Chapter II:

Peasant Societies and Modernization

Although social changes have been occurring throughout human history, they have become an object of study only relatively recently. Representatives of several social sciences, particularly anthropology, economics, political science, and sociology, have approached modernization as an area of investigation and as a field for action programs. Psychologists, on the other hand, have not traditionally worked in foreign cultures, confining their attention largely to phenomena within their own society. This is unfortunate since in something as complex as the process of modernization, there are almost certainly phenomena which are particularly appropriate for study by psychologists, or by other social scientists using psychological theories and techniques. This is particularly true with respect to the role of changes in attitudes and behavior which appear as causes or effects of modernization. Whatever his discipline, each investigator has an implicit theory of human motivation, often a poorly systematized set of ideas about what all men seek and all men avoid. How fundamentally similar or different are men who come from different cultures is a psychological question. How well psychologists can answer it remains to be seen. It is with considerable uncertainty, therefore, that we stake an area of exploration in the poorly defined territory of modernization.

A number of psychologists have been concerned with modernization, including Doob in Africa (1960), McClelland in India (1969), and De Vos in Japan (1968). More frequently, however, psychological constructs and techniques are being used by non-psychologists. For example, one reads of the values held by members of traditional societies, of the importance of education as an agent of change, and of resistance to change on the part of peasants. In each case properties and processes of concern to psychologists are invoked. The use of these terms needs to be examined since other social scientists—and psychologists as well—are likely to assume that motivational structures and learning processes are similar to those in the West, unless there is strong evidence to the contrary.

Although there may be many references to the impact of change on individuals, families, and groups, these reports are almost invariably inferences

from data taken from sources other than the study of individuals. Feldman and Hurn observe:

> . . . most assertions about the experience of modernization are derived and deduced from institutional data and relationships. Indeed, it may not be excessively hyperbolic to state that while most of the sociological assertions about modernization employ a rhetoric of behavior, the data are hardly ever observations of behavioral changes. One consequence of this state of affairs is that the sociology of modernization tends to describe actors as representative of the institutions and communities to which they belong, or to whose norms they are subject (1966: 379–380).

When one observes the process and effects of modernization, many questions arise. From the perspective of psychology, one asks in what ways a member of a traditional, pre-industrial society differs from industrial men, and what are the changes, if any, that occur in an individual as he passes from one type of society to the other. These questions include:

(1) Do pre-industrial and industrial men differ, or are the differences the product of the social structure in which they are living? If the latter is true, the transition to industrial living should be relatively easy for individuals moving from the countryside to the city or vice versa, since personality patterns will change with changes in an individual's milieu.

(2) Are there differences in the hierarchy of goals each holds, the values for which each will struggle, the perils each tries to avoid? What does each consider good or bad?

(3) How different are the attitudes each holds toward himself, his family, his neighbors, and his society?

(4) What sanctions, controls, and obligations does each feel?

(5) Are there differences in cognitive functioning or in techniques of solving problems?

(6) Are there differences in the amount of information each has about everyday affairs?

These are some of the subjective differences which may exist between industrial and pre-industrial people. What are the objective differences in their day-to-day life which will also change with industrialization? We will offer a brief sketch of the rural Philippines in a later chapter. For our purposes, the following differences are significant. In contrast to his modern counterpart, the pre-industrial citizen shows the following:

(1) His work is done by himself, other human beings, or animals, with little or no use of electricity or engines.

(2) He lives in smaller aggregations of houses with fewer utilities such as water, electricity, or sewage disposal.

(3) He occasionally works for wages but is not, as a rule, regularly employed at a determined rate of pay.

(4) Since he lives in a smaller community, most of his contacts are with relatives or neighbors.

(5) Without a strong formal police organization, he is dependent on informal systems of protection such as the threat of revenge.

(6) Unable to buy many of the products of others' labor, he is forced to be versatile and provide most of his own food, fuel, housing, and transportation.

Peasant or traditional communities have been examined from many perspectives and their transitions and stability have been attributed to many factors. In this review we shall select from among the more psychologically-oriented reports, although few of these are by social scientists who identify themselves as psychologists.

