepts" insert comma.
- p. B36, l. 2 t: after "MB" delete dash.
-
- p. C3, l.10 b: after "declined" add "in".
- p. C26, l. 7 b: after "intelligence" insert comma.
- p. C37, l. 3 t: after "old" insert comma.
- p. C54, l. 8 t: after "ask" insert "for".
- p. C103, l. 9 b: delete "in", subs. "is".