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ABSTRACT
              The question of achievement motivation in relation to
developing countries is explored. A foundation for the study is
achieved through discussion of the socialization processes as they
are affected by education and economic growth. It is suggested that
the societal system determines motivation and values which in turn
cause and determine the behaviors of individuals in the society.
Problems affecting the development of achievement motivation in
developing nations are noted and several existing programs in
motivational development work are discussed. Knowledge of value
systems, socialization practices, and economic factors in developing
countries is seen as being necessary to the understanding of the
concept of motivational achievement. Development in new nations, a
process of trying to modernize societies while developing more
creative individuals, is a matter relevant to education and
resocialization practices. (Author/SHM)

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ACHIEVEMENT MOTIVATION AS A CASE OF RE-SOCIALIZATION

IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

by

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ACHIEVEMENT MOTIVATION AS A CASE OF RE-SOCIALIZATION IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES.[*]

Introduction:

The unstructured nature of the human infant has everywhere brought into existence certain social forms and cultural values designed to mould and direct the potentialities of the human off-spring into socially determined channels. Socialization has two complementary meanings: from the society's point of view it is a process in which culture is transmitted and the individual is fitted into an organized way of life. From the individual's point of view socialization is the development of his personality and potentials for personal growth and development.[1] Socialization is a complex process that rests on the child's capacity to learn. Among other things, the child must learn what to value and what to aspire toward. Once mastered these skills must be reinforced. When the norms, values, beliefs and attitudes of the social system are internalized by an individual, then the efficacy of the socialization process is demonstrated.

Re-socialization in Developing Countries:

The process of socialization, by which an individual acquires his society's cultural patterns, poses a peculiar problem in developing countries.[2] Many of the societies in such countries stretch back before the Christian era, and have cultures which are established for centuries. Modernization has caused revolutionary changes in these traditional societies by introducing such factors as Western education and technology, industrial methods, modern medicine, mass communication, etc. The concept of modernization suggests that various parochial cultures are seeking a transformation of their old traditional moulds into a

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new sense of liberation and discovery in the development of an advanced technology and social organization that characterizes a new world culture. That many of the problems of economic development facing developing countries are non-economic in nature is evident in the clash between a traditional social structure and an advanced technology that is currently convulsing many of these countries. The combination of old and new,and the alarming rate at which this is occuring, means that social change takes different forms in developing areas than it did in the Western world over a longer period of time. The central problem of social change is one of cultural adaptation and integration. The acquisition of new knowledge and the discarding of many old habits and behaviors are encouraged. A change in the future character of a society means a change in socialization. When attitudes, values, behavior and self-conceptions assume new roles and individuals undergo new experiences as in developing countries the process is re-socialization. Though socialization aims at the future and is intimately connected with both continuity and change[3], resocialization "denotes change that is more basic and more rapid, especially the abandonment of one way of life for another that is not only different form the former but incompatible with it."[4]

Education as an Instrument of Re-socialization:

Formal social agents are inducements applied to bring about cultural change and social thinkers like Condorcet and Durkhlem have interpreted the school as such a major social instrument. Education manipulates the achievement of positive or change-producing behavior in a society towards specific goals. Though education has for long been a conservative rather than an innovating or revolutionary force, "the transmission of a cultural heritage"[5] , in this age education is a change-producing force -- "the most revolutionary part of a revolutionary age."[6] As we survey history, education emerges as the most effective tool for

social change. Development means change; education for
modurnization and national development is education for
change. Modernization is not necessarily Westernization
and the old and cherished values which add dignity to human
life in many developing countries must be preserved while new
attitudes, values, practices and skills required of a dynamic
society must be grafted onto the old. What is the role of
education in these changes? Education, while preserving
elements of the past which are worth keeping, is the agent for
re-socialization by helping to acquire rapidly new behavior
dispositions, new values and habits of thinking which are equal
to the demand of a new age.

An interesting feature of socialization in most of the
developing countries is that while the family has been and still
is a very significant socializing agent, yet paradoxically,
the formal educational system has a heavy responsibility in
socialization. An obvious reason for this is that in the
change necessary for national development education is used
for "counter-socialization of individuals whose orientations
have already been formed to some extent along traditional lines."[7]
The responsibility of the formal educational system is the
greater in this regard not simply because of the absence or
underdevelopment of other cultural agencies of socialization,
but because it is "obviously among the most effective and
potentially manipulable resocializing institutions"[8] in countries
trying to develop.

