ACHEIEVEMENT MOTIVATION AMONG MINORITY
GROUPS IN BEIRUT

BY

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NEED ACHIEVEMENT AMONG MINORITIES

BY

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ABSTRACT

McClelland, Atkinson and co-workers have developed a method for measuring achievement motivation based on a special scoring system adapted from the TAT. This measure has made possible the testing of our hypothesis which states that minority groups in Beirut have a significantly higher need for achievement score than the indigenous Lebanese population.

The minority groups include Armenians, Jews and Palestinians. The Lebanese served as a control group.

Middle class high school students from the Beirut area were shown a series of 4 TAT and similar pictures and asked to write stories about them, under neutral test conditions - that is nothing was done to arouse their motivational level or to relax it.

The stories obtained were scored by a graduate research assistant in the Psychology Department of the American University of Beirut and by E. The inter-scorer reliabilities ranged from +.72 - +.96.

In order to determine whether there were differences in the n for Ach of the groups studied, as it appears in their imaginative stories, the chi-square test was applied. The value of chi-square was not significant. The hypothesis was therefore refuted. The differences observed may be attributed to sampling errors, chance fluctuations, or inadequacy of the applicability of the method to the Lebanese culture.
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Chapter I

Minorities and Achievement Motivation

Motivation has always been of great interest to psychologists, and discovering why individuals do what they do is a basic and central problem of psychology.

Common to man and the lower animals is the tendency to eat when hungry, and drink when thirsty. Such motives, related to bodily or tissue needs are called physiological or biogenic motives. The presence of these needs accounts for much of the behaviour of a baby. His main concern is the satisfaction of his needs for food, water, sleep, etc. However, because man lives with others and because other men are necessary for his survival, they have to be reckoned with. Motives which involve other people are called social or sociogenic motives. These social motives are learnt in the process of growing up in a particular culture. These social motives are acquired by the individual through the process of socialization. They derive from the physiological drives, and become quite strong.\(^1\)

The study and measurement of human social motivation among societies or specific groups is a complicated task. Different groups inculcate different motives among their members, and within the same group also such differences exist. If we take cultures at large we find that they differ considerably. Also, the same community, the social class, the religion, the ethnic group, and the family unit are all factors which

contribute to and account for the divergencies in the kind of social motivation fostered and enhanced among various groups. One very essential difference between groups is the patterns of child-rearing practices which differ from one group to another. These child-rearing patterns play an important part in the development of social and psychological motives.

Among the methods employed by psychologists in their measurement of social motivation is that in which inference is made to a person's motives by the use of dream analysis and free association. This method goes back at least to Sigmund Freud. (2) Both the ideas and the techniques were initiated by him. It was Freud who initiated the studies of motivation through fantasy as expressed in free association, a basic psycho-analytic tool. In 1938 Henry A. Murray (3) developed a technique for assessing motivation, based on the Freudian concept that human motives are clearly expressed in free associative thought. This technique is called the Projective Technique, and the Thematic Apperception Test or TAT was developed by Murray. This test may then be viewed as one of the main beginnings of systematic investigations of fantasy.

Social Motivation:

One of the problems of greatest interest to psychologists is the assessment of the strengths of motives in persons and the comparison of one person's motivational state with another. Famous among psychologists


who have done extensive research in the study of social motivation and
its assessment are David C. McClelland and his associates. They
have dealt mainly with the need for Affiliation, the need for Achievement
and the need for Power. These and other social and psychological needs
were originally presented by Henry A. Murray in 1938.

The need for Achievement has however been of primary interest to
McClelland and his co-workers. As already mentioned this concept
itself goes back to Murray who defines it as "The need to overcome
obstacles, to exercise power, to strive to do something difficult as well
and as quickly as possible." McClelland describes a person with high
need for achievement quite similarly: He is a person "who wants to do
del well at what he undertakes, who is energetic, nonconforming and tends to
be predisposed toward innovations, toward tasks which are not safe and
traditional but involve some element of risk." Such a definition has
some implications: There is "competition with a standard of excellence" or
good performance. The individual is emotionally involved in the

(4) Atkinson, op.cit. p.4.
particular task he undertakes to do and hence strives to perform it well. Good performance in terms of doing better than others, or competing against one's own record is involved in achievement motivation.\(^{(10)}\)

Also, unique accomplishments are included here, such as inventions or creations.\(^{(11)}\) Finally, need for achievement refers to long term involvement.\(^{(12)}\) This means that a person has a long term goal, for example becoming a lawyer, a doctor, or a successful business man.

McClelland's approach involves the arousal of particular motives experimentally through the "special instructions" given to the subjects, and studying the effects on the imaginative stories written in response to partly ambiguous pictures such as TAT cards.\(^{(13)}\)

McClelland believes that there are certain factors which promote and favor the development of the need for achievement. Basic and central, he believes, is the independence training the parents give and allow their children. He has traced this historically. He has attempted to account for the existence of the need for achievement among certain groups, e.g., the Protestants in Germany, in terms of their ideas of child-rearing, which were a function of their religious views.\(^{(14)}\) While all children in

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\(^{(10)}\) Ibid, p.182.

