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Present and possible future forms of West Virginia rural extension organization were examined in the light of modern societal change and complexity. Individual adjustment to a changing social and cultural environment was proposed as the aim of the future Extension service. These were among the implications of such an orientation: (1) with the aim proposed, Extension can perpetuate itself because of the ever growing needs for help in adjusting to the new society; (2) adjustment, natural resource development, and other possible objectives would be considered under a single criterion; (3) meaningful aims complemented by a suitable structure would be associated with increased morale and a stronger sense of fulfillment by administrators and personnel; (4) such feelings should help make personnel more willing to undergo occupational change whenever necessary, and help agents in particular to overcome the frustration of an occupation involving shifting and often unclear aims; (5) selection of new subject areas, association with new branches of scientific institutions, and changes in organizational structure (including hiring and retraining) would be facilitated. (ly)

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EXTENSION SERVICE AND MODERN SOCIETY

A Report of Phase I Committee on Rural - Urban Transition and Extension Reorganization.

PREFACE

Using West Virginia as a case study, this paper examines Extension aims in the light of future forms of society and change. This examination, however, would be of more value if pursued with the following two points of discussion in mind.

(1) In order to more effectively observe social processes, we often select extreme case studies for they may offer more concrete evidence concerning both the nature of processes and the way individual variables behave. In both the rural and urban areas of the state of West Virginia, rapid decline in agriculture and lack of employment, among other reasons, have produced extreme dislocations of people and of the organizations serving them. The Extension Service typifies the latter. Therefore, a decision as to what the aims of the future Extension organization should be is more urgent for this state than for some other states. Furthermore, because the situation is an extreme one, this state presents an attractive case for analysis of the present and for projections into the future useful for other states.

(2) Past analysis of the problem has indicated that dislocations of people and the accompanying need for assistance in adjustment to the new form of society will continue on due to the accelerated rate of technological change. Because of the diversity and extent of these dislocations, the government appears to be the unique segment of society which could effectively facilitate this adjustment. The Extension Service, primarily because of its philosophy (its aims encompass the aims of

other agencies) and nature of organization (association with a university and use of specialists and state agents) appears to be the most appropriate agency of the government to either act as a liason between people and other agencies or when necessary directly assist in this multi-phased type of adjustment.

In spite of the practical and theoretical soundness of the role which is open for extension today, one could very justifiably ask: will Extension be able to evolve into an organization which will have the sophistication and the flexibility to meet a multiplicity of needs required by modern forms of society; will other departments of the federal government, such as the Department of Interior or the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, co-operate and contribute to the efforts of Extension so that integrated adjustment programs could be implemented; and finally, will the decision makers who suggest policies for various branches of the government consider the deeper problems of individuals in the new society, and the utility of an organization with a philosophy, structure, and experience of the Extension Service?

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EXTENSION SERVICE AND MODERN SOCIETY

Summary

The purpose of this paper is to examine present and possible future forms of the Extension Organization in the light of modern societal change and complexity. In spite of recent changes in its structure and objectives, the organization has not yet justified its future existence. A satisfactory definition of the role of the organization in light of the declining need for dissemination of agricultural information, has not yet been offered. Common sense suggests that if it is to survive, the organization should: (1) try to find out what is happening to today's society, (2) attempt to foresee its future forms, and (3) in the light of such forms, try to pinpoint the role Extension should play in the future; in other words, first find out where the Extension organization can make its best contribution, and on this basis determine its future aims and philosophy. This type of analysis has been pursued here with the following results.

First, in the last few decades technology has begun changing at an accelerated rate. The faster technology changes, the more the individual becomes dislocated, in terms of adjustment to his social and cultural (including economic and technological) environment. Such adjustment, in turn, determines a person's happiness which is his final aim in life.

Second, the government is the best equipped and most flexible unit of society to fulfill this need.[1] The Extension Service, because of its philosophy, its wide area of objectives, and its structure (mainly in terms of its use of specialists and its association with a university) is in turn, the most appropriate agency of the government to play this role.

To examine whether traditional Extension programs are effective in helping with the types of dislocations modern changes produce, rural Appalachia has been used as a case study. Among other dislocated groups, rural migrants and apathetic rural people have been examined as consequences of the inability of the region to offer means to attain the level of living which mass society, through its new mass media, encourages them to attain. Considering this inability of the region to help fulfill these new levels of aspiration and the feelings of relative deprivation and consequential apathy which people develop, such questions as the following could be asked: Do we continue telling those who are apathetic for these reasons, "Here is a nice kitchen or a nice home, try to have one like it;" or do we say, "Here is how people in other parts of the country live, try to do the same." In order to be able to answer questions of this nature, or essentially, to suggest a form for the Extension Service based on the individual's long-term happiness instead of the creation of socially desired images (which is actually what we try to do now), the individual's adjustment to the

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[1] For more explicit reasons, see attached appendix, p.

new society has been proposed as the aim of the future Extension Service.

In order to be more explicit we could say that looking at Extension from the point of view of an aim emphasizing the individual's adjustment to the new society, a number of things become apparent: First, that in the new forms of society there will be definite need for an organization with a philosophy and structure such as that of the Extension Service.

Second, having the aim that we have proposed here, Extension can perpetuate itself due to the ever continuing need for assistance in adjustment to the new society which we foresee.[2]

Third, the new aim shows consideration of all possible objectives under a single criterion. This would include objectives dealing with adjustment, directly, e.g., group therapy and occupational retraining of welfare recipients; and indirectly, e.g., assistanc e in the development of natural resources which will help human adjustment.

Fourth, the Extension Service does not necessarily need drastic changes in order to implement the new aims. More than anything else, it needs a philosophy, such as the one we suggest here, which will allow the organization to gradually evolve into a more meaningful enterprise from both the practical and theoretical point of view.

Fifth, meaningful aims complemented by the corresponding organizational structure should be associated with higher morale

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[2]See Appendix, Summary, p.

than at present and a stronger feeling of fulfillment by both administration and personnel. Such feelings should, in turn, become instrumental in: (a) favorably disposing personnel to go through the uncomfortable task of changing occupational orientation when necessary, and (b) in helping personnel and agents, in particular, to overcome the frustration of an occupation involving shifting and often unclear objectives.

Sixth, aims of this nature will not only allow the examination of all possible objectives under a single criterion, but also the selection of new areas of subject matter, associations with new branches of scientific institutions, and changes in organizational structure, which would include the hiring of new personnel and retraining.

Finally, as a test primarily for states where agriculture has become less important, of each of the six points we have made above, one could examine the available alternative situations as they exist in the present Extension organization.

Introduction

The contemporary world appears to be changing more rapidly than at any other time of human history, particularly during the last three decades. Indeed, unless our vision is simply myopic, it would appear that the present and foreseeable rates of changes are accelerating. While it would be untrue to suppose that earlier times were exempt from radical dislocations, it would be at the same time unrealistic to ignore what is different today - that modern accelerated changes are producing some contradictory and crucial effects on the well being of the individual.

The aspect of change which, because of its consequences, is particularly important today is that it fundamentally disrupts the relationship, or the equilibrium, between the individual and his social and cultural environment. Programs of directed change, and to a great extent, Extension programs have ignored this crucial development. As a simple illustration, we could point out that the local territorial group is steadily losing its identity and, therefore, the basis for its real existence. This is a particularly emphatic change when it is considered that the community is a type of human organization found in almost all cultures at almost all times; it must have been making important contributions to the well-being and the survival of the individual. Similar changes are often mentioned in relation to the family, the other of the two universal groups.

In general, one could say that the more crucial aspects of change which lead to disruptions of this nature and to the disequilibrium between the individual and his social and cultural environment are the following: (1) The rate of the technological change is accelerated. It is suggested that change today resembles a geometric, as compared to an arithematic progression, (2) Overall societal changes are initiated primarily through changes in technology, (3) Finally, changes in technology are usually faster than social changes, and in turn, social changes are often faster than changes in important personality attributes. The latter refers primarily to basic attributes, such as value orienations, developed in early life and changing little during the individual's lifetime.

We hear, then, of communities, community organizations, and socio-economic groups having problems adjusting or keeping up with the new changes. But what is actually in discord with these changes and has problems adjusting is the personality, or as we might say, the constitution of the individuals who form these groups. In other words, at least today, it is crucial for us who are involved in directed change to become interested not only in bringing about change in the community, family, or the single individual's style of life, but to focus our attention on what is happening or will happen to the individual's internal world. This should become apparent when one considers that the ultimate goal of the individual's life is happiness. Happiness, in turn, is a state of mind directly related to the balance between the individual and his social

and cultural environment.[3]

One example which could be used to illustrate this point and show that presently, and in the future, agents of change will have to seriously consider the inner world of the individual, are the feelings of alienation which many individuals are experiencing today. Apathy which is a by-product, or aspect of alienation, could furthermore be used to illustrate not only what is happening to the individual, but also what is, in turn, happening to Extension or similar programs. The purpose of this paper then, is to use these two concepts, alienation and apathy, to show the discord which modern societal change produces. And, in the light of this discord, to illustrate the need for new aims of agencies such as the Extension Service. The use of alienation and apathy as an illustration does not suggest a shift of Extension towards psychological objectives, but rather examination of a wider and more up-to-date spectrum of objectives. Rural Appalachia and, in particular, West Virginia, which is a state undergoing rapid changes and severe dislocations, is used as a case study. The attached appendix - mainly parts on introduction, summary, and discussion - has served as a more or less theoretical guide for the present paper.

