

MIRROR, MIRROR ON THE WALL: AN ANALYSIS OF CHANGING SOCIAL IMAGES IN A DEVELOPING SOCIETY*

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THIS PAPER IS A TAKE-OFF ON REFLECTIONS IN A MIRROR—THE MIRROR on the wall which all of us see and use everyday. The choice of the mirror is symbolic for the following reasons:

(1) Depending upon its fidelity, a mirror tells us more or less what we look like sometimes even what we are especially during the first hour of the morning when the image most faithfully reproduces reality.

(2) How accurately we interpret this image on the mirror depends upon what we want to see and the angle from which we view the image. We can even see ourselves upside down if we so desire. As we sit or stand in full or partial view, the image before our eyes changes. We can be near-sighted or far-sighted, even astigmatic in our vision. We can be blind in spite of a 20/20 vision if we look at the mirror in a completely dark room.

(3) One peculiarity of the mirror-image is that when we look at it, the left is the right and the right is the left. This fact is especially significant nowadays when it is fashionable to be labelled leftist or rightist unless one belongs to the silent majority then position with respect to ideological center is a matter of conjecture. But what is left and what is right depends upon where one is looking from. To the extreme left to be a moderate left is to be right.

Using the analogy of the mirror-image we can say that our perception of the problems in our country is very much colored by our position in society, the values we hold, our access to reliable information as to what is actually happening, and our willingness to believe what we see. Going back to an earlier comment about being blind in spite of a 20/20 vision, it is particularly apropos to point out that someone in power could be so insulated from the truth that he cannot see. But perhaps not being able to see at all is more blessed than seeing something which is not there. The latter becomes a delusion or a hallucination. For example, an 89-year old man can look at his image in the mirror but refuse to acknowledge that he is old so he takes a big leap and cracks his bones. In other words a man can see and yet refuse to believe that which he sees either because he is a

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stubborn fool or he has a mistress who titillates him about his youth meanwhile she has her fingers on his purse and her mind on his will. In drawing the analogy one has to extrapolate so that we can visualize the implications of distorted visions on the problems of our country today.

This paper presents four social images in a changing society:

- (a) the generation gap
- (b) the challenge to the establishment
- (c) the revolution of rising expectations
- (d) the green revolution.

From an analysis of relevant research findings from the University of the Philippines, College of Agriculture, one can hopefully derive an understanding of related social phenomena which characterize Philippine society today.

A. THE GENERATION GAP

The first social image deals with what others call the *generation gap* but which can be considered as a case of changing beliefs, values and behavior such that one generation differs from the next and within the same generation further changes take place as the children go through the socialization process. A study done by H. A. Cruz¹ illustrates the phenomenon of increasing secularization in religious values and behavior as one goes from parents to children and among the children, further changes take place as they go through a college education. From the data presented in the study, the following trends are evident when the beliefs, attitudes and behavior of parents are compared with those of their children who are freshmen and senior college students:

(1) The proportion of respondents who believe in God declines from 98 percent for parents, 94 for freshmen to 86 percent for Seniors. Although these figures do not say that "God is dying", 49 percent of the Seniors as against 68 percent of the Freshmen have doubts about their belief in God. And the percentages of those who have definite or occasional doubts on church practices go up from 37 of parents, to 39 of freshmen to 74 percent of Seniors. Thirty-four, 26, and 67 percent respectively have definite or occasional objections to religious practices. Further evidences of increasing doubt are evident in lower proportion of Seniors as compared to Freshmen who believe that God is creator; God is merciful; God is not selfish; and that God provides with the difference being most pronounced in the latter concept that God provides. Seventy-two percent of the Freshmen believe in this but only 35 percent of the Seniors subscribe to the idea.

¹ Helen A. Cruz, Religious Orientation and Religious Commitment of Agricultural Students and Their Parents, U.P. College of Agriculture, 1969. (Typescript)

Membership in church organizations among the three groups of respondents is about 18 percent but membership in non-church organizations has increased dramatically from 22 percent of parents and Freshmen but 69 percent of the Seniors. Giving financial contribution to the church, going to confession and communion, going to the priest for help or personal guidance is practiced less by the children than by their parents.