\(^{(11)}\) Ibid, p.183.


all cultures have to learn to walk, talk, and other such skills, the
degree of pressure exerted by the parents on their child to master
these skills early differs. According to McClelland "The more they
insist on early mastery the more the child thinks in achievement terms,
the greater the effect from meeting or failing to meet achievement
statements and so on." Therefore the more a child is forced to master
these skills early in life the higher his need for achievement will be.
Achievement motivation, then is associated with the stress the mothers
place in relation to independence training of their children. The
Protestants, according to McClelland favor and force early independence
training in their children.

It was over fifty years ago that Max Weber the German
sociologist and economist noted that there were differences in the
economic achievement between certain religious and national minorities and
the majority population among whom they lived. He noticed that these
minorities were excluded from politics and that they were likely to be
driven strongly to economic activity. However, it did not seem likely to
Weber that their minority status was a sufficient factor which could
account for their economic over-achievement. He cited as evidence of this
the Catholics in England and Holland, who were a persecuted minority like
the Protestants in Germany, but unlike the latter, they did not go into
business. He was consequently led to believe that what drove the

(15) McClelland et al., op. cit. p. 298.
(16) Ibid., p. 304.
(17) Weber, M., The Protestant Ethic. (Transl. by T. Parsons),
(18) Ibid.
Protestants into such capitalistic enterprise was the religious view which they held, namely, a view which puts more emphasis and stress on worldliness rather than other-worldliness as compared to the religious ideologies held by Catholics. In this way he suggested a link between Protestantism as a religious ideology, and the development of capitalism in Germany.

This association between the "Protestant Ethic" and the "Spirit of Capitalism" has aroused the interest of social psychologists, primarily David C. McClelland. This interest is due to the fact that Weber's description of the personality type produced by the Protestant Reformation is very similar to the characteristics McClelland attributes to the person with a high achievement motivation. It was only recently that McClelland began the study of achievement and other social motives under controlled experimental conditions and called attention to the correspondence between characteristics of persons who are highly motivated to achieve and of the entrepreneurs of which Weber spoke.

McClelland began by assuming that achievement motivation should be reflected in technological advance. He collected evidence which showed that the association between the Protestant Ethic and the growth of capitalism may be "mediated by the achievement motive". In order to establish a link on this association at the empirical level, McClelland


collected data on a representative number of both Protestant and Catholic countries that were well matched for resources and climatic conditions. He used the Kilowatt hours of electricity a country consumed as an index of its economic development for a given year. His results showed that Protestant countries were significantly associated with higher level of electricity consumption and accordingly were considered to be more advanced technologically. (25) McClelland also hypothesized that need for achievement fostered by the kinds of child-rearing practices held by Protestants is satisfied by their entrepreneurial activities. (24)

McClelland states that "Protestantism produced an increased stress on independence training which produced higher achievement motivation which produced more vigorous entrepreneurial activity and rapid economic development". (25) However, he indicates that such an association is not exclusively between Protestantism as a religion and technological development, because the Jews have also displayed achievement characteristics similar to those of Protestants. He concludes that what is actually involved are certain values or ideologies which are associated with both Protestantism and Judaism. (26)

McClelland (27) cites evidence to substantiate and support his hypothesis concerning minority status, independence training, and economic


(26) Ibid, p.50.

development. Other examples of this are the studies made by Rosen\(^{(28)}\) who points out that social classes differ in their \(n\) for \(Ach\) and Winterbottom,\(^{(29)}\) who has established the relationship between \(n\) for \(Ach\) and independence training. Even though the findings revealed by these and other studies seem to substantiate McClelland's hypothesis, the fact remains to be seen as to whether they hold true to other minority groups outside the United States. The relationship between minority status, religion and achievement motivation may be examined in a country like Lebanon, where there are many minorities who have their own child-rearing practices and religious ideologies.

**Minorities and Achievement Motivation:**

**Definition of a Minority:** A minority may be defined as a group of individuals who are held together by ties that are common to them, such as language, religion, and politics, in which the members feel themselves as being different from the majority of the inhabitants in a given country.\(^{(30)}\)

It may be noted that ordinarily such minorities are regarded by others and by themselves as well, as being under-privileged in the positions which they occupy. However, this conception does not appear to be generally justified because there are many instances where a minority is economically and politically highly privileged.


Minority groups have always been found. They are not a recent phenomenon and they differ in their origins. Some are the results of past conquests, others are due to the peaceful union of different groups, while others originated from migratory movements. Religious minorities are outstanding among such groups.\(^{(31)}\) They have played a distinctive role all through history such as the Huguenots in France. For example, in Europe, religious minorities were treated severely during the Reformation and were in some instances forced to emigrate to other countries. Many such religious and ethnic minorities are found in the Near and the Middle East,\(^{(32)}\) for example Samaritans and Jews. They have carried on with them their own ways of life and until recently have remained aloof from the majority culture, and have been strongly resistant to other new religious movements or assimilation with the large culture. Among the minority groups in Lebanon we may mention the Armenians, Jews, and Palestinians. These minority groups are considered occupationally high achievers.\(^{(35)}\) Therefore, it is interesting to find out whether male children drawn from these groups have a higher achievement motive than the indigenous Lebanese population.