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[3] With this in mind, then, we could ask ourselves, how did the individual feel or is feeling in his traditional social relationships, what has made him change these relationships, how does he feel interacting in the new ones, how is he going to feel about these relationships tomorrow, what types of relationships will he seek tomorrow, how could we help him establish the relationships he seeks, and how suitable to his personality are those relationships going to be now and in the future?

The study which is discussed in the appendix examines correlaries of modern alienation among small businessmen. These people, like rural West Virginians, have, more than other groups, found themselves dislocated from what they consider the main stream of society.

The Case of Rural Appalachia and the Need for New Aims for Extension

Conditions opposite to those produced by the accelerated technological changes of today could probably be found in one of the early isolated rural communities. This would, in particular, be true in rural Appalachia where the physical make-up of the region and its isolation have allowed the survival of semi-autonomous (from the larger society) rural communities, neighborhoods and kinship systems.[4] These rural social systems have retained, or modified independently of the larger American society, a particular value orientation and style of life. Thus, as compared to the style of life elsewhere, that of rural Appalachians was formed more on the basis of the values of the early settlers and the nature of the interaction pattern the mountainous terrain of the region favors, rather than on the basis of the influence of

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[4]By rural community, we do not necessarily mean a community similar to that found elsewhere, but interaction patterns within certain localities and, in turn, feelings of belonging and attachment associated with it. These interaction patterns could involve part of a hollow, an entire hollow, or only interaction patterns among relatives and close friends within a hollow.

the larger American society, Pressure for conformity to the values of the outside existed, also in the past, but the solidarity, of the rural - and primarily the agricultural - community was such that these pressures did not have much influence on rural Appalachia.

Income and level of living differences between the rural part of the region and the outside had always existed but this was not of great concern to rural Appalachia. Involvement in a cohesive social system such as the isolated Appalachian community, neighborhood, or even the kinship systems which often plays the role of the neighborhood, fulfilled many of the individual's needs, and in turn, his perception as to the right choices he should make in life. His involvement in the system was not only determined by the pressures of the social system in which the individual belonged, but also by the fact that these pressures were meaningful to him. His socialization took place in a closed, small, isolated, and homogeneous system, and therefore, his personality was in more or less close accord with his social and cultural environment.

In addition, because his contact with and knowledge of the outside was limited, his reference groups, or the people he compared himself with (for instance, as to the money he was making or the facilities he had in his home), did not consist of outsiders but people in his own community, his own neighborhood, and in many cases in his own kinship group. In other words, we could say that

the personality of the rural Appalachian (and again more so in the agricultural community)[5] and his social and cultural environment were, more or less, in a state of equilibrium, and, in turn, integration. Under those conditions, satisfaction concerning the income one made, for instance, from a small general farm, was determined primarily on the basis of the income of the people in one's community.

This, then, was the social nature of the rural Appalachian community, and to an extent of the rural community in general, during the time when the Cooperative Extension Service was established through the Smith-Lever Act (1914). Its original aim, (overall objective), was to raise the level of living of the people, primarily through better farming and later through homemaking and youth work.

During this early period, from 1914 to the early forties, technology, including farm technology, changed considerably. With it, society, the rural social system, and, in turn, the Extension Service changed. Extension aims were broadened and redefined, suggesting, at least for cooperative extension that the "fundamental objective of Extension work is the development of people," while "its philosophy stressed the basic importance of the individual in the progress of a nation."[6]

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[5] In newer mining communities heterogeneity and frequent population movements presented a relatively different picture.

[6] Cooperative Extension Work, L. Kelsey and C. Hearne, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, New York, 1955, p. 109

During this period the morale and sense of accomplishment of the Extension personnel were high. Outsiders also felt that the organization was performing a very important function, because they could easily see the Extension role in helping the isolated farmer, the housewife and their children in catching up with the new technology and the new world.

After the early nineteen fourties, however, some drastic changes took place which affected the isolation and, in turn, the nature of the Appalachian society and this altered the relationship between society and the Extension Service. Of course, the most striking consequence of change was the decline in number of rural farm people and in the need for agricultural information.

Changes such as these should normally be followed by changes in aims of the organization. Otherwise, as elementary principles of bureaucracy suggest, absolute aims will co-exist with low morale, frustration of the members, and finally, disappearance of the organization. In the years which followed, considerable attempts to reorganize the Extension Services - cooperative and general - occurred, and more so, in states where agriculture was on a decline. But the aims, objectives, and methods which were needed for the new organization were so different in nature that decision makers very naturally failed to establish a philosophy or a theoretical framework which

would justify the future existence of the organization.[7]

The overall aim of the Extension in recent decades, then, has refocused from helping agriculture or rural people to "helping the individual in the progress of a nation." Let us, therefore, in the light of this aim, see if Extension could survive in the future and, if so, under what form. The most logical step in this case would be to: First, see what is happening to society today - with some emphasis on the rural segment.[8] Second, to see where Extension would fit in this new society. And third, if there is a worthwhile function for Extension to perform in this new society, what its future form should look like. Below we examine these three steps while continuing with rural Appalachia and, West Virginia in particular, as a case study.

Accelerated changes of later years, such as the decline of agriculture, advances in mining technology, more jobs in the city, more automobiles, better roads, and television, are some of the important factors which have contributed to the loss of isolation. The influence of mass society increased, while the influence of local communities, neighborhoods, families, and

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[7]To pinpoint such aims the West Virginia University Appalachian Center has organized a working conference where subject matter experts would depict the nature of the modern rural Appalachian society and its change while Extension decision makers will use this as a framework to determine aims of the organization or the position where the organization fits best.

[8]We emphasize the rural segment because the organization is more entrenched there and transition could start there easier.

other local reference groups declined. Better means of transportation and migration (visits back and forth of relatives and migrants) have increased interaction with the outside while better means of communication have made rural residents more aware of the urban middle class style of life.

Interaction and communication with the outside, are the two main forces which can lead to the creation of new social systems and to the de-emphasis of old ones. In our case the new social system is the larger American society; it is incorporating the rural social systems closer and closer. Satisfaction (and in particular, satisfaction in terms of the theme of the American culture suggesting higher income and higher level of living) but also feelings of relative deprivation are now determined more and more on the basis of the standards of the larger American society, not on the basis of the local community, neighborhood, and kinship system.

Unfilled desires to attain the level of living which the larger American society expects to lead to two situations: out-migration and for those who remain relative deprevation and its consequences. What is crucial in the case of migration is that the migrants' personality is not always compatible with city life and its problems. The basic forms of the rural personality such as value orientations have been developed mainly in early life and in a more or less isolated and homogeneous social and cultural environment different from that of the city.

Such personality attributes, which are very important in determining the individual's likes and dislikes, do not change over night or over a year. Because, of this incompatibility between the already formed personality and the new social and cultural environment, many rural migrants, mainly older ones, feel alienated from society and unhappy. Some of them return home. Some of those returnees become agents of change; but, others, now rejecting both the new and the old become apathetic and retreat, often joinining the welfare rolls.

Frequently, similar forms of apathy and retreat appear among those who for one reason or another did not migrate, but in comparison to the level of living of those outside the region, feel relatively deprived. Fear of city life, co-existing with a strong desire for better things and the lack of employment in Appalachia becomes, for those who remain, reasons for feelings of alienation from society. Due to rapid change, the same feelings of alienation could, of course, be developed by a multiplicity of similar discrepancies in the relationship between the rural Appalachian and his social and cultural environment.

Alienation in this case could be described as the individual's feeling of uneasiness or discomfort which reflects his exclusion or self-exclusion from social and cultural forms of societal participation. It is an expression of non-sharing, an uneasy awareness or perception of unwelcome contact with

others.[9] Alienation is not considered as a unitary phenomenon but as a syndrome including different types of feelings.[10]

In general, alienation can be understood easier when looked at in the light of its opposite: the feeling of belonging, sharing, or participation, which follows from the individual's inclusion or integration into social relationships.[11]

Let us now look at those who, because they have an income which they consider satisfactory, do not feel alienated. Such people often exhibit high morale, strong desire for improvement, and yet are very critical of deviants such as those on relief. This group of people, or others who for one reason or another do not feel relatively deprived or are not apathetic, is the group for which traditional extension aims, methods, and up-dated objectives could be directly applicable. This would

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9 Jon Hajda, A.S.R.,October, 1961, pp. 758-759.

10 One such feeling is "powerlessness". This refers to one's aspiration from effective control over his economic destiny, of his hopelessness, and of his being used for purposes other than his own. Another feeling is "normlessness", and it refers to a stage where norms either become meaningless for the individual, or he is faced with different sets of norms which are often conflicting and, therefore, does not know which ones to obey. Finally, "bewilderment and confusion" and "retreat from social contact and exposure" are two additional aspects of alienation often found in literature and pertinent to the proposition we are exploring.

11 To over-simplify things we could say that today, a considerable number of rural Appalachians feel aliented and do not keep up with new things for the simple reason that too much is new and he is not ready for it. This would include material items which mass media made more attractive to him, and which he thinks he should have because his new reference group - the urban middle class - has it. But he has no means (jobs) or skills to attain them.

be the case because, with some variations, what we actually try to do in Extension is to primarily raise the level of living and life style of the people. What we have in our mind during this effort in most cases is the image of the urban middle class American. We do not consider what is happening to the individual's psychic world during the process of change into the middle class American neither do we consider how his new psychic status - for instance, that apathy- affects our programs.

One could ask now, is it correct to continue using similar types of objectives for both; those who are apathetic, because mass society, through its mass media, has raised their expectations without providing them with means to satisfy these expectations; and those who have the means, are not apathetic, and have strong desires to keep up with the ever increasing expectations of mass society. In other words, do we tell the rural Appalachian who retreats because he cannot find a job paying enough to satisfy needs which mass society tells him to fulfill: "Here is a nice kitchen or a nice home - try to have one like it" , or "Here is how people in other parts of the country live - try to do the same"? Or do we let mass media do that, and adjust our role so that it becomes <u>that of a buffer cushioning or directing, where possible, on-coming changes so that their impact will, at least in crucial areas, be controlled</u>.