Achievement Orientation and the Impulse to Modernize:

Economic growth has everywhere occured interwoven with
political and social change.[9] Whatever the forces of change
may be, they impinge on every aspect of human behavior and the
interrelationships among elements of physical environment,
social structure, personality and culture. However, even if
there is no single key factor in causing modernization and

development independently of other forces, certain factors may
be more important in initiating change than others. Identifying
such factors seems imperative in accelerating the growth rate
of modernizing nations. A most problematic area of contemporary
social science is regarding the sources of change. What causes
some nations to "take off" into rapid economic and social growth
while others are static? Why does a nation advance more at a
particular period and not at another ? What initiates economic
growth and modernization ? Is it capital or skilled manpower or
social justice and an effective political system ? Or is it
rather a value system -- the strong sense of purpose and direction[10]
-- an impulse to achieve ?

It has become increasingly clear that the presence of
capital, skilled manpower, natural resources and democracy
do not guarantee a high rate of economic development. Consequently,
attention has been attracted to psychological and sociological
explanations of development. This path which confronts the
social and cultural system stresses the great importance of
attitude and value change in the creation of a modern society.
Exponents of this view include people of widely differing political
attitudes and values such as Mao Tse-tung ,the Chinese Cultural
revolutionary, and D.C.McClelland, the Harvard psychologist.
Ever since Max Weber wrote The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit
of Capitalism the concept of achievement orientation has been
important to sociologists and economists concerned with economic
development.[11] A fundamental value system like achievement
orientation consists of more than one component.[12] There is
existing evidence that a positive correlation exists between
measures of motivation and measures of value and that they predict
different aspects of achieving behavior.[13]

The importance of psychological factors in economic, social
and political development is becoming more and more widely
recognized. Among the psychologists who have shed light on the

theories of development. D.C.McClelland's contribution is his focus on psychological factors that account for increases and decreases in economic growth, particularly motivational determinants like the n-Achievement (need for achievement) which has become associated with his name.

Is the desire to be creative, to meet high standards of performance and to have a successful career the motive which gives the impetus to modernize ? No social motive has been more thoroughly studied than the need for achievement.[14] Achievement motivation has been defined in terms of concern for excellence in carrying out a task, as reflected in competition with the standards set by others or by oneself, unique accomplishment or long-term involvement. Achievement behavior is directed toward the attainment of approval or the avoidance of disapproval (the goal) for competence of performance (characteristic of the behavior) in situations where standards of excellence are applicable. N-achievement is an indicator of this construct.

Achievement Motivation and Economic Growth:

One
The measurement of achievement motivation is based on the content analysis of children's textbooks and the coding of samples of popular literature.[15] McClelland (1961) who initiated studies of the achievement motive claims that need achievement as investigated by these procedures is related to individual success in the occupational sphere and also to the development and modernization of nations. A study of this motive in some contemporary societal systems as well as in some medieval and ancient societies showed that the upsurge of economic activity in a society followed an increase in the level of achievement motivation in that society.[16] To interpret these findings in a greatly compressed form, high achievement motivation predicts economic growth. From a theoretical point of view such a formulation, assessed with empirical methods, may help to