Foster and the Concept of "Limited Good"

Foster (1967), who has been concerned with "the key factors in personality, culture, social form, and economic conditions which favor modernization," has summarized his impressions of Mexican peasants with his formulation of the *Limited Good.* He argues that peasants implicitly assume that the good things in life exist in limited quantities which cannot be expanded. For this reason one can improve his lot only at the expense of others. This assumption has many corollaries, including an emphasis that all citizens in the community are equal. Each individual attempts to maintain parity with others and to avoid at all costs being different or trying to be superior. In their attempts, peasants develop personalities marked by secrecy, suspicion, and fear.

While there is much sentimentality about the wholesomeness of rural as opposed to urban life, Foster suggests that the consensus of reports on peasant behavior is that communities are "marked by suspicion and distrust, inability to cooperate in many kinds of activities, sensitivity to the fear of shame, proneness to criticize and gossip, and a general view of people and the world as potentially dangerous" (1967: 89). Under these conditions peasants learn that it is best to withdraw and conceal real feelings in the presence of strangers and to be highly observant to subtle clues. Friendships are paradoxical since they emphasize absolute loyalty and at the same time prove to be unpredictable and easily broken. Gossip, envy, anger and eavesdropping are feared. Peasants are also afraid of poverty, old age, and the death of their spouses. These numerous fears lead people to barricade their houses at night, keep them closed during the day, and keep dogs to drive away strangers. Gossip and rumors flourish in the absence of the ability to evaluate evidence critically and separate the likely from the implausible. Just as they do not evaluate current factors with much skill, they also show poor foresight and planning.

Foster attempts to interpret a variety of peasant activities in the Mexican village he observed as expressions of envy which, in turn, is the result of the "Image of Limited Good." Others' success is to some degree at one's own expense. Envying others, peasants expect to be envied and so attempt to conceal their possessions and live below a level they can afford. Since an individual may evoke another's envy, he feels uncomfortable about his possessions or achievements. Compliments are rare because they are in reality thinly veiled expressions of hostility toward the one who deserves the compliment. Many acts of sharing and celebrating, according to Foster, are designed to ward off envy. Attractive children who gain compliments are in danger since the compliment is an expression of envy. In their desire to avoid envy, therefore, individuals restrain themselves from undertaking innovative acts or even trying to do high-quality work. In a wide range of activities, Foster argues, individuals seek to maintain an equilibrium, a balance, in which one does nothing which would prompt envy or stir another's anger.

Holding the view that the Good in life is limited and unexpandable, peasants adopt certain outlooks and strategies. Unable to cooperate because of suspicion toward leadership, they become strongly individualistic. Everyone sees himself in a struggle with others for scarce values. One can trust only members of the nuclear family. The safest stance to adopt is one of cautious reserve, in which one keeps one's plans to himself. Any major success is due to fate or luck, and not to hard work or thrift. Foster feels that this is a realistic outlook since, with present limitations on land and technology, hard work does not result in a significant increment. We would interpret this differently. With advancement possible only at the expense of others, an individual who does succeed must attribute his success to luck. To acknowledge that he has struggled for his goal is to admit that he has in the process reduced the supply for others. Emphasizing luck protects one from envy and retaliation.

Foster suggests that within a peasant community such assumptions may help a person survive. He continues:

> But in a rapidly modernizing world, the rules of the game of living change much more rapidly than does the cognitive view that guides behavior. So when peasant people are pulled into the social and economic contexts of whole nations, on an unprecedented scale, some of their traditional behavior seems illogical to others because the social, economic, and natural universes that increasingly set the conditions of their life are quite distinct from those revealed to them by their traditional view. That is, their cognitive orientiation provides moral and other precepts that produce behavior inappropriate to the new conditions of life, which they do not yet grasp. For this reason, when the world view of many among a nations' people is out of tune with reality, these people will behave in a way that appears irrational to those who are more nearly attuned to reality. Such people will be seen as a drag (as indeed they may be) on a nation's development, and they will be cutting themselves off from the opportunity to participate in the benefits that economic and social progress can bring (Foster 1967: 15).

We have dealt with Foster's ideas at considerable length for three reasons: (1) they deal with the domain of our concern; (2) they are presented persua-

sively; and (3) because the Philippines was ruled for 300 years from Mexico. This last factor is important if fashions and belief systems, as Foster argues, originate in cities and slowly diffuse to the countryside. Unfortunately, however, the connections between the Mexican and Philippine cultures have received virtually no study.