In a similar fashion, there are those who income-wise do not feel relatively deprived but have become apathetic or unhappy because the value orientations they have developed in early life are not compatible with modern complexity.[12] Should they be treated the same as those who are not apathetic, and those who will become apathetic because of inability to cope with future changes?

What in terms of relative deprevation is happening to the rural southern Appalachian is, with some variations, happening to the lower income urbanite. The new mass media are raising his expectations, but at the same time society is not providing him the means to satisfy these expectations. As a consequence, many of these people feel alienated and become apathetic. Empirical data show that high alienation scores are associated with lower socio-economic status in both the city and rural areas.[13] In the past, and probably before the incorporation of rural communities and neighborhoods into the larger society, rural communities were the places where alienation was low in comparison to the city; but today because of the disequilibrium

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12 Rural immigrants in the city or rural males whose wives have recently acquired jobs and, therefore, demand equal status in the family could be examples of such people. Our survey data show that a certain proportion of high income Appalachians live in the ghetto areas of Cleveland instead of the suburbs where close to two-thirds of the migrants now live. It is most probable that these people live there because they feel comfortable in that familiar social and cultural environment.

13 Photiadis, John. "Community Size and Social Integration", Social Forces (Dec. 1967).

which is produced by feelings of relative deprivation, the opposite seems to be true, particularly in rural Appalachia.[14]

In general, then, one could ask, do we tell all these people to change more, and go higher regardless of consequences, or do we simply stop and try to figure out; first, what will happen to these people during or after the changes which we are contemplating; and second, whether we should instead of enacting more change try also to act as buffers helping the adjustment of groups and individuals dislocated by the new changes. Because, in spite of what we have just said, we should realize that until now our main interest in Extension was to encourage and help our clients climb to the ever increasing levels of living which mass society suggests to them. In other words, what we try to do is to produce socially desired images without considering what during the change which we or others bring about is happening to the internal world of these people. This world we should realize, is the only criterion which determines the individual's ultimate goal in life - his happiness. And although as a goal the term happiness tends to sound philosophical and

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[14] For a more detailed analysis see John Photiadis, "Rural Appalachia and Mass Society: An Overview", Office of Research and Development, Appalachian Center of West Virginia University, Morgantown, West Virginia, 1966.

vague, it will sound more practical and realistic when the policy-maker examines the role of Extension, not in the light of change for the sake of change, but of changes for the sake of the long-term happiness of the individual.

One could suggest that if this is true, we should not have concerned ourselves with rural Appalachians, because they were happy as they were. This, however, is not true for at least two reasons. First, wherever lower income people are, they will develop desires for higher levels of living and, in turn, feelings of relative deprivation due to the impact of the new mass media. Therefore, such people will tend to be unhappy with their old ways of life and they will need assistance in order to fulfill their new expectations. Second, this is not true because often there is physical strain associated with lower levels of living and, because of this physical strain, less happiness. A typical example in this case could be suffering due to disease or to the physical toil which is needed to perform certain tasks. Coal miners, for instance, claim that as compared to the past they now enjoy life more and are much happier working with new mining equipment requiring less physical effort.

Considering the need for all of these forms of adaptation which the new changes necessitate, we suggest that the aim of modern Extension should be relevant to the "individual's

adjustment to the new society." This would, in turn, involve adjustment, not only to the individual's physical environment, but to his social and cultural (including technological and economic) environment. We should clarify here that we do not suggest that our programs be directed toward single individuals, because we all know that Extension works primarily through groups.

Selection of Objectives in the Light of the New Aims

As might be deduced from the discussion of the previous pages, the main function of an aim such as that of "assisting individuals to adjust to a changing society" is: (1) to concentrate on the individual's basic needs and his long term happiness (as compared to past aims which in practice concentrated on physical adjustment and the creation of socially desired images) and, (2) to make it easy for the Extension planner to examine a wide area of objectives ranging from assistance in the development of natural resources to the treatment of welfare recipients through group therapy. If properly understood, an aim of this nature (allowing the selection of objectives on a wider basis) also makes mandatory the consideration of some objectives which are very important for the individual's well-being. Typical examples would be objectives involving people who are either apathetic and retreat or those who join the welfare rolls.

In other words, as time goes on and the emphasis on traditional objectives is examined on a broader basis, objectives such as those dealing with the dissemination of farm or home practices, will in terms of priorities, be evaluated on the same level as the dissemination of information about migration and retraining or about the role of the mental health clinics in low income areas. This, of course, will be completely true only when special funds do not necessitate the concentration on specific groups such as the farm group.

As it appears now, there are rural areas in Appalachia which are having more difficulty adjusting to the new society than urban ones. In the rural areas, however, there are some communities where dissemination of farm information could be more important and others where the most important objective could be the creation of situations where specific cases of welfare recipients could be involved in group discussion under the guidance of some expert, in order to change their outlook on life.

It becomes apparent from the above discussion that Extension Administration should, in consultation with a planning committee consisting of experts, decide on the subject matter which is crucial in terms of adjustment. The same should be true concerning attributes of the subject matter specialist.

Due to its structure and its affiliation with universities and research units, Extension could easily switch both emphasis and scope. What is difficult for Extension, however, is that some of the new subject matter areas include objectives which are complicated and elusive. Still, they are as real and their attainment as important as the services we offered to the farmer and the homemaker who needed help thirty or forty years ago for the simple reason that they did not know any better. As an illustration of such objectives, we will try to analyze the relatively simple case of the West Virginia migrant.

Let us begin by saying that twenty-five years ago our aims were "the individual's adjustment to the new society." In that case assistance to Appalachian migrants would have automatically become an important Extension objective. Thus, in West Virginia alone, we would have helped a large part of eight hundred thousand migrants who (at least, during the first years of migration) went through a series of shocks and extensive discomfort in order to attain the objectives which the new mass society expected.

Having the type of the Extension organization that West Virginia has today, or even the type it had previously, but with few changes, it would not have been difficult to set up a program to prepare people for migration. A research unit

could have conducted a simple study of problems of adjustment or reviewed relevant findings from elsewhere. Within a short period they could, in co-operation with the appropriate unit of the Extension Service, have distributed brochures with simple instructions about settlement in the city. Simple instructions such as "first, go alone, and after you have found a job bring your family"; "go to such and such a place for assistance"; "these are the cities where there is more employment today"; "when you shop on credit, watch the following things"; and similar types of directions would have been of service. Migrants in Cleveland have told our interviewers that at least for those early years of the great migration, and during the time when the stem family was not yet settled, information of this nature would have been invaluable.

Migration has been mentioned as an example of an area which automatically becomes important in the light of Extension aims such as those which we have suggested, for the simple reason that after all these years migration can be evaluated as an objective. Although assistance to the migrants was much more important then, and migration involved hundreds of thousands of people, as an objective, it was then hazy and unclear.[15]

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[15] Because people then did not have the relatives and friends they have now to guide and help them, no knowledge of the problems they were going to encounter. They often moved as a whole family into a situation for which they were unprepared.

The reason again is that our main interest was, and still is, to change mainly rural people and bring them to the level of living of the average middle-class American. What happens to the individual who was culturally and psychologically unprepared for migratory adjustment, and was given no help in this new role, has not been considered. Some day, Extension methods which are common today and concentrate on producing socially desired images and do not seriously examine what is happening in the individual's inner world will be as out-dated as the old methods of physically punishing the mentally ill are today.

What we have said about selection of objectives in terms of migration could be easily extended to a discussion on specialists and research in this area. Only recently, and about thirty years after the great migration had started, the state of West Virginia decided to conduct applied research in the area of preparation of migrants and consequently hired a specialist to work in the field.

As a multiplicity of objectives emerge through the new aims, the groups which will be served when such objectives are attained also become apparent. As a consequence, groups such as migrants, farmers having difficulty securing a socially acceptable income, apathetic individuals, delinquents, drop-outs or potential drop-outs, groups of welfare recipients, and groups of unskilled who need retraining, become potential target groups.

What is more important in relation to the new aims, however, is that along with the consideration of such groups, we simultaneously, and on the basis of a single criterion, consider groups of people, who, as we might say, do well but could do better and people who have access to natural resources which could be developed. If, in terms of overall adjustment, it is more profitable to become involved with farmers who do relatively well or with government agencies and communities involved in action programs and the development of natural resources, then these become the target groups. Our objective here becomes primarily the creation of opportunities so that adjustment of these or other groups will be helped.

Objectives of this kind, although chosen in the light of the new aim, i.e., adjustment, are traditional in nature because they concentrate on raising levels of living and/or on the creation of socially desired images. One such objective, which could be crucial in terms of adjustment, is our assistance in passing school consolidation referendums. Education is one of the safest avenues for youngsters from lower socio-economic strata to climb the socio-economic ladder adjusting to the new societal expectations. However, because of the necessity for adjustment, we should also examine the consequences of the elimination of the rural school, mainly the grammar school, because it appears that the small community school offers youngsters

(1) a means of gradual adjustment to the outside world, and (2) a basis for the survival of the small rural community which, for some people in terms of adjustment, is very important.[16]

In terms of the above discussion, we consider significant that the agent places both types of groups (those who need direct assistance and those who need assistance to indirectly help others, such as government agencies) on a continuum and then determine their importance on the basis of a single criterion--that of "the individual's adjustment to the new society." On this basis the most crucial groups acquire priority and become target groups. For instance, if creation of part-time employment is a factor in helping a highly dislocated group adjust to the new societal expectations, then helping bring together agencies which could assist in this effort becomes an important objective of the Extension Agent. The Extension Agent's objective, in this case, tends to coincide with that of the Chamber of Commerce.