RELIGIOUS BELIEFS AND ATTITUDES OF PARENTS AND THEIR
COLLEGE — EDUCATED CHILDREN

	<i>Parents</i>	<i>Freshmen</i>	<i>Seniors</i>
	Percents of Respondents		
1. Believe in God	98	94	86
2. Have definite or occasional doubts on practices of the church	37	39	74
3. Have definite or occasional objections to religious practices	34	26	67
4. Membership in church organization	18	18	17
5. Membership in non-church organization	22	22	69
6. Give financial contribution to the church	95	85	81
7. Go to confession at least once a year to as often as possible	76	78	70
8. Go to communion at least once a year to as often as possible	76	87	70
9. Believe in supporting the church from religious service fees	49	22	27
10. Believe in organized fund-raising	3	26	31
11. Go to priest for help or personal guidance	39	32	16
12. Have heard of the ecumenical council	31	47	53
13. Willing to have non-catholics for gangmates	45	65	80
14. Willing to go steady with non-catholic	37	50	73
15. Willing to marry non-catholic	35	39	63
16. Willing to have child become a religious	41	30	12
17. Willing to give up religion to marry non-catholic	33	14	14
(Concept of God)			
18. Believe that God is Creator		95	84
19. Believe that God is merciful		85	69
20. Believe that God is not selfish		92	78
21. Believe that God provides		72	35
22. Have no doubts about belief in God		68	49
Believe in man's efforts as responsible for the following:			
23. Crop yield	62	71	83
24. Choice of spouse	24	48	66
25. Number of children a person can have	19	25	60
26. Man's life span	7	5	12
27. Choice of occupation	73	84	91
28. Income	76	81	92
29. Health	49	58	72
30. Catching colds	15	50	51
31. Believe that science and religion are separate	55	53	69

Source: Helen A. Cruz, Religious Orientation and Religious Commitment of Agricultural Students and Their Parents, U.P. College of Agriculture 1969 (Typescript)

Except for life occurrences such as rain, eclipse and Sun and moon which are clearly attributed to God, winning the Sweepstakes, getting a big catch of fish and meeting accidents which are considered more a matter of luck than of either God's or man's will, the apparently wavering Faith in God and religion is accompanied by an increasing faith in science and belief in man's efforts rather than in luck or God as being responsible for such things as: crop yield, choice of spouse, number of children a person can have, man's life span, choice of occupation, level of income and state of health. Relatively less of the parents and more of the children, (more of the Seniors than of the Freshmen) attribute these events to man's efforts. This is to be expected after a child has gone through four years of exposure to science and the notion that man is master of his fate and therefore, young people would be expected to turn more to man than to God in their search for solutions to their problems. Judging from what is happening now, youth's supplications are certainly directed toward man. Incidentally, when the children were asked as to who had influenced them most about their belief in God, a total of 80 percent mentioned father, mother, relatives and friends. Only about 20 percent mentioned priests and other churchmen. It is tempting at this point to speculate that one possible explanation for less influence from the priests could be the tendency of the latter to talk less and less about God and more and more about something else.

B. THE CHALLENGE TO THE ESTABLISHMENT

Once upon a time, employees, laborers, tenants, servants etc. referred to their "boss" their "chief", their "amo", their "señorito" with a mixture of pride and resignation. Heads of institutions issued circulars, directives, memoranda, etc. and implementation automatically followed down the line. Students used to bow to their teachers in reverent "Good Morning". Superordinate, subordinate relations were quite clear and distinct then and acceptance of one's station in life seemed to be the proper thing to do. Now more than ever, traditional sources of authority and power are being subjected to scrutiny, if not hostility such that an Executive Order could be met by a manifesto and a list of demands; a directive may be greeted with a hail of stones hurled at the windows of the director. If I may use a more fashionable expression—these are just a few instances of what constitutes the present *challenge to the establishment*. But what is the establishment? Is it real or is it just a figure of speech? Does it make any difference in how social issues are perceived by those who belong and those who do not belong to the establishment?

On this last question, a study done by Contado *et al.*² on a College campus boycott in 1969 gives us some clues as to the attitudes of different

²T. E. Contado *et al.* The Composition of the UPCA Populace and Their Attitude Toward the February 3-10 Incident, College of Agriculture, University of the Philippines, 1970 (Mimeographed).

sectors of the college community toward the boycott. That the so-called *establishment* has a reality in terms of its pattern of response to a protest addressed to it is revealed in the following findings:

(1) In comparing the attitudes of students, non-academic personnel, faculty, and administration, about three-fourth of the first three groups either approved or highly approved of the boycott and the negotiations on the demands presented to the administration. In general, there was a high endorsement of the boycott among these three groups. On the other hand, majority of the administrators either strongly disapproved or disapproved of the boycott.