According to our hypothesis these minorities should score significantly higher than a comparable sample of Lebanese population when they are tested for the strength of achievement motivation as measured by McClelland's method, which will be discussed in the next chapter.

\(^{(31)}\) Ibid, p.572.

\(^{(32)}\) Ibid, p.573.

Lebanon and Minorities: In the Middle East and particularly in Syria and Lebanon, the minorities that have played a great role have been religious rather than linguistic or political.\(^{(34)}\) However, differences in religion meant that there were differences in the social structure of the community and in their ways of living.

In Lebanon the minorities have a proportionate share in the running of the affairs of the country, such as in the legislation and public service.\(^{(35)}\) Lebanon is the only country in the Arab world in which the Christians possess a majority.\(^{(36)}\) The Christians form a minority in the Arab world. According to the population count of 1954, the Christians formed 54 per cent of the population of Lebanon as against 46 per cent for the Moslems.\(^{(37)}\) The Maronites, who are the predominating sect among the Christians constitute about 29% of the total Lebanese population.\(^{(38)}\) They are the largest minority. They are mainly an agricultural community, and engage in industry, trade and commerce on a comparatively small scale, but they have also formed an urban bourgeoisie class in the towns.

In this study our discussion is going to be limited to the three minority groups in Lebanon, namely the Armenians, Jews and Palestinians, who will serve as Ss. A brief description of each is given below.

\(^{(34)}\) "Minorities," op.cit. p.573.

\(^{(35)}\) Ibid, p.573.


\(^{(38)}\) Ibid, p.855.
The Armenians: They came from what is now Turkey and Soviet Armenia. Their main influx was in 1921, when they fled from Turkey and came into Syria. They have an Indo-European language and are spread throughout Asia Minor, Iran, Iraq, and several of the Arab countries. The Armenians retain their own social customs and their own schools. Religiously they are mainly Gregorians, and the church is both a national body which keeps them together as well as a religious body. (39) The Armenians in Lebanon are 83,500, according to the census of 1958. (40)

The Jews: The Jewish minorities in Iraq, Egypt, and Lebanon have been in these countries for over a hundred years, and they are mainly Arabic speaking. The Lebanese Jews occupy unique positions in the economic life of the country. They are mainly financiers, merchants, and clerks. Their number in 1958 (41) was 6,600, dwelling largely in the city of Beirut. The Jews were quicker to abandon their traditional way of life than the Moslems. Socially they lead their own separate existence. They retain their own schools and charitable organizations, and have a strong religious identity. (42)

The Palestinians: The Palestinian Arabs, until 1948, were the over-whelming majority in Palestine. In 1948 (43) about 600,000 Palestinian made their way into the other Arab countries as refugees. Palestinian


(41) Ibid, p.1208.

(42) Hourani, op. cit. p.104.

refugees in Lebanon are scattered in different parts of Lebanon. Only those who live in refugee camps and possess ration cards have the legal status of refugees. The majority are Moslem by religion and come mainly from a rural community. The non-camp Palestinians who left Palestine and settled in Lebanon live mainly in the cities. They have their own commercial enterprises and have worked their way up economically. They form mainly an urban bourgeoisie class. They do not hold ration cards and they are mostly Christians.

In spite of their minority status in Lebanon, the Armenians, Jews and non-camp Palestinians play an important role in the economy of the country. Their most important contributions have been in the area of business and economic enterprise. This role they share with the upper class and the newly emerging Lebanese Middle class, which according to Sayigh(44) are the most important sources of economic enterprise in Lebanon.

The presence of these minority groups in Lebanon provides an opportunity for the examination of differences in achievement motivation among the different minority groups.

(44) Sayigh, op.cit. p.124.
Chapter II

Methods in the Study of Achievement Motivation
and Review of the Literature

It is essential and basic in the understanding and study of motivation to have a method of assessment of motive strength. For this method to be adequate it should yield valid measures of individual differences in the strengths of the motive or motives being assessed. It should be flexible, and adaptable to the general experimental investigations on motivation. It also ought to be applicable to the different kinds of motives that are considered important in human behaviour.

Methods of Studying Motivation: There is generally more agreement among motivational theorists concerning the observations relevant to motivation than there is about the nature of motives. Psychologists base their theories on the observations of the behaviour of organisms. However, there are different techniques and methods employed in the experimental study of motive arousal and its intensity in organisms, for example, by deprivation, by strong stimulation, and special instructions etc. (45)

In their attempts at measuring social motives, psychologists have passed through several stages, from the very subjective to the more objective methods of study. More recently attempts have been made to study motives not only qualitatively but also quantitatively, as we shall see from the following brief discussion of the methods of measuring human motivation.

