

# Considerate Exchange

## Exploring Social Exchange on Family Farms

Stig S. Gezelius

Department of business, history, and social sciences

University of South-Eastern Norway

stig.gezelius@usn.no

This is a post-peer-review, pre-copyedit version of an article published in *Journal of Family and Economic Issues*. The final authenticated version is available online at: <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10834-016-9496-1>

Full citation of article: Stig S. Gezelius (2017) Considerate exchange: Exploring social exchange on family farms. *Journal of Family and Economic Issues* 38(1): 18–32.

### Abstract

Much theory about economic action has emphasized tensions between exchange and care for others. Based on a mixed methods study of family farms, this article shows how considerateness may be conceptualized in social exchange theory and how such conceptualization facilitates research on interaction among close relations. The article shows how scholars may combine an exchange purpose typology with existent concepts of social exchange to analyze multiple dimensions of exchange. Data from family farms illustrate how various forms of exchange unfold among close relations. The article sheds light on actors' management of emotional and moral ties in economic matters. It argues that social exchange theory has an unfulfilled potential in research on economic interaction among close relations.

Key words: care, family, business, social exchange, considerate exchange

## Where Business is Personal: The Case of the Family Farm

Hart (2005, p. 3–4) observed that business in modern societies is often depicted as impersonal despite having personal consequences; consequences to others are often seen as irrelevant to economic choice. This perception has some parallels in academia: Much economic theory and some sociological theory have described tensions between business and care for others (Clark et al. 1986; Gouldner 1973; Sen 1973). Studies of family firms have challenged some of these conventional views by highlighting altruistic motivations and practices in business (Breton-Miller and Miller 2009; Chang 2010; Eddleston and Kellermanns 2007). There is a significant literature on altruism's potential effects on firm governance and efficiency (e.g., Karra et al. 2006; Lubatkin et al. 2005; Schulze et al. 2003).

Despite interest in the effects of altruism, the question of how considerateness unfolds in micro-interaction has received little attention both in the business literature and in the exchange literature. This article addresses this question by conceptualizing considerateness in social exchange theory, and by showing how such conceptualization facilitates research on interaction among close relations. It thus illuminates the question of *what motivates social exchange in close relationships*. The article presents a mixed methods study of Norwegian family farms to illustrate how actors maintain their personal bonds through exchange practices.

In this article, family farms are cases of social relationships that are characterized by strong economic and emotional interdependence. In these cases, actors need to handle economic issues in such a way that emotional ties remain intact.

Most Norwegian farms remain within the same families for generations. A farmer's relatives have a legally protected right – ranked according to their kinship and age – to take over the farm when the farmer retires or dies, and regulated farm prices aim to ease kin-based take-over. When Norwegian farmers retire, they typically pass their farms on to one of their children, often their oldest son. Taking over a farm entails a legal obligation to live on the farm and to run it for several years (NILF 2011). Consequently, when farmers retire or die, the farm itself usually remains intact. These legal structures – supported by a strong kin-oriented culture among farmers – have promoted practices wherein farms are owned, managed, and operated as multi-generation family businesses (e.g., Bjørkhaug and Blekesaune 2008; Calus and Huylenbroeck 2010; Djurfeldt and Waldenström 1996). As this study confirmed, typical

farmers begin their careers as farmhands for their fathers and finish their careers as farmhands for their sons: Farmers are socialized into their profession from childhood and often remain in it long after formally retiring (see also Hutson 1987). Retired fathers' – and in some cases mothers' – intimate knowledge of the farm often makes them a valuable labor force for their children.

On family farms, people need to combine business with efforts to maintain and to strengthen their personal bonds: They need to avoid the potentially disintegrative consequences of pursuing personal economic interests. Business practices on such farms thus suggest extensions to the conceptual framework of social exchange theory.

## **What Motivates Social Exchange?**

*Exchange* is defined as the transfer of benefits to others for benefits in return; exchange is thus giving contingent on receiving (Emerson 1981). Social exchange theory – unlike economic exchange theory – has acknowledged that exchange often unfolds in lasting social relationships (Emerson 1981). Still, students of social exchange have grappled with the question, most famously formulated by Parsons (1937/1968), concerning the extent to which acts should be understood as selfish, instrumental, and utility-seeking, or as governed by collective norms, symbols, and identities.

Ekeh (1974) has pointed out that the two traditions Parsons identified – the individualist and the collectivist – have pervaded academic discourse on social exchange. Above all, these traditions have presented different answers to the question of what motivates social exchange. Early contributions to social exchange theory were inspired by ethnography and, as Collins (1994, p. 224–232) have pointed out, Durkheim's sociology. These contributions emphasized the moral and symbolic aspects of exchange (Levi-Strauss 1949/1970; Malinowski 1922/1932; Mauss 1950/2000). Later contributions to social exchange theory have had very different tenets, namely utilitarian theories that strongly emphasize the utility-seeking, selfish, and instrumental aspects of exchange. Unlike the early studies that emphasized norms and symbols, these later studies have emphasized costs and rewards (Blau 1964/1998; Coleman 1990; Cook et al. 1983; Homans 1961/1974; Meeker 1971; Thomas and Worrall 2002). In recent years, social exchange theorists have increasingly reintroduced sensitiveness to the symbolic, normative, and emotional aspects of exchange (Herrmann 1997; Komter and Schans 2008; Lawler 2001; Lawler et al. 2000, 2008; Molm et al. 2007; Molm et al. 2012; Uehara 1990; Willer et al. 2012). Especially, several recent studies have

addressed outcomes of different forms of exchange (Kuwabara 2011; Lawler et al. 2008; Molm et al. 2003; Molm et al. 2012).

Despite these recent developments, social exchange theory still lacks concepts suited to studying actors' purposes of exchange. This lack is arguably most conspicuous in cases where actors' purposes deviate from the rational self-interest often assumed in the individualistic tradition.

This article thus focuses on purposes of exchange, especially the purpose of caretaking. Thereby, it extends in the collectivist direction the conceptual framework for understanding exchange motivations. The article presents a typology of exchange purposes and shows how this typology supplements existent typologies of social exchange. Especially important among these exchange purposes is "considerate exchange" – exchange for the purpose of securing not only one's personal welfare but also the welfare of one's exchange partner(s). Considerate exchange emerges as caretaking contingent on mutuality. It is argued in this article that considerate exchange is important to the viability of social relations that are characterized by simultaneous economic and emotional interdependence.

The concept of considerate exchange conflicts with the purely instrumental notions of exchange that rational-choice theory applies. This article thus questions the frequent emphasis on self-interest as the driver of exchange.

Considerate exchange may take several different forms. In three steps, this article shows how scholars can study various forms of considerate exchange: In step one, existent exchange concepts are reorganized to allow for more precise classification of exchange types. In step two, a new typology of exchange motivations is included in this reorganized framework. In step three, this integrated conceptual framework is used to describe various forms of considerate exchange on family farms.

## **Step One: Reorganizing Existent Types of Social Exchange**

This first step of the analysis shows how existent concepts of social exchange can be reorganized to allow for more precise classification of exchange forms. Thereby, it generates a conceptual framework that scholars can use to reveal different forms of considerate exchange.

Inspired by theoretical and empirical studies, social exchange theory over the years has developed several concepts to describe types of exchange. Five types of social exchange have been prominent in the literature (e.g., Buchan et al. 2002; Corcoran

2013; Coulson et al. 2014; Emerson 1981, p. 33–34; Ekeh 1974; Komter and Schans 2008; Lawler 2001; Lawler et al. 2008; Lévi-Strauss 1949/1970; Molm 2003; Molm et al. 2012; Uehara 1995):

1. Negotiated exchange: exchange based on the actors' explicit agreement regarding what is to be exchanged. Negotiated exchange occurs, for example, if farmer A and farmer B explicitly agree that farmer A borrows farmer B's tractor and that farmer B borrows farmer A's chainsaw in return.
2. Reciprocal exchange: exchange where "actors' contributions are separately performed and nonnegotiated" (Molm et al. 2003, p. 130). In contrast to negotiated exchange, reciprocal exchange is characterized by the absence of explicit agreements about reciprocation. Reciprocal exchange occurs, for example, if farmer A borrows farmer B's tractor and, as a *tacit* result, farmer B is allowed to borrow farmer A's chainsaw later on.
3. Generalized exchange: exchange involving more than two actors and where the recipient reciprocates to someone other than his/her benefactor (Lévi-Strauss 1949/1970). Generalized exchange occurs, for example, if farmer A borrows farmer B's tractor and, as a result, farmer B's son is allowed to borrow farmer A's chainsaw later on.
4. Direct exchange: exchange where the recipient reciprocates directly to the giver (Gouldner 1960; Homans 1961/1974). Direct exchange occurs, for example, if farmer A, unlike in the example of generalized exchange, reciprocates directly to farmer B.
5. Productive exchange: several actors contribute to the production of a common good (Emerson 1972, 1981).<sup>1</sup> Productive exchange occurs, for example, if farmer A, B and C invest in a well that all of them can use.

