

# A Critique of the Psychological Approach to Modernization: Focus on Aspirational Levels

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## Introduction

THE task of theorizing regarding modernization of the Third World has focused concern on the majority of the population still engaged in the traditional economy of farming—the peasantry. The magic wand, it seems, to the problem of development lies in understanding the nature of the farmer and his response to change. Undermining the blocks is a prelude to the change process as corresponding measures to surmount them can thus be undertaken.

A school of thought that has shaped the perspective of some social scientists is with regards to the personality system of the target for change. The view is that acceptance of or resistance to change is mediated by the person's over-all potentiality in terms of his psychological outlook, i.e., his attitudes, values, perceptions or cognitions of reality. That is, there are individuals who are more resistant to change because they have traits that serve as impediments to modernization. Harnessing the developmental process therefore, connotes restructuring the individual's person-

ality traits. Representatives of this school of thought include Everett Rogers, David McClelland, Everett Hagen and Daniel Lerner.

The argument in this paper is that psychological variables are not sufficient predictors for modernization. To attribute the potentials to change to the attitudinal formation over-simplifies the issue of modernization process and distracts one from the complex of events involved in the translation of inclinations or outlook into action. It is herein proposed that in order to predict the importance of personality systems to modernization, we need to understand the variables that intervene between the sponsorship of an outlook and the overt behavior. That is, structural opportunities may either facilitate or impede change-inclination into realization of change. Furthermore, structural conditions creates a feedback on the individual's mental state leading to the latter's reformulation so that a balance between its sponsorship and the perception of realization can be struck. (See Diagram) Therefore, it is important to understand the complex of relationships between attitudinal formation, the intervening variables, and overt behavior.

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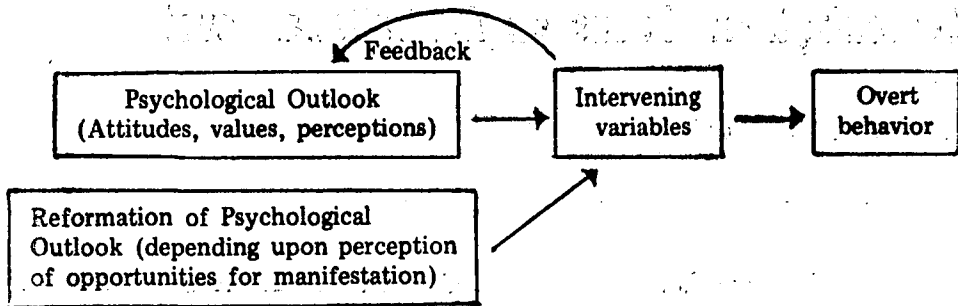


Diagram 1. Predicting Modernization Process Through the Interrelations of Psychological Variables, Intervening Variables and Overt Behavior

This assertion will be substantiated in this paper through an examination of one attitudinal variable—levels of aspirations of farmers in the Philippines. The traditional argument is that aspirations (or desired future states of being such as living level, social status, education and occupation) reveal one's potential to change because what one hopes to attain affects the direction of one's behavior.<sup>1</sup> The assumption attributing slowness to change to limited aspirations is herein questioned.

### Some Empirical Evidences

#### *Aspirational levels*

Preliminary researches on aspirational levels of farmers in the Philippines already reveal a "modernistic"

<sup>1</sup> Everett M. Rogers, *Modernization Among Peasants: The Impact of Communication* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1969), p. 33.

trend but its impact is not suggested in the over-all level of economic development. The clue for this failure may be identified upon examining closely the means by which aspirations are attained. It will reveal that intervening conditions serve as impediments for the realization of aspirations. In a study of rice farmers in a barrio in a Southern Province in the Philippines (Barrio San Agustin, Camarines Sur), respondents revealed a strong desire to improve their levels of living.<sup>2</sup> If these responses were to be categorized into materialistic and non-materialistic aspirations, only 15 out of 106 responses can be considered as non-materialistic.<sup>3</sup> These were: not to suffer from illness, to be a good man, to be more industrious, to have a peaceful and disciplined family and to be happy always. The majority (65 respondents) mentioned the desire "to be rich." Twenty-three had other materialistic aspirations as: to