Lewis: Life in a Mexican village

In a work earlier than Foster's, Lewis (1951) offered a more comprehensive look at life in a Mexican village with much less attention to the psychology of his villagers. Discussing the quality of their interpersonal relationships, Lewis emphasized secretiveness and the absence of habits of introspection, limited expression of affection, suspicion, hostility, and a tendency to view others as dangerous. He observed a good deal of verbal expression of hostility but little actual fighting. In this setting, individuals are secure insofar as they can live privately, do their work, and share as little of their possessions as possible with others. They have little concern about the future and hardly any savings. While a small number try to make provision in advance for a child's education, the majority spend when they have money and pull in their belts when they do not.

Lewis observed few signs of frustration or anxiety within the Mexican village group, a condition which he felt was possible because individuals shifted responsibility to others or sorcery for any misfortunes or difficulties they encountered. The resulting orientation was one of fatalism, passivity, and a general readiness to expect the worst.

As we shall see later, there are both similarities and differences between the people described by Foster and Lewis and rural Filipinos as they have been described by others and as we observe them.

Banfield and the Society of Amoral Familists

A somewhat different perspective on the psychological make-up of peasants is offered by Banfield as a result of his observations of a South Italian village, "the extreme poverty and backwardness of which is to be explained largely (but not entirely) by the inability of the villagers to act together for their common good or, indeed, for any end transcending the immediate, material interest of the nuclear family" (1958: 9–10). He suggests that a simple hypothesis will make intelligible much that the villagers do: "Maximize the material, short-run advantage of the nuclear family; assume that all others will do likewise" (1958: 83). He refers to people who live by this rule as *amoral familists*. He follows by offering what he describes as *logical implications* of this theory, although it is not always clear that the implication necessarily follows. Banfield argues that in a society of amoral familists:

(1) No one will further the interest of the group except when it is to his private advantage to do so.

(2) Only officials concern themselves with public affairs, because only they are paid to do so.

(3) There will be few checks on public officials from society at large, for checking is the business of other officials.

(4) Deliberately concerted action is difficult to maintain because the rewards are non-material and because trust is necessary.

(5) Office-holders do not feel a keen sense of responsibility; instead they regard their position as an opportunity for private advantage.

(6) Law will be disregarded when there is no fear of punishment.

(7) An office-holder will accept bribes when he can get away with it; and the society will assume that he does, regardless of his actual behavior.

(8) The weak will favor a regime which will maintain order with a strong hand.

(9) Anyone who professes zeal for public rather than private advantage will be regarded as a fraud.

(10) There will be no connection between ideology and everyday behavior.

(11) There will be no leaders and no followers.

(12) One will vote to secure the family's short-run material advantage (1958: 83–97).

Inasmuch as Banfield formulated his hypothesis of amoral familism to account for his observations in an Italian town, it is not appropriate to call his observations logical implications. Actually, they can only be considered inevitable products of amoral familism if they are found in other societies similarly characterized by amoral familism.

The Philippines is a family-centered society and we can ask whether the same implications follow when individual Filipinos or family groups set out "to maximize the material, short-run advantage of the nuclear family." On the basis of our observations in the rural Philippines, we would suggest, with respect to the implications listed above, the following:

(1) The contention that individuals always act for private advantage is not empirically verifiable since "private advantage" is vague.

(2) Almost all adults in the rural Philippines concern themselves with public affairs.

(3) Similarly, everyone keeps his eye on public officials.

(4) Cooperative organization is difficult to achieve.

(5) Office-holders often show a keen sense of responsibility. They may also, at the same time, seek benefits for themselves and their followers.

(6) Laws are unevenly enforced; legal agreements are less often sought than informal agreements among extended family members.

(7) Bribes are probably fairly common and people do tend to assume that office-holders accept bribes.

(8) The weak seek strength through alliances, not through the formal government apparatus.

(9) Almost all political figures profess concern for public welfare and they try to stay in office by getting government benefits for the voters.

(10) The connection between ideology and behavior is probably not verifiable. In any case, there may be only limited relationship between the two in any society.

(11) Philippine political organization is built on a system of leaders and followers.

(12) Filipino voters respond to many appeals, such as the quality of the candidate, his status, a sense of obligation to the candidate, and a desire to be on the winning side.