As Emerson (1981) has pointed out, these types of social exchange do not constitute a logically organized typology or a complete list. The social exchange literature has not discussed systematically the logical relations between these types; most literature has relied on a list of commonly accepted definitions. Consequently,

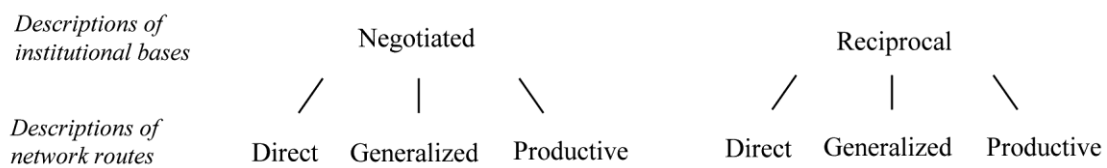
---

<sup>1</sup> Yamagishi and Cook (1993) call such exchange "group-generalized exchange", thereby regarding "productive exchange" as a sub-type of generalized exchange. In this article, I keep to the term "productive exchange" for the purpose of terminological simplicity.

there is an unfulfilled potential for conceptual clarification and development in social exchange theory. In what follows, I try to clarify these five types and to combine them into more finely graded types of exchange. Thereby, I prepare to develop a typology of exchange purposes that add further knowledge to these existent concepts. Scholars may thus develop their exchange theoretical toolbox by combining different typologies of exchange.

In the further analysis, we need to distinguish between the *institutional bases* of exchange and *the routes by which valuables travel among actors*. The distinction between negotiated and reciprocal exchange highlights institutional bases of exchange. *Negotiated exchange* is based on the institution of agreement: obligations created explicitly by ad hoc mutual consent. In contrast, *reciprocal exchange* is based on the institution of reciprocity: obligations created tacitly by a general obligation to someday repay one's benefactors (see Gouldner 1960; Malinowski 1926/2002).

Other exchange concepts describe routes by which valuables travel among actors. The concept of *direct exchange* describes value flow in two-party exchange networks. The concept of *generalized exchange* describes exchange networks involving at least three actors wherein the recipient reciprocates to someone other than his/her benefactor. The concept of *productive exchange* describes a group of actors wherein each actor contributes to producing a collective good from which all actors benefit.



**Fig. 1** Types of exchange: combinations of institutional bases and network routes

Arguably, a lack of typological clarity stems from the tendency to mix two logically unconnected dimensions: the institutional bases of exchange and the routes by which valuables travel in networks. For example, scholars have tended to regard negotiated exchange as a form of direct exchange, although the institution of agreement may equally apply to generalized or to productive exchange: Negotiated generalized exchange unfolds when a group of actors explicitly agree that A helps B, B helps C, and

C helps A; negotiated productive exchange unfolds when a group of actors explicitly agree to produce a common good (e.g., Ostrom 1990). Likewise, reciprocal exchange may be direct as well as generalized (see Ekeh 1974; Uehara 1995), and studies have shown that reciprocal obligations may drive productive exchange in natural resource conservation, for example (Gezelius 2003). Figure 1 thus illustrates that any incident of social exchange may be classified along two dimensions: the institutional basis of exchange and the routes by which valuables travel in networks. The lines of Figure 1 illustrate that any concept describing institutional basis may combine with any concept describing the network route. For example, the combination to the far left constitutes “direct negotiated exchange”: a situation where the receiver reciprocates directly to the giver based on explicit agreement between the actors. The combinations in Figure 1 allow for more precise and finely graded classifications of exchanges than has been possible so far.

In step two of this analysis, we extend the conceptual framework with a typology of exchange purposes. We distinguish considerate exchange from other exchange purposes, and show how scholars can use the conceptual framework developed in step one to identify different types of considerate exchange.

## **Step Two: Extending the Conceptual Framework with a Typology of Exchange Purposes**

### **Purely Self-interested Exchange and Balance-oriented Exchange**

Although the dominant exchange typologies describe institutional bases and network routes, the literature has also been concerned with actors' subjectively perceived purposes of exchange. Despite their common concern with the willingness to give benefits for benefits received, social exchange theories have explained such willingness differently. The individualist tradition has emphasized that such willingness is motivated by the desire to receive and, thereby, that actors are indifferent to the welfare of others (Blau 1964/1998; Coleman 1990). We may thus speak of *purely self-interested exchange* when actors exchange for the purpose of maximizing only their personal welfare. For example, if farmer A asks farmer B if he may borrow farmer B's tractor, and farmer B maximizes farmer A's repayment, farmer B would perform purely self-interested exchange. Typical of such exchange is that farmer B's demands for payment increase as farmer A's need for his tractor becomes more urgent.

The collectivist tradition has emphasized that willingness to give may be motivated not only by a wish to receive, but also by moral norms (Ekeh 1974; Lawler et al. 2008). Studies of reciprocal exchange have shown that people often pursue fairness and, therefore, try to give at least as much as they receive (Gouldner 1960; Malinowski 1926/2002; Mauss 1925/2000; Uehara 1995). We may thus speak of *balance-oriented exchange* when exchange partners pursue not only their personal welfare but also an equal balance between their respective contributions. In balance-oriented exchange, actors do not seek to maximize personal welfare, but rather pursue personal welfare within moral restraints. In this case, farmer B would not take advantage of farmer A's strong need for his tractor, but rather try to get fair pay for the loan.

These two purposes of exchange are not logically tied to any particular route in the exchange network, but their relationship to the institutional bases of exchange is more complicated. Whereas reciprocal exchange may obviously be balance oriented, it gives less room for pure self-interest because reciprocal exchange typically requires moral commitment by at least some actors in the exchange network (see Elster 1989). Delving into much-debated questions regarding the co-existence of norms and pure self-interest exceeds the limits of this article; it suffices to say that the concept of purely self-interested reciprocal exchange may have limited applicability.

## **Considerate Exchange**

### *Rethinking Sahlins.*

In the analysis above, the groundwork is done for the main task here: to develop and to apply a concept of *considerate exchange*. Sahlins' (1972) concept of "generalized reciprocity" (which should not be confused with Lévi-Strauss' concept of "generalized exchange")<sup>2</sup> is a fruitful starting point for the development of "considerate exchange."

Sahlins argued that concepts of exchange should say not only something about the structures of exchange, but also something about "the spirit of exchange," which "swings from disinterested concern for the other party through mutuality to self-interest" (Sahlins 1972, p. 193). Sahlins thus developed a trilogy of concepts to describe exchange motivations. First is the entirely selfish motivation of "negative reciprocity"

---

<sup>2</sup> Although Sahlins (1972, p. 193) emphasised the fundamental difference between these two concepts, their terminological similarity has led to confusion (e.g., Emerson 1981, p. 33–34, 64). Moody (2008), on the other hand, combines the two into a separate concept of "serial exchange."



which signifies “the attempt to get something for nothing” (Sahlins 1972, p. 195). The key difference between “negative reciprocity” and “purely self-interested exchange” is that “negative reciprocity” signifies not only exchange but also cases of downright theft, for example (see Sahlins 1972, p. 193–196).