explain on more general grounds the ebb and flow of economic
development in various parts of the world and in various
historical epochs. More practically it suggests that the
stimulation of economic growth in developing nations may be
more fruitful if it emphasizes the development of n-achievement.
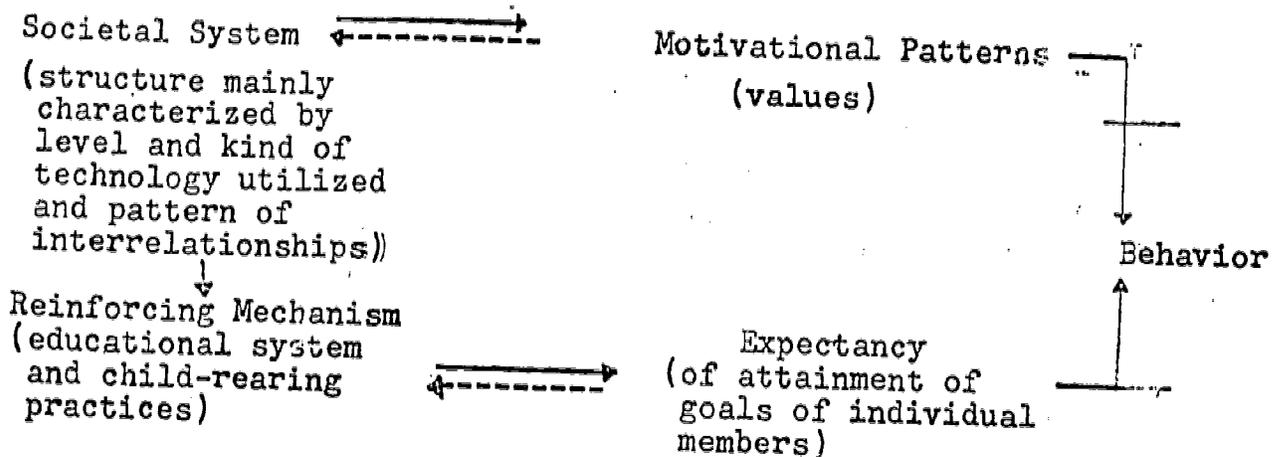For instance, a simple example used by McClelland illustrates
this point:

> " The government of India decided to help the
> fishermen of Kakinada by providing them with
> nylon fishing nets, which were a clear technical
> improvement. For instance, they required less
> mending and did not break or tangle easily. The
> idea was that the fishermen would catch more fish,
> make more money, and buy more consumer goods,
> leading the businessmen of Kakinada to expand
> their business, and so on. The fisherman caught
> more fish, to be sure; but two unexpected things
> happened. Some stopped fishing as soon as they
> had caught as much as they were used to catching
> (they worked less); and others made more money
> which they spent on bootleg liquor (the state is
> dry). This is probably not the end of the story,
> but over and over again technical innovation has
> been shown not to produce attitude change. Better
> fishing nets did not increase the n-achievement of
> the fishermen:their desire to do better, to save,
> to invest."[17]

While McClelland points out "n-achievement is by no means all
there is to modernization"[18] he is convinced it is a key
ingredient.

Motivational Patterns and Planned Social Change:

The finding that motivation is significantly correlated
with economic growth has increased efforts directed at planning
and influencing change in particular societies. The concept
of motive orientation proposes that the societal system deter-
mines motivation and values which in turn cause and determine
the behaviors of individuals in the society. Evidence that
motives can be developed is an important reason for the increased
interest in motivation for contributing to effective planning

and sustaining of change in the world. A motivational paradigm of development proposed by U. Pareek can be helpful in planned social change.[19]

Societal System ⟵----------→
(structure mainly
 characterized by
 level and kind of
 technology utilized
 and pattern of
 interrelationships)

Reinforcing Mechanism
(educational system
 and child-rearing   ⟵----------→
 practices)

Motivational Patterns ⟶
   (values)

                                    Behavior

Expectancy
(of attainment of
 goals of individual
 members)

According to this paradigm, a societal system and its reinforcing mechanisms (e.g. socialization through educational system and child-rearing practices) generate corresponding motivational patterns and values, and expectancy of attainment of the goals of individual members. Both of these determine the kind of behavior individuals show in society and also influence the societal system. Social change, which is psychologically speaking change in the behavior in a society, is then the result of the motivational pattern and the pattern of expectancy which themselves are the products of a societal system and its reinforcing mechanisms (educational system).

Each societal system generates a particular pattern of motivation which maintains that system by causing appropriate behavior among individual members in the society. In the natural course of social change (unplanned change), the older motivational patterns and the pattern of expectancy may continue for sometime and the new ones may develop slowly so that transition from one system to the other is slow , as has been in the past. A strategy of development would consist of bringing about change in the societal system and its reinforcing mechanisms by producing appropriate patterns of motivation and expectancy through suitable

socialization patterns.

Three motivations have been proposed as being important
for social change [20] -- achievement motivation and extension
motivation (or 'other-directedness' which implies concern
for the common welfare of others) should be developed for
effective social change and the dependency motive (e.g. a
result of the feudal system which has negative effects on
development) should be drastically reduced.