<sup>2</sup> See Tej Pratap Singh, *The Effect of Aspirational Level on Adoption of Recommended Practices in Rice Cultivation* (Los Baños, Laguna: College of Agriculture, University of the Philippines, 1966). Mimeographed.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3.

own property such as carabao, land and jeep; to get a job somewhere and earn a living; to educate children; to be secure in life; to have a good job for the children; to win some money from sweepstakes, etc. Only one remarked "no hope" and two others had "no comment." (See Table 1)

Table 1. Farmer's Aspirations in Life

<i>Aspirations</i>	<i>Number of Farmers Reporting</i>
To be rich	65
To own property such as carabao, land and jeep	6
To educate children	6
To be a good man	5
Not to suffer from illness	4
To be secure in life	3
To be more industrious	2
To have a peaceful and disciplined family	2
To get a job somewhere and earn a living	2
To succeed in farming	2
To be happy always	2
No comments	2
To get something for the family	1
To win money from sweepstakes	1
To have luck in farming	1
To have a good job for my children	1
No hope	1
Total	106

Source: Tej Pratap Singh, *The Effect of Aspirational Level on Adoption of Recommended Practices in Rice Cultivation* (Los Baños, Laguna: College of Agriculture, University of the Philippines, 1966).

In a study of 498 housewives of farmers in eight villages in the town of Santa-Maria Mabitac in the province of Laguna, twenty five different goals had been verbalized for the respondents' families for the "next year."<sup>4</sup> Majority (79 per cent) had

economic overtones like Singh's findings, the most frequently mentioned goals being "to progress or get rich," "to send children to school," and "to acquire household goods and equipment." Two per cent had a non-materialistic goal (e.g. "good health among members of the family"). Nine per cent had no goal "come what may" while six per cent had goals which were not specified. See Table 2 for the breakdown.

<sup>4</sup> See Nena Bustrillos and Regina B. Areza, "Levels of Aspirations of Barrio Families in Laguna," *Philippine Agriculturist*, Vol. XLIV, Nos. 6-7 (November-December 1965).

Table 2. First Priority Goals of Families  
for 8 Barrios

Goals	Total No.	Total Percent
To progress or get rich	96	19
Send children to school	66	13
Acquire household goods and equipment	61	12
To have enough or have 3 square meals a day	55	11
Build, or finish, or remodel a house	41	8
Purchase lot, home lot	23	5
Earn more or have extra source of income	28	6
Own farm lot	15	3
Find a job, go into business	29	6
Good health among members of the family	10	2
No goal; come what may; cannot define goals	43	9
Other goals	31	6
Total	498	100

Source: Nena Bustrillos and Regina B. Areza, "Levels of Aspirations of Barrio Families in Laguna," *Philippine Agriculturist*, Vol. XLIV, Nos. 6-7 (November-December 1965), p. 503.

Another indication of high aspirations of farmers is with regard to the educational levels they would like their children to attain. Of respondents in seven Laguna rice farming villages in 1969, a high premium on education was indicated.<sup>5</sup> Majority (69 per cent) had wished college education for their children. Only 8 per cent stated "elementary education" and 21 per cent, "high school." One per cent answered "don't know" and another one per cent would have given

their children the option to decide. Considering that farmers on the whole have low educational attainment, a modernistic trend is indicated by the significance given to college education for their children, as shown in Table 3.

A modernistic inclination is further supported by high occupational aspiration for farmer's children. In Castillo's report,<sup>6</sup> 53 per cent of the respondents aspired for white collar jobs in 1969, 16 per cent for blue collar, and 4 per cent for farming.

