This article describes, in the light of changes that have taken place in
mountainous Appalachia of the United States, the changes that took
place during the last twenty years in the social organization of the
mountainous Greek village of Stavroupolis and other villages in the
country.¹ [The original 1954 study was reported in one of the early
issues of this journal, Photiadis, (1961)]. More specifically, this article
describes changes in the relationship between the village of Stavroupoli-
opolis – and Greek villages in general – and the larger society and the
consequential changes in the institutional structure of the village.

The Village Twenty Years Ago

In the early study, Stavroupolis is described as having a very cohesive
and highly integrated social organization in which a key role was
played by the coffee house, (Photiadis, 1965). Normative patterns
produced within the coffee house controlled behavior not only within
the coffee house, but also in the rest of the village. This was done
through the influence and control each member of the coffee house
group exerted on the members of his family, which in turn acted on
the two other main groups in the community – the women and
children.

In terms of the relationship of the village and the larger society, we

* The project this data has been collected for is supported by West Virginia University,
The Scientific Affairs Division – Human Factors Program – of NATO, and the National
Center of Social Research of Greece. Part of the data presented in this article has been
included in an article titled, “Stavroupolis Revisited”, The Greek Review of Social Research,
No. 14, December, 1972, and a paper titled, “Changing Rural Social Institutions”,
could say that in the past Stavroupolis, as well as the majority of Greek villages, although a part of the larger Greek society, retained a semi-autonomy from it which was based on isolation and homogeneity of its population. Because the village social system was relatively autonomous and cohesive, attachment and obedience to the system was strong, reference groups were primarily within the community, and social control was effective. For instance, behavior concerning the money one made and the style of life he pursued was to a large extent determined by standards within the community which was, by far, the most important reference group for him.²

Furthermore, because people in Stavroupolis and Greek villages in general were born and socialized within a relatively isolated social system, they possessed personality attributes closely in line with the structure of the social system. Social value orientations, for instance, which constitute an important aspect of the personality system and the basis for the integration of the social system, were in accord with the village social system and its important sub-systems, including the institutional ones. Also, in accord with the social system was the culture of the village and region. In other words, in Stavroupolis and Greek villages in general, there was considerably more accord or equilibrium between the social system and its environment, the personality and culture systems, than exists today.

Methodology

In this survey, data were collected during a three year period through selected interviews and participant observation from Stavroupolis, the neighboring mountainous villages, and villages of the plains of Greece. A questionnaire and participant observation were used during the first survey.

Changes in the Relationship Between the Village and the Larger Society

In the twenty years following the initial study, some unique changes took place in Greece and Europe. Industrialization, availability of jobs, new hard surfaced roads, and new mass communication media altered the relationship between Stavroupolis (and the rural Greek community in general) and the larger society.

These changes, which have also been explored in other re-studies by Gallaher (1961), and which we call initial, were in large part direct consequences of technological changes and brought about changes in
Changes in the Social Organization of a Greek village

the function of the two processes of interaction and communication (with the outside) that kept increasing in intensity during the late Fifties and Sixties. Furthermore, those villagers who had already out-migrated—especially during the late Fifties—contributed to the intensity of these two processes through visitations and other contacts. Interaction and communication are the two most crucial processes helping the incorporation of one social system into another (the larger society in our case) or the weakening of an old system (the rural community). In other words, a crucial indirect function of the availability of jobs in Greek or other European cities was the weakening of the boundary maintenance mechanism of the rural social system and, furthermore, the increased use of the outside as a reference group. Thus, starting first with the more educated and the young, villagers began increasingly comparing themselves in terms of income and level of living—the themes of the larger society—with outsiders, especially the lower urban middle class. The latter is the group projected most often by mass media and the group the few that were then in the city looked up to.