Re-socialization and Achievement Motivation through Education:

An important question is how to accelerate social change
by raising the level of achievement motivation and the
extension motivation, and reducing the dependency motive.
One premise on which a strategy can be worked out for developing
motivations for social change is by designing education to
influence fantasy and skills. This can be done by creating
new appropriate imagery (as reflected in textbooks, literature,
fine arts),and developing and sustaining new skills through
work on goals that decondition or resocialize people by helping
them break away from unproductive and obsolete modes of behavior.

Both behavior theory and psychoanalysis agree that stable
personality characteristics like motives are laid down in
childhood. A great deal is known about the origins of
n-achievement in childhood and its specific effects on behavior
so that educational programs can be systematically planned
and their effects evaluated in terms of this knowledge. In the
research on achievement motivation the hypothetical construct
of motive does not suffice to explain the phenomena of actual
motive arousal which is an interactive product of motive and
various conditions, circumstances and constraints of a presently
given situation or setting.[21] However, success and failure are
two critical events which terminate given behavior sequence so
that motive has to be regarded as an organized system ~~with a~~

with a fairly high degree of cognitive complexity made up of
generalized expectancies. Research has left little doubt
that thought samples permit the prediction of actions and
behaviors to a remarkable degree.

Given a method of analysing cultural products as
children's stories and foklore for n- achievement, McClelland
finds this motivational characteristic tends to occur with
greater intensity and frequency against a background that
includes a certain configuration of child-rearing practices
(such as parental warmth, low dominance by the father, high
standards of excellence), a tradition of variation and
pluralism in the culture, positive religious values in the
family and society,etc.. A key to modernization, then, may be
to maximize these kinds of socialization experiences so that
n-achievement mediates such overt behavior as calculated risk
taking, the acceptance of individual responsibility,personal
mobility and ambition,.and other activities consonant with an
entrepreneurial role.

Several studies have shown that achievement motivation
has its origins in a complex of interrelated socialization
practices.[22] First and most important is achievement
training,i.e. getting the child to do things well. Related to
the development of the achievement motive is another set of
socialization practices called independence training which
involves expectations that the child be self-reliant when
competing with standards of excellence. Both these socialization
practices can be introduced and reinforced through the
educational system. The child is granted autonomy in problem
solving and decision making in situations where he has freedom
of action and responsibility for success or failure. In his
book On The Theory of Social Change[23] Hagen draws attention to
two aspects of the personality which are requirements for
transition to economic growth. Firstly, a fairly widespread
creativity and problem-solving ability must be developed, and

individuals should cultivate a tendency to use it. Secondly,
a positive attitude toward manual and technical labor and the
physical world must be created so that the creative energies
are channelled into innovation in the technology of production.
Technological advance in the developing countries, by simply
imitating the technical methods of the West are not acceptable.
Certain attitudes are essential because the less creative
cling to traditional society. Characteristics central to
creativity are high need achievement and high need autonomy.

The questions for each developing nation in this context
are: how prevalent are achievement training and independence
training practices ? What is the relationship of child-
rearing practices to the educational system ? What effect
does this system have on the development of the achievement
motive ?

Children in the authoritarian system receive little
training in two areas important for the development of
achievement motivation, i.e. achievement and independence
training.

How does culture, including social organizations, affect
the capacity of individuals to adjust to a developing economy
or to re-socialization circumstances ? The answer appears
to lie in the type of socialization and hence learning
associated with different types of cultures[24] In a culture
characterized by highly specific solutions to recurrent problems
rote learning is expected to predominate, with behavioral
prescriptions explicitly and mechanically taught. This
constitutes a barrier to learning new skills in re-socialization
circumstances because the product of learning cannot easily
be altered to accommodate unusual experiences or observations
contrary to those previously incorporated. In a culture
characterized by generalized solutions to recurrent problems
children are taught a set of principles with which to generate
appropriate behavior because rote learning is of less value.