(2) When asked what they thought was the main cause of the boycott, the administrators again differed markedly from the other three groups, particularly the students. Most of the students attributed the boycott to dissatisfaction with the college administration and the college as an institution while more of the administrators looked at the boycott as something ideological and "gaya-gaya" or a tendency to imitate student movements elsewhere.

(3) Another area of disagreement between the administration and the other three groups is evident in their evaluation of the list of 19 demands presented to the administration. About two-thirds of the administrator respondents thought that only a *few* or *half* of the demands were good. Meanwhile 75 percent of the faculty, 79 percent of the students and 92 percent of the non-academic personnel included in the study said that *most* or *all* of the demands were good. These are four groups of people looking at the same set of stimuli and yet perceiving them differently with the challengers to the status quo considering their demands as "good" while the administration felt otherwise.

(4) In trying to look for factors associated with high endorsement of the boycott, the study found no significant explanation from such variables as age, sex, education and predisposition toward authoritarianism. What showed more meaningful relationship to level of endorsement of the boycott was *position* of the respondent vis-a-vis the "establishment". Among the non-academic personnel, the temporary employees showed higher endorsement of the boycott than those with permanent appointments. Faculty members with professorial ranks had lower endorsement of the boycott (57%) than the instructors (85%) of whom had strongly approved of this particular course of action. Among students, more of the leaders than of the ordinary students approved of the move. Apparently the more "established" a person is in the institution, the less likely he is to challenge the establishment. In other words, those who "belong" tend to perceive the situation differently from those who have yet to belong to the establishment.

MEMBERS OF THE COLLEGE AND THEIR REACTION TO THE
BOYCOTT IN THE CAMPUS³

A. GENERAL ATTITUDE TOWARD THE BOYCOTT

	Administration	Non-Academic			Total
		Faculty	Personnel	Students	
	P e r C e n t				
Strongly disapprove	6	4	—	—	1
Disapprove	44	11	—	7	9
Neither approve or disapprove	33	20	20	13	17
Approve	17	44	53	51	48
Strongly approve	—	21	27	29	25
	100	100	100	100	100
Total N	18	81	41	146	286

B. ATTITUDE TOWARD THE BOYCOTT DURING THE NEGOTIATION

Strongly disapprove	23	3	—	1	3
Disapprove	23	10	7	4	7
Neither approve or disapprove	23	19	21	12	15
Approve	31	47	36	60	51
Strongly approve	—	21	36	23	24
	100	100	100	100	100

C. PERCEPTION OF THE QUALITY OF DEMANDS PRESENTED

Few were good	41	10	3	7	9
Half were good	25	15	5	14	14
Most or all were good	34	75	92	79	77
	100	100	100	100	100

D. PERCEIVED MAIN CAUSE OF THE BOYCOTT

Dissatisfaction with the College	42	59	51	70	63
A combination of ideological and tendency to imitate other student movements	58	41	49	30	37
	100	100	100	100	100

POSITION IN THE COLLEGE AND GENERAL ATTITUDE TOWARD THE
BOYCOTT⁴

A. NON-ACADEMIC PERSONNEL

	Permanent	Temporary	Total
High endorsement	38	47	45
Low endorsement	62	53	55
	100	100	100
Total N	8	29	37

³ Figures cited here and some conclusions are based on a secondary analysis of data presented by Contado, *et al.*, *op. cit.*

⁴ Figures cited here and some conclusions are based on a secondary analysis of data presented by Contado *et. al.* *op. cit.*

B. ACADEMIC PERSONNEL

	Professors/Instructors		
Low endorsement	1	5	3
Medium endorsement	42	10	23
High endorsement	40	42	41
Very high endorsement	17	43	33
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	100	100	100
Total N	36	45	81

C. STUDENTS

	Student Leaders	Non-Student Leaders	
Low endorsement	38	48	46
Medium endorsement	60	46	49
High endorsement	2	6	5
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	100	100	100
Total N	29	112	141

In the 1970 boycott, the wide base of support for the protest which was observed the previous year did not seem to recur. Because there was no study done on it one can only speculate on theoretical grounds as to possible explanations for the apparently diminished ardor of the second challenge to the establishment. This may be due to:

(1) Actual changes which may have taken place in the system, in the establishment, so to speak.