At the impressionistic level, three of Banfield's first 12 implications receive support in the Philippines, seven do not, and two are considered impossible to test. This may be because the Filipino society is not a society of amoral familists. On the other hand, if we assume that many Filipinos act to maximize the advantage of the nuclear family and other relatives as well, they demonstrate that there are many ways to look out for one's family. They can be deeply involved in political matters. There are many who want to be candidates. Leader-follower relationships are held together by family and ceremonial ties. Public officials work diligently to gain benefits for the community, in return for which they expect reelection. When it is pointed out that a Philippine community where these patterns are found is no more prosperous than Banfield's Italian village, we see that many configurations of family-centeredness may be associated with a given level of economic development. In short, peasant social organization may differ greatly from one society to another. The more we learn about peasants, the more we find that about the only characteristic they share is that they are poor.

Hagen: Authoritarian Behavior versus Innovative Behavior

One of the most comprehensive attempts to interpret social change using psychological concepts is that of Hagen (1962). Influenced by Erickson, and reflecting the thinking of Kardiner and, ultimately, Freud, Hagen set about to explain the social structure of traditional societies in terms of childhood experiences which lead to a social structure among adults that impedes economic growth. He offered a model of society "which stresses the chain of causa-

tion from social structure through parental behavior to childhood environment and then that from childhood environment through personality to social change" (1962: 8). After surveying economic theories of growth, he concluded that they have little to offer toward an explanation of economic growth and that an explanation must be sought in social and psychological considerations. In order to accomplish his purpose, he sought to integrate the techniques of anthropologists, sociologists, and psychologists in their respective studies of culture, social structure, and personality formation.

Following the psychologist's emphasis upon the importance of childhood experiences in the formation of adult personality and attitudes, Hagen argued that childhood experiences predisposed individuals to find certain kinds of adult social organizations more satisfactory than others. If new tensions appear in the social structure, the environment of children will be altered and new patterns of behavior will be learned by children who, in turn, will form a different social structure paralleling their different childhood experiences. "The motivations of the adult which lead him to seek a pattern of relationships paralleling those which were satisfying in his childhood are of course unconscious" (1962: 7).

In traditional societies, Hagen says, behavior is governed by custom, the social structure is hierarchical and position is inherited. The peasants who make up the vast majority of the society participate in this kind of social organization. Having grown up in an authoritarian situation, they feel satisfaction in letting individuals above them make decisions. In submitting to authority, neither peasants nor elite feel that they have any control over the phenomena of the physical world, especially sickness. It is not a question of the peasants feeling oppressed and exploited. Rather it is that they perceive a hierarchy in their social world, know their place in it, and do not expect to change it.

The elite similarly see the phenomena of the physical world as limiting and threatening forces against which they cannot prevail. With respect to the peasants they feel themselves to be different and superior. To support their separate identity, they turn away from manual, technical and mercantile activities. Owning land, especially, has high status and security and sets one off from the trader and the businessman. They also feel that, with their superior identity, they have a right to greater authority. Furthermore, they feel that delegating authority to subordinates is equivalent to sharing one's status or superiority. Subordinates, for their part, accept their role and defer decisions up the line. The resulting concentration of authority at the top stifles creativity and impedes technological progress.

Since authoritarian parents produce authoritarian children, the traditional, non-innovative society continues. Economic growth comes, according to Hagen, when withdrawal of respect for status undermines the authoritarian family structure. Children raised in this modified environment retreat from

increasingly conflicting demands and become apathetic. As the retreat deepens, it creates circumstances in the family life that are conducive to the development of innovational personalities. While transitional adults are not innovators they provide a home in which their children are expected to achieve. The historical sequence of authoritarianism, withdrawal of status respect, retreatism, and creativity may take several generations. Hagen attempts to illustrate and support his thesis by examining the histories of growth in England, Japan, Colombia, and Burma.

Hagen's theory of the emergence of innovative behavior in traditional societies is itself a highly creative integration of concepts from several disciplines, particularly personality theory. It is so comprehensive that it is difficult to test. Citing cases is more a matter of illustration than proof. It should be possible, however, to test his theory that individuals who take industrial innovative roles are more frequently from non-traditional backgrounds than a matched group of non-innovators from the same society.