Second is the altruistic motivation of “generalized reciprocity” which signifies giving that is performed without a clear expectation of reciprocation. Sahlins (1972, p. 194) acknowledged the ability of altruistic acts to generate counter obligations. The concept is thus a good starting point for developing a concept of considerate exchange. However, the concept of “generalized reciprocity” also has significant limitations because of its very obscure relationship to the defining criterion of exchange: giving’s contingency on receiving. Sahlins illustrated the potentially unconditional nature of generalized reciprocity through the example of the suckling of children: a case where “the expectation of a direct material return is unseemly” (1972, p. 194). Sahlins argued that Malinowski’s “pure gift” – “an act, in which an individual gives an object or renders a service without expecting or getting any return” (Malinowski 1922/1932, p. 177) – was the ideal type of generalized reciprocity. Sahlins thus applied the concept of “generalized reciprocity” to acts that are not contingent on mutuality. Generalized reciprocity not only excludes the possibility of negotiated exchange, but also includes the possibility of acts that do not qualify as exchange at all (see Sahlins 1972, p. 194). Consequently, Heath (1976) argued that Sahlins’ concepts of negative and generalized reciprocity are not concepts of exchange. The extreme form of generalized reciprocity resembles a phenomenon that Gouldner (1973) distinguished from reciprocity and called *beneficence*: the giving of “something for nothing” to the less advantaged.

Only Sahlins’ (1972, p. 220) middle concept, “balanced reciprocity,” clearly satisfies the defining criteria of exchange. Consequently, Sahlins’ reciprocity types offer interesting rudiments of a typology of exchange motivations, but his reciprocity types fall short of conceptualizing caretaking and pure self-interest adequately in exchange theoretical terms. Consequently, the concepts are not well suited to exchange theoretical reasoning.

Sahlins’ (1972, p. 193–194) main obstacle to a concept of considerate exchange is that he, similar to Gouldner, assumes there is a natural tension between exchange and care: that the contingency of A’s giving on B’s repayment conflicts with A’s concern about B’s welfare. A strong version of this view was formulated by Clark et al. (1986):

By contrasting “communal relationships” with “exchange relationships,” they argued that concern about others' welfare is incompatible with exchange.

The widespread emphasis on tensions between exchange and care highlights the need to conceptualize an alternative position. This alternative position is that the social exchange concept contains no assumptions regarding people's motivations; the social exchange concept can thus be combined with any concept that describes such motivations, including a caretaking motivation. Consequently, social exchange theory may be developed in such a way that it adds insight to studies of close relationships.

*Defining “considerate exchange.”*

In developing the concept of considerate exchange, I draw from Sahlins' (1972, p. 194) “generalized reciprocity” the idea that “the time and worth of reciprocation are not alone conditional on what was given by the donor, but also upon what he will need and when, and likewise what the recipient can afford and when.” I proceed to combine this idea with the defining characteristic of exchange: giving's contingency on receiving. Considerate exchange does not mean to give something for nothing, because the receiver and the giver both recognize the receiver's debt to the giver. Unlike generalized reciprocity, considerate exchange may unfold even through explicit negotiation.

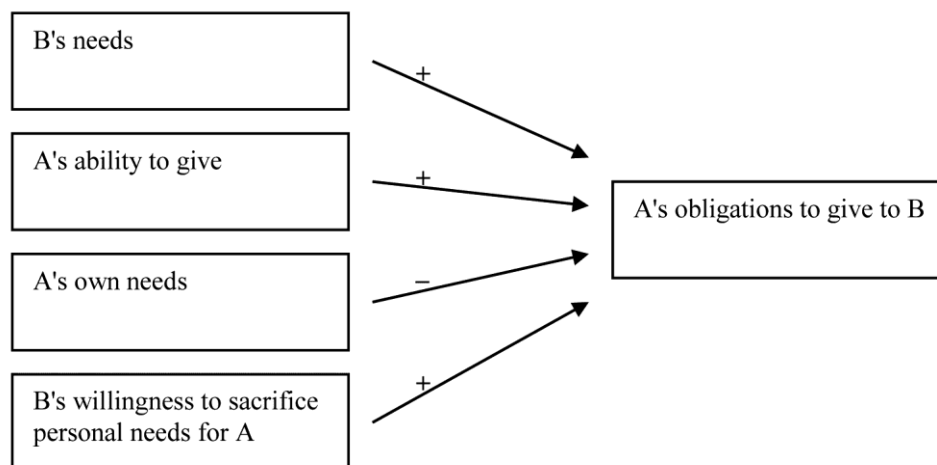
We may speak of *considerate exchange* when actors exchange for the purpose of securing not only their personal welfare, but also the welfare of their exchange partner(s). The exchange aspect of this definition signifies that the purpose of securing others' welfare is contingent on mutuality. The purpose of securing others' welfare, in turn, signifies actors' concern with not only the sizes of their respective contributions, but also with these contributions' effect on their exchange partners' welfare.

Welfare results from the satisfaction of needs. Consequently, pursuing the welfare of an exchange partner entails attempting to give what that partner needs and to demand no more than that partner can afford. It is thus characteristic of considerate exchange that *the preferred balance of contributions is contingent on the balance of the parties' needs and abilities.*

The concept of considerate exchange thus has a motivational component and an action component. The motivational component consists of actors' mutuality-contingent aim to secure their exchange partners' welfare. The action component consists of the benefit provision that results from this motivation.

Considerate exchange appears, then, as caretaking contingent on mutuality. The mutuality-contingency of care in considerate exchange implies that exchange endures (or remains harmonious) only if the parties are equally willing – considering their respective needs and abilities – to make sacrifices for each other. Consequently, the endurance of considerate exchange does not require a balance of actual contributions. Instead, *A's debts to B are defined by the amount B would have given to A if B were in A's shoes and vice versa*. The common phrase “s/he would have done the same for me” reflects such reasoning, which reframes the situation from one of unconditional altruism to one of considerate exchange.

Noteworthy is that interaction ceases to be exchange when the flow of benefits has become entirely one-way; by definition, exchange requires some manifest reciprocation although such reciprocation may be highly disproportionate in considerate exchange.



**Fig. 2** Determinants of A's obligations in direct considerate exchange

The concept of considerate exchange may be clarified by an example: Farmer A is short of fuel and receives fuel from farmer B. Sometime later, the situation has reversed, and A is faced with the question of how much fuel, if any, to give to B. In balance-oriented exchange, A's answer to this question depends simply on the amount of fuel B has given to A. In considerate exchange, however, A's answer to this question depends on four things: 1) how much fuel B needs from A; 2) how much fuel A has; 3) how much fuel A needs for herself/himself; 4) the extent to which B has previously shown willingness to sacrifice personal needs for the purpose of satisfying A's needs. Figure 2

illustrates these four determinants of A's obligations – whether these obligations are tacit (reciprocal exchange) or explicit (negotiated exchange) – in direct considerate exchange. The arrows symbolize the respective determinant's effect in terms of increasing (+) or decreasing (–) A's obligations.

Compared to other exchange purposes, considerate exchange is demanding regarding the amount of information required to determine reciprocal obligations. It is also unique to considerate exchange that obligations do not dissolve upon reciprocation: if A knows that B, to the best of his/her ability, will help whenever A needs help, A is obliged to be equally willing to help B. Therefore, considerate exchange is more than other exchange forms characteristic of strong and long lasting social ties.

The concept of considerate exchange highlights that actors take each other's needs and abilities into account when deciding on the preferred balance of exchange. When needs and/or abilities are unbalanced, contributions may be unbalanced without leading to loss of social status, to requirements for subordination, or to other forms of compensation by the lesser contributor (see Blau 1964/1998). Consequently, the concept of considerate exchange explains why exchange relations that are unbalanced in terms of contribution size may continue to exist without causing intolerable stress to the parties. In contrast to considerate exchange, balance-oriented exchange will typically collapse or impose severe stress on indebted parties if imbalance endures (Gouldner 1960; Malinowski 1922/1932; Mauss 1925/2000; Uehara 1995).