(2) Previous militants joining the ranks of the establishment and therefore are in no position to challenge it; or they may no longer be in the institution for one reason or another.

(3) Potential or actual militants not being able to take risks with respect to their status vis-a-vis the establishment due to negative sanctions that may be applied to them.

But the boycott in one college campus is really a small and relatively docile event compared to current student activism displayed in demonstrations, parliament of the streets, vigilantes, teach-ins and pickets which have become such a regular feature of daily life that they no longer make the headlines. Student activism is an unanticipated and perhaps originally an underestimated input into the social change process. Student movements in support of social reforms and in protest against such isms as imperialism, feudalism and fascism have not being counted upon by national leaders but they are real and powerful for students are in the best position to challenge the status quo.

In the first place, they have the idealism, energy and even the ideological fervor of various shades and colors which propel them to action either to change the existing social order or to set up a new one. Secondly, the

status of students is impermanent and their greatest asset is youth. As such they have not had the time to develop vested interests except those that pertain to the vested interests of youth and of those who may be utilizing students to promote their own self-interest. For example, children of landlords and other people in power have not as yet assumed or taken over the status which their parents occupy and therefore there is less appreciation of what they would actually lose if a change in the status quo occurs. Because youth is also a stage in one's life when peer-group influence is strong and offers social support for one's "radical" behavior, students may even feel guilty for the "sins" of their parents. This is a case where the children exert a liberalizing influence on their parent's behavior. Additional assets of students as advocates of reform lie in the fact that the social sanctions which can be brought to bear upon them for protesting against the existing power structure are not like those which can easily be applied to employees, tenants, laborers or teachers whose challenge to the establishment can easily be met with retaliatory measures such as: loss of job, inability to move up the organization especially where alternative work opportunities are limited or non-existent. Furthermore, as students they have the impatience, the time, the centralized location which easily lends itself to organized activity and the requisite ability to articulate their demands either in passive or active styles. Where else can one obtain the concentrated numbers that can be mobilized for action from colleges and universities? Moreover, students are not yet faced with responsibility of having to spell out all the unglamorous specific details incident to the radical changes which all of them seem to advocate. In other words they are not encumbered by the difficult realities that accompany the task of bringing about change. They are not limited by what cannot be done as defined by the establishment. Instead, they are fired by beliefs in what should be done. Earlier the strategy evolved in dealing with student activism is to give allowance for the impulsiveness of youth not realizing that the so-called "concessions", granted to soothe youth's demands, are actual cumulative, expansive and very contagious. It has a demonstration effect on adults. Actually the unexpressed and unfulfilled revolt of the underprivileged adults in our society finds fulfillment in student protests. In many ways, students are ahead of us. We tend to be wrapped up with our little fields of specialization, our jobs and families and the world of crass materialism and moving ahead while the students appear to be worrying about our national and even international problems. Most of us find this difficult to understand because our student days were quite different. We danced, sang, paraded, played hookey, studied occasionally, fell in and out of love but we did not carry the burdens of the world on our shoulders, the way our present day students seem to. And when their demands produce results potential power is actualized and the establishment is shaken up. Suddenly, it is threatened and the image of invincibility is tarnished.

C. REVOLUTION OF RISING EXPECTATIONS

In our not so distant past, it was considered virtuous to accept one's fortune in life with resignation for it was God's will. But with increasing exposure to the good things in life either directly or vicariously and through the socialization process both at home and in school, the motion of predestination is challenged and the role of man in determining his own destiny is increasingly recognized. Somehow within our own society and in spite of all the social constraints operating, we aspire for a better life and learn to expect attainment of our dreams in greater or larger measure. But one of the ironies of achievement is that those who have, want to have even more.