Methods of Measuring Human Motivation:

In his discussion of social motivation, McClelland distinguishes the following ways of measurement:

**Self Ratings:** The oldest and the simplest way of measuring human motivation is to ask a person how motivated he is for something, either directly as in cases where he is asked to fill out a rating scale; or indirectly, where he is asked to express his preferences for situations, objects, etc., and from which answers inferences are drawn of his motive pattern. McClelland points out that such measures have high reliability, (46) but no attempts have been made to show that the reliabilities of these measures vary with changes in motive strengths. There is also room for such self-described motives to be distorted because the subject wants to impress others, and also, motives may be repressed. (47)

**Ratings by Observers:** In this approach someone who is familiar enough with the subject is asked to rate his degree of motive intensity. An advantage of this method over the preceding method is that there is a tendency for the judge to keep his standards more or less the same for various subjects. (48) However, a motive may be understood differently by two judges even though they both use the same label. The reliability of the method increases when more than one observer rates the same subjects, preferably more than once.

**Special Instructions:** Another method of measuring human motives which attempts to overcome the drawbacks of the other methods, involves

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experimental arousal of certain motives in the subjects. Such motives include the need for Achievement, the need for Affiliation, and the need for Power.\(^{49}\) The motives are aroused by giving Ss some specific instructions and searching for the effects of these instructions on standardized samples of fantasy collected from the subjects. These samples are ordinarily stories written to ambiguous pictures such as TAT cards. Comparisons are made between stories written by one group aroused motivationally and another group not so aroused. An advantage of this method is that since the subject does not know that his motives are being tested, he cannot control or distort the results. Human beings can be motivated by "special instructions" given to them, e.g., the desire to do well to please the experimenter.\(^{50}\) This method is exemplified in the studies of McClelland and his co-workers on Achievement motivation.\(^{51}\) The term Achievement motivation from now on will be symbolized by "n for Ach."

Social motivation is inferred from a content analysis of the imaginative stories; an analysis which involves the use of a standard scoring system by trained judges.\(^{52}\)

The tasks facing McClelland in his attempts at varying and measuring social motivation were three-fold.

He wanted to show that changes occurred in the content of imaginative protocols written by Ss who were deprived of food for periods of differing

\(^{49}\) Atkinson, op.cit. p.9-12.

\(^{50}\) McClelland. In Atkinson, op.cit. p.12.

\(^{51}\) McClelland et al. op.cit.

\(^{52}\) McClelland et al. In Atkinson, op.cit. p.179-204.
lengths, and therefore presumably differing in their desire for food. Once this was established, his aim was to arouse experimentally a psychogenic need and note whether apperceptive changes similar to those noted for a psychological need like hunger occurred. After this was established, he developed an objective scoring system which was reliable and sensitive in reflecting changes in motivational states of human beings.

The experimental procedure employed by McClelland and his co-workers in their experimental studies of n for Ach was as follows:

Certain paper and pencil tests, such as anagrams, or similar tests in which words are written in a normal and a reverse manner, were given to the Ss to perform. The purpose of these tests was to involve the Ss. Fictitious norms on these tests were announced. These norms were varied to suit the particular test conditions, as for example, where Ss were allowed to succeed or fail in the tests. The instructions given before the tests fell in a continuum of three degrees of ego-involvement, ranging from a relaxed to a neutral and to an ego-involving condition.

a. In the relaxed testing condition little significance was attached to the paper and pencil test, the purpose being to minimize any achievement related cues in the instructions. The purpose was to make the Ss task oriented.

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(55) Ibid

(56) Ibid
b. In the neutral condition, the aim was neither to increase nor decrease the motivational level of the subjects, but rather to measure it when it is elicited by cues of everyday life. \(^{(57)}\)

c. In the ego-involved or achievement oriented test condition deliberate attempts were made to bring in additional achievement related cues. To induce such a state the tests were reported to be measures of intelligence, capacity, and suitability for leadership. All these values are considered to be of importance in the American culture, therefore high achievement was expected with these instructions. \(^{(58)}\)

Under these different instructions Ss wrote stories in response to the TAT or similar cards, and comparisons were made between the stories written in the three experimental conditions.

The Scoring System: The scoring system of n for Ach "reveals an implicit acceptance of the kinds of descriptive categories elaborated by many different psychological theorists in conceptualizing ajustive overt behaviour." \(^{(59)}\) This behavioural sequence begins when the individual experiences a need or motive, and has either negative or positive anticipations concerning his goal attainment. In his need state, he might engage in activity that enhances goal attainment or not. His goal directed activity may be blocked. The obstacles may be from within the individual or from the external world at large. Finally, he may experience either negative or positive affect, depending on whether or not he succeeds

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\(^{(57)}\) Ibid

\(^{(58)}\) Ibid

in goal attainment.\textsuperscript{(60)} It is "the goal which defines whether or not the various anticipations, affective states, and instrumental activity, and so forth of the person are achievement-related or related to some other motive."\textsuperscript{(61)} The anticipations, affective states, instrumental activity etc. describe the behavioural sequence, regardless of the nature of the motive which is being considered. Therefore, major attention should be devoted to define what constitutes an achievement goal.

According to McClelland, an achievement goal is defined as "success in competition with some standard of excellence."\textsuperscript{(62)} In the scoring system he distinguishes between three main categories of achievement:

1. "Achievement Imagery (AI)" Score = 1. This is the only one which, if present, justifies the scoring of the sub-categories which McClelland distinguishes in relation to the n for Ach motive.\textsuperscript{(63)} It is scored when there is reference to an achievement goal, even though the character in the story might fail to achieve this goal, when there is competition with a standard of excellence. This means that if a character in the story engages in competitive activity, and if winning or doing well or better than others is actually expressed. It is scored when self imposed requirements are met, and performing better than one's own record or competing with one's own standards is in evidence. It is also scored when the individual is involved in a unique accomplishment. Examples of

\textsuperscript{(60)} Ibid, p.180.