<sup>5</sup> See Gelia T. Castillo, *Perspectives on Rural-Out-Of-School Youth: The Undiscovered Majority* (Los Baños, Laguna: College of Agriculture, U.P., 1972). Mimeographed.

\* Rural residents had an average of four years of schooling in the entire country as of 1965. *Ibid.*, p. 4.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 5.

**Table 3. Parents' Educational and Occupational Aspirations for Their Children (7 Laguna Barrios): 1969**

Education	Aspirations in Percentage
Elementary	8
High School	21
College	69
Don't know	1
It's up for them to decide	1
Total	100
<i>Occupation</i>	
Farming	4
Blue-collar	16
Don't know	6
White-collar	53
It's up for them to decide	21
Total	100

Source: Gelia T. Castillo, *Perspectives on Rural-Out-Of-School Youth: The Undiscovered Majority* (Los Baños, Laguna: College of Agriculture, U.P., 1972), p. 5.

Twenty one per cent gave their children the option to decide. (See Table 3)

*Perceived expectations*

While farmers depict high aspirational levels, the potentiality to translate these goals into realization does not seem to be bright. Upon examining the perceptions of respondents in terms of expectations for the attainment of stated goals, discrepancies are manifested in wish-statement and wish-fulfillment. Bustrillos and Areza found that only 13 per cent of the farmers' housewives were definite about the attainment of their families' goals. Twenty-one "do not know" or have

no response." The majority (66 per cent) were either doubtful about their fulfillment or were definite about their failure.<sup>7</sup> (See Table 4)

**Table 4. Probability of Goal-Achievement**

Probability	Number	Per Cent
Yes	64	13
Maybe yes	224	45
Maybe no	22	4
No	83	17
Do not know	62	12
No response	43	9
Total	498	100

Source: Bustrillos and Areza, *op. cit.*, p. 508.

In Castillo's research, a discrepancy was also noted between level of aspirations and expectations for their attainment. For those who stated collegiate level as a goal, only 4 per cent perceived their attainment. Among those who wanted white collar jobs for their children (53 per cent), only 10 per cent considered the possibility for their fulfillment.<sup>8</sup>

When asked about the problems foreseen with regard to the attainment of the stated goals in Bustrillos' study, 36.67 per cent could not define the problem, 20 per cent had no problem and 6.67 per cent responded "being done" or "still preparing." For those who were able to define some problems, only 19 per cent seemed to have a traditionalistic view of the situation by attributing it to "no luck." The rest (43.27 per cent) iden-

<sup>7</sup> Bustrillos and Areza, *op. cit.*, p. 508.

<sup>8</sup> Castillo, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

tified blocks such as lack of capital and too little resources (22.54 per cent); unused labor capacity of wife (8.43 per cent) because of too many children, of the belief that their job is to take care of families and of being too sickly; low farm production (1.18 per cent); marketing (1.18 per cent); pestilence, pests and diseases (1.18 per cent).<sup>9</sup>

Majority of the respondents in Bustrillos's study indicated a rational approach to the attainment of their stated goals. Eighty-two per cent specified behavioral alternatives like: increasing or intensifying labor (e.g., working harder or asking the housewife to help in planting and harvesting), putting up projects to augment limited resources (e.g., making and selling hats or baskets, opening a store), and improving method and skill of farming. Only five per cent of the respondents exuded a traditional perspective as they chose to rely on "fortune" or were contented with their current state. Thirteen per cent had "no answer," "do not know" or could not offer methods for reaching goals for their families (Table 5).

Table 5. Methods of Reaching Goals of Families

Problems	Number	Per Cent
Increase/intensify labor	226	33

<sup>9</sup> Bustrillos and Areza, *op. cit.*, p. 510.

Project	194	28
Business enterprise	99	14
Improved method or skill	47	7
Fortune	18	3
As is	15	2
No answer; Do not know; none	95	13
Total	694	100.0

Source: Bustrillos and Areza, *op. cit.*, p. 510.