If recreation appears to be the area where part-time employment could be secured, then, as done in some West Virginia counties, the county or area agent should try to bring together government or non-government agencies capable of helping in the development of recreational facilities. For instance,

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16 Among others Ernest Nesius, the Vice President of the Appalachian Center of West Virginia University, examining grade school consolidation in the light of adjustment of rural children and the survival of the small communities has doubts about its wisdom.

if farming does not offer the farm operator enough income to meet societal expectations and there is profit in using such farms part-time as recreational farms, the agent should try to bring together these farmers and agencies which could help them start in business; people such as bank representatives and recreation experts could be recruited.

Also, if the unemployed constitute a target group while at the same time operators of heavy equipment for highway construction are needed, as it is often the case in West Virginia, then, the agent should try to secure jobs for them through, for instance prodecures such as the following: (1) identify those who should be retrained, (2) bring them in contact with the appropriate government agencies, and at the same time, (3) from the university or some other source, obtain information as to the usual end results of such training programs. The latter is important because many of these people return to the hollows being unable, despite the new skill, to adjust to their new environment. They therefore need additional help in securing the appropriate socio-cultural adjustment. Similar criteria of evaluation could be used when it becomes necessary to train new miners, or to prepare women for service occupations. When concerned with development of natural resources or retraining or similar objectives, the role of the agent becomes that of a liaison.

Considering the variety of the needs which will arise and the multiplicity of agencies which are established to help people adjust to the new changes, this role of liaison will probably become more important in the future. Despite popular opinion, the role of the government in helping with this type of agency will probably also become more important. As discussed in Appendix I, as technology changes more frequently, more groups will become dislocated and will need increased help. The government is the organization which would, most logically, provide this help.

The shifting of Extension aims which we are discussing here is not new. It began when objectives other than those dealing with agriculture were first introduced. Primarily in the last ten years, and in states where agriculture is declining, Extension workers more frequently use objectives which they feel will help the overall welfare of people. In some states, such objectives include new concepts such as the assistance of families with mental health problems and the dissemination of basic information on child development. But what is missing from these programs is a single theoretical framework which will allow the evaluation and, in turn, seclection of such objectives on the basis of a single criterion such as the new aims which we suggested here. This criterion, in turn, could be used not only for the evaluation of existing objectives

but for the focusing on new objectives crucial to the long term happiness of the individual. Under our proposed framework, then, child development could be seen as an area where families could be assisted in helping children develop personalities capable of adjusting to a rapidly changing society.

Objectives of this nature, of course, would suggest that along with experts specializing in soils or agronomy, there should be experts with training in child development. The county or area agent, along with the area director, should, in turn, either because of training or retraining, know something about the areas where this type of specialist could help. This, naturally, raises the question as to what type of training the county or area agent should have. What type of specialist would be needed, and what kind of person would have the stamina or the dedication to cope with a job which would involve shifting objectives such as these? Answers to such specific questions should be given by those, who, in the light of the new aims will have to determine the future structure of the Extension organization. Here we are primarily interested in developing the theoretical framework which will permit Extension planners to propose the type of structure into which the present Extension organization should gradually evolve.

In the past the emphasis was placed on dissemination of agricultural information, and until a few years ago, the need for

such information was invaluable. Very few knowledgeable people doubt the immense contribution of the Cooperative Extension in this area. But as it appears now, many of the functions of the Extension organization are out-dated. New and probably more crucial needs, such as those which we have discussed above and in the beginning of this paper, have or should come into focus. As previously indicated, many of these needs should be seen as consequences of disequilibrium between the individual and his social and cultural environment. Because of such consequences conventional techniques emphasizing change for the sake of change became dysfunctional, at least for certain groups of people. Therefore, for such groups different techniques should be used. To illustrate this point, we will use as an example the group which we have already mentioned--those who have joined the welfare rolls.

Discussing rural Appalachia, we said that some of these people are alienated and apathetic and use welfare as a means of retreat. But because they still feel societal pressures for their deviancy, they prefer to associate with other welfare recipients while supporting norms which suggest either that society owes them this assistance or that they are smart in playing this role. The same is true for those who are physically able, but have learned this way of life from their parents.

To work with these people, Extension agents could use their knowledge and the assistance of government agencies working in the area to somehow bring these people together. It would be very useful in this case to create interaction situations where group therapy involving extensive small group discussion could be used for either attitude change or morale building. Furthermore, co-operation with retraining agencies could show those who change attitudes, opportunities for retraining and employment, and thus, raise their morale and gradually move them into the main stream of society.

Groups such as those of the welfare recipients should be also examined by the administration of Extension since this organization is expected to implement state policies. Welfare recipients are not only important from the point of view of social adjustment but also from an economic viewpoint; this group uses a considerable amount of taxes which could be used in helping adjustment in some other manner. As a target group, welfare recipients and similar groups should be discussed between agents and area directors; or the area directors could take this responsibility themselves since they are expected to interpret aims and policies of Extension and to encourage agents to become involved with groups which are needing help and direct them to the appropriate specialist. If Extension has a specialist in this area, the area director could discuss the problem with him.

Otherwise, he could discuss it with the appropriate department of the University and with government agencies working in the area.

The point we have tried to make with this illustration is simply to show the concept of adjustment which we are using here from two different points of view: first, from the point of view of the need for assisting groups such as the welfare recipients; second, from the point of view of releasing state money to be used in some other similar project but again to help adjustment. For these two reasons, then, the objective of organizing welfare recipients becomes important.

A similar case of retreat and alienation (examined in the form of anomia) has been discussed in reference to Extension programs in the Indian reservations in the Dakotas (see Appendix II). After the thirties, when Extension decided to introduce among the Sioux Indians new ideas in farming and homemaking, they, along with the mass media, were changing the value orientation and the reference groups of these people. Because they were acquiring these new values many Indians (primarily younger), in order to implement the new values, migrated out of the reservation where employment was available. When outside the reservation, however, they faced two problems--discrimination and unfamiliar cultural environment. Because of the pressures

these two conditions produced, many of these migrants returned to the reservation. Furthermore, because they now valued their Indian group more than before they left, and due to what we call the law of reciprocity, some of the returnees tended to become more attached to this traditional group than they were before they left. Others either became apathetic or retreated often into some aspect of deviancy. In other words, over-simplifying things, we could say that the more Extension tried to help these people change, the more traditional or apathetic they became.

With this illustration and the previous example, we have not attempted to suggest that every time a change is introduced things become worse. The purpose is to suggest that because things could be worsened we should examine change through a number of factors including the individual's internal world. In this article (see Appendix II), it is suggested that changes of this nature, before applied, should be examined in the light of a system (involving the individual and his social and cultural environment) in equilibrium. In other words, we should examine whether our changes will not produce: (1) more extensive disequilibrium than we would expect and (2) more stability in the old system instead of changes we are looking for.

Due to the speed of modern change, feelings of alienation and probably of apathy and retreat are often developed among people who are conservative. The conservative individual is overwhelmed by the extent and speed of change and tends to feel alienated from the new society, (see Appendix I). Again in this case and similar ones, we could ask, do we tell such people to change more (as we actually do), or do we try to act as buffers moderating the impact of the undirected change? The discussion part of Appendix I suggests some of the forms which society could take in order to cope with syndromes such as that of conservatism and alienation. Extension planners (or other planners of organizations with similar aims) of the future will most probably have to make use of projections such as these in order to propose programs dealing with the undesirable consequences of the more rapid changes of the future.

As a final illustration of objectives seen in the light of the new aims, we will discuss attitudes and values, and more specifically, we will deal with the way rural Appalachians perceive government and government officials. Mistrust of government officials and lack of faith in the democratic process are parts of a syndrome out of which (at least in West Virginia) many of the political malpractices--such as buying votes and selling positions and privileges--derive. The idea here is that corrupt or incompetent politicians cannot function

in societies where desirable values and attitudes prevail. If, then, changes in certain attitudes and even values (for instance, change of attitudes toward selling votes or offering and accepting bribes, or the conditioning of the value of the democratic process) are of crucial importance for Extension programs, and indirectly, for the adjustment of the people in their new society, then, changes should have priority as target objectives. On the other hand, conditioning of other values such as those which are not in conflict with those of the mass society also become priority objectives. An example of this is the rural Appalachian value of familism or outdoor living which could, under circumstances, and in the light of the new aims, become a priority objective. This is the case because conditioning of values, such as these two and of ways of life associated with them, could be of crucial importance in terms of direct adjustment. The reason here is that such conditioning serves as a buffer offering the individual something to hold onto and, thus, cope with frustrations which modern dislocations produce. In extreme cases of need for adjustment even values emphasizing sectarianism (which often plays the role of a buffer) should, with some caution, be encouraged.

In general, work with values is often dangerous, and it usually requires that we might call a wholistic approach. The method of community development, for instance, could for varying

numbers of communities become a means of securing adjustment on a broader basis, including the area of values. For some rural Appalachian communities, which in terms of development have been left behind, the wholistic approach could be very desirable. But in communities where a limited number of objectives are crucial: such as retraining, or preparation of potential migrants conventional Extension methods of group approach could be more suitable.