McClelland and the Achieving Society

In contrast to those who have emphasized economic, technological, or political factors in economic growth, McClelland, like Hagen, has drawn attention to the role that the attitudes and behavior of individual members play in the development of the society. As a psychologist, his earlier research was concerned with the achievement motive, primarily in college students. He measured the strength of an individual's need to achieve or *need achievement* (abbreviated still further to n Ach) by coding stories which individuals made up about pictures in the Thematic Apperception Test (TAT) series. With his students, he investigated the effects and antecedents of high and low n Ach and moved in two important directions: He explored methods of increasing the level of people's drive to achieve; and he studied the relationship between achievement motives and economic growth in many countries, and in individual countries across great spans of time. His basic thesis was that economic development was closely related to achievement habits particularly in entrepreneurs.

A person with high need for achievement sets moderate goals for himself; he enjoys taking medium, calculated risks; he examines his environment carefully; and he wants specific information on how well he is doing. Contrary to what one might expect, someone with high n Ach does not respond strongly to the incentive of profit or gain; instead, he considers reward to be a measure of performance. Someone with low n Ach requires tangible incentives to work harder, whereas one with high n Ach derives satisfaction from accomplishment itself.

His research on the relationship between n Ach and economic growth is reported in a book which, itself, is an extraordinary achievement of far-ranging

scholarship (McClelland 1961). Bringing the techniques of behavioral science to the study of economic development, McClelland examined statistically the relationship between indices of n Ach and indices of economic growth. This is different from a case study in that it enables one to obtain an estimate of how great the relationship may be and it leads one away from the pitfall that other factors may account for the observed conditions in a single case. As a measure of a society's n Ach, McClelland scored stories from children's readers which were used in two periods: about 1925 and about 1950. As an index of economic development, McClelland used the rate of growth in electrical output. The index of n Ach based on 1925 readers correlated ·46 with economic growth from 1929 to 1950 (1961: 92). But the ratings of 1950 readers correlated almost zero with the same index of growth. The 1950 n Ach ratings, however, did correlate ·43 with deviations from the expected rate of growth of electrical output for the period 1952–58 (1961: 100). With the worldwide emphasis on economic development, the average n Ach score rose from 1925 to 1950 in the countries studied. These results are an exciting confirmation of McClelland's hypothesis, but caution needs to be expressed since a correlation of ·50 accounts for only 25 per cent of the variance. Other factors also contribute to the effect. For instance, foreign investment might have much to do with increased power production and foreign influences might similarly affect the contents of the books children use in school. It is likely that a country accepting investment in one domain would also receive it in another.

In a highly creative chapter McClelland charted relationships between n Ach and economic and political indices for individual nations over great spans of time. Samples of Greek literature from 900 to 100 B.C. were coded and correlated with the size of the Greek trade area. Spanish literature from 1400 to 1700 was correlated with shipping from Spain to the New World. English literature from 1500 to 1800 was compared with coal imports at the Port of London. Number of patents per million population was plotted against achievement imagery in the United States from 1810 to 1950. In each case McClelland found evidence to support his theory that n Ach as revealed in the stories people tell is related to the direction of economic development. There is also a hint that achievement thinking begins to decrease before levels of achievement reflected in trade or power statistics.

Returning to an analysis of the stories, McClelland examined a series of values hypothesized by others to be associated with economic development. He scored the stories for the value in question and then studied the relationship between the strength of the value and rate of growth. He also determined the interaction between n Ach and the value as factors associated with growth. An example may make this complicated analysis a little clearer. Some societies are said to develop slowly because they are tradition-bound. McClelland scored stories for the extent to which they emphasized conformity to forces exerted

by the state, the church, the educational system, and the family. There was less pressure from tradition in rapidly growing economies. The interaction with n Ach was significant too. In other words, growth was greatest where n Ach was high and where the influence of tradition was weak.

Based on earlier research and theory, it was hypothesized that the stories in books from rapidly developing economies would differ with respect to certain specified themes from those from countries with lower rates of development. The differences hypothesized to characterize a growing society and the interaction with n Ach are presented with the results of the statistical tests. For example, Hypothesis 1 below makes the prediction that the school-textbook stories of rapidly developing countries will place less emphasis on traditional institutions than will the stories from countries developing at a slower rate. Rapidly developing economies will be characterized by (1961: 178–190):

(1) Less emphasis on the importance of institutions such as the state, church, school, or family. (Confirmed, interaction significant with greater difference associated with high n Ach.)

(2) More emphasis on universal applicability of laws and regulations. (Not confirmed.)