For some insights into the nature of this phenomenon, let me cite F. A. de Leon's⁴ study which was done in an agro-industrial estate well-known for its progressive production, labor, and welfare policies. It offers such things as: free quarters, light, water, medical and dental care, hospitalization, subsidized rice and sugar, annual x'mas and crop bonuses, educational facilities for elementary, high school and even an adult school, movies, community TV sets, reading centers, equipped playgrounds, scholarships, market, cooperative store, church and priest. Given such a setting, industrial and agricultural workers in the estate were studied with respect to their social and economic aspirations. When asked how they felt about their present occupation, 75 percent of the industrial and 84 percent of the agricultural workers said they were contented with their jobs. A confirmatory evidence of this contentment is noted in the fact that 96 percent of the industrial and 98 percent of the agricultural workers would not accept job outside the estate if offered the same salary. Even a P50 addition in monthly salary would not be enough temptation for them to leave if it means separation from the family. They also felt that this wage increase would not be sufficient to offset the privileges of free house, light and water which they enjoy.

Although these findings speak well of management and of the status quo, other data from the same study point to different implications for the future. For example, in terms of education for themselves, half of the workers would not like to study further even if given a chance. However, among those who want to, more industrial workers would like vocational training and college education while more agricultural workers prefer elementary and high school education only. For a meaningful perspective with which to interpret this and other findings which will be cited, it should be pointed out that industrial workers as a category have higher education, higher income, higher level of living and are more skilled than agricultural workers. Of greater relevance to social change is the workers' aspiration for their children. Ninety-two percent of the industrial and 56 percent of the agricultural workers want college education for their children. When asked how

much education their children could attain considering socio-economic limitations only about half of the respondents who aspire for college education expect their children to actually reach that. In spite of workers' expressed contentment with their present occupation, only 36 percent of the industrial and 51 percent of the agricultural workers want their children to work in the same place. Only 20 and 19 percent, respectively, want to have their children follow their footsteps in terms of having the same occupation. Sixty-four percent of industrial and 49 percent of agricultural workers prefer to see their children in white-collar jobs outside the estate. Parents' reasons for choosing different occupations for their children were: (1) desire to prevent their children from encountering the same difficulties they had and (2) the belief that their children who have better education should have much better and easier occupations preferably of the white-collar type. In general, these findings show that industrial workers who have higher status also have higher aspirations and expectations than agricultural workers who have lower education, lower income, etc. But equally important is the observed discrepancy between aspirations and expectations as revealed in this and other studies conducted among farmers.⁵ Asked about educational aspirations 49 percent want college education for their children but only 7 percent of those who have these aspirations expect fulfillment at that level. Instead, elementary schooling is all they expect. Thirty-nine percent of the farmers prefer white-collar jobs for their children but only 6 percent expect this to happen. Farming is a more realistic expectation for them although about a third of the respondents do not know what the future holds for their children both in terms of education and occupation.

What are the social implications of the discrepancy between aspirations and expectation? To the extent that people scale down their ambitions to suit reality then a resigned acceptance of fate results. However, if the so-called "realities of life" are challenged and some people feel that they do not have an equal opportunity as others to have their wishes come true then we have a revolution of rising frustrations. In the present environment of protest, this is most likely. But perhaps what is more explosive than the discrepancy between aspirations and expectations is the question as to how many of those who succeed in getting a college education actually land jobs which eventually help them toward upward social mobility. As our national statistics show, there is a sizeable number of persons who are educated but unemployed. Recently, the government launched nation-wide manpower training programs in order to improve employability. Such programs which bring together unemployed but relatively skilled and educated individuals raise hopes about eventually finding jobs. To the extent that these hoped-for

⁵ These data were obtained from a research project on Social and Political Factors in Barrio Development conducted in 1963 by Staff Member of the U.P. College of Agriculture.

jobs do not materialize through these programs they can contribute substantially to violent repercussions because they help in the crystallization of meaningful social groups which were otherwise an amorphous statistical category referred to as the *educated unemployed*. Present-day expressions of protest and revolt become attractive to them as an object for focusing their time on. They have nothing to lose especially because it is possible to participate in these mass actions without necessarily exposing one's individual identity hence danger of jeopardizing one's future employment opportunity with the establishment is not always immanent. As a matter of fact, the coercive power of mass actions is perceived as a chance to improve one's opportunities in life by changing the existing social structure. While this remains to be seen, the hope is there.