It is obvious that Extension agents are usually not trained or do not have the proper support to attain some of the objectives which we have discussed as illustrations. Still, with some changes in the structure of the organization a number of these objectives could be handled. Let us consider the case of working with welfare recipients. Both in order to learn how to bring these people together, and also to use the group therapy we suggested, the agent could ask the assistance of a specialist and of the appropriate agencies. The role of the agent in this case could become that of liaison between these people and government retraining programs. In general, however, when the appropriate experts are available, projects such as these should be organized by State Extension offices.

Today, whenever Extension Administrators become interested in projects of this nature, their first reaction is to propose the hiring of more social scientists. But, the problem is not

as simple as that, because in order to act wisely, administrators themselves should understand what is happening in today's society and what the meaning of aims such as those we are proposing here could be.

Today, and mainly in states where agriculture is on a decline, evaluation of programs and establishment of overall procedures (such as policies, retraining, conducting research, and even evaluating personnel) in the light of the forms which society is now taking and of the new position of the individual, often shows lack of purpose and reasoning. Still this is not a situation where someone is to blame for the simple reason that we do not blame other parts of society which, due to the speed of modern change, have found themselves dislocated; they could be small businessmen, lower socio-economic strata, teenagers, Appalachian farmers or older people in general. In other words, the only way to evaluate the hesitation of the organization today and the frustration of the conscientious members of it administration is to see it in terms of dislocations produced by rapid societal change. One of the reasons we proposed adjustment as an aim is that it more or less safeguards the organization against such future radical dislocations. Of course, in order to transfer into a more functional or more properly located position, the Extension has to do more than the rural migrant who picks up his family and moves to the city. But until the organization is

convinced as to what its new position in the society should be, and sees that it has the means to reach it, lower morale and frustration will probably stay with the organization's personnel and more so with its administration.

Programs for Women and Youth

Above we have discussed overall aims and objectives mainly for programs for male adults. Below, and again in the light of the new aims, we will discuss programs for women and children. Our primary purpose here is to show that the transition to implement the new aim could be gradual and without any important change both in the basic structure of the organization and the main groups it deals with.

Let us look at 4-H programs first. If adjustment to the new society is our overall aim, then we could say that youth groups such as those of school dropouts could become important target groups. In this case the research unit of Extension, for instance, in the case of West Virginia, the Office of Research and Development of the Appalachian Center, could be asked to suggest which of the available tests could best predict dropouts among Rural Appalachian high school students. After using the tests and pinpointing the potential dropouts, our objective could become the attraction and organization of the potential dropouts into some type of club and, if necessary, in cooperation with other

types of youth clubs and government agencies. The specialist or the appropriate department of the university, in order to create more favorable social environment, could suggest group methods, such as those used in group therapy, while in order to, in turn, help people learn new attitudes they could suggest appropriate standard teaching methods.

Again, and in line of what has been said about male adults, we should try to find out what, in terms of the new society, is happening to this group and, then, in the light of the new aim, see where our youth programs would fit best. In simpler terms, we should try to find out where we could offer our best services for the taxpayers' money. The purpose of this businesslike statement is none other than to encourage the reader to evaluate on a strictly rational basis, objectives derived from a more or less theoretical framework. And in this case, one of the first questions the evaluater should ask would be to find out whether the youth we are working with now are those who need the most help. If this is not one of the crucial groups on which we should concentrate, we should change our focus and channel our efforts towards those groups, which in terms of adjustment, are most important. We should, therefore, try first to identify those groups which appear to be most in need of help and then try to gradually, switch our interests in their direction.

In the case of mainly urban communities and potential drop-outs our objectives could again involve either cooperation with, or giving assistance to, other governmental or private youth organizations, or integrating part of their efforts into our program. In this respect and in terms of basic structure, our organization is, for youth, more suitable for long term action than many other programs. Of course, as was the case with programs for adults, some structural changes are necessary. This primarily refers to the new types of specialist or new affiliations with government agencies and departments of the university. Furthermore, as we could incorporate activities of other agencies into our programs, we could also, when necessary, offer other organizations--for instance, the Boy Scouts--the opportunity to incorporate into their programs some of our club activities, and if necessary even some of our entire clubs.

In general and concerning our youth programs, the two things we should again consider are the following: first, find out where our youth programs would, in terms of this group's present needs, fit best; and second, keeping in mind our theoretical framework, see how we can help existing programs to gradually evolve into this new position and, thus, become more functional concerning needs. Quite often the new objectives require the performance of simple tasks. For instance, it could probably be more important

to spend a certain amount of our effort giving to lower income or ghetto teenagers information on the entire spectrum of possible occupations they could choose from, or information on available government retraining programs, than to spend out time working with our usual youth projects. Besides even if we do not offer our services to the members of our present clubs, in order to meet their needs these boys will probably join some other similar organization. On the other hand, lower income youth who usually need help most will not join any kind of formal activity by themselves, and therefore it is important that we create situations to attract them.

What we suggest here is not to dissolve our present clubs today or tomorrow but to simply "feel our way through" and pin-point youth groups which need assistance. Later, when our agents become capable of easily interpreting and utilizing aims such as those we have suggested here and develop skills in working with the types of groups which we have discussed, agents and administration could make decisions as to what their target groups should be. It is important here that we mention again: (1) that many youth groups need assistance to adjust to the new society, and they will probably need more in the future, and (2) that the overall structure of the Extension Organization, at least at the present, is the most appropriate government agency to help on a more general and long term basis.

In a fashion similar to the one we have used to examine youth programs and in the light of the new forms of society and the suggested aims, one could examine programs for women. A short while ago at the request of the Chairman of West Virginia Extension Programs for Women, The Office of Research and Development of the Appalachian Center conducted a survey whose purpose was to learn about the characteristics of women who participate in their club work. The survey indicated that the majority of their members are older and middle or middle-upper class women from primarily small towns and open country. With these findings in mind the state Chairman of these programs asked, "Is this the group upon which women's programs should concentrate, or are there other groups which, in terms of adjustment, are more important? What about women in low income areas or hollows or ghettos?". For a number of reasons it appears that the latter group is more important for our program and, of course, as it was the case with the youth, it is more difficult to approach, organize, and work with. But knowing that the lower strata, in general, do not join clubs or any other kind of formal, voluntary activity, research units complementing the Extension organization should be asked to research and, in turn, suggest ways of approaching and even organizing these people. As things look today, this stratum is as important as, if not more than, farmers were fifty years ago. Finally, and

in the light of the concrete assistance this kind of research could offer to Extension, one could ask, why isn't this form of exchange the primary means through which research units supporting Extension should choose their projects?

Throughout this country, lack of meaningful cooperation between Extension and its research unit always existed, but now things are changing, and if Extension is to become more functional, it should advocate more cooperation with research. This, in turn, suggests that both sides (Extension and research) should either know what is most important to be researched and how to do it, or they should be able--and this is probably most crucial--to hire people, if they are available, who can do these things.

Keeping in mind societal adjustment as an aim one could discuss programs for other women's groups such as the group of unwed mothers who are collecting welfare, female heads of families needing retraining, or of mothers in general who need information on child care and development. In terms of the latter, mothers in the future will need much more information on how to help children develop attributes and personalities in general which will be more adjustable in tomorrow's world. Of course, this type of objective will come into focus only when we assume that raising the level of living or creating socially desired images

is not our final aim, but could be an indirect means for an aim based on the individual's adjustment to the new society and long-term happiness as a policy.

APPENDIX I

CORRELARIES AND CONSEQUENCES OF MODERN ALIENATION [1]

Abstract

The summary and discussion below have been taken from a study which deals with personal and social correlates of alienation among small businessmen such as age, socio-economic status, conservatism, and businessmen's values. The findings of that study suggest that alienation today can be produced by the way the social system functions (for instance, the way the class system operates) and the type of the personality of the individual, expecially conservatism.

It is proposed that dysfunctions of both the personality and the social system will increase as societies change faster and become more complex. In terms of this proposition and in the light of the findings, various forms of adjustment of the personality, social, and cultural systems are discussed as possible forms of societal response to alienation produced by such dysfunctions.

Summary

The previous pages presented data for the testing of hypotheses which deal with personal and social correlaries of alienation which, when viewed under a certain theoretical framework, could offer indications of determinants and consequences of alienation in modern society. Support of these hypotheses allows the statement of a number of propositions. The first suggests that alienation could be determined by dysfunctions of both the personality and the social system. Furthermore, dysfunctions of either of the two systems, regardless of functions or dysfunctions of the other, could determine alienation. The data also support, although, of course, they do not prove, a second proposition suggesting that dysfunctions of aspects of the personality system (of conservatism in particular) are more instrumental in determining alienation than the direct dysfunctions of aspects of the social system examined here. Finally, inferences suggested by these data allow a third proposition indicating that: in determining alienation, the influence of most dysfunctions of the personality and the social system will increase as societies become more complex and change faster.

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[1] John Photiadis "Correlaries and Consequences of Modern Alienation" Appalachian Center, Office of Research and Development, West Virginia University. Mineographed.

Discussion on Future Forms of Societal Response to Alienation

The first and second propositions in light of the third, as stated above, suggests some further propositions which would deal with alienation, not in the present society (as the previous hypotheses did), but future forms resulting from more accelerated changes. Before proceeding with this analysis, however, it will be assumed, as previously, that the overall objective of society is better adjustment (as society sees it) to its environment.

At least presently, societal changes are in most cases initiated through the culture system, particularly technology. Although it is not known what the consequences would have been for society if the initial changes had originated primarily in one of the other two societal system, there are indications--some presented here--that the present rate of change of the culture system, technology in particular, is responsible for part of the alienation produced by dysfuntions of the other two systems, the personality and the social system.