(3) More emphasis on contractual rather than personalized relationships. Relationships are specifically motivated and they have a specific outcome, favorable or unfavorable. In the stories, people interact for a purpose which is explicit, to achieve an end which is reported. (Both purpose and end characteristics confirmed, non-significant interaction.)

(4) More emphasis on achieved status than on ascribed status. (Tendency toward differences in opposite direction, interaction significant as predicted.)

(5) More emphasis on peer pressures. (Partial confirmation.)

(6) Less emphasis on self-interest as a motive for cooperation. (Not confirmed.)

(7) More emphasis on control of impulses and on a thrifty, disciplined attitude. (Not confirmed.)

(8) More emphasis on planning and intelligent action (Not confirmed.)

(9) Less emphasis on deceit and magic. (Not confirmed.) An emphasis on hard work as a means was tested as a corollary to 8 and 9. (Confirmed.)

(10) More emphasis on man's capacity to control nature. (Not confirmed.)

(11) More emphasis on an individual's likelihood of succeeding. (Not confirmed.)

(12) Greater concern for material needs and for economic wants. (Not confirmed.)

(13) Greater use of material rewards such as money, food, and presents. (Not confirmed.)

(14) More emphasis on cooperation to cope with the forces of nature. (Confirmed, interaction significant with greatest emphasis associated with low n Ach.)

Of the 14 relationships studied, only three (Hypotheses 1, 3, and 4) are found to be significant. Rapidly developing economies have children's readers in which stories place less emphasis on the pressures of traditional institutions such as the church or the family. The stories are more likely to describe relationships in which there are specific purposes to be achieved, whereas the stories from lagging economies are more likely to relate to vague, diffuse relationships. Finally, there was more emphasis on the need to cooperate in dealing with the forces of nature in the stories from rapidly developing economies. At this point, one might suggest that children's stories are far removed from the forces which influence economic development. McClelland suggests that the relationships arise because "the readers reflect sufficiently accurately the motives and values of key groups of men in the country which *in the long run* determine the general drift of economic and political decisions and their effects on productivity" (1961: 202).

It is also worthwhile to examine the variables which did not yield significant relationships. Status distinctions were just as common in stories from both types of economies. Similarly, there were no differences in preference for achieved status over ascribed status. Themes emphasizing self-interest, impulse control, fate, control of nature, expectations of success or material possessions showed up as frequently with one group as with the other. McClelland concluded (1961: 198) that in rapidly developing economies, "the force which holds society together has shifted from tradition . . . to public opinion." This assertion would appear to be based largely on the finding that in a modern society there is less emphasis on traditional institutions. He continues (1961: 192), " . . . rigid prescribed ways of relating to others have begun to give way to more flexible ones which are seen as arising out of the specific needs and demands of particular others, especially peers." These new patterns are called *other-directed* in contrast to earlier patterns of response which are largely dictated by tradition. McClelland emphasizes that development comes as people become market-oriented and more dependent on the opinion of others. This is true in a sense but it is also true that in the most traditional villages people are most subject to the influence of public opinion in the form of gossip. In such a community, someone who innovates often has to ignore public opinion. Later, McClelland specifies that one must become responsive to the opinion of others who are unknown, in addition to one's friends and relatives.

It appears to this observer that Western writers have tended to exaggerate the degree to which members of a traditional society are confined by tradition

in contrast to the emancipated member of an industrial society. Opinions matter everywhere. The difference lies more in the content of the expectations to which an individual is subject.

When one considers McClelland's work, one must remember certain matters. His samples were small: 22 countries for the 1925 books and 40 for the 1950 sample. With such small samples, one would like to have additional independent indices of n Ach. Furthermore, tropical areas, where the most populous, underdeveloped nations are located, were not represented in his sample. Finally, his variables are complex. Most growth indices have to be derived from differences between two levels of productivity. The resulting index is inevitably unreliable since it cumulates errors of both levels.

On the basis of his research, McClelland (1965) proposed an action program designed to speed economic development, and he actually tested it in the field. This would seem to have been more than a medium risk since many theorists never carry their speculations to the point of application. He argued that n Ach is a motive which can be learned in adulthood, or at least the strength of n Ach can be increased, even though his research had suggested that childhood experiences were closely related to n Ach in adulthood. His first application was at an American company where, in a one-week course, he taught 16 participants the nature of the achievement motive and how to think, talk, act, and perceive the world like a person with a high need to achieve. Two years later these men had progressed farther in the company than a matched control group.