This mode of learning favours easy readjustment to accommodate new or contrary experiences and constitutes less of a barrier to relearning. However, receptivity to learning necessary conditions is not a sufficient condition for achievement by itself.because people must be motivated to achieve. McClelland's n-achievement syndrome can be conceived as an attitude-drive (mobilization of energy and resources) in which relevant attitudes are a high level of aspiration. In an independent environment the child is likely to be able to resolve the problems or tasks that confront him. This is expected to be an optimal condition for developing a strong sense of mastery and an inducement to achievement as it facilitates an anticipation of success,thereby enhancing motivation and a problem-solving response. A sense of failure tends to diminish motivation and produce inert responses. The effectiveness of situation arousal variables has been the particular concern of J.W.Atkinson and his model of achievement motivation[25] proposes that the

$$\text{Tendency to achieve success} = \text{Motive(M)} \times \text{Probability}(P_s) \text{ of success} \times \text{Incentive}(I_s) \text{ of success}$$

Successful adaptation is an indirect function of such factors as the degree of social stratification (on which depends mobility and probablity of success) and those interaction patterns conducive to incentive of success and achievement drive. According to this model motivation alone cannot bring about change; it must be accompanied by expectancy and the societal system provides that expectancy frame through the educational structure.

Problems Affecting the Development of Achievement Motivation:

Undoubtedly, many factors in developing nations combine to affect the development of the achievement motive. Extreme poverty and disease are important factors. When misery is the common human lot it is easy to believe in fate in order to

rationalize one's existence and make it bearable. Fortunately,
a fact of life in the developing nations now is what Adlai
Stevenson has called the "revolution of rising expectations".
The fatalism and resignation which removed one from partici-
pating in one's own fate (though it saved him from frustration
and futility at times) is turning to a spirit of hope that
the good life is attainable by all. Education is a motivating
force in this revolution. The better life will depend on the
ability to turn from fatalism to dynamism. Such a motivation
is often facilitated by government policy as for example,
progressive discrimination in India which protects and safeguards
by appropriate legislation, certain scheduled castes and tribes
with the object of promoting their educational and economic
interests. Special scholarships for all levels of education,
reserved seats in educational institutions, government services,
State legislative assemblies and the House of Commons have
given them much mobility and motivation.

The spread of education is closely related to a limiting
factor in the developing countries. While the educated multiply
in number, lack of capital result in slow growth of the economy
so that few jobs are created which are acceptable by the
educated. The gap between aspirations and expectations in
many cases exists because the relationship between expectancy,
occupational achievement and mobility is often unrealistic. A
study of achievement motivation in Nigeria shows that the
incentives provided by a status mobility system for personality
characteristics such as n-achievement, affect the actual distribu-
tion of such characteristics in the population for several
generations.[26] Kahl[27] shows that of the four key components in
the measurement of achievement orientation mastery over environ-
ment, trust in people and independence of family ties are value
components positively related to social status, while the fourth
component -- desire for occupational accomplishment -- is negatively

related to social status.   The rigidity and hierarchical nature of
the social system combined with authoritarianism and excessive'
protectiveness in developing countries, all affect the individuals
need to excel.   In the light of emerging economic, political and
social expectations instruction often neglects the pressing
needs of the nations where creativity and individuality must
be fostered. Too often instruction is abstract and theoretical
and too supportive of rote learning. Education as an instrument
of re-socialization in developing countries must be allied with
technology, not only in the direct teaching of science and its
technical application, but also by preparing the way for
technological impact by making the mind receptive to change,
increasing the ability and the will to adapt to it and to work
for the economic, social and other benefits that may flow from
it.   It is realized of course, that the developing nations
cannot really be lumped together because of striking differences
in culture, geography, historical background, economic development
and political maturity. Their aspirations, problems and solutions
are not the same except perhaps at the level of broad generalization.
Besides, the state of affairs is often unaviodable due to rapidly
expanding educational systems.

An important problem related to the development of achievement
motivation deals with the psychological dimensions of n-achievement.
Little research has been done on the fact that n-achievement by
itself does not automatically lead to socially useful activities.
It must be accompanied by an interest in the general welfare of
others; "other-directedness" is as important as the achievement
syndrome though independent of it. [28] Without it the achievement
motive could, for example, lead to success in subversive activities
such as crime. If n-achievement is to be developed how can it
be used only within a specified context ? Economic development

will depend on achievement in clearly defined spheres which
center on work, not for example on writing exquisite poetry,
even if that is desirable. For an appropriate theoretical
framework goals must be defined and the means of reaching the
goals defined in terms of realities of the social structure.
In so far as the goals and means differ in the process of
economic development at different times it would be naïve
to predict national economic development primarily from abstract
achievement motivation. Motivation 'causes' human behavior
and thus initiates changes in a community. It is perhaps a
strong and important link in the dynamic causal cycle of human
evolution, and not necessarily the prime cause of change in
human society. To quote McClelland: "All the achievement
motivation in the world without knowledge (as in some preliterate
tribes) should have little effect on economic growth....
Motivation plus knowledge predicts growth better than either
motivation or knowledge alone."[29]