\textsuperscript{(61)} Ibid


\textsuperscript{(63)} Ibid, p.184.
these are wanting to win an essay contest, solving a hard problem, doing better than one has done before, desiring to become, for example, a doctor, and desiring to create a new invention.\(^{(64)}\)

2. "Doubtful Achievement Imagery (TI)" Score 0. When a story contains reference to achievement but fails to meet the criteria for AI, it is scored as doubtful. Usually we have in this category stories where solving a routine task is the goal or main concern.\(^{(65)}\) An example is, one doing an everyday life task.

3. "Unrelated Imagery (UI)" Score -1. Stories which do not show any reference to an achievement goal are scored as UI,\(^{(66)}\) e.g. a girl daydreaming about a movie she has seen.

Once the presence of a n for Ach is established, the story can then be scored for the following subcategories.\(^{(67)}\) However, if a story is scored as doubtful or unrelated, then no analysis of the subcategories may be made:

a. "Stated n for Achievement (n)" Score +1. This category is scored when an individual in the story states that he wants to achieve a "goal". "Need is not inferred from Instrumental Activity."\(^{(68)}\) It is only scored when there is a definite statement about a character being

\(^{(64)}\) Ibid, p.193.
\(^{(65)}\) Ibid, p.185.
\(^{(66)}\) Ibid, p.185.
\(^{(67)}\) Ibid, p.192-204.
\(^{(68)}\) Ibid, p.191.
motivated.

b. "Instrumental activity with various outcomes (I+,I-,I?)" Score +1. This is scored when a character in the story indicates by thinking or overtly, that something is being done to attain a certain goal. This subcategory is scored depending on whether this outcome is successful, doubtful, or unsuccessful.

c. "Anticipatory goal states (Ga+,Ga-)" Score +1. Anticipatory goal states are scored when an individual in the story either anticipates attaining a certain goal successfully (Ga+) or failing to do so (Ga-). In successful goal attainment the individual is described as expecting to achieve, dreaming of himself as being able to achieve, etc. In the negative anticipation of goal the individual is described as concerned over the fact that an invention will not work, expecting the worst, or wondering if he will succeed.

d. "Obstacles or blocks (Bp, Bw)" Score +1. Whenever the goal directed activity is blocked, or there are obstacles that have to be overcome in order to attain a goal the story is scored as Bp or Bw. Thus Bp refers to obstacles that are located within the individual such as lack of confidence, inability to make a decision, etc., while Bw refers to some obstacle which is outside the individual that is located in the world at large, that is in the case where the family may be reported as too poor to afford a certain thing, etc.

e. "Nurturant Press (Nup)" Score +1. This refers to forces in the story which will aid a character who is engaged in achieving his goal. In Nup someone is reported as helping, sympathising, encouraging the person who is striving for achievement.
f. "Affective States (G+, G-)" Score +1. Whenever there are emotional states that are associated with a goal attainment these are scored as G. When one enjoys, is proud, satisfied, etc., of attaining a certain goal, G+ is scored, while when one is discouraged, disgusted, etc., of attaining a certain goal G- is scored.

g. "Achievement Thema (Ach. Th.)" Score +1. Whenever Achievement Imagery is elaborated in such a manner that it becomes the central theme of the story, Achievement Thema is scored. The decision to be made in this case is whether the whole story is an elaboration of the "achievement behaviour sequence."

The total n for Ach score for an individual on a given story is the sum of the scores he obtains on the achievement imagery and the subcategories scored present in the story.

The Reliability and Objectivity of McClelland's Method: According to McClelland and his associates their method for measuring n for Ach is objective. They arrive at this conclusion after examining the reliability and validity of their method. It yielded a 91 per cent rescoring agreement, when stories were scored by two judges for individual categories, and a rescoring reliability coefficient for the n for Ach score of .95.\(^{(69)}\) An inter-scorer reliabilility of .95 is also reported by Melikian\(^{(70)}\) in his use of the same cards and method of scoring with students in the American University of Beirut.

The test re-test reliability is however low; McClelland et al.\(^{(71)}\)

report a test re-test correlation which was not significant.

Other evidence comes from Morgan (72) who reported product-moment coefficients of equivalence - stability of .64 after a five week interval.

Birney used a one year interval between test and re-test, and concluded that "it appears that n for Ach measure is highly situational in character as reflected by low coefficients of equivalence-stability of .29.\(^{(73)}\) Birney concludes that although the use of projective techniques for the measurement of n for Ach has been well established, the reliability of the measure is not high.\(^{(74)}\) However, the n for Ach scores appear adequate enough to classify Ss into high and low achievement groups, but the score itself is not well refined for individual purposes.\(^{(75)}\)

**Validity of the Measure:** When groups of Ss were tested for the strength of their n for Ach scores on stories written under the relaxed, neutral and ego-involving conditions described previously, is it proper to assume that observed differences represent a difference in the strength of n for Ach among the two groups? In other words is the measure used a measure of n for Ach, which it is supposed to measure?