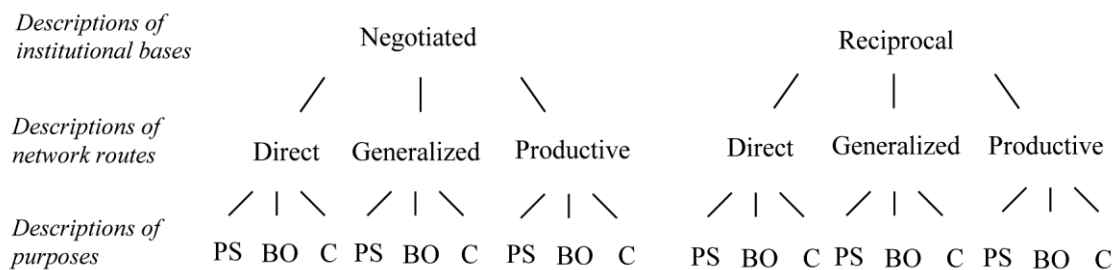
Stress occurs in considerate exchange when motivations are asymmetrical. Because purposes of exchange are individual, two actors in an exchange may each pursue their different purposes and thus perform different types of exchange. Care's mutuality-contingency in considerate exchange entails that considerate exchange will generate intolerable stress and, in the long term, collapse when one party *unilaterally* pursues the other's well-being. That is, unless the caring party continues to falsely believe that care is mutual. In such cases, the uncaring party may (deliberately or not) exploit the caring party through exchanges governed by asymmetrical motivations. An example of asymmetrical motivations will emerge if an actor performs considerate exchange with someone who performs purely self-interested exchange.

It follows from our discussion that in considerate exchange, securing others' welfare is not only a means to secure personal welfare, but also a purpose in its own right. This purpose is most visible when the giver, due to the receiver's inferior ability to reciprocate, accepts that repayments are worth less than the giver's own

contributions. The mutuality-contingency of care is thus rooted not only in self-interested instrumental reasoning, but also in moral and emotional mechanisms. Consequently, the concept of considerate exchange is incompatible with rational choice definitions of exchange that regard giving only as an instrumental act aimed at influencing the receiver's actions (see Willer 1999, p. 25–27).<sup>3</sup>

*Different forms of considerate exchange.*

The re-classification of concepts performed in step one enables us to distinguish between different forms of considerate exchange. Similar to other exchange purposes, considerate exchange is not linked to a particular institutional basis of exchange. In *negotiated considerate exchange*, the parties make explicit agreements through negotiations focusing on their respective needs and abilities. In *reciprocal considerate exchange*, A tacitly shows similar consideration for B as B shows for A. Nor is considerate exchange tied to any particular route in the exchange network. Considerateness may guide, for example, generalized exchange across generations or productive exchange in a group where everyone seeks to secure the group's welfare.



**Fig. 3** Types of exchange: combinations of institutional bases, network routes, and purposes

Figure 3 extends Figure 1 by adding concepts that describe exchange purposes: purely self-interested exchange (PS), balance-oriented exchange (BO), and considerate exchange (C). Figure 3 illustrates how scholars can combine concepts across the three dimensions – institutional basis, route in exchange network, and purpose of exchange –

<sup>3</sup> Economics' concept of "interdependent utility" may have limited use in studies of considerate exchange because "interdependent utility", according to some, implies that actors treat others' well-being only as a means of increasing personal well-being (see Chen and Wolley 2001). In considerate exchange, care may emerge as a willingness to sacrifice some personal well-being to increase others' well-being.

to identify finely graded types of exchange. For example, the combination to the far left in Figure 3 constitutes purely self-interested negotiated direct exchange: exchange characterized by explicit bargaining directly between actors who try to achieve the best possible deal for themselves.

Figure 3 distinguishes between six forms of considerate exchange. For example, the combination to the far right in Figure 3 constitutes considerate reciprocal productive exchange: exchange characterized by collectively oriented caretaking tacitly contingent on the attitudes of other group members. The empirical data, that are presented next, demonstrate how three forms of considerate exchange unfold. These three forms (direct negotiated considerate exchange, direct reciprocal considerate exchange, and generalized reciprocal considerate exchange) include variety regarding institutional bases as well as network routes.

### **Step 3: Applying the Conceptual Framework to an Empirical Study of Family Farms**

#### **Methodology**

In this third step of the analysis the conceptual framework developed above is used to describe various forms of considerate exchange on Norwegian family farms. Data were generated through a mixed methods study performed in two phases. The first phase explored social exchange through qualitative interviews and abductive data analysis (e.g., Kelle 2014). The concept of considerate exchange was developed as an interpretative tool during this phase. Twenty qualitative, semi-structured interviews about social exchange were conducted with Norwegian farmers between November 2008 and April 2009. On two of these twenty farms, spouses were interviewed together because they ran the farm together. The entire sample of interviewees thus consisted of nineteen men and three women, reflecting the general predominance of males among Norwegian farmers. I used the Farm Account Database of The Norwegian Agricultural Economics Research Institute (NILF) and the Subsidy Register of the Norwegian Agricultural Authority to select farms that had a labor-intensive production, typically milk or meat production, of sufficient size to provide full-time or nearly full-time year-round employment for the farmer. Informants were first contacted by phone, and then were sent written information. They were guaranteed confidentiality. Interviews were conducted face to face and, with one exception, at the farms. The interviews, which

lasted for 75 minutes on average, followed a farm-history/ life-story approach to generate sufficient context around exchange practices. Some interviews were followed up later via phone.

In the second phase of data generation, the general validity of the findings in phase one were tested statistically. Questions about social exchange were added to a multi-themed NILF-survey that addressed farmers' values, social networks, exchange practices, and perceptions about farming. The questionnaire, which consisted of 18 questions and could be completed in approximately 30 minutes, was mailed to all farmers in NILF's Farm Account Database (975 farmers) in March 2009, with reminders sent after 17 days and 6 weeks. The survey resulted in 580 replies, which gave a 59.5% response rate. The Farm Account Database contains diachronic economic data from farms selected as representative<sup>4</sup> of Norwegian farms that constitute the households' main source of income.

In the questionnaire, exchange was explored in a two-step process. In step one, question Q6 asked: "To what extent do you receive help or borrow/rent implements or other equipment from individuals within the following groups?" Reply alternatives ranged from "contributes daily" to "does not contribute at all." The following groups of contributors were listed: spouse/live-in, father or father-in-law, mother or mother-in-law, your or your partner's children, other family members, farmers outside the family, other acquaintances.

**Table 1** Reply alternatives for question Q7

<i>Agreement on reciprocity</i>	<i>No agreement on reciprocity</i>
Exchange of work/material	Exchange of work/material
Monetized payment according to need/ability to pay	Person gets money according to his/her need
Monetized standard payment <sup>a</sup>	Gifts
	Fully or partly without reciprocity

<sup>a</sup> "Standard payment" translates from the Norwegian term "*betaling etter tariff*," meaning payment according to standard pay rates.

<sup>4</sup> The Farm Account Database consists of data from farms that have been randomly selected, subject to gross-margin criteria, and subsequently recruited voluntarily, from the Subsidy Register of the Norwegian Agricultural Authority, which contains practically all Norwegian commercial farms (NILF 2009).

In step two, question Q7 asked about how respondents reciprocated benefits received from each group of contributors listed in Q6.<sup>5</sup> Respondents were presented with two broad categories of reciprocation: reciprocation based on agreement with the giver (negotiated exchange), and reciprocation where no such agreement existed (reciprocal exchange). As shown in Table 1, reciprocation under each of these two categories was divided into several options, of which respondents could tick off as many as they wished to. “Monetized standard payment” was included as an option only under “Agreement on reciprocation” because standard payment requires an explicit arrangement between the parties. “Gifts” were included as an option only under “No agreement on reciprocation” because gifts are by definition not outcomes of explicit claims, but may be outcomes of implicit expectations (Mauss 1925/2000).

Considerate exchange is characterized by criteria of reciprocation that take the parties’ needs and abilities into account. Therefore, the operationalization of “considerate exchange” addressed respondent’s concern with such needs and abilities in matters of exchange. Separating considerate motivations from balance-oriented motivations, especially, is more difficult when replying to a standardized questionnaire than when giving detailed personal stories in qualitative interviews. However, monetized exchange offers a solution to this problem because monetized exchange in Norwegian agriculture typically unfolds according to standard payment rates. Consequently, considerate monetized exchange implies deliberately deviating from standard practice, meaning that farmers are usually aware of their use of alternative criteria of reciprocation. Therefore, the operationalization of “considerate exchange” focused on monetized payment. I operationalized considerate exchange as monetized payment according to need and, in negotiated exchange (labelled “Agreement on reciprocation” in the questionnaire), also according to ability to pay.