A second test was carried out in India with 52 men who gathered in four groups for 10-day sessions. They were taught as much as possible about n Ach; they learned how to think in terms of n Ach, and to act in lifelike games as would a person with high n Ach. They were to reconcile n Ach with their self-image and with Indian cultural values which conflicted with a high orientation to achievement. Finally, in order to retain the changes of attitude produced, they were helped to form a self-perpetuating interest group. As a result of the course there was an increase in entrepreneurial activity. The participants paid more attention to their businesses; they started innovating; they began taking moderate risks in their investments; and some opened new enterprises. McClelland claimed in addition that participants began to take more interest in the general welfare of the community.

Finally, one must remark that McClelland has asked a collection of children's stories to provide the basis for a far-ranging analysis of the psychological factors in economic development. The most persuasive evidence to support his analysis and speculation is the fact that his theory is often confirmed. In many cases, however, the correlations are very small—which leaves one with the nagging doubt that intervening factors might account for the apparent relationship.

Kahl and an Attitude Scale to Measure Modernism

Two investigators have attempted to develop attitude scales which would measure modernization. Kahl (1968) and Inkeles (1966), making use of conventional attitude scale construction techniques, have explored the dimension of change in the outlook of people at various stages of industrialization. On the basis of reported research and his own preliminary interviews, Kahl posited 14 dimensions on which attitudes may change with modernization. The modern man is more likely to agree with:

(1) Activism, one can determine outcomes.
(2) Low stratification of life chances, opportunity is open to change one's status.
(3) Low community stratification, one can influence public policy.
(4) Occupational primacy, career success is stressed.
(5) Low integration with relatives.
(6) Individualism.
(7) Trust, or belief in fairness of others.
(8) Mass media participation.
(9) Acceptance of big companies.
(10) Approval of manual work.
(11) Preference for urban life.
(12) Family modernism.
(13) Low religiosity.
(14) Risk taking; seeking responsibility for outcomes.

Kahl prepared from two to seven items expressing each of these sentiments and gave the 58-item schedule to a total of 627 Brazilian and 740 Mexican men. Several statistical analyses were done. Using factor analysis, he determined the degree to which these 14 scales were measuring independent variables. The results suggested that there was one major dimension. Interpreting the scales which related most closely to the common factor, Kahl concluded:

> A "modern" man is an activist; he attempts to shape his world instead of passively and fatalistically responding to it. He is an individualist, who does not merge his work career with that of either relatives or friends. He believes that an independent career is not only desirable but possible, for he perceives both life chances and the local community to be low in ascribed status. He prefers urban life to rural life, and he follows mass media (1968:37).

In a second analysis, Kahl carried out a factor analysis of the 58-item schedule. The first and largest factor had eight items drawn from five different scales. Inspection of the items suggests that one who is low on modernism views the world, particularly the city, as hostile and indifferent to him; feels that planning is futile since plans will not materialize; and is convinced that

public figures have little interest in his welfare. The modern man tends to disagree with these attitudes.

In our opinion there are some shortcomings in Kahl's procedure. The majority of the 58 items offer a statement with which the respondent can agree or disagree. The majority of the statements are such that one has to disagree to offer a modern sentiment. Psychologists have done a great deal of research on acquiescence and response bias, and results indicate quite strongly that Kahl's results are distorted by the fact that one appears modern by disagreeing with a statement. Of course it is probably true that traditional people are more disposed to keep their disagreement to themselves and are less willing to take a stand opposing a statement someone, especially a stranger, has made. But this is a matter of style, not of content, and it is important to know in research such as this whether one is dealing with style or content. This is a problem not only with questionnaires but with interview schedules as well.

There is an additional shortcoming which we consider serious in Kahl's items. Consider the first item:

> Making plans only brings unhappiness, because plans are hard to fulfil.

There are actually two ideas in this item, so that we cannot be sure what the respondent is attending to. More than one third of his items are such that one could agree with part and disagree with the rest.