The nature of the procedure used to arouse the need provides the basis for assuming that n for Ach was more intense in the failure condition.

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According to Sears, many names are given to this motive, but "common to all is the notion that the feeling of success depends on the gratification of this drive, and failure results from its frustration." (76) Therefore, from this it may be noted that success and failure will arouse and satiate n for Ach. In a psychogenic need Ss must be induced first to want a goal. This was provided by giving them the tests to perform, with special instructions, and they were made to feel pride, self-esteem, feelings of success "since these terms define what is commonly meant by the striving for success or n for Achievement, then by definition n for Achievement was aroused in the failure group," (77) when Ss were told they had failed on the tests they were given.

Also, "the comparison with the effect of hunger on similar stories provides the second basis for arguing that a need has been aroused by the experimental conditions." (78)

However, even if one accepts the state aroused by ego-involvement as a need the way one accepts hunger as such, it remains yet to show that such a need, which is aroused situationally would affect apperception, in the same manner as a strong character need.

Research Findings on N for Ach.

In this section an attempt will be made to review some of the research that has been made in the area for n for Ach, and to see whether it fits in with the assumptions that have been made about it, namely that


(77) McClelland, Clark, Roby, Atkinson. In Atkinson, op. cit. p. 76.

(78) Ibid
it is a function of minority status, religious values and independence training.

It is essential to draw attention to the fact that differences among ethnic and minority groups concerning occupational choices appear. For example, Havemann and West(79) in their studies of college graduates, found that Jews made on the average more money than Protestants or Catholics. Strodtbeck in a study carried on in New Haven on Southern Italians and Jews, found that Jews "consistently have higher occupational status than the population at large, while in contrast that of the Italians is lower."(80) Jews put a high value on education.(81) Also, Jews are concentrated more in the middle class, and the Italians in the lower class.(82) Jewish boys rejected the choice of occupations of lower status significantly more than the Italians. The same holds true for the Jewish parents' choice of occupation for their sons.(83) The n for Ach scores between the Jews and Italians were in the expected direction; that is Jews scored higher on n for Ach, but not significantly so.(84) The possibility that n for Ach may be a factor connected with occupational


(81) Ibid, p.149.

(82) Ibid, p.155.


(84) Ibid, p.175.
achievement received support from Rosen (85) who reported that high n for Ach is significantly associated with higher socio-economic status. It may be deduced that since evidence points to the fact that Jews are definitely over-achievers in occupational fields it can be hypothesized that a relationship may be established between occupational achievement and n for Ach. Support for this is provided by Rosen's study cited above.

Early training for independence and self reliance reflects itself in the higher n for Ach scores of Winterbottom's (86) Jewish subjects. However, this difference between them and the Italians was not significant.

Friedman (87) using McClelland's scoring system in the analysis of American Indian folk tales in terms of n for Ach, found that there was seldom reference to long term achievement, as compared to the college students ordinarily studied.

Using McClelland's n for Ach scoring system for scoring stories told to children of different religious groups in Lebanon, Tabourian (88) found that religion was not a significant variable. However, she found significant differences in n for Ach variable when she divided her Ss into upper and lower socio-economic classes. High class families tell stories

(85) Rosen, op.cit. p.203-211.


that have higher $n$ for Ach than the lower classes. The difference was significant at $+.02$ level of confidence.

The material reviewed above has shown that the method developed by McClelland for measuring $n$ for Ach is valid, if we take the differential scores obtained on the test as our criteria for validity. From the same material, we can assume that within the limitation of the method used, that $n$ for Ach is a function of minority status, religion and patterns of child rearing.

In this study we wish to test further some of the implications concerning $n$ for Ach, as presented by McClelland and his co-workers in their various studies, mainly as it applies to minority groups in Lebanon. The minority groups selected include Armenians, Jews and Palestinians.
Chapter III
Problem, Procedure and Subjects

Problem:

Our purpose in this study is to find out whether some minority groups in Lebanon have higher achievement motivation than the native indigenous majority population.

Palestinians, Armenians, Jews and other minorities in the Arab countries, particularly in Lebanon, according to Sayigh (89) are occupationally high achievers. Our problem is to determine whether such occupationally high achieving minorities in Lebanon possess higher n for Ach than the native inhabitants of the country.

More specifically, it is our hypothesis that Ss chosen randomly from such minority groups as Armenians, Jews and Palestinians have significantly higher n for Ach than a comparable sample of Lebanese Maronite Ss, all chosen from the Beirut area. The n for Ach in this study is defined, measured and scored according to McClelland's method as discussed previously.

Subjects:

Three minority groups in Beirut were selected for study in this investigation: Armenians, Jews and Palestinians. The control group consisted of Lebanese Ss.

The Ss in the three experimental groups as well as in the control group came from secondary schools for boys in the city of Beirut.

The Experimental Groups: The Armenians: This group consisted of 25 Ss from the Hovaguimian-Manougian Secondary School for Boys, and the Armenian Evangelical College. Only Armenian Gregorians were included in this group, because the majority of Armenians are Gregorians by religion.