From this point on, both out-migration and socio-psychological linkage kept increasing in intensity; and along with these, the incorporation of the rural into the larger society social system, the use of the latter as a reference group, and the consequent strong feelings of relative deprivation also increased. In addition, because such feelings had become part of the basic motivational orientation of large numbers of individuals, social organization and norms and social pressures for performance in line with expectations of the larger society kept increasing rapidly. This led to more out-migration and, in turn, closer incorporation into the larger society, which further increased out-migration.

In other words, job opportunities in the city made possible this mutual dependence between migration and incorporation into the larger society. Thus, regardless of physical, cultural, or mental suitability or preparation for city employment, within ten to fifteen years more than half of the young adult men and women left the mountainous regions of Greece.

Along with the rest of the rural social system boundary maintenance mechanisms—for instance, norms suggesting that you cannot find a true friend in the city or that the good life is in the village—rapidly lost their effectiveness as time went by. On the other hand, pressure, from both outside and within, for economic achievement and, in turn, out-migration, kept rapidly increasing to the extent that, for many,
the rural community started becoming a negative reference group, community norms became ineffective, morale or community spirit low, and in a number of cases, the rural social organization almost collapsed. This stage of transition, which is initiated and usually sustained by the availability of city jobs, often leads to a mass exodus of rural populations. In part, this has happened to two of the three small satellite communities surrounding Stavroupolis. The third, however, has retained most of its population and its ability to function as an integrated system. Interviews have shown that social processes and attributes of leaders – the present mayor of the Stavroupolis township is a resident of this isolated village – were more important than economic potential in the survival of this village. A similar situation is reported by Professor Paul Vouras, (1973), who compared two villages, one of which up to the year 1973 remained almost intact, while the other, although more prosperous but with a long migration history, had lost more than half its population.

Even from the point of view of applied programs, it is important to understand the mechanics of processes such as the one we have just described because: first, at a certain period of the transition, out-migration becomes much faster than city employment can absorb; second, it pressures people out of their communities regardless of preparation or fitness for city life, thus creating a number of problems afterwards; third, this type of exodus is taking place today in a number of countries of intermediate development, while in other, less developed countries, it will probably take place in the near future; and fourth, – at least on the basis of information on the Appalachian mountain region of the United States – a number of those who have remained in the village or have returned from migration have caused socio-psychological dislocations involving alienation, tendencies for retreat – sometimes onto welfare rolls – and involvement in emotional religion.

It is obvious, especially after the local social system lost its autonomy, that the processes described above were influenced by the “income differential” between rural communities and the industrial centers; the greater the difference, the faster the out-migration.

In the plains region of Greece, America, and a number of Northern European countries including Italy, where agriculture is a more visible option and land can be consolidated into economic units, due to a more limited isolation and more economic potential, the incorporation (socio-psychological and otherwise) of the rural into the urban social system has been more gradual. This is not feasible in the Stavroupolis
Changes in the Social Organization of a Greek Village

Area or in the hollows of mountainous Appalachia. The same is true in other countries when one compares fertile plains with isolated, low-income mountainous or arid areas.

Consequences of Initial Changes

What we have discussed above deals with the increased economic and socio-psychological linkage between Stavroupolis and the larger society. What we will be examining in the pages which follow are consequences of this kind of linkage, in particular changes in social institutions, but first we will briefly discuss changes in the social organization of the village in general.

During the first years after the initial survey, increased expectations for higher level of living were channeled into motivation for improvements in productivity and other endeavors. In some respects this period which, due to the intensive role of adjustment processes, we call the period of intense social processes was like an awakening. This period involved strong efforts by older men, businessmen, and village leaders to compromise and to introduce new changes, even when they did not benefit from them directly, for the purpose of helping the community to survive.

During those earlier years, community spirit was higher and the community still retained relative autonomy as a social system. This autonomy (and the consequential weaker societal pressures), as we have explained, was the main reason relatively lower incomes, as compared to the city, were not as disturbing then.