Assuming that the overall objective of society is better adjustment to its environment and that alienation does not help this adjustment (at least directly), society, which is assumed to be a functional system, will have to react to this threat and either eliminate or reduce alienation. There are at least three main possible alternatives society could use to establish equilibrium among the social, personality, and culture systems and thus, restoring their normal relationship, eliminate alienation: (1) it could develop means to make the personality and social system more compatible with the rapidly changing culture system, (2) reduce the rate of change of the cultural system, and (3) with reference to either of the above two alternatives, emphasize change of those parts of these systems which would disturb the equilibrium of the three systems least.

If the present rate of change of the culture system continues, society will have to bring about more radical changes in both the personality and the social system, because (at least in so far as the aspects examined here) both are found independently related to alienation. On the other hand, society could choose to change primarily those aspects of the personality system which handicap future forms of equilibrium of the three systems most. The present data show that conservatism is such an aspect. In this case, it is quite probable that, through some form of socialization or other means, society could succeed in producing

non-conservative personalities. In addition, it could bring about changes in the culture system and produce norms which would support non-conservative behavior.

One could ask now, if society actually produces such personalities and norms, what then would be the extent and direction of change in society? This question is pertinent because, as previously indicated, conservatism is one of the mechanisms society uses to slow down certain changes in the structure of the social and cultural system, and, thus, retain integration and secure safer adjustment to its environment. And if changes in these structures are not restricted by this mechanism, what then would be the chances for securing equilibrium among the three systems and, in turn, of eliminating alienation? It is quite possible that reduction of conservatism would lead to more disequilibrium among the three systems and, in turn, to more alienation. More simply this discussion suggests that effective environmental adjustment requires both conservatism and non-conservatism, but not the alienation produced by their simultaneous presence. Let us look now at alternatives available to society for securing this status.

One alternative, could be the presence of not only conservative and non-conservative individuals or collectivities but also the presence of cultural values (such as those supporting decision-making based on the democratic process), which, at least under certain conditions, would legitimize behavior initiated by either group. In this manner alienation could, at least, be reduced and the adjustment process, although neither faster nor slower, could be safer.

A rationale similar to the one used to suggest possible means of reducing alienation produced by conservatism could also be used in the examination of similar consequences produced by dysfunctions of the business value orientation, or of the socioeconomic structure of society. However, for every change or adjustment this examination would suggest, there seems to be a counter change making more or less dysfunctional other parts of each of the three systems and, in turn, the relationship among them. Until equilibrium is foreseen, a series of adjustments requiring time and often drastic changes seems necessary.

What should be noticeable in this case, however, is that the faster society changes, the less it would have the time and opportunity to control the direction and extent of changes leading to this equilibrium. This would be the case when society continues to employ rates of change and means of adjustment to accelerated changes (primarily of the culture system and technology in particular) similar to those it has been using

in recent years. It could be, then, that if the rate of change of modern society and the emphasis on a single system continues (and no corresponding adjustments in the personality and social system can be made), there will probably be a point where the incompatibility among the three systems will be large enough to force the personality system (which, as the present data show, seems to be related to alienation more directly than the social system) to disassociate or alienate itself from the other two systems. Then, if society, which is assumed to be a functional unit, is also rational, it will be forced to reduce this alienation by reducing (at least in comparison to the other two systems) the rate of change of the culture system. Otherwise it will be forced to emphasize changes of specific parts of the culture system which will make it more compatible with the other two systems, particularly the personality system. For instance, to make the culture system more compatible with the social one, it could de-emphasize cultural values, such as achievement indicated by monetary success, and emphasize those dealing with forms of achievement based, for instance, on the instinct of workmanship. This, in turn, would reduce alienation produced by dysfunctions of the socio-economic structure. Or to make the culture system more compatible with the personality system, society could bring about radical improvements in mental health practices. Such practices could vary from psychiatric help to recreational and social welfare activities. Further, if the already existing societal mechanisms cannot affect the attainment of such objectives within a certain minimum time, society would mobilize means at its dispoal which are more flexible and direct. One such means could be the appropriate use of the city, state, or federal government. In that case, increased complexity and change leading to alienation would be associated with expansion (at least in certain areas) of the responsibility of formal government.

Finally, let us look at hypotheses dealing with some of the probable courses society could follow in case it does not use any of the above or similar alternatives, but continues producing alienation at an ever increasing rate. Data from related studies indicate that increasing alienation results in a heightened tendency to join groups which deviate from the present societal structure, and more specifically reinforces tendencies to join sectarian churches, extremist political organizations or groups such as the "hippies" and "angels". Furthermore, it is possible that this increased disassociation of parts of society could itself lead to (1) more disassociation and, in turn, the appearance of a new form of society, or (2) the slow-down of some aspects of societal change, accompanied by more rapid change of other parts of society. Some of these latter changes could be similar to those discussed above and their purpose could be to directly reduce alienation, while the purpose of other changes could be to reduce alienation indirectly

by developing mechanisms which would help the incorporation into the societal system [2] of at least certain deviant groups, such as those mentioned above, (or others with similar functions). This could enable society to retain a relatively stable equilibrium among the personality, social, and culture systems, and thus either stop further alienation and social deviance or reduce their present rate. This, of course, could happen only when society can respond early enough; that is, when its social system is still capable of reorganizing itself, so that it can legitmize the new forms of behavior.

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[2] Groups such as the "hippies" will probably continue to be pressured by society until they develop forms which will incorporate their particular functions, but those functions will be instrumented through more widely approved ways of overt behavior. In a similar fashion, acceptance of what we today call welfare could become a means of legitimized escape for those who develop syndromes because of the pressures inherent in our competitive socio-economic system.

APPENDIX II

CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF CHANGE PROGRAMS IN THE LIGHT OF A SYSTEM IN EQUILIBRIUM *

Numerous programs of social, economic, and technical development have been successively applied through the years in order to improve the level of living of the Indian people in the Dakotas. The results in every case have been disturbing. The majority of the Indians either continue their traditional way of life on the reservation 1/ or they manifest what is called anomic behavior. 2/ This situation in the Dakota Indian society, as elsewhere, has resulted in criticism of government policies and has caused embarrassment to the policy makers for years. The embarrassment becomes more intense when local and foreign observers question the ability of U.S. Change Agencies to change other societies when they have not been able to change similar societies found in the midst of their own.

Although great effort has been made to change the culture of the Dakota Indian, no attempt has been made to change the other traditional Dakota Society, the Hutterites. 3/ In spite of the fact that these people retain a culture which resembles that of European peasant societies of the seventeenth century, they manage to keep up with modern developments in agriculture without any assistance from government agencies, the

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1/ V. Malan and M. Kallich, discussing changes which occurred in the Dakota Indian culture between the years 1902 and 1956, state that "Perhaps we may go so far as to say that it is difficult to discern any basic shift in the value system of Dakota Indian culture." "A Changing Dakota Indian Culture," South Dakota Farm and Home Research, Brookings: South Dakota State College, Agr. Exp. Sta., May, 1957, p. 25; Vernon Malan, "Acculturation of the Dakota Indians," Brookings: South Dakota State College, Agr. Exp. Sta., Pamphlet No. 119; Royal B. Hassrick, "Teton Dakota Kinship System," American Anthropologist, 46 (April, 1944), pp. 338-348.

2/ E. Hagen and L. Schaw, The Sioux on the Reservations, Cambridge: Massachusetts Institute of Technology Center of International Studies, 1960, pp. 5-12; Erik Erikson, "Observations on Sioux Education," The Journal of Psychology, 7 (January, 1939), pp. 101-156.

3/ The Hutterites derive from an Anabaptist religious sect organization in southern Germany in 1533. From Germany they moved to Russia and in 1874 they moved to South Dakota where they established three colonies. Since that date, the population and the number of colonies have grown, the former through natural growth and the latter through a branching-out process. The practice of communal living is based on their interpretation of the Old Testament. They are conscientious objectors, and they believe that the only government should be administered by God through the church. With the exception of farming, their way of life and their appearance have changed very little through the centuries.

*John Photiadis "Critical Examination of Change Programs in the Light of a System in Equilibrium," Journal of Rural Sociology, Vol. 28 No. 4 December, 1963.

authority of which they do not recognize. 4/ They live a communal life in colonies of 100 to 150 persons, and they use most of their farm income to acquire land for establishing new colonies.

The resistance to change exhibited by these two societies has been studied extensively in relation to their social organization and even more extensively in relation to the various components of the social organization. These studies indicate that the social organization and its components are of such a nature that the acceptance of the Western culture, although it exists in close proximity, becomes very difficult. 5/

The social organization of these two societies is not an independent entity, but simply the conventional form or structure of the social system. The significant unit in social relations, that is, the unit which brings social processes into being, is the social system. If, for instance, there were no "consciousness of kind" or of difference on the part of both Indians and non-Indians, there probably would not have been any social or cultural differences between them, except those determined by previous socialization. The fact, then, that these two are social systems should be the reason for their peculiarity. As a consequence, insights into the change or stability of these two societies should be looked for in those processes or mechanisms which determine the autonomy of the two systems.

Loomis defines a social system as orderly and systematic uniformities of social behavior developed through interaction. 6/ By studying the interaction with the outside system and the influence of this interaction on interaction patterns inside the system, one could obtain useful information on change and stability of these two social systems. It is to

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4/ This, however, cannot be said about the Indians because the authority of the government has been quite firmly impressed on the Indian group, and the Indian Agency remains as a constant reminder of this authority as does the reservation itself.

5/ A summary of studies referring to cultural change of the Dakota Indians is presented by Vernon Malan, "An Annotated Bibliography of Cultural Change for the Teton Dakota Indians," Brookings: South Dakota State College, Agr. Exp. Sta., mimeo pamphlet No. 120, 1959.