Inkeles and the Overall Modernity Scale

Smith and Inkeles (1966) offered an overall modernity (OM) scale designed as a socio-psychological measure of individual modernity. A modern society is characterized, they say, by a high level of urbanization, education, industrialization, mechanization, and social mobility. Individual members of such a society have a certain set of attitudes, values, and ways of feeling and acting which go with participation in the society. Among the more salient, Inkeles (1966: 154–157) suggests, are the following:

(1) A readiness for new experience and openness to innovation and change.
(2) A disposition to form and hold opinions over a wide range of problems and issues.
(3) An orientation to the present and future rather than the past.
(4) A preference for planning and organizing.
(5) A belief that one can dominate his environment in order to advance his own goals.
(6) A confidence that other people and institutions can be counted on to fulfill their obligations and responsibilities.
(7) An awareness of the dignity of others and a disposition to respect them.
(8) Faith in science and technology.

(9) A belief that rewards should be according to contributions and not to whim or special properties or status.

These nine themes represent only a portion of the 33 which Smith and Inkeles listed and which they used as a basis to construct a 119-item interview.

In order to reduce the problem that arises because subjects tend to agree or disagree, regardless of content, the authors presented each item as a question, with two or more alternatives of balanced desirability. Examples of items are:

(1) Does a boy learn the most truth from: old people, books, or both?

(2) Which is more useful: schooling, a good head?

From 700 to 1,300 men, aged 18 to 32, were interviewed in each of the following countries: Argentina, Chile, India, Israel, Nigeria, and Pakistan.

In order to identify attitudes associated with modernization in many cultures, Smith and Inkeles applied two methods of item analysis. They scored the 119-item form by summing those items answered in what they felt was the modern direction. Correlations were then computed between each item and the total score and the items correlating most highly were selected to make a shorter form of 38 items. It was found that 12 of these items were designed to measure the respondents' attitude toward efficacy, or the belief he could control his environment, and his openness to new experience. Selecting the best item according to the same criterion from each of the 33 *a priori* areas, a second scale, which had a more heterogeneous content than the first, was constructed. Nineteen items appear in both scales.

Turning to a different technique of item selection, the authors computed correlations between each item and three criteria of modernization: education, urban experience, and industrial-work experience. This yielded a third scale. A fourth was made by selecting the one item for each of the 33 themes which correlated most highly on the average with the above three criteria of modernization. A final, shortened scale of 10 items was developed by selecting those items which appeared in each of the above four scales. These, then, were items which repeatedly appeared to be related to various indices of modernity. Answered in the modern direction, someone who is high on this final scale has the following characteristics:

(1) He has an active interest in public issues.

(2) He wants higher education for his children.

(3) He approves of new agricultural techniques.

(4) He prefers candidates who have a special education.

(5) He believes that hard work is important for the country's future.

(6) He approves of science.

(7) He approves of restricting family size.

(8) He is interested in world news.

(9) He believes he can understand the thinking of people who come from distant places.

(10) Finally, he is willing to acknowledge that a man can be good without being religious.

As was the case with Kahl's technique, there is still a considerable likelihood that the desire to please the interviewer may influence an individual's responses to these items; i.e., an individual may answer in the way he feels will place him in a favorable light. The precautions the authors took are not sufficient to completely control this problem. Another problem is the brevity of the scale. It is too short, especially when the unreliability of individual items is taken into consideration. Finally, if modernization has many themes, it is probably not useful to try to build a single scale since individuals with identical scores may show very different patterns of accommodation to the modern world. Both studies are valuable, however, in that they demonstrate that it is possible to elicit different attitudes which are apparently related to the degree to which individuals are different under the impact of industrialization, education, and urbanization. These last two studies also present evidence for the validity of their findings in more than one culture. In our research in the Philippines, we have drawn heavily from Inkeles' theory and included some of his questions.

In this chapter we have discussed at length a number of the more psychologically oriented studies of the process of modernization. Our sample constitutes only a minute portion of the material which has been published on modernization, as witnessed by a bibliography of some 2,500 items which has been assembled by Brode (1969). The studies we have cited agree that the personality patterns and interpersonal behavior of members of peasant societies differ from those in more industrialized groups. There is a lack of consensus, however, on the relative importance of these differences and on the degree to which change in these patterns is necessary or possible. In the following chapters we shall examine the Philippine situation. From the ease with which Filipinos make the transition to an industrial pattern we shall be led to infer that, while the differences are important, they are superficial and subject to change with a changing social environment. We are convinced that there is little evidence to support the idea of a basic peasant personality structure which is the outgrowth of crucial childhood experiences and which, of itself, constitutes a significant impediment to modernization.