This period has been followed by one in which the spirit of a number of villagers, in particular in the surrounding smaller villages, started declining steadily, out-migration increased, and village social organization started losing its effectiveness. The period of intense social processes was shorter in the small villages surrounding Stavroupolis, but longer in the plains of Greece, and still in existence in the larger and more prosperous villages. In general, smaller communities, in particular those with less economic potential, start declining first. But the size required to sustain decline has been increasing as years go by, except, of course, in the case of opportunities in the village itself.

Changes in Social Institutions

By studying the institutional structure of a society, one can develop a fairly accurate picture of the nature and motivational basis of its
social organization (Williams, 1964). This is probably less true in rural Greece today because its main institutions are in transition. Still, awareness of trends examined in the light of the theoretical framework discussed in the previous pages can offer meaningful interpretations.

The theme of the larger society culture, which in turn constitutes the major imitation target of the less prestigious rural sector, is higher income and higher level of living. As a consequence, the central axis of reorientation of the major rural social institutions and furthermore, the institution which is under the most severe pressure to perform, is the economic institution, that is the crystalized ways society is using to meet its economic needs. Changes in other major institutions are to a large extent supportive responses, sometimes secondary, to changes in the economic institution. For instance, changes in government and education often have as a purpose the enhancement and facilitation of the effectiveness of the economic institution; but others, for instance the family, are changing in such a way that they can both facilitate economic developments and also act more or less as a buffer absorbing social, economic, or psychological dislocations produced by changes in the economy. Finally others, the church for instance, although not in Greece but in the Appalachian region of the United States, increasingly perform the latter of the two functions we mentioned in relation to the family.

Besides reorganization and reorientation of major institutional sub-systems during this twenty year period, the rural social system as a whole has been undergoing changes in its basic structure so that closer integration into the larger society might become easier. As it is implied in discussions that follow, for instance, those on the family, in particular the separation of its social from its economic functions, differentiation and specialization are two important processes leading to a new type of integration within the rural social system, which is in turn expected to facilitate the more functional integration of the rural into the larger society. Specialization, occupational in particular, is more visible in the plains of Greece and more so in the rest of Europe where it is characterized by increased professionalization and the attributes associated with it.6

In terms of integration, effectiveness as a system of support, and as a means of attaining objectives, the structure of the village social system has lost a large part of its power, as is discussed in a paper dealing with the normative structure that follows the present one. Norms are less clear, though greater in number, and sub-groups (e.g., age, kinship, etc.) tend, more than before, to adhere to different and
more diverse norms; weaker adherence to such norms often has its roots in the use of certain city groups, e.g., age groups or groups of kinfolk in the city, as reference groups. Due to the loss of effectiveness of the normative structure, including the crucial supportive role of the coffee house, social control is less effective. Let us turn now to changes in more specific parts of the village social organization and look at changes in some of the major social institutions.

Economy: As we indicated previously, along with the increased incorporation of the rural into the larger society social system, economic success, as elsewhere (Shanin, 1973, and Kunkel, 1970), became a much stronger motive than it was before the first survey. In other words, in contrast to the value of economic success and higher level of living, values such as familism, friendship, fatalism, and mutual aid, which are not as much emphasized by the new reference group, in later years became weaker. Plain food and shelter are not considered sufficient anymore. Minimum success today implies an income which can guarantee home ownership, a number of new appliances, better food and clothing, and economic freedom to send children to school for at least twelve years. Because mountainous villages such as Stavroupolis, and more so the smaller villages surrounding it, did not offer opportunities for fulfilling the new expectations, feelings of relative deprivation rapidly developed. Depending on the opportunities the community could offer, such feelings have led to more efforts to increase income and also to more out-migration, often in spite of lack of potential for adjustment in the city. Furthermore, because of the presence of these feelings, hard work on the farm, a value of the peasant ideology, started acquiring lower rank in the hierarchy of peasant values. A different situation often exists in the plains of Greece and in the mountains among farmers who see room for expansion of their enterprise. In that case, the outside social pressure for economic achievement often becomes a strong motivational force for the adoption of new ideas and practices that, in turn, support and sustain the processes of specialization and differentiation.