Achievement Motivation in Developing Countries:

McClelland has proposed a theory of motivation development
and has put forward several propositions for such programs.[30]
Specialized educational programs have been established by the
Human Resources Development Corporation in Mexico, India, Italy,
Egypt, Japan and Malaya. The main body of the motivational
development work has been done on the national program level
in Mexico and India (sponsored by Ford Foundation) where
increased achievement was likely to have socially beneficial
effects.

The first systematic experiment was carried out in India
at the Small Industry Extension Training Institute. The ten-day
achievement motivation development program was based on McClelland's
propositions for motive acquisition, and mainly emphasized the
changing fantasy and concepts of success, the provision of

opportunity for the participants to examine their behavior and values, and help in developing skills for the planning of goals. The results were very encouraging.

An important study done in India with high school boys[31] showed that boys of fathers with high education (professional) and of fathers with low education (skilled and unskilled workers) showed higher levels of n-achievement than boys of fathers with secondary school education (clerical workers). These results have significant implications for development. The lower socio-economic class seems to have higher motivation for change and can be mobilized in accelerating socio-economic development in a nation. The four-month achievement motivation development program given by teachers trained for this purpose resulted in a statistically significant increase in the level of achievement motivation.

While these specific programs confirm that n-achievement can be increased in developing countries, it may be interesting to discuss the effect of long-term re-socializing practices in this context. Motivational concerns favouring economic and social development have been found to be prominent in Communist countries. It has been pointed out[32] that the Communists produce rapid economic growth not because of socialism but because of their fanatical belief in its superiority. A conviction in one's superiority increases the achievement motive and this results in accelerated growth.

McClelland scored two sets of Chinese stories which revealed a significant increase in the saliency of achievement oriented activities associated with the change in political leadership on the mainland. In the following tables[33] the score for Republican China corresponds to the pattern found in static, tradition oriented societies.

	Republican China (1920-1929) Mean score		Taiwan (1950) Mean score		Mainland (1950) Mean score	
N-achievement	.86	- .90	1.81	- .25	2.24	+ .32
N - Affiliation (concern for others)	.30	- 2.02	.43	- 1.91	1.05	- .55
N - Power (need for control)	1.28	- 1.53	1.00	+ .57	1.81	+ 3.21

Communist ideology on the whole seems to have more success in
moving the Chinese toward psychological pre-conditions for
modern technological and sociological order than Western
democratic ideology (on Taiwan), though achievement rose under
both influences. The Communists have set high standards for
their people, and their educational materials stress individuals
actively working to meet and exceed these standards. McClelland
found in the readers a focusing of areas in which achievement
is valued. The Communists emphasize education as a means to
building better material life rather than as an end in itself.
In the area of psychic motives affecting behavior they have
relied on traditional emotional bases of social relation and
control to increase the rewards for effective co-operation and
sanctions against defection. Expanding the achievement motive
from its traditional limited basis on competitive scholarship
has led to mass popular mobilization for task-oriented learning
and productive labor.

In considering the levels of concern for achievement in
three key countries in South-east Asia, McClelland found that
all the three countries --India, Pakistan and China -- had
participated in a wave of high n-achievement.[34] All the
countries were above average in n-achievement score: standard
scores based on public school readers in 1950 were --India +.95,
Pakistan +.39, Mainland China +.32. Data provided in The
Achieving Society show that India and Pakistan were both above
average in their rate of gain in electric power produced
between 1952 - 1958, possibly because high n-achievement is
common in newly independent countries. Data from China is
difficult to get but evidence by Malenbaum[35] suggests it has been
developing at an even faster rate than India.