A more recent study also disclosed a modern outlook in surmounting difficulties as goals are being pursued.<sup>10</sup> Irrespective of the social class origins of respondents from four communities, there was emphasis on the control of the environment and less on luck in the attainment of goals. In this attitudinal survey, the seven items to test the orientation of respondents for efficacy consistently revealed modern tendencies.<sup>11</sup> For instance, scientific explanations were sought when a crop failed (Item 76). Almost all respondents would seek scientific advice if all their chickens died (Item 75). There was less emphasis on luck and more on hard work, savings and planning to attain success (Items 82, 100 and 97). There was greater reliance on education and skill than tradition (Items 81 and 93). (See Table 6).

<sup>10</sup> See George Guthrie, *The Psychology of Modernization in the Rural Philippines* (Quezon City, Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1970).

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 98.

Table 6. Distribution of Responses to Items on Efficacy

Item	Statement	Answer (%)		
		A	Equal	B
75	All of a man's chickens died. Should he a. quit growing chicken? b. have some of the dead ones examined by a gov- ernment bureau man?	10.1		89.9
76	A farmer has a poor rice three years in a row. Would you say that the poor crop is due to: a. bad luck? b. poor farming methods?	26.3		73.7
81	A. A child of seven should go to school no matter how much there is to do at home. B. A child of seven need not be sent to school if he is needed for work at home.	93.1	1.6	5.4
82	A. Success depends on hard work. B. Success depends on luck.	71.3	6.7	22.0
93	A. Doctors always understand illness best. B. Old people sometimes understand illness best.	87.0	7.2	5.8
97	A. Although the future is uncertain we must make plans for the future. B. The future is so uncertain one must give attention to what is happening now.	60.9	12.5	26.6
100	A. A person should share what he gets because his luck may change. B. A person should save what he earns so that he can buy more land.	15.7	8.1	76.2

Source: George Guthrie, *The Psychology of Modernization in the Rural Philippines* (Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1970), pp. 92-96.

#### Related variables

In examining variables related to personal outlook, Guthrie focussed on four rural communities with selected distances of 50, 100, 200 and 400 kilometers from an urban center (the City of Manila) with male and female respondents being drawn by random sample from three social levels—the educated landowning *high people*; *little people* of the town who worked at unskilled and semi-skilled trades;

and *little people* of the barrio who were either tenants or small landowners and who earned a living by producing their own food and a small additional amount for sale in the town.<sup>12</sup> Using this design, the researcher was able to establish the contribution of such variables as proximity to urban center, sex and social class on certain outlooks of life.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 121.

It was disclosed that the relationships of sex and proximity to urban center and aspiration levels were not statistically significant. The dependent variable was observed to be related with the social class variable, i.e., there were more educated and wealthy respondents who had hoped for higher educational and occupational levels for their children *vis-a-vis* those in the lower social levels.

One hundred per cent of those belonging to the *big people* category desired education beyond high school for their children while 82.5 per cent and 60.4 per cent of the LPo (little people of the town) and LBa (little people of the barrio) respectively, desired this goal. A similar distinction in trend was also indicated for occupational levels.<sup>13</sup> These were remarkably different from the respondents' educational attainment. Among the big people, 86 per cent desired attainment beyond elementary education (6 years of schooling); the LPo, 43 per cent; and LBa, 19 per cent.

As a whole, however, there was a tendency for all respondents, irrespective of social class, to have high aspirations for their children. The aggregate statistics in educational aspirations was 81 per cent for beyond "high school." For occupational aspirations, only 14.6 per cent preferred labor or unskilled work. The rest chose business (25.2 per cent), professional work (28.8 per cent), skilled job (13 per cent) and regular employment (18.4 per cent). This was

against the respondents' occupations as tenant or unskilled worker (26 per cent); skilled or small owner (26 per cent); small farm owner or business (19 per cent); large farm or business owner (17 per cent); and professional (11 per cent).

#### Discussion and Analysis

Some of the findings herein mentioned seem to suggest that aspirational level is not an impediment to the modernization process in the Philippines. Majority of the respondents have modern orientations with respect to aspiration levels and the alternatives defined for their attainment.