In the mountainous Appalachian region of the United States, that in many respects resembles the Stavroupolis area, the economic achievement motive is often implemented through part-time farming. Thus, in West Virginia, the most mountainous state of the Appalachian Region, over ninety per cent of the farmers are only part-time farmers, having a second occupation besides farming. It is quite possible that, the new wood processing plant (the only plant in the area) that is under construction in Stavroupolis will create a similar situation.
Government: Next to the economy, and more directly than other institutions, government has been pressured for effectiveness, (Berger, 1971). But, in particular during the first years after the first survey, it was pressured more to help strengthen the economic institution which only indirectly affects one's economic status. The many-sided pressures on the village government to become more effective, the greater support the government now receives from the people – which is independent of what they think about the political situation in Greece – and in turn the reduction of obstacles posed by parts of the informal structure have helped local governments in the area to become, in comparison to the past, relatively more efficient, less partial, more outward looking, and bolder in their decisions.

Many decisions which were made in the coffee house, often even before the decisions of the village council and its mayor, are now taken more and more by the government alone. However, while the before or after approval by the coffee house clientele is important, it is not as important as before.

Similarly, the apathetic attitude toward government which was more visible, at least recently, in the more rapidly declining villages – or in small communities in rural Appalachia of the United States – did not exist in Stavroupolis and, as a matter of fact, there is today more constructive interest than before. Returned migrants, in particular those who had returned from Germany, were usually more objective, militant, came up with new ideas, and sometimes acted as buffers, reducing the friction between old factions. The large majority of these people have now permanently left the community.

Finally, the village government, at least in terms of direction or trend, is becoming more impersonal and businesslike. It is run by younger individuals and, although still rigid and not highly efficient at least in terms of Northern European standards, is performing more functions than before.

Education: Education still is not geared to the village youngster, his occupation, or social adjustment in the city. But there is now a complete six-year high school in Stavroupolis which the majority of children attend. The year the early study was conducted, only one boy, the son of the village's practical lawyer, was attending college. In 1970, there were close to twenty boys and girls, many of them from tobacco producing families, attending college. Most of these students came from families which now live in the city, but when asked about youngsters from the village attending college, they do not make the distinction between those who live in the village and those who don't.
Not only attendance but attitudes toward education have changed considerably. Twenty years ago, there were few villagers who mentioned a high school diploma for a girl. Then, the majority of villagers had mentioned high school for boys and three years of high school for girls, (Photiadis, 1961). For the majority today, satisfactory education is college for boys and high school for girls. The main reference group for tobacco producers in this case is still the village, but it now tends to include those who have out-migrated.

The coffee house, which was more or less the center for exchange and dissemination of information, (Photiadis, 1965), is playing this role less than before. This reduction refers primarily to the fact that families as units, and the women’s, boys, and girl’s groups, have new direct lines of communication and information exchange with relatives or friends in the cities of Greece and elsewhere. On the other hand, the sources of new information input into the coffee house have also increased. But the filtering of the incoming information before being disseminated to the rest of the village, and to an extent the villages surrounding Stavroupolis, is not as biased as before.

Family: Looser social control and increased use of corresponding groups in the city as reference groups in the later years has led to more autonomy of most community social sub-systems, including the family. Similarly, probably excluding his relationship with his wife, the high position of the head of the household has also declined. One reason for this decline is that the interaction patterns produced during the function of the family as a work unit that used to reinforce the father’s status as a leader do not exist anymore. Today, in most cases, the family, at least insofar as it concerns the involvement of the children, no longer functions as a work or economic unit. Children are now geared to tasks which will lead to their employment elsewhere, where they can contribute more efficiently to the larger economic system by becoming engaged or preparing for engagement in parts of the production line which are more rewarding and often available.