A summary of studies referring to the Hutterites is in the process of being published by Marvin Riley, Associate Professor, South Dakota State College, under the title, "An Annotated Bibliography of the Hutterites."

6/ Charles P. Loomis, Social Systems, D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1960, p. 3.

be expected that such an analysis based on generic processes would offer deeper insights into factors determining resistance to change and, as a consequence, a more reliable basis for planning change programs. The purpose of this paper, then is to: first, study those interaction patterns with the outside which help the traditional Indian system maintain its boundaries, using the Hutterite system for comparison; second, study the influence of these patterns on processes which contribute to the stability of this traditional system; and third, study the importance of these processes on programs of social and technological change.

Stability of the Inner System is a Function of Interaction with the Outer System

Sorokin defines interaction as "any event by which one party tangibly influences the overt actions or the state of mind of the other." 7/ When we refer to the fact that some unit of activity of one man follows, or if we like the word better, is stimulated by, some unit of activity of another, aside from any question of what these units may be, then we are referring to interation. 8/ Interaction that is repeated and persists comprises social relations. Social relations exist among incumbents of status roles such as those between a man in the Indian reservation and members of his family, or a man and other men in the reservation. Although his status is changing today, he still interacts with members of his family holding a superior status, and he interacts with other men in the reservation as equal among other men. 9/ He knows that some men in the reservation rank higher than others, but he also knows that racial origin is not an important criterion in determining social rank. He has learned this behavior through socialization in a closed system which is strongly reinforced by social rewards and punishment.

Through socialization he has also developed the ability by which he can see himself as others see him and has gained the capacity for

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7/ P. Sorokin, Society, Culture, and Personality: Their Structure and Dynamics -- A System of General Sociology, New York: Harper and Bros., 1947, p. 40.

8/ George C. Homans, The Human Group, New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Co., 1950, p. 36.

9/ Vernon D. Malan, "The Dakota Indian Family," Brookings: South Dakota State College, Agr. Exp. Sta., Bull. No 470, May, 1958; G. McGregor, Warriors Without Weapons, Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1946.

self-praise and recrimination. 10/ This, then, is the kind of status he expects from the non-Indian when he interacts with him. As Merton suggests, "primary socialization in certain statuses with their characteristic value-orientations may so affect the formation of personality as to make it difficult to act out the requirements of other statuses." 11/

Let us see now how the non-Indian sees his role in this interaction situation. The non-Indian, who probably is either of Scandinavian or German background, has been socialized in a group where he has learned that he is superior to Indians. Even in the case where he has not acquired this knowledge through socialization, because of ethnocentrism he will have a tendency to see out-group members as inferior. Indians both physically and culturally are visibly different. Visibility, then, first helps the non-Indian place the Indian in the out-group, and second, it strengthens his sentiment against this out-group through conditioning.

Because the social and psychological processes discussed above deal with basic principles of human behavior and are initiated by visibility, which, at least concerning physical appearance, is a constant when members of the two groups interact, and other factors do not intervene, the interaction process follows a certain pattern. Consciously or unconsciously, the Indian expects to be treated as equal, but instead he is discriminated against. Let us turn now to some of the processes which initiate the interaction situation and to the consequences of this interaction.

Due to the educational efforts of the various Change Agencies and to the fact that social and cultural barriers are not absolute in blocking the diffusion of the outside culture, a number of individuals adopts values and attitudes of the outside system. These values and attitudes are predispositions to action; and, among other things, they motivate contacts with the outside system and suggest it as a reference group. 12/

10/ Because of this process, people who are traditionally exploited frequently come to accept the discrimination against them as normal and just. (O'Brien, Readings in General Sociology, Second Edition, Boston: Houghton Miffline Co., 1957, p. 185). The opposite, however, is true with the image the Indian develops inside the reservation where norms and values support an educational system which teaches him that he is not inferior to others.

11/ Robert K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure, Illinois: The Free Press, 1957, p. 381.

12/ A reference group is a group to which the individual relates himself psychologically and of which he aspires to become a member. See: Muzafer Sheriff, The Psychology of Social Norms, New York: Harper Brothers, 1936, pp. 89-112.

Thus, many Indians who are in the process of adopting Western values and attitudes increase interaction with the non-Indian community (most often by securing employment there), and they aspire to be accepted as a member. During this interaction, the Indian is not treated as he consciously or unconsciously expects. Instead of being accepted as a member, he is discriminated against. He does not consider such treatment justificable, and he cannot comprehend why and how the other sees him. Such role conflicts, which are often accompanied by difficulties in adjusting himself to the new culture, usually lead to frustration, insecurity, and feelings of lack of affection and recognition.

Because the outside community denies him these basic psychological needs, he returns to his own group, now appreciating more its psychological rewards. 13/ Individuals, then, who are in the process of adopting the Western culture and, therefore, either migrate or simply increase interaction with the non-Indian community, are those who will be hurt more from discrimination, being the ones who are more interested in the attitudes of the non-Indian group. In other words, those individuals who are forced to return are the ones who could have obscured the boundaries of the two systems by moving towards the periphery of their system and the center of the outer system.

This process of change, up to the point where discrimination is strongly felt, probably after it is learned will through conditioning, is similar to that which groups of European origin have to go through in order to become members of the larger group. The visibility of these groups, however, is mainly cultural and, as long as these signs of their difference disappear, they can gradually enter into the larger group. Discrimination in the case of limited visibility is milder and usually operates as a motivational factor towards securing recognition by the prestigeful stratum of the group. 14/

The Hutterites, the other distinct cultural group in the Dakotas, belong in this category. They are of German origin, and as soon as they accept the American culture, they can enter the prestigeful stratum of the group without much difficulty. However, in spite of this they are one of the most peculiar groups in this country. How do they

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13/ Malan suggests that many tried to find comfort in attaching themselves to the Christian faith. Cultural incompatibility, however, made it difficult. Vernon Malan, "The Dakota Indian Religion," Brookings: South Dakota State College, Agr. Exp. Sta., Bull. No. 473, 1959.

14/ Robert K. Merton, op.cit., p. 254.

preserve such an alarmingly different culture? Simply by controlling interaction, which as we have said, initiates processes that build up new social systems and change old ones. The role which discrimination is playing in the case of the Indians is played by group norms in the case of the Hutterites. These norms, besides enforcing traditionalism, which is an attribute of almost all static societies, strongly prohibit interaction with outsiders. Individuals who desire to increase contracts with the outside or adopt aspects of the outside culture have to leave the colony in order to fulfill their desires. 15/

Both in the case of the Indian and the Hutterite systems, the interaction patterns with the outside system force members of the inside system to interact among themselves. Such repeated interaction, as we have said, makes a well-defined social system possible. Existence of the social system, however, does not explain stability. As we have said, a process of change is continuously initiated by Change Agencies and the informal diffusion process. What process, then, helps the traditional system retain its stability? Pressure from the outside and long-established normative patterns should be considered factors increasing the solidarity of the system and, in turn, its maintenance. These factors, however, do not necessarily explain preservation of traditional normative patterns in a system which is continuously reinforced by individuals acquiring values and attitudes of the outside prestigeful system. These individuals are expected to interact inside the system in continuously increasing numbers and thus influence change. In other words, they should behave in a manner similar to individuals from underdeveloped societies elsewhere who adopt Western values and attitudes when abroad. When such individuals return to their respective countries, they usually become strong advocates of change or innovators. This, however, is not the case with Indians, who, for instance, have left the reservation for a certain period of time and have returned to the reservation. When the Indians return, they conform to traditional norms as much as those who have never been away.

Homans discusses such conformity to group norms in terms of what he calls the control of reciprocity. 16/ He suggests that "the more we

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15/ Very few persons have left the colonies to pursue a life out of the colony. Those who have left are primarily unmarried young men. The author of this paper has asked one of the leaders of a colony about their attitudes towards those who have left. In his reply, he indicated that the only thing they would object to was bringing back, during their visits, a fashionably dressed girl and a car, because this puts ideas into the young men's heads.

16/ George C. Homans, op. cit. pp. 284-288.

feel that we are rewarded by the group, thus depend more on the group, the more we obey its norms." 17/ In the case of the Indians, we have said that individuals who increase interaction with the outside system, because they have adopted Western values and attitudes, become frustrated and return to the reservation appreciating more what their group had to offer them. The more they feel that the group is important to them, the more they conform to its norms. What these individuals value most when they return are the psychological rewards they find in familistic interaction patterns, where responsibility is unlimited, function is diffused, and behavior is nonrational.

Norms supporting such patterns, then, are those most faithfully preserved by the group. 18/ These norms in turn influence other mechanisms which help the preservation of the traditional social system.

In the previous pages, stability and change have been discussed in terms of a single process and with reference to a single group, the traditional Indian group. This process, however, does not operate in a vacuum. There are other processes and mechanisms which compensate for limited variations of the elements of this process, so that the system can retain its properties. Variations beyond certain limits, however, are not followed by compensating variations of other elements, and the system loses its properties. Two such examples are the status of anomie, 19/ which characterizes segments of the Indian society, and the acceptance of Western culture by groups of mixed bloods. 20/

17/ Ibid.

18/ Congressman Ben Reifel of South Dakota, who is part Indian, engaged in a discussion with a young Indian girl which illustrates the point. In the discussion the girl made the statement that her greatest desire was to bear eight illegitimate children. The purpose of her behavior was to secure Aid to Dependent Children and to share the money with her fellow Indians. Sharing material goods is a norm that has always existed among the Dakota Indians; however, there have also been norms strongly prohibiting sexual relations of unmarried females, especially if these relations lead to the acquisition of children.