---

<sup>5</sup> Q7 was formulated: “In what follows, we ask about how you reciprocate help from family and acquaintances that you reported in the previous question. In some cases, perhaps you and your acquaintance have agreed so that it is clear what you will exchange or what kind of payment you will give: you may tick such reciprocation off in the light grey field to the left (under “Agreement on reciprocation”). In other cases, perhaps you have not made clear what is exchanged for what: you may tick such reciprocation off in the dark grey field to the right (under “No agreement on reciprocation”). Naturally, several forms of reciprocation may be used for the same person or group of persons, so you may tick several options off on each line.”



Including “ability to pay” under negotiated exchange only, entailed an asymmetrical outline of reply alternatives. This solution was chosen because the explicit nature of negotiated exchange typically informs respondents about the extent to which partners adjust payment expectations according to the respondent’s ability to pay. In contrast, the tacit nature of reciprocal exchange makes it difficult or impossible for respondents to acquire such knowledge. “Ability to pay” was thus included as a criterion only under “Agreement on reciprocation.” Finally, data on payment to spouses/live-ins were excluded from the dataset because farmers and spouses typically own their incomes jointly and thus cannot perform genuine exchange in business matters.

## **Considerate Exchange on Family Farms**

### *Contributions from close relations.*

The farmers in this study explained that they often needed assistance due to seasonal variations, unforeseen events, or underinvestment. Many farmers received extensive contributions from acquaintances: typically, the farmer with support from close family did the daily work (see also Djurfeldt and Waldenström 1996), while other relatives and acquaintances contributed when there was special demand. The statistical data, presented in Table 2, confirmed this pattern. In Table 2, figures in parentheses represent only those farmers whose respective family members were still alive, thus illustrating family members’ involvement in farming.

Contributions that farmers received often resulted from farmers’ exchange with family members, neighboring farmers, and other community residents. The next sections demonstrate how the concept of considerate exchange, combined with traditional exchange concepts, illuminates such exchange. I present descriptive examples – informants described considerate exchange on ten of the twenty farms where interviewing was conducted – and use statistical data to show the general validity of these descriptions. The next sections describe three forms of considerate exchange: a) direct negotiated considerate exchange, b) generalized reciprocal considerate exchange, c) direct reciprocal considerate exchange.

**Table 2** Percentage of farmers who received labor or borrowed/rented gear from different types of acquaintances (N = all farmers, (N) = farmers with respective family members alive)

	<i>Occasionally</i>	<i>Weekly or daily</i>	<i>Sum</i>	<i>N (N)</i>
Spouse/live-in	40 (45)	37 (42)	77 (87)	573 (508)
Father/father-in-law	22 (32)	22 (34)	44 (66)	561 (376)
Mother/mother-in-law	26 (35)	8 (11)	34 (46)	560 (412)
Own or partner's children	50 (57)	25 (28)	75 (85)	565 (503)
Other family members	50	4	54	555
Farmers outside respondent's family	70	3	73	562
Other acquaintances	58	3	61	558

*Direct negotiated considerate exchange.*

This section describes cases of considerate exchange where farmers reciprocated to the giver based on explicit agreement. Informant #6, a farmer in his late 30s, grew up on Farm #6 when it was run by his father who produced pigs and grain. In his early adult years, Informant #6 lived a few kilometers away from Farm #6, running a different farm that he and his wife had acquired from her relatives. During those early adult years, Informant #6 and his father formed a joint company that included both these farms. This partnership lasted for three years until Informant #6 bought his father's agricultural implements and leased his fathers' land, leaving only the pork production to his father. During the lease, Informant #6 and his father ran their separate firms. The lease lasted for six years and ended when his father began taking his pension, whereupon Informant #6 took over the ownership of Farm #6 and all responsibility for production on Farm #6. Upon takeover, Informant #6 moved back to Farm #6, and his father moved to a house a few kilometers away. Informant #6 continued his father's production: pigs and grain. Father and son exchanged labor extensively. During the lease, Informant #6 hired his father for seasonal labor and his father hired him as relief in the pigsty. They billed each other by the hour based on agreed rates that were – for both – slightly lower than standard rates.

The conceptual distinction between negotiated and reciprocal exchange sensitizes us to the institutional basis of this exchange: we note that the parties agreed on rates and exchanged explicitly by way of bills, thus making this a case of negotiated exchange. However, this conceptual distinction does not sensitize us to the purposes of their

exchange. To reveal these purposes, we must address the contribution-determining criteria that the actors employed in negotiations. The concept of considerate exchange, specifically, highlights actors' sensitivity to exchange partners' needs and abilities. Regarding the leasing period, the only hint about such sensitivity lies in Informant #6's describing the relationship as one where "one shouldn't be too rigid, that's our attitude... It's a bit of a father and son kind of thing." However, when the father began taking his pension and Informant #6 took over the entire farm, the parties' needs changed in a way that made such criteria more pronounced: the father became less dependent on income from work, while his son had become even more dependent on farming income because of investments associated with his recent takeover.

Interviewer: And your father now, after he began taking his pension, have you continued the practice of agreeing on hourly rates and subsequently handing you a list of man-hours?

Informant #6: Well, we've been discussing it a little . . . whether he should go for a fixed monthly price and have some flexibility, because I know that he's got his own things to look after. But I know that he always helps out here when things get busy with the seasons. . . But we've concluded that we should use man-hour lists for now, until we see where we end up . . . It's a bit uncertain, a start-up like this . . . There's a lot of expenses . . . [I]t's about seeing where we end up, so I get by on the farm . . . Daddy has sort of said so, that he must try to ensure that we get by, but that still he has to have a little payment.

In the statements quoted above, Informant #6 expressed important aspects of considerate exchange: He emphasized his and his father's use of need/ability criteria in exchange negotiations; he acknowledged the significance of his father's need for flexibility; he emphasized his father's willingness to contribute in busy times; he emphasized his father's willingness to adjust his price according to Informant #6's ability to pay.

The use of need/ability criteria classifies this as a case of considerate exchange. We see that the concept of considerate exchange adds significant information here to concepts describing the institutional basis of exchange.

Informant #15 described another example. Approximately one year prior to the interview, Informant #15 handed his farm – which was based on pig, grain, and vegetable production – over to his son and began receiving the farmers' early retirement pension. He would receive farmers' early retirement pension until he, a few years later, would qualify for regular pension. Before his son took over, Informant #15 ran the farm mostly alone but his son stepped in as relief, mostly paid by the hour. When his son took over, they switched roles:

Informant #15: If [my son] is going away, I'm his relief.

Interviewer: Is that paid by the hour, or is it . . .

Informant #15: Well, this year it hasn't been. We haven't calculated anything, really. But it's got to do with further pension and such things. So I have to earn one, minimum one G a year<sup>6</sup>. . . until I'm 67. And therefore, this year, he has paid me one G . . . We haven't counted hours . . . I have retired for agricultural pension, you know.

By this statement, Informant #15 explained how his salary was determined by his present and future financial needs rather than by the size of his contribution; his early retirement pension supported him for the present; so, his salary was determined by his need to earn pension rights for the future. The parties did not calculate whether their respective contributions were equal.

The use of need criteria instead of balance criteria classifies this as a case of considerate, rather than balance-oriented, exchange. Whereas “negotiated exchange” highlights that these parties communicated explicitly about exchange, “considerate exchange” highlights that the parties kept each other’s needs in mind during this communication.

Direct negotiated considerate exchange appeared to be common on farms in the study: 27.9% of respondents (N553)<sup>7</sup> replied to question Q7 that they at least occasionally used need-based monetized payment based on explicit agreement. Direct reciprocal considerate exchange appeared to be equally common: 28.0% replied that

---

<sup>6</sup> “One G” is a technical term used in public regulations to determine people's rights to public transfers. It signifies a specific amount of money.

<sup>7</sup> For data coding details, see Table 3’s note b.

they at least occasionally used need-based monetized payment without explicit agreement. The data thus confirmed that considerate exchange may have different institutional bases. I proceed now to describe considerateness in reciprocal exchange.