There are at least three crucial consequences of this availability and the potential of the young to secure a job elsewhere. First, children do not depend economically and socially on the family and on the community as much as before and therefore do not have to reciprocate by obeying the norms of these groups. Second, by not being involved in the interaction patterns where the family interacts as a production unit, both youngsters and parents become less conditioned to the superior role of the father. Third, prospects for securing employment in the city imply wages often higher than those of the father, more
worldly experiences, and more use as a reference group those city
groups corresponding to one's age group.

Although the status role relationship between teenage children and
the father has changed drastically, wives, in particular when not
employed outside the home, still consider the husband superior.
Daughters who attend school or are employed in the city often
courage their mothers to change and not abide as much by their
husbands' wishes.\textsuperscript{13} In certain respects, friendship between older
couples increased along with the decline of status difference.\textsuperscript{14}

The kinship group today constitutes the main mechanism through
which out-migration takes place, which in turn often brings migrant
members, especially husbands and wives, closer to each other. Youn-
ger children were often, and some still are, left with grandparents in
the village, so closer ties between grandchildren and grandparents
develop. Thus, although in many respects family cohesiveness has
declined, in others it has increased.

Norms regulating relationships between women and men still
remain quite strict, although some visible and distinct changes have
taken place; romantic love is becoming more important and there are
fewer arranged marriages even in the more isolated villages sur-
rounding Stavroupolis; dowry is still important, but less than
before. Some brothers, though not many, now marry before their
sisters, and there have been some marriages without the consent of
the parents.

The family is becoming smaller, and there are more conjugal
families, although a number of extended families still exist. Fathers
neither take pride in having large numbers of children nor receive
social reward for doing so. Due to the changing system of stratifica-
tion, a family's name carries its members less. On the other hand,
criteria based on the individuals's personal chievement are becoming
more important in determining social status.\textsuperscript{16} The family changes
mentioned above are more drastic and include more discords than all
the changes which took place in the Greek villages in a number of
generations, and possibly centuries.

Religion: The most noticeable changes in the institution of religion
have occurred in the traditional functions of the church and usually
run parallel to the main societal changes which other institutions are
attempting to adapt to. Although rural priests might preach about the
evils of wearing miniskirts, the use of lipstick, and disrespect for the
elderly, they are either in support of some of the new drastic social
changes or openly avoid discussing them; typical in this case is out-
Changes in the Social Organization of a Greek village

migration that breaks up the traditional family and often leaves older parents alone.

Another noticeable change is the increased secularization of the village culture, with less religious ritual and fewer sacred objects and events which could thus produce a frequent distinction between the sacred and the profane events. Such distinctions for believers normally increase conditioning thus strengthening their beliefs, (Durkheim, 1947, and Photiadis, 1965); this decline is also extensive in other Southern European countries, Spain for instance, (Williams, 1972). In Stavroupolis and other Greek villages today, God is perceived less than before as responsible for physical, social, or other phenomena which affect man’s life directly. On the other hand, man is perceived more than before as determining his own course in life, while science and technology are now seen even by the least educated, including those from the small isolated communities surrounding Stavroupolis, as more powerful forces that are developed by man and linked to their own life; one of the consequences of these new beliefs, agricultural magic, is gradually being replaced by technology.

In spite of the changes just mentioned, one could say that, in general, the major social institution which has changed the least in Stavroupolis and in other Greek villages is religion, the church in particular. In the light of the general theoretical framework used in this study, which suggests that institutional reorganization has as a major purpose closer integration into the larger society, one possible reason for the slow change is that religion, as it now functions in the Greek community, cannot directly support the economic institution. As we have indicated, economic change constitutes the central axis of integration into the larger society around which institutional reorganization, specialization, and differentiation take place today. However, experiences in regions of the Appalachian mountains of the United States, which have already gone through the stages of rural-urban transitions Stavroupolis is presently experiencing, indicate that, in this respect, the contribution of the church is primarily indirect, serving as a buffer and helping people alleviate anxieties which are produced by rapid changes in other institutions, for instance the economic and the family, (Coles, 1972, Gerard, 1971, Photiadis, 1974, and Ford, 1962). In other words, it seems that rural religion serves less than before as a mechanism of alleviating anxieties produced by the unknown or the fear of the supernatural, but serves more than before as a mechanism alleviating anxieties produced by the new societal complexity.