The Jews: This group consisted of 30 males from the "Ecole de L'Alliance Israelite Universelle". This is a coeducational school in which classes are held separately for boys and girls.

The Palestinians: This group consisted of 25 male Ss from the British Lebanese Training College, and the National Evangelical College. The original number of Ss in this category was 30. To ensure a religiously homogeneous group, the protocols of the 5 Moslems Ss were discarded, leaving as a religiously homogeneous group of 25 Greek Orthodox Palestinians. The age range of these Ss was 15 - 17. Since they have been in Lebanon since 1948 and the present research was begun in 1961, it may be noted that the youngest Ss were about one year old, and the eldest about five years of age at the time of their coming to Lebanon.

The Lebanese: This group consisted of 31 Maronite male Ss, who were taken from the British Lebanese Training College, and the National Evangelical College.

The Ss were selected in the following manner: The whole class was taken in the case of the Jewish sample. In the selection of the Armenian Ss, only Ss belonging to the Armenian Gregorian sect were tested. The Palestinians and Lebanese Ss were taken from the same class and the same school. Two classes from two different schools were tested to make the sample large enough.
Table 1 - Shows the age range, mean age and standard deviation for each group.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Groups</th>
<th>Number of Ss</th>
<th>Age Range in Years</th>
<th>Mean Age in Years</th>
<th>Stand. Dev.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Armenians</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>13-17</td>
<td>14.6</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jews</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>13-17</td>
<td>14.6</td>
<td>.89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lebanese</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>13-17</td>
<td>14.4</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palestinians</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>13-17</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Age of the Subjects:

Table 1 shows the age range, mean age and standard deviation for each group. Inspection of this table clearly shows that the Ss in the three experimental groups and the control group may be considered homogeneous in respect to age. Since our Ss were high school students, they are in probability younger in age than the Ss used by McClelland in his many studies,\(^{(90)}\) who were mainly college students.

The Socio-economic Status of Ss:

One way to determine the socio-economic status of Ss is to relate it to the occupations of their fathers. Even though this is not a fool-proof method yet, in the absence of other information, it can be of some value. Table 2 shows the distribution of the occupations of the fathers of our Ss. This table shows the social class differences as determined by fathers’ occupations, both between and within our four groups of Ss. From this table we can see that the fathers of our Jewish Ss came from upper class occupations more than the fathers of any of our other Ss. The other groups are more or less homogeneous in respect to their socio-economic status as determined by the fathers’ occupations.

\(^{(90)}\) McClelland, Clark, Roby and Atkinson, op.cit. p.61.
Table 2. Distribution of fathers' occupations for the Armenian, Jewish, Lebanese and Palestinian Ss.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Upper Middle Class Occupations</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merchants</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doctors</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bankers</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College Professors</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineers</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Managers</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dead or retired</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total No. of Ss in Upper Middle Class</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower Middle Class Occupations</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grocers</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Army Officers</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teachers</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taxi drivers</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shoe Shop Owners</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carpenters</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bar-tenders</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dead or retired</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total No. of Ss in Lower Middle Class</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total No. of Ss in each group</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Procedure and Method:

The procedure and method developed by McClelland\(^{(91)}\) was used in this investigation. The experimental design borrows a great deal from the standard method employed by McClelland.

**Material:** Three of the four pictures generally employed by McClelland and his associates in their studies of n for Ach of college students; and card No. 20 from the regular TAT set were selected for eliciting imaginative stories in the present study.

The pictures are described below in the order in which they were presented to the Ss:

1. "Boy in a checked shirt at a desk, an open book in from of him."\(^{(92)}\)

2. "A grey haired man is looking at a younger man who is sullenly staring into space."\(^{(93)}\)

3. "An adolescent boy looks out of the picture. The barrel of a rifle is visible at one side, and in the background is the dim scene of a surgical operation, like a reverie-image."\(^{(94)}\)

4. Finally, a fourth picture, TAT card No. 20, showing "a dimly illuminated figure of a man or woman in the dead of the night, leaning against a lamp post."\(^{(95)}\) This picture which is not employed by McClelland was used instead of the picture showing the inventor\(^{(96)}\)

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\(^{(91)}\) McClelland et al., *op.cit.* p.96.

\(^{(92)}\) Ibid, Fig. 3.1.B.

\(^{(93)}\) Murray, *op.cit.* p.19.

\(^{(94)}\) Ibid, p.19.

\(^{(95)}\) Ibid, p.20.

\(^{(96)}\) McClelland et al., *op.cit.* Fig. 5.1.A.
because the inventor's picture was judged by E to be too technical for high school students.

Each S was given four blank sheets of paper, and a data sheet on which he was asked to write his name, age, nationality, religion, and father's occupation. An instruction sheet was also included.

On each of the four blank sheets, the questions asked by McClelland \(^{(97)}\) and recorded below were printed so that a quarter of the page was allowed for each question.

1. What is happening? Who are the persons?
2. What has led up to this situation? What has happened in the past?
3. What is being thought? What is being wanted and by whom?
4. What will happen? What will be done?