*Generalized reciprocal considerate exchange.*

This section describes a case of considerate exchange where the farmer tacitly reciprocated to someone other than the first giver. In informant #14's younger years, his parents ran the family farm in addition to owning and running a second farm nearby. At 23, Informant #14 bought his father's agricultural implements and began leasing the land of both these farms while living on the second farm. At 30, he took over ownership of the family farm and moved there, and his parents moved to the second farm. At the time of the interview, Informant #14 was in his late 30s. His farm was at that time based on grain, seed production, and forestry, which was largely similar to the production his parents had had. Informant #14's parents helped him regularly with farm work. His father, who intimately knew the farm and its required tasks, largely governed his own helping contributions. Informant #14 expressed significant trust regarding his parents' considerateness in this direct (and negotiated) exchange:

Interviewer: . . . The help you've gotten from your parents, has that been unpaid, or partly paid?

Informant #14: No. Dad sends me invoices. Well, some of it's unpaid, but he looks a bit at how I'm doing, I suppose, and invoices me accordingly. And it hasn't been so bad; so he's had a bit of payment, he has . . . He charges a round sum . . . He doesn't register hours . . . [H]e doesn't want me to struggle, I guess, but in relation to my sister and brother, he thinks that it's the right thing to take pay from me, I guess, and I think so too, really.

Informant #14 further described how his parents had inspired him to pass their considerate actions to future generations:

Informant #14: I wanted to take over here, what my father built, and I hope to build it a little further. It's important. I hope I can pass on the farm in better shape than when I took over; that's how a farmer should think . . . You've been taught to manage things with a thought for the next generation,

especially the forest. You've got to think long term there. And I see the utility of that too, because my father managed the forest well all along, and I'm reaping the benefits of that now. So I'm laying the foundations for the next. If I don't give a damn, that forest will be more or less worthless maybe in a generation. It's like that with the soil too; one must dig ditches and maintain it. Well, I value that so highly . . . I have to think way ahead to the next.

The concept of generalized exchange highlights the route in the exchange network: that Informant #14's contributions to future generations were contingent on the contributions he had received from his parents. The concept of reciprocal exchange highlights the institutional basis of this exchange: that a moral norm of reciprocity was at work. The concept of considerate exchange highlights the purpose of these exchanges: to secure not only one's personal welfare, but also the welfare of exchange partners: Informant #14 felt obliged to secure the next generation's needs because the previous generation had secured Informant #14's needs.

Informant #14 expressed a long-standing moral obligation among farmers to run their businesses with the needs of future generations in mind.<sup>8</sup> Question Q5 in the questionnaire asked respondents to rank the importance of improving the farm for the next generation on a scale from 1 (not important) to 7 (very important). The average score was 5.4 (N = 572), which indicates that considerate generalized reciprocal exchange may play a significant role. It is evident that considerate exchange may unfold along different routes in exchange networks. I describe below how considerate reciprocal exchange unfolds in direct exchange.

*Direct reciprocal considerate exchange.*

This section describes cases of considerate exchange where farmers tacitly reciprocated directly to the giver. As a young man, Informant #11 left his parents' farm, took education, and worked as an independent lumberman for various companies, while also working as weekend relief on his parents' farm. About this relief work he said, “[I

---

<sup>8</sup> Unlike Lévi-Strauss's (1949/1970) examples of generalized exchange, people's limited lifetime prevented return to the first giver in my example; reciprocal obligations were passed on to new recipients infinitely (see Ekeh, 1974, p. 205–206 on generalized duties).

didn't get any real salary . . ., but got money when I needed.” When his father became ill, Informant #11 took over most of the farm work, and the exchange became negotiated: first by labor contract, then by leasing. When Informant #11 subsequently took over ownership of the farm, his father began to provide occasional, unpaid help, thus reciprocating his son's contributions years earlier. These exchanges thus went from being reciprocal to being negotiated when the father’s illness placed increased demands on Informant #11, and they reverted to reciprocal form when Informant #11 acquired ownership to the farm.

The concept of considerate exchange highlights that these actors considered each other's needs and abilities when determining their respective contributions: In this case, they adjusted contributions according to the partner’s health and need for money.

Informant #12 described a somewhat similar example. As a young man, before taking over his parents' farm, Informant #12 leased farmland for himself while also being a salaried employee. However, his father's poor health required that Informant #12 did most of the work also on his parents' farm. He said, “I did it for free in a way, because I had [the other farm], and I had a job too.” He explained further that his parents thus reciprocated by giving him free accommodation on their farm. These parties' contributions were thus determined by their respective needs and abilities – health, sources of income, and access to accommodation – rather than by balance criteria.

Similar to the interviews, the statistical data showed that considerate exchange in business was more common in family than in non-family relationships. Table 3 shows how farmers paid for contributions received from their acquaintances. Owing to the operationalization of considerate exchange described above, Table 3 includes only monetized payment. Table 3 presents the probabilities of respondents' using need-based versus standard payment in family versus non-family relationships. Noteworthy is that each cell in Table 3 represents one dummy variable – resulting in 14 variables in the entire table – because respondents could report several payment forms for each relation type. Because family members tended to contribute more extensively than did non-family members, the effect of contribution size was controlled for by creating separate data sets: for respondents with regular (weekly or daily) contributors, for those with occasional contributors, and for respondents with either of these types of contributors. For example, the figure in the upper leftmost cell of Table 3 shows that there was a

37.6% probability that a respondent at least occasionally would use need-based payment to pay family members who gave occasional help.

**Table 3** Percent of farmers using need-based or standard payment to different types of contributors: occasional and regular contributors within or outside the respondent's Family<sup>a b</sup>

	<i>Within respondent's family</i>			<i>Outside respondent's family</i>			<i>Either</i>
	Occasional	Regular	Either	Occasional	Regular	Either	
Need	37.6	37.2	47.4	14.1	17.4	14.4	49.6
Standard	30.0	36.8	40.7	35.0	39.1	36.0	52.3
N	444	250	523	432	23	444	553

<sup>a</sup> Each cell represents one dummy-variable.

<sup>b</sup> Respondents who had not given any reply for a given type of social relation (i.e., respondents who had not engaged in exchange with that relation) were coded “missing” on all variables that included the respective social relation, whereas the remaining respondents were coded as either 0 (absent) or 1 (present) on each payment option. Relations marked as “do not contribute” or “do not exist” in Q6 (about contributions received) were also coded missing in Q7 (about reciprocation) to ensure that Table 3 contain only data on actual reciprocation.

Table 3 shows that the probability of need-based payment was much higher among family members than among non-family acquaintances (47.4% versus 14.4%). Whereas standard payment clearly predominated in exchange with non-family acquaintances, need-based payment predominated slightly over standard payment (significant at 0.05 level, using a t-test) in exchange with family members. A clear effect of family membership on the probability of monetized considerate exchange remained when contribution size was controlled for. Notably, the N for regular non-family contributors was small, but the probability difference was significant at the 0.05 level for regular contributors, too. Considerate exchange was thus characteristic of within-family business.

The probabilities of payment types, disregarding type of contributor, can be found in Table 3's rightmost column; approximately half of the respondents reported that they at least occasionally paid contributors according to contributors' needs. The probability of need-based monetized payment was, for all groups combined, approximately equal to the probability of standard payment.



Although considerate exchange in business largely appeared to be a family phenomenon, considerate exchange could be found in transactions between different local firms, too. The interviewed farmers performed business exchange with neighboring farmers in a local market for material and man labor. Informant #16 described how neighboring farmers used different forms of exchange. At the time of the interview, Informant #16 produced vegetables and collaborated extensively with another vegetable farm during growing season, when Informant #16 borrowed their vegetable implements and they borrowed his tractor in return. This exchange was normally balance-oriented: when the parties felt that their mutual borrowing had become unbalanced, they used a one-off invoice to restore balance. However, their balance-oriented business exchange was supplemented by considerate exchange of services classified as neighborly help:

Informant #16: [I]t has happened that I've got something, a cow or something I can't get up or something like that, and I can call them, and they come and help . . . So the only thing is that we help each other; it happens that I'm up there with the tractor if there's minor stuff to be dealt with. That's a different form. That's just neighborliness.

Considerate exchange among neighbors was typically reciprocal and confined to short-term contributions aimed to handle unforeseen or non-routine problems. Informant #1, who owned a baler and a manure spreader together with a neighbor, described it as follows:

We keep account by the hour for baler-related stuff, but not for other things. That manure spreader . . ., I use it at my place and he uses it at his place, and nothing more about it. And if he helps me with a favor or something, that's only registered on the fun-account, you know. Such things we help each other with. We are generous in that way.