Finally, we should say that, in spite of the decline in church involve-
ment and increased secularization, religion still provides a relatively stable social matrix for by far the majority of the villagers in Stavroupolis and more so for those in more isolated satellite villages. Among these people, in particular among older ones, religious orientation remains strong and still in relative accord with the new societal forms.

NOTES

1 The mountainous village of Stavroupolis is a trade center in Northern Greece close to the Bulgarian border. In 1954 the village, the center of a municipality that includes three small isolated satellite villages, had about 1500 registered members and close to 1200 residents, most of whom were tobacco producers.

2 For a number of villagers, including women, in particular young ones, there were better economic opportunities in urban centers, but attachment to the group was such that only in exceptional situations the city jobs were preferred.

3 Including relatives visiting them in the city.

4 Deprivation at this point refers to both income and city life.

5 Deprivation refers to what these people feel they should have, which means that they want what certain socio-economic strata people in the city have and also what village migrants in the city have and aspire to.

6 Trade centers the size of Stavroupolis decline at about the same rate elsewhere in Greece, but not as fast in plains villages. But if more developed societies could be used as examples, one could expect that communities the size of Stavroupolis will continue declining except, of course, where new employment can be created.

7 Two of the girls were in medical school.

8 For a relevant analysis of cohesion in a Spanish village see Redclift, 1973.

9 It is not that such groups were not used for reference before, but now they are used as such much more.

10 The author had the opportunity during an interview to listen to an exchange between a daughter attending the University of Salonica and her mother concerning the relationship of the mother and her husband. The daughter criticized the mother for not only working during the processing of tobacco as much as her husband did, but taking care of the household, too. In particular, she suggested her mother not have the evening meal ready and wait on him when he returns home during the late hours from drinking and playing cards in the coffee house. The response of the mother was that the position of the father was that of a man and a man who was the head of the household, which was a privileged position.

11 In other words, although the relationship within such couples, as before, remains one
of a super-ordinate and subordinate, friendship between the two, not necessarily from the affection point of view, has visibly increased for many couples, even older ones. For similar changes of a more general nature see Iowa University Center for Agricultural and Economic Development, 1965.

Beliefs and practices which lack scientific explanation, such as witching for water and planting corn by signs of the moon.

REFERENCES

PHOTIADIS, J., (1965), Overt Conformity to Church Teaching as a Function of Religious Beliefs and Group Participation, American Journal of Sociology, 70 (4).
REDCLIFFE, M., (1973), The Effects of Socio-Economic Changes in a Spanish Pueblo on Community Cohesion, Sociologia Ruralis, 13 (1).
SACHS, R. E. G., (1973), The Farmer as an Entrepreneur Personality, Sociologia Ruralis, 13 (2).
WILLIAM, A. C., (1972), Person and God in a Spanish Valley, (Seminar Press).

SUMMARY

Changes that occurred in the social organization of the mountainous Greek village of Stavroupolis are restudied twenty years later in the light of changes that have taken place in rural mountainous Appalachian of the United States. The re-study has shown that overall
patterns of change in social organization of the Greek village are similar to those of mountainous Appalachia. The differences were due primarily to sociocultural differences between the two societies.

Findings suggest that a crucial indirect function of the availability of jobs in cities was further weakening of the boundary maintenance mechanisms of the rural social system through increased interaction with the outside and, furthermore, the increased use of the outside as a reference group that led to further out-migration.