To aid the implementation of their political goals the
Chinese have started a new culture portrayed by the image of a
new life. A rational view of the world, combined with a desire

to be creative and excel are elements of the new culture which
provide the human energy and skills for economic development.
Yet particular problems are involved in inculcating this new
and radically different culture.[36]   In activating total social
mobilization the risks of apathetic or active opposition in case
of economic failure or unfulfilled expectations arise. The
problem of credibility arises because the claim to political
legitimacy is based on an ideology while the young may require
more convincing grounds for faith. In addition, an ambivalence
is caused when personal integrity and initiative are directed
towards creativity yet Party demands for detailed leadership
and control impose restrictions.

A study of planned social and cultural change in Uzbekistan
to modernize the country rapidly shows evidence of a major
achievement of the Soviet system.[37] Two neighboring countries,
Afghanistan and Iran, with greatly common religious ideology,
ethnic and cultural history remain backward inspite of huge sums
of foreign capital. Through mass education in Uzbekistan the
goals of industrialization and the revolutionary socialist
doctrine have modified the values, habits and beliefs of the
people at a very accelerated pace. It may be questioned, of
course, at what cost development in the Communist world has been
accomplished, and whether the means can really called modern.
The fact that stands out, however, is that though the Communists
are ideological materialists much of their effort goes into
changing peoples ideas.

A comparative study of two Asian countries which are not
Communist nations -- Japan and Thailand -- show a clear divergence
in economic performance inspite of common features (e.g. political
independence) and similar external stimuli (i.e.exposure to
occidental culture).[38] Concentration on factors which more
directly condition, motivate and channel human and social activities
show that the propensities for dynamising activities (innovation,
co-operation, accummulation) were absent in Thailand and very

much promoted in Japan. While the Japanese fundamental
emphasis was on activism (important for achievement motivation)
and political values, the Thai value system centered around
personal values and Budhist teachings about the responsibility
of _Karma_.

Though the need to achieve seems to be very closely
related to Weber's "Protestant ethic" which created strong
achievement values and achievement motivation, the relation
between achievement motivation and religion- is not a simple
one. For example, do the Protestants in the United States
have more achievement motivation than Catholics ? Differences
on mean n-achievement scores among ethnic groups are related
to such factors as the respective rates of movement-into high
status occupations.[39] Certain types of Buddhism, notably Zen,
seem to lead to strong concern for achievement and it would
appear that this quality can be translated into many religious
and cultural systems.[40]

Conclusion:

An important place must then be assigned to the value
system and the socialization practices likely to increase
achievement motivation. The question is not whether economic
factors are important determinants in the process of economic
development; they are. There is no evidence that appreciable
economic development can take place without capital accumulation.
The question why some societies do and others do not behave
in ways which bring about sustained economic progress has
important implications for aid. It is known, for example, that
the ideological fervour the Russians exported to China was
more influential in modernizing the country than all the material
aid the Western democracies have exported to Taiwan or India.[41]
Perhaps foreign aid is more likely to bring about sustained
economic growth when the fundamental values in the society are

conducive to change. McClelland suggests that increasing the n-achievement level by half a standard score unit in a developing country would be more effective (and probably less expensive) in promoting economic growth than "tons of guns or butter".[42] While ideology by itself may not be the ideal and the only instrument for producing psychological pre-conditions for modern technology and a desirable social order, ideas have played an important role in shaping history. It would be quite wrong, of course, to think that a complex problem like economic and social development is exclusively the result of achievement motivation and value change. Yet if genuine efforts to be helpful in a needful world are to succeed they must comprehend more fully the people with whom they must deal, and the concept of n-achievement provides a powerful tool for furthering that comprehension. Perhaps more sophisticated ways of giving aid might be found which will be more effective precisely because they stress the importance of changing values or motivational concerns. In the final analysis, the problem of development lies largely with the new nations themselves, and it is a dual one of trying to modernize societies while developing more fully creative individuals. This is a matter profoundly relevant to education and resocialization practices.

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11.   The hypothesis that the need for achievement is associated
      with economic growth was derived from a particular
      historical sequence of events in Western Europe -- the
      Protestant Reformation and the rise of Capitalism.

12.   A series of interrelated studies of achievement orientation
      (from the theoretical work by Kluckhohn and Parsons) shows
      that this orientation consists of at least four separate
      components : 1) activism,2) trust, 3) independence of
      family and 4) accomplishment or occupational primacy.

Kahl, "Some Measurements of Achievement Orientation"
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    "motive" and "motivation" are used interchangeably in the
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