Business exchange among neighbors was typically balance oriented in the sense that “[w]e are somewhat approximate about it, really, so if you feel that someone has done more, we try to correct things a little” (Informant #3). However, considerateness was evident in matters classified as neighborliness rather than as business;

neighborliness was less about keeping track of exchange balance than about stepping up for each other when circumstances required.

## **Conclusion**

Despite scholars' long standing interest in types and consequences of social exchange, few studies have delved into the question of what motivates social exchange. This article is an attempt to advance that field. By exploring exchange in close relationships, this study challenges the idea that exchange is incompatible with a caretaking motivation. Social exchange, even in business, may be motivated by a wish to satisfy exchange partners' needs. In social exchange, this wish is contingent on mutuality.

The concept of considerate exchange highlights an emotional and moral mechanism that can simply be expressed in the sentence: "I wish to take care of you because I believe that you wish to take care of me." Arguably, considerate exchange is more than just a peculiar form of exchange found on Norwegian family farms; considerate exchange may be an important mechanism in the formation and maintenance of close relationships generally, both within and outside business. The concept of considerate exchange thus extends the capacity of social exchange theory to illuminate interaction among close relations.<sup>9</sup> So far, the element of exchange in close relationships has, with few exceptions (see Johar et al. 2015), received little attention in the literature due to the widespread view that exchange conflicts with care. This article thus calls for increased attention to this field.

In studies of economic life, considerate exchange may explain how business unfolds among close relations without damaging these relations. Whereas the selfish instrumentalism of purely self-interested exchange arguably would lead to social disintegration in families, considerate exchange imbues business with sufficient solidarity to keep emotional ties intact. Considerate exchange enables actors to allocate scarce resources while they simultaneously maintain and strengthen emotional and moral ties. Consequently, considerate exchange enables people to manage simultaneous economic and emotional interdependence. Considerate exchange may thus be important to the viability of close-relation businesses.

---

<sup>9</sup> Examples of relevant research fields can be found e.g., in Molina 2015; Surachman and Hartyo 2015; Vesely et al. 2015.

This study illustrates how scholars may use existent concepts of social exchange to analyze considerate exchange's various forms. In order to illustrate this, I have suggested how scholars may organize concepts of social exchange into a conceptual framework that allows for conceptual combinations so far overlooked. Hopefully, this suggestion is a step toward building a coherent conceptual framework for social exchange theory.

Finally, I would like to suggest some areas in which the exchange purpose typology invites further study. Scholars may address considerate exchange's ability not only to maintain but also to build trust and sympathy among exchange partners and, thereby, to increase what Lawler and Yoon (1996) call "relational cohesion." By doing so, scholars could advance the study of social exchange's effects on emotions and perceptions (Lawler et al. 2000; Molm et al. 2012; Willer et al. 2012). Social exchange theory may thus have an unfulfilled potential in terms of explaining the construction and maintenance of close relationships (see also Cropanzano and Mitchell 2005, p. 888).

The concept of considerate exchange implies that exchange develops from a basic level of reciprocity on which exchange partners synchronize their motivations ("I adopt the same motivation as I believe you do"). Social exchange – negotiated or reciprocal, direct or generalized – thus evolves from this basic motivational reciprocity. Future studies in social exchange theory may thus address questions of motivational reciprocity and, thereby, illuminate mechanisms that shape the motivations of exchange.

In a business discourse, the family farms presented in this study are cases of businesses with simultaneous economic and emotional interdependence. As the data suggested, considerate exchange is particularly relevant to this kind of businesses. The conceptual framework developed in this article may thus contribute to stewardship theory of the family firm, for example. Concepts describing the various forms of considerate exchange may illuminate the dynamic of low-conflict business management and, thereby, contribute to theory of family firm viability (see Eddleston and Kellermanns 2007). The concept of considerate exchange describes altruism that is contingent on reciprocation. Therefore, the concept may shed light on the question of how altruism may foster, rather than subvert, firm loyalty (see Karra et al. 2006; Schulze et al. 2003).

In a family discourse, we may hypothesize that social norms that prescribe considerateness often influence actors' exchange purposes in family settings. Consequently, future studies may address the question of how social control exercised

by third party family members, for example, affects considerateness in exchanges within the family.

Students of experimental economics and social psychology have generated actor typologies describing actors' willingness to act cooperatively in distributional matters (De Cremer and Van Lange 2001; Liebrand et al. 1986). Whereas these actor typologies highlight context-independent personality differences, this article's typology of exchange purposes highlights motivations that depend not only on personality but also on the nature of social relationships (see also Cropanzano and Mitchell 2005, p. 888). When combining exchange purpose typologies with actor typologies, scholars may study how sensitivity to social context varies between personality types: For example, to what extent do individualists behave differently than prosocials in relation to family members?

I have argued that exchange partners may have asymmetrical motivations but that such asymmetry is unsustainable when exploited actors become aware of it. Asymmetry may emerge from different perceptions of a social relationship (an actor regarding as a friend someone that regards him/her merely as a business partner) or from stable personality differences (prosocials interacting with individualists). Researchers may thus use the typology of exchange purposes to explore causes and consequences of asymmetrical motivations.

## References

- Bjørkhaug, H., & Blekesaune, A. (2008). Gender and work in Norwegian family farm businesses. *Sociologia Ruralis*, 48(2), 152–65. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-9523.2008.00456.x
- Blau, P.M. (1964/1998). *Exchange and power in social life*. New Brunswick, Canada: Transaction Publishers.
- Breton-Miller, I., & Miller, D. (2009) Agency vs. stewardship in public family firms: A social embeddedness reconciliation. *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice*, 33(6), 1169-1191. doi: 10.1111/j.1540-6520.2009.00339.x
- Buchan, N. R., Croson, R. T. A. & Dawes, R. M. (2002). Swift neighbours and persistent strangers: A cross-cultural investigation of trust and reciprocity in social exchange. *The American Journal of Sociology*, 108(1), 168–206. doi: 10.1086/344546
- Calus, M., & van Huylenbroeck, G. (2010) The persistence of family farming: a review of explanatory socio-economic and historical factors. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*, 41(5), 639–660. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41604397>
- Chang, K. (2010). Father, son, wife, husband: Philanthropy as exchange and balance. *Journal of Family and Economic Issues*, 31(3), 387-395. doi: 10.1007/s10834-010-9205-4
- Chen, Z., & Wooley, F. (2001). A Cournot-Nash model of family decision making, *The Economic Journal*, 111(474), 722–48. doi: 10.1111/1468-0297.00657
- Clark, M.S., Mills, J., & Powell, M.C. (1986). Keeping track of needs in communal and exchange relationships. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 51(2), 333–338. doi: 10.1037/0022-3514.51.2.333
- Coleman, J.S. (1990). *Foundations of social theory*. Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press.
- Collins, R. (1994). *Four sociological traditions*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Cook, K.S., Emerson, R.M., Gillmore, M.R., & Yamagishi, T. (1983). The distribution of power in exchange networks: theory and experimental results. *American Journal of Sociology*, 89(2), 275–305. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2779142>

- Corcoran, K.E. (2013). Divine exchanges: Applying social exchange theory to religious behaviour. *Rationality and Society*, 25(3), 335–369. doi: 10.1177/1043463113492306
- Coulson, A.B, Maclaren, A.C, Mckenzie, S., & Gorman, K.D. (2014). Hospitality codes and social exchange theory: The Pashtunwali and tourism in Afghanistan. *Tourism Management*, 45(December), 134–141. doi: 10.1016/j.tourman.2014.03.019
- Cropanzano, R., & Mitchell, M.S. (2005). Social exchange theory: An interdisciplinary review. *Journal of Management*, 31(6), 874–900. doi: 10.1177/0149206305279602
- De Cremer, D., & van Lange, P.A.M. (2001). Why prosocials exhibit greater cooperation than proselfs: The roles of social responsibility and reciprocity. *European Journal of Personality*, 15(1): 5–18. doi: 10.1002/per.418
- Djurfeldt, G., & Waldenström, C. (1996). Towards a theoretically grounded typology of farms: A Swedish case. *Acta Sociologica*, 39(2), 187–210. doi: 10.1177/000169939603900204
- Eddleston, K.A., & Kellermanns, F.W. (2007). Destructive and productive family relationships: A stewardship theory perspective. *Journal of Business Venturing*, 22(4), 545-565. doi: 10.1016/j.jbusvent.2006.06.004
- Ekeh, P.P. (1974). *Social exchange theory: The two traditions*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Elster, J. (1989), Social norms and economic theory. *Journal of Economic Perspectives*, 3(4), 99–117. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1942912>
- Emerson, R.M. (1972). Exchange theory, Part II: Exchange relations and network structures. In J. Berger, M. Zelditch, & B. Anderson (Eds.), *Sociological theories in progress* (pp. 58–87). Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company.
- Emerson, R.M. (1981). Social Exchange Theory. In M. Rosenberg & R.H. Turner (Eds.), *Social psychology: Sociological perspectives* (pp. 30–65). New York, NY: Basic Books.
- Gezelius, S.S. (2003). *Regulation and compliance in the Atlantic fisheries: State/society relations in the management of natural resources*. Dordrecht, the Netherlands: Kluwer Academic Publishers.