For at least some communities, those with limited economic potential in particular, this mutual dependence between out-migration and sociopsychological linkage with the larger society, continued until out-migration became a mass exodus, and in some cases the village social organization almost collapsed. These processes are taking place in a number of less developed societies today.

The integration of the rural into the larger society takes place primarily in terms of acquisition of higher income and standard of living; the themes of the larger culture. As a consequence, the central axis of integration into the larger society and, in turn, the function, at least today, is the support of economic institutions. followed by government and education, whose indirect but major function, at least today, is the support of economic institutions. The role of the family is dual: to directly help integration into the larger society and to act as a buffer for discords and rapid changes in other institutions mainly produced by the economy. The latter is also the role rural religion is expected to play in the future.

RÉSUMÉ

A la lumière des changements qui ont eu lieu dans les régions montagneuses rurales des Appalaches des États-Unis, cet article rééudie après vingt ans les changements qui ont pris place dans l'organisation sociale du village grec de montagne de Stavroupolis. La nouvelle étude a montré que le changement social dans le village grec est identique dans ses grandes lignes à celui qui a eu lieu dans les Appalaches. Les différences sont dues en premier lieu aux différences socioculturelles entre les deux sociétés.

Les résultats montrent qu'une fonction indirecte de première importance de l'offre d'emplois dans les villes a été d'affaiblir encore les mécanismes qui maintenaient le système social dans ses frontières spatiales, en raison de l'interaction croissante avec le monde extérieur et de la tendance toujours plus marquée à prendre le monde extérieur
Changes in the Social Organization of a Greek village

pour groupe de référence, tendance qui entraîna une nouvelle augmentation de l'émigration.

Au moins pour quelques unes des communes, surtout celles à potentiel économique restreint, cette dépendance mutuelle entre émigration et liens socio-psychologiques avec la société urbaine dura jusqu'à ce que l'émigration se transforme en exode. Dans quelques cas, l'organisation sociale des villages s'écroula presque. Ces processus ont lieu encore à l'heure actuelle dans quelques sociétés peu développées.

L'intégration du système social rural dans un système social plus large a lieu surtout par l'intermédiaire de l'acquisition d'un revenu et d'un niveau de vie plus élevés – les valeurs de la société dominante. En conséquence, l'économie fournit l'axe central d'intégration dans la société dominante, et est en même temps l'institution qui est la plus soumise à la nécessité de réussir. Elle est suivie par le gouvernement et l'éducation, dont le rôle indirect mais central est – tout au moins de nos jours – d'assister l'institution économique. Le rôle de la famille est double: aider directement l'intégration dans la société dominante, et former un tampon contre les discordances et les changements rapides dans d'autres institutions que produit surtout l'économie. Ce dernier rôle est aussi celui que l'on s'attend à voir joué dans le futur par la religion rurale.

ZUSAMMENFASSUNG


Die Ergebnisse zeigen, daß eine zentrale indirekte Funktion der Verfügbarkeit von Arbeitsplätzen in den Städten in einer weiteren Schwächung der Mechanismen bestehen, die das ländliche Sozialsystem in seinen räumlichen Grenzen zusammenhalten. Dies ist bedingt durch die damit verbundene anwachsende Interaktion mit der Außenwelt und der zunehmenden Tendenz, die Außenwelt als Bezugsguppe anzunehmen, was zu einer weiteren Abwanderungsbewegung führt.
Zumindest für einige Gemeinden, vor allem denjenigen mit beschränktem ökonomischem Potential hielt diese gegenseitige Abhängigkeit zwischen Abwanderung und sozial-psychologischer Verbindung mit der städtischen Gesellschaft so lange an, bis die Abwanderung zum massenhaften Wegzug führte, und in einigen Fällen brach die soziale Organisation der Dörfer beinahe zusammen. Diese Prozesse finden in einigen weniger entwickelten Gesellschaften heute noch statt.