D. THE GREEN REVOLUTION ⁶

Our farmers have been characterized as traditional, superstitious and resistant to change although we have called them rhetorically as the "backbone of the nation". With the advent of miracle rice varieties and the inception of the so-called green revolution, the question was whether such traditional and subsistence-oriented farmers would accept an ultra modern product of science. The answer to this is now part of the well-known Philippine success in rice production. The lessons from this story and their implications for our other problems are as follows:

- (1) If change has been possible in one of the most traditional sectors in our society, change in other aspects of our social life may not be impossible provided we make a similar all-out commitment to it.
- (2) That in attempting to change varieties and rice cultivation practices, we also attempted institutional reforms and even changes in the change agent which if not pursued further and sustained might put an end to the "greening" countryside.
- (3) Ironically although many social scientists were pessimistic and skeptical about the rice farmers' ability to respond to the new technology as soon as the positive evidences of acceptance became widespread, the pessimism shifted to whether the farmers or the developing society in general could cope with the second-generation problems arising from the spread of the innovation. These types of questions are picturesquely summarized in "The Green Revolution: Cornucopia or Pandora's Box?"⁷ Actually it is not an

⁶ For more details see G. T. Castillo, *Technology and Social Change. The Case of Miracle Rice*, *Solidarity*, Vol. 3, No. 12, Dec. 1968, pp. 37-47 and G.T. Castillo, "Agricultural Innovation and Patterns of Rural Life" (Paper presented at the SEADAG Meeting on *Agriculture Innovation in SE Asia: The Implications for Development*, N.Y. City, June 24 to 27, 1969.

⁷ C. R. Wharton, Jr., "The Green Revolution: Cornucopia or Pandora's Box", *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 47, No. 3, April, 1969.

- either-or problem because the issue of Pandora's Box would have never arisen if the green revolution had not brought cornucopia.
- (4) The green revolution has earned for the scientist a greater respect from our politicians and policy-makers. This constitutes a major breakthrough because it has dramatized for us the potentials of strategies that harness science and technology for our development.
 - (5) Although rice in an innocent looking plant, when combined with other social ingredients such as land reform, etc. the inter-actions among these factors bring about ruptures in the social structure as in the effects of high yielding varieties on rental of land when a tenant shifts from share to leasehold. It will be recalled that rental is fixed as 25 percent of the average yield of three preceding crop years. Who gets the better end of the bargain depends upon when the high yielding varieties were used relative to the declaration of an area as land reform area and whether or not increase in yield is known to the landlord and is acknowledged by the tenant. At any rate the green revolution is not an inconsequential variable in our current efforts to develop.

E. WHAT LIES AHEAD?

Each one of us occupy a position in society, whether we be young or old, members or non-members of the establishment, parent or child, rich or poor, traditional or modern and as we ponder on the problems of today and look at ourselves in the mirror, may we be reminded of the fact that if we enjoy the comforts of our image now there are others who do not. What can we expect? If members of the establishment acquire a social conscience either voluntarily or coercively and take steps toward social, economic and political reform, then we *might* yet live happily ever after. Note that I said *if* and *might* because sometimes there is an incongruence between public image and personal-private reality as exemplified by the man who espouses social justice but does not even give his household help a decent meal; the man who preaches on the evils of population explosion but has at least seven children to his credit and an eighth on the way; the man who denounces graft and corruption but turns to the nearest "fixer" to reduce his income tax payments; the man who heaps all the responsibility for change on others but prefers status quo for himself. Needless to say, established vested interests here and elsewhere have not been known to give up readily whatever power they have enjoyed. Furthermore, experiences in other parts of the world and especially in the United States with respect to the Blacks indicate that "social eruptions" are even much more prevalent precisely when things have improved for the underprivileged group. For it is when improvements have actually materialized for them, that they per-

ceive increased probabilities of success in achieving their goal — that of obtaining an equal or larger share of the good things in life.

What lies ahead of us? Is it possible that Philippine society which has been known for its resiliency will also learn to live with its *social volcano* such that we will remain for a while on the verge of an eruption, without that eruption ever becoming a reality? Will our basic social structure remain unchanged in spite of a steaming surface, because we are learning how to manage that steam? Or can we expect a major explosion which will so dislocate existing social arrangements that a realignment of social relationships become inevitable? Unfortunately, the mirror on the wall only reflects the present image; it is not a crystal ball that probes far into the future.