19/ Anomia refers to the continuum of variations in the "integratedness" of a different social system or subsystem, viewed as moral wholes. L. Strole, "Social Integration and Certain Correlaries," American Sociological Review, 21 (1956), pp. 709-716.

20/ Often groups of less visible Indians, instead of returning to the traditional system when they feel the pressure of the outside system, become more eager to adopt the Western culture.

A Functional Model

The previous analysis has indicated that a process of change, or what Parsons calls a process of "differentiation" or "emancipation," is initiated inside the social system. 21/ This process, however, due to the nature of interaction with the outer system, becomes reversed, reinforcing certain aspects of traditonal normative pattern. Because this process satisfies the following four conditions, we call it a functional system: 22/ (a) It can be analyzed into a set of independent variables, where each of these variables is a function of the previous one; (b) the values of some of these variables determine whether or not the property of the system (conformity to traditional norms) will be retained; (c) there are certain limits on the variation of the values of these variables, such that variation within the limits will be followed by a compensating variation of other variables, resulting in the maintenance of the properties of the system; and (d) variations beyond these limits are not followed by compensating variations of other variables, and the traditional system disappears.

There are numerous critics of functional analysis, asserting that such an approach is inherently static. 23/ Resistance to change due to the previously discussed interaction patterns, however, can be explained effectively only through this type of analysis. Although this is not necessarily true for all situations of change, for this and other similar situations such is the case. 24/

The pattern of the process which we have described can easily be adapted to that of models of the physical sciences. A model in a very broad sense is defined as a set of relationships. A functional model could be defined as a fairly complex set of relationships where one

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21/ Talcott Parsons, "Some Considerations on the Theory of Social Change," Rural Sociology, 26 (1961), pp. 230-231.

22/ For more information on such conditions see Francesca Cancian, "Functional Analysis of Change," American Sociological Review, 25 (1960), p. 82.

23/ See, e.g., Clifford Geertz, "Ritual and Social Change," American Anthropologist, 59 (February, 1957), pp. 32-54; Ralf Dahrendorf, "Out of Utopia," American Journal of Sociology, 64 (September, 1958), pp. 115-127.

24/ Talcott Parsons and Neil J. Smelser, Economy and Society, Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1956; E. R. Leach, Political Systems of Highland Burma, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1951.

variable or relationship is a function of another. Using "function" in the mathematical sense, we could say, for instance, that the volume of gas at a constant temperature varies inversely with its pressure. Such a system is expressed as X = f (y): where one property is the function of another.

A similar model can be used to measure not the volume of a gas, but conformity to traditional norms, as a consequence, stability or change of the system. Using data presented under the previous discussion, we could say that attachment to traditional norms and stability or change of the system is a function of interaction with the outside system and discrimination. The model for such a simple system could be expressed as C = f (y) or C = f (x,y) where C equals conformity to tradtional norms, x equals interaction with the outside system, and y equals discrimination. This, as any other functional model, includes two types of variables: those which are maintained as the properties of the system and those which determine the presence and absence of these properties.

We have said that the values of the variables which determine the properties of this system may vary to such an extent that the maintenance of the system is threatened. In such a case, other variables not shown in the previous simple model compensate and the system is retained. Addition of these variables in the above model would offer a better definition of the system and theoretically better predictions of change or stability. However, the multiplicity of factors which affect C, our inability to quantify accurately social phenomena, and our inability to register the change of a single variable on the entire system make the construction of either a mathematical or a functional complex model impossible. But, the construction of a model depicting the status of the system at a particular moment and including unquantified but descriptive variables is possible. Such a model could illustrate how C is determined by a system of relationships which are in equilibrium. It could also indicate the position of a single variable, for instance, "influence of change programs," in the entire system and the kinds of changes which can be expected in the system when individual variables are manipulated.

Three sets of such variables could be added to the previous simple model: <u>first</u> variables which affect C by affecting either x or y, <u>second</u> variables which affect C by affecting the relationship between x and y, and <u>third</u> variables which affect C directly.

In the first set of variables, among those which influence x, we could mention employment opportunities inside the reservation. Such

employment is expected to reduce interaction with the outside. Also, we might consider the degree of acceptance of Western values and attitudes introduced by Change Agencies. Such values and attitudes are in turn expected to influence interaction primarily through encouraging the Indian to seek employment off the reservation. Among those variables which influence y, we could mention attitudes of the outside system towards Indians, or the physical and cultural visibility of Indians.

Variables of the second set are those which influence C by influencing the relationship between x and y, such as desire to use the outside group as reference group, or frustration of cultural adjustment in the outside community. Both variables increase C by decreasing the interacting individual's ability to meet basic psychological needs, and thus force him to return to the traditional group. Also, in this same group, we could mention variables which decrease the influence of the relationship between x and y on C, such as the existence of an organized Indian community off the reservation, where norms will not be traditional and where the individual will have the opportunity to meet basic psychological needs. Therefore, when frustrated by discrimination, he will not have to return to the traditional group and, thus, reinforce it.

Variables in the third set are those which affect C directly, such as long-established traditional norms, interaction restricted to a territory, pressure from the outside system, economic potential for change, and availability of information necessary for social or technological change.

Implications for Planning Change Programs

The Agricultural Extension Service and other similar agencies on the reservation are educational enterprises whose purpose is change in behavior through learning. To a large extent, their teaching objectives involve learning values, attitudes, and skills of the Western community. Such behavior changes we have said, along with similar changes brought about by the informal diffusion process, instead of leading to further social and technological changes, initiate a process which either reinforces traditional normative patterns C, primarily those dealing with psychological rewards of the group, or helps the creation of an anomic group.

In contrast to the Indians, the Hutterites have adopted a highly developed farm technology without any assistance from Change Agencies.25/ Excluding such technology, the Hutterite society of today is not much

25/ Most often Hutterites secure technological information through either salesmen and dealers or other colonies. However, they do this with their own initiative.

different from European peasant societies of the 17th century. Without advanced farm technology, however, the 17th century characteristics of this society cannot be retained. This is the case, because they need high farm income to be able to acquire land for new colonies where they can interact among themselves and, thus, preserve their traditional way of life. Such interaction structured with the assistance of preexisting mechanisms help the preservation of the equilibrium and stability of the social system. In other words, in the case of the Hutterites, the social system reinforces norms strengthening farm technology as the means of survival of the system. In the case of the Indians for the same purpose, it reinforces norms strengthening the psychological rewards of the group. If Change Agencies could fit their programs into the network of relationships which determine the equilibrium and the preservation of the system, change would become a natural process.

The previously discussed model has been presented as a paradigm for analysis of relationships which determine equilibrium and stability of a system. Let us use this model to specify the role of Change Agencies in this system and discuss briefly manipulation of the variables of the model, so that change programs would work toward retaining the equilibrium of the system while determining change rather than stability.

Considering the role of Change Agencies in the light of the set of relationships which are described in the complex model, we can see that their actual contribution to change is not necessarily that which is expected and desired. We have said that the critical relationship which reverses change initiated by these agencies is that of x and y. In order to have a continuous process of change it would be advisable for these agencies to change this relationship.

The x and y relationship is affected by variables of the first and second set of the complex model. If variables in these two sets are first analyzed in terms of their contribution to a system in equilibrium and subsequently controlled, change will be determined by the third set. The variables of this set are found in many other static systems and usually do not reverse the change process.

Let us illustrate. In the first set, we have variables which affect C by affecting either x or y. By increasing employment opportunities inside the reservation, we reduce x. Thus, we reduce the possibility of having a reverse change process. This change process which could be initiated by variables of the third set, such as the influence of Change Agencies and availability of means necessary for the differentiation of the system, economic or otherwise, is not expected to

be reversed. Sasaki in his book, Fruitland, New Mexico, discusses impressive changes which occurred in the Indian reservation when the El Paso Natural Gas Company built a pipeline through the reservation, thus, offering ample employment inside the reservation. 26/ The same analysis could be used to discuss changes in y discrimination, such as changes of attitudes towards Indians of the outside community through education. Such changes are expected to reduce y and in turn to influence a relationship between x and y on C.

In a similar fashion, we could discuss variables of the second set which affect C by affecting directly the relationship between x and y. For instance, the use of the non-Indian community as reference group, and difficulties in cultural adjustment when off the reservation, are factors which amplify the influence of (x,y) on C, by increasing frustration caused by discrimination and inability to meet basic psychological needs. Through their educational programs Change Agencies could change such influence by first helping the shifting of reference group orientation, from the non-Indian group to the group of Indians who have been successful in the non-Indian society, and second by preparing potential migrants for better cultural adjustment before they leave the reservation. Similarly, we could discuss the creation of a well-organized community off the reservation where norms will not necessarily be traditional and to an extent interaction patterns will be directed by agents of change. In such a community, the individual who is hurt by discrimination will be able to meet basic psychological needs without having to return to the traditional system.

In conclusion, we could say that the previous analysis indicates that the traditional Dakota Indian group is a subsystem in equilibrium where, as Radcliff Brown suggests, "its parts work together with a sufficient degree of harmony and internal consistence." 27/ To a large extent, the stability of this subsystem is determined by processes initiated by interaction patterns with the larger system. Because of the determinant role of these processes, intended changes of part(s) of the social system, such as changes in agricultural technology, should be studied in terms of a system in equilibrium. Finally, because interaction patterns between the two systems are of a particualr nature, comparision of programs of change in the reservation with such programs in underdeveloped societies elsewhere is not realistic.

26/ Tom Sasaki, Fruitland, New Mexico: A Navaho Community in Transition, Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1960.

27/ A. R. Brown, Structure and Function in Primitive Society, London: Cohan and West, 1952, p. 181.