Since social class is directly related to aspiration level, one should also examine if one's class affects one's outlook. The logic may be that differences in outlook indicate "what a prosperous person can afford or risk."<sup>14</sup> Therefore, level of aspiration is but a realistic definition of what is. Perhaps, if conditions in the environment are perceived to offer opportunities for its attainment, lower class people, who have set lower goals for themselves as compared to those belonging to the higher class, will correspondingly adjust their levels of aspiration for the better.

This argument is substantiated by the findings of Castillo's research. The levels of aspirations of farmers—as indicated by the occupational and educational goals they have set for their children—in seven Laguna barrios seem to be affected by the struc-

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 101.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 105.



tural opportunities in the environment. In comparing the levels of aspiration before and after a development program had been undertaken, remarkable increases in aspirations and expectations were observed. This project was a joint research and extension work of the University of the Philippines' College of Agriculture for the purpose of spreading the new high yielding varieties or "miracle rice" propagated by the International Rice Research Institute. Technicians and extension specialists were deployed to the areas to diffuse the ideas as well as to educate the farmers regarding the inputs and technologies accompanying its adoption.<sup>15</sup>

Initially, the aspirations of farmers for their children was 57 per cent for schooling beyond "elementary." A change took place after the development program was introduced. In 1969, aspirations for the same educational level was 90 per cent. Those desiring white collar occupations in-

creased from 31 to 53 per cent.<sup>16</sup> Heightened aspirations were also accompanied by expectations. Expected goal attainment was 20 per cent to 44 per cent for beyond "high school;" 6 to 10 per cent for "white collar" work (See Table 7).

A study in Malaysia also supports the argument about the role of structural opportunities in influencing aspirational levels. In this case, social class was not a variable significantly related to aspiration. Rather, ethnicity was discovered to be a dominant force for shaping a person's aspirations.<sup>17</sup> In a sample survey of Malay and Chinese students from thirty-five secondary schools, educational aspiration was high, irrespective of one's social class. However, a difference in level is noticeable between the two groups of respondents. In the aggregate, Malay students revealed somewhat higher educational aspirations than Chinese.

Table 7. Parents' Educational Aspirations and Expectations for Their Children (7 Laguna Barrios)

<i>Education</i>	<i>Aspirations</i>		<i>Expectations</i>	
1. Elementary	29	8	47	29
2. High School	21	21	14	30
3. College	36	69	6	14
4. Don't know	8	1	27	21
5. It's up for them to decide	6	1	6	6
Total	100	100	100	100

<sup>15</sup> Castillo. *op. cit.*, p. 6 or 7.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 5.

<sup>17</sup> Yoshimitsu Takei, *et al.*, "Aspirations and Expectations of West Malaysian Youth: Two Models of Social Class Values," *Comparative Education Review*, Vol. XVII, No. 2 (June 1973), pp. 222-230.

Occupation	Aspirations		Expectations	
1. Farming	22	4	38	25
2. Blue-collar	19	16	20	20
3. White-collar	31	53	6	10
4. Don't know	11	6	30	31
5. It's up for them to decide	17	21	6	14
Total	100	100	100	100

Source: G. T. Castillo, *et al.*, "The Green Revolution at the Village Level: A Philippine Case Study," in Castillo, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

Ethnicity was also a dominant factor for influencing the difference in Malay and Chinese occupational expectations. As both groups signified high levels of occupational aspiration irrespective of social class, the difference in their levels of occupational expectations is apparent. Two reasons have been mentioned for this difference, both ethnically based. First, Malays place a high premium on education as a means for mobility compared with Chinese. This was based on the response to the question "What are the best ways to be successful in Malaysia?"<sup>18</sup> Eighty-nine per cent of the Malays checked "being well-educated" as compared to 71 per cent of the Chinese who indicated the same belief. The second can be attributed to the biased governmental support for a sector of the population. Chinese students showed low levels of expectations because of the perception of "their community suffering from the government's policy of special treatment to Malays."<sup>19</sup> This was indicated by the difference between Malay and Chinese response to

the same question. Twenty-one per cent of Chinese students responded that belonging "to a certain race" was important compared to only 7 per cent of Malays.