- Gouldner, A.W. (1960). The norm of reciprocity: A preliminary statement. *American Sociological Review*, 25(2), 161–78. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2092623>
- Gouldner, A.W. (1973). *For sociology: Renewal and critique in sociology today*. London, England: Allen Lane.
- Hart, K. (2005) *The hit man's dilemma: Or, business, personal and impersonal*. Chicago, IL: Prickly Paradigm Press.
- Heath, A. (1976). *Rational Choice & Social Exchange: A Critique of Exchange Theory*. London; England: Cambridge University Press.
- Herrmann, G.M. (1997). Gift or commodity: What changes hands in the U.S. garage sale? *American Ethnologist*, 24(4), 919–30. doi: 10.1525/ae.1997.24.4.910
- Homans, G.C. (1961/1974) *Social behavior: Its elementary forms*. New York, NY: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.
- Hutson, J. (1987). Fathers and sons: Family farms, family businesses and the farming industry. *Sociology*, 21(2), 215–29. doi: 10.1177/0038038587021002004
- Johar, M., Maruyama, S., & Nakamura, S. (2015). Reciprocity in the formation of intergenerational coresidence. *Journal of Family and Economic Issues*, 36(2), 192–209. doi: 10.1007/s10834-013-9387-7
- Karra, N., Tracey, P., & Philips, N. (2006) Altruism and agency in the family firm: Exploring the role of family, kinship, and ethnicity. *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice*, 30(6), 861-877. doi: 10.1111/j.1540-6520.2006.00157.x
- Kelle, U. (2014). Theorization from data. In U. Flick (Ed.), *The SAGE handbook of qualitative data analysis* (pp.554–68). Los Angeles, CA: SAGE.
- Komter, A., & Schans, D. (2008). Reciprocity revisited: Give and take in Dutch and immigrant families. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*, 39(2), 279–98. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41604215>
- Kuwabara, K. (2011). Cohesion, cooperation, and the value of doing things together: How economic relations creates relational bonds. *American Sociological Review*, 76(4), 560–80. doi: 10.1177/0003122411414825
- Lawler, E.J. (2001). An affect theory of social exchange. *American Journal of Sociology*, 107(2), 321–52. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1086/324071>

- Lawler, E., & Yoon, J. (1996). Commitment in exchange relations: Test of a theory of relational cohesion. *American Sociological Review*, *61*(1), 89–108. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2096408>
- Lawler, E. J., Thye, S. R., & Yoon J. (2000). Emotion and group cohesion in productive exchange. *American Journal of Sociology*, *106*(3), 616–57. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1086/318965>
- Lawler, E.J., Thye S.R., & Yoon, J. (2008). Social exchange and micro social order. *American Sociological Review*, *73*(4), 519–42). doi: 10.1177/000312240807300401
- Lévi-Strauss, C. (1949/1970). *The elementary structures of kinship*. London, England: Social Science Paperbacks.
- Liebrand, W.B.G. Wilke, H.A.M., Vogel, R., & Wolters F.J.M. (1986). Value orientation and conformity: A study using three types of social dilemma games. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, *30*(1), 77–97. doi: 10.1177/0022002786030001006
- Lubatkin, M.H, Schulze, W.S., Ling, Y., & Dino, R.N. (2005). The effects of parental altruism on the governance of family-managed firms. *Journal of Organizational Behavior*, *26*(3), 313-330. doi: 10.1002/job.307
- Malinowski, B. (1922/1932). *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*. London, England: Routledge.
- Malinowski, B. (1926/2002). *Crime and Custom in Savage Society*. London, England: Routledge.
- Mauss, M. (1925/2000). *The Gift: The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies*. New York, NY: W.W. Norton.
- Meeker, B.F. (1971). Decisions and exchange. *American Sociological Review*, *36*(3), 485–495. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2093088>
- Molina, J.A. (2015). Caring within the family: Reconciling work and family life. *Journal of Family and Economic Issues*, *36*(1), 1–4. doi: 10.1007/s10834-015-9441-8
- Molm, L.D. (2003). Theoretical comparisons of forms of exchange. *Sociological Theory*, *21*(1), 1–17. doi: 10.1111/1467-9558.00171
- Molm, L. D., Schaefer, D. R., & Collett, J. L. (2007). The value of reciprocity. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, *70*(2), 199–217. doi: 10.1177/019027250707000208



- Molm, L.D., Takahashi, N., & Peterson, G. (2003). In the eye of the beholder: Procedural justice in social exchange. *American Sociological Review*, 68(1), 128–52. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3088905>
- Molm, L.D., Whitham, M.M., & Melamed, D. (2012). Forms of exchange and integrative bonds: Effects of history and embeddedness. *American Sociological Review*, 77(1), 141–65. doi: 10.1177/0003122411434610
- Moody, M. (2008). Serial reciprocity: A preliminary statement. *Sociological Theory*, 26(2), 130–51. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-9558.2008.00322.x
- NILF (Norwegian Agricultural Economics Research Institute) (2011). *Utsyn over Norsk Landbruk*. Oslo, Norway: NILF.
- NILF (Norwegian Agricultural Economics Research Institute) (2009). *Driftsgranskingar i Jord- og Skogbruk*. Oslo, Norway: NILF.
- Ostrom, E. (1990). *Governing the Commons: The Evolution of Institutions for Collective Action*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.
- Parsons, T. (1937/1968). *The Structure of Social Action*. New York, NY: The Free Press.
- Sahlins, M. (1972). *Stone Age Economics*. New York, NY: Aldine Publishing Company.
- Sen, A.K. (1973). Behaviour and the Concept of Preference. *Economica*, 40(159), 241–259. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2552796>
- Schulze, W.S., Lubatkin, M.H., & Dino, R.N. (2003). Toward a theory of agency in family firms. *Journal of Business Venturing*, 18(4), 473-490. doi: 10.1016/S0883-9026(03)00054-5
- Surachman, A., & Hartyo (2015). Parental investment and poverty dynamics in West Java, Indonesia. *Journal of Family and Economic Issues*, 36(3), 340–52. doi: 10.1007/s10834-015-9454-3
- Thomas, J.P., & Worrall, T. (2002). Gift-giving, quasi-credit and reciprocity. *Rationality and Society*, 14(3), 308–52. doi: 10.1177/1043463102014003003
- Uehara, E. (1990) Dual exchange theory, social networks, and informal social support. *The American Journal of Sociology*, 96(3), 521–57. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2781063>
- Uehara, E.S. (1995). Reciprocity reconsidered: Gouldner's moral norm of reciprocity and social support. *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships*, 12(4), 483–502. doi: 10.1177/0265407595124001

- Vesely, K., Goodman, R.D., Ewaida, M., & Kearney, K.B. (2015). A better life? Immigrant mothers' experiences building economic security. *Journal of Family and Economic Issues*, 36(4), 514–30. doi: 10.1007/s10834-014-9422-3
- Willer, D. (1999). Actors in relations. In D. Willer (Ed.), *Network Exchange Theory* (pp. 23–48). Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers.
- Willer, R.J., Francis F., & Zak, S. (2012). Structure, identity, and solidarity: A comparative field study of generalized and direct exchange. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, 57(1), 119–55. doi: 10.1177/0001839212448626
- Yamagishi, T., & Cook, K.S. (1993). Generalized exchange and social dilemmas. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 56(4), 235–48. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2786661>