### Conclusion

The preliminary findings in this paper seem to demand a reformulation of the theory regarding the role of attitudes in modernization. The applicability of this paradigm in a developing country as the Philippines does not seem likely. The fact of the matter is that the attitude considered—*aspiration*—is observed to be generally high in this country but development or modernization is not yet forthcoming.

Although differences in levels of aspirations are distinguishable by social classes, this may not be indicative of basic differences in outlook. Level of aspiration may, rather, be a product of a realistic adjustment of a person's perception of what he wishes to attain and his expectations for its fulfillment. Lower classes or ethnic minorities depict lower aspirations than those who belong to the upper stratum of the hierarchy because of the discrepancies

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 227.

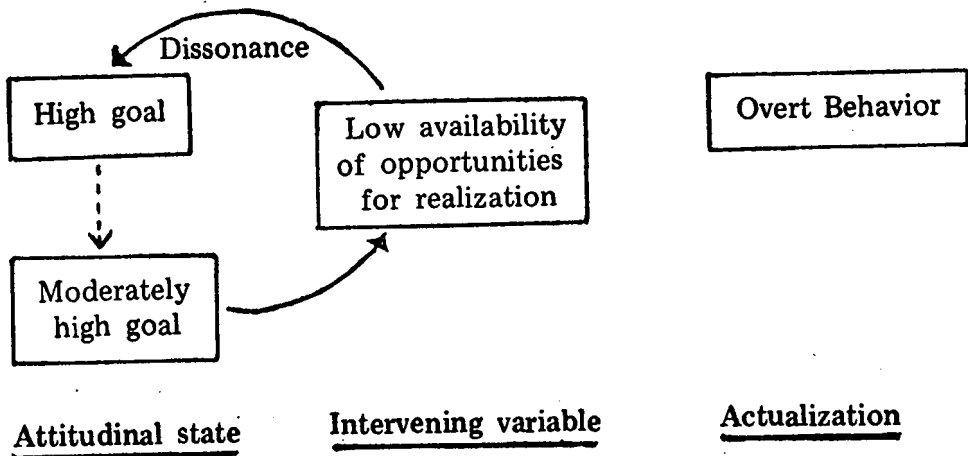
<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 228.

in the goals the former have set for themselves and the expectations for goal attainment. While they may have initially set higher goals equivalent to the upper stratum of the hierarchy, expectancies for attainment are low, creating disharmonies or discomforts or to use Festinger's term, "cognitive dissonance."<sup>20</sup> A balance or harmony is attained by lowering the goals they have set which are perceived to be *extremely discrepant* with reality. Hence, the resulting picture is a distinction by social classes or ethnic belongingness in attitudinal formation.

What may be of concern to the theoretician is to what extent level of aspirations is adjusted to one's goals. It seems that there is a tendency for all social classes to state higher aspirations in spite of the fact that ex-

pectations may not be immediately realized to the fullest. The question may be: up to what point does one set aspirations? The hypothesis here is that there is an inclination for individuals to set *moderately high* goals to direct their behavior for the moment and the immediate future. As conditions allow for their fulfillment, corresponding increases in goal levels are made until a point when aspirations are saturated.

Goals are not set if they are extremely discrepant with reality because they are anxiety-forming. Hence, desires are stated along a sphere that is not "too high" to be psychologically disconcerting. The resultant picture of goal-directed behavior (in terms of goal-setting and goal attainment) may, therefore, be explained by the following diagram:



<sup>20</sup> See Leon Festinger, *A Theory of Cognitive Dissonance* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1957).

The second implication of these findings relates to the focus of attention of the researcher especially with regard to the disclosure of the goals

the individual has set for himself and whether these goals coincide with the modernization process. It appears that the modern inclination of developing countries (in terms of high educational and occupational aspirations) has grown out of proportion from the demands of the market. In the Philippines, the aggregate statistics show that the more educated persons have more difficulty in finding jobs.<sup>21</sup> From the following figures, it can be seen that there is a severe disproportion between those employed and those unemployed who have received a college education. There is a higher proportion of unemployed who have obtained higher education than of those who are successful in finding a job. (See Table 8).

**Table 8. Persons in the Labor Force by Highest Grade Completed: 1961**

	Employed	Unemployed
In the labor force	9,395,00	883,000
Percent	100.0%	100.00%
Highest grade completed:		
no grade	16.9	5.8
elementary	62.8	52.5
high school	14.0	30.8
college	6.3	10.9

Source: *Philippine Statistical Survey of Households*, Series No. 9, May 1961, Table 38 in John T. Keane, "Education: Strengths and Weaknesses," in John Carroll, *et al.*, *Philippine Institutions* (Manila: Solidaridad Publishing House, 1971), p. 93.

<sup>21</sup> John T. Keane, "Education: Strengths and Weaknesses," in John Carroll, *et al.*, *Philippine Institutions* (Manila: Solidaridad Publishing House, 1971), p. 93.

As farmers in the Philippines may have reflected modern attitudes, there are dislocations considering the stage of the country's economic development. The massive influx into college education and white collar work has created an oversupply in the areas desired. As one Filipino economic says:

... there is too heavy a concentration on higher types of professional skills and not enough emphasis on middle-manpower; that layer in between the scientists and professionals at the top levels and the broad base of semi-skilled and unskilled workers and which includes laboratory technicians, engineering assistants, medical technologists, agricultural technicians, etc.<sup>22</sup>

Considering that the Philippines is basically an agricultural economy, the aspirations of farmers for their children seem to be distorted. The objective of farmers to emancipate their children from "farming" itself reduces the potential to develop this sector of the economy. In a study done by Contado in 1964 of vocational agriculture seniors, one half of the parents wanted their sons to go to college; and only 14 per cent wanted them to become farmers in spite of the fact that 81 per cent of the parents were farmers.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Sixto K. Roxas, "Investments in Education: The Philippine Experience," *Philippine Journal of Education*, Vol. XLII, No. 10 (April 1964), p. 701.

<sup>23</sup> T. Contado, "Some Factors Associated with Occupational Choice of Philippine Vo-Ag Seniors," in Gelia T. Castillo, *Education for Agriculture* (Los Baños, Laguna: College of Agriculture, U.P., 1971), p. 2.

A 1965 investigation on the placement of agriculture college graduates in six state colleges and universities in the Philippines shows a minimal engagement in the function of production but a greater involvement with agriculture-related activities of education, research and extension.<sup>24</sup> Of 2,053 respondents, only 16.27 per cent were engaged in farming. The rest were in educational work in agriculture, (55.14 per cent), technical work in agriculture (24.40 per cent), occupations related to agriculture (2.29 per cent), occupations not related to agriculture (1.12 per cent and pursuing further studies (0.78 per cent).<sup>25</sup> This phenomenon of minimal engage-

<sup>24</sup> S.R. Santos, "Training in Agriculture at the College, High School and Elementary Levels in the Philippines," in Castillo, 1971, p. 6.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7.

ment in the basic function of production was labelled *white-collarization* of the agriculture degree by Jamias, and he relates its development to what he calls *verbal culture*, the basic concern of which is "the manipulation not of the objects of production but rather the symbolic components of the agricultural enterprise."<sup>26</sup>

Lastly, the implication of this to the policy-maker has reference to the need to ameliorate conditions to enable those affected to make corresponding adjustments in their behavior. Thus, blocks should be removed to allow for the translation of idealized states into realization. How these goals should coincide with the national goals for modernization is also his appropriate concern.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 7.