**Administration of the Test:** The test was administered under McClelland's "Neutral" test conditions. This meant that nothing was done before the administration of the test either to arouse a particular motivational state or to relax the subjects. It may therefore be assumed that their n for Ach was not mobilized more than it usually is in an ordinary class situation.

The Ss were tested in groups of six.

**Instructions:** The following instructions used by McClelland were given to the Ss in this study: "You are going to see a series of pictures, and your task is to tell a story that is suggested to you by each picture. Try to imagine what is going on in each picture. Then tell what has led

\(^{(97)}\) Atkinson, *op.cit.* p.837.
up to the situation, what the people are thinking and feeling, and what they will do.

"Write as complete a story as you can - a story with plot and characters. You will have 20 seconds to look at a picture and 5 minutes to write your story about it. I will keep time and tell you when it is time to finish your story and get ready for the next.

"There are no right or wrong stories or kinds of pictures, you may feel free to write whatever story is suggested to you when you look at a picture.

"Notice that there is one page for writing each story. If you need more space for writing any story, use the reverse side of the paper." (98)

Language of Instructions: The language of instructions varied for the different groups. For the Armenians, the instructions were given in English, but were translated and explained to them by their teacher.* The stories they wrote in Armenian were translated into English by a teacher** who had a good knowledge of both languages.


Thanks are expressed to:

* Mr. Asbed Donabedian for translating the instructions to the Armenians.

** Miss Alice Mahboubian for translating the stories from Armenian to English.
The instructions for the Jews were given in French, the language of instruction at their school. The responses were later translated by a teacher* who knows both French and English.

Both Palestinians and Lebanese had their instructions in Arabic. Some preferred to write in English, and were allowed to do so. The rest wrote their stories in Arabic. These were later translated by E into English.

Presentation of the TAT Pictures: Each picture was presented for twenty seconds and was then removed. Five minutes were allowed for writing each story. At the end of each minute E reminded the Ss to move to the next question. The last minute was given to finish up a story before going to the next one.

The same procedure was followed for each of the four pictures presented.

* Thanks are expressed to Miss Houda Hasbani for giving instructions to the Jews in French and for translating the stories into English.
Chapter IV

Analysis of Results

The stories obtained for all the groups were scored for n for Ach and then treated statistically so as to determine whether there were differences in the n for Ach among the control group and the experimental groups, or between one experimental group and another. Tests of significance were used to determine whether differences were merely due to sampling errors or to chance fluctuations.

The imaginative stories collected from all the groups were independently scored for n for Ach by a graduate research assistant in the Department of Psychology, who is well trained in this method and scoring system, and by E, after practicing the exercises in book on how to score stories for n for Ach.¹⁹⁹

The inter-rater coefficient of reliability was computed by first obtaining a total n for Ach score for each individual on each of the four stories he had written. Then the two sets of scorings obtained by the graduate research assistant and by E were tested statistically to determine their significance, for each of the four groups.

The values of r are given in Table 5.

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¹⁹⁹ Atkinson, op. cit. p. 675.
Table 3. Coefficients of correlation of inter-scorer reliability for the experimental and control groups.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Val. of r</th>
<th>No. of Ss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Armenians</td>
<td>.75</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jews</td>
<td>.72</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palestinians</td>
<td>.96</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lebanese</td>
<td>.77</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
From Table 3 we can see that the values of r ranged between .72 to .96. These coefficients of correlation are barely acceptable. However, it may be readily noted that the value of r for the Armenians, Jews and Lebanese groups were very similar to each other, but lower than the inter-scorer agreement for the Palestinians. This discrepancy may be accounted for in this manner:

The stories or protocols written by Palestinians were more straightforward and easier to score because the stories were more clear cut than the others, in respect to the presence or absence of achievement related goals. There was reference to n for Ach goals in such a well defined manner that there was less chance for guessing where to place a certain story in relation to achievement.

The Achievement Scores:

Table 4 shows the frequencies as well as percentages of the various achievement related categories obtained under neutral test conditions for Armenians, Jews, Palestinians, and Lebanese.

The total number of stories for the Lebanese Ss is 124, (31 Ss, 4 stories each), 100 stories for the Palestinians (25 Ss, 4 stories each), 120 stories for the Jews (30 Ss, 4 stories each) and finally 100 stories for the Armenians (25 Ss, 4 stories each).

The scores obtained by E were chosen for the testing of their level of significance.
Table 4. Frequency and Percentage of Various Ach Related Categories under Neutral Experimental Conditions for Four Groups.

| Category | Lebanese | | | | | | Palestinians | | | | | | Jews | | | | | | Armenians | | | |
|----------|----------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
|          | Freq.:   | %   | Freq.:   | %   | Freq.:   | %   | Freq.: | %   | Freq.: | %   | Freq.: | %   |          | Freq.: | %   | Freq.: | %   | Freq.: | %   |          |
| AI       | 24       | 19.4 | 17       | 17   | 10       | 8.3  | 12     | 12   |       |     |       |     |          |       |     |       |     |       |     |          |
| TI       | 32       | 25.6 | 19       | 19   | 23       | 19.4 | 12     | 12   |       |     |       |     |          |       |     |       |     |       |     |          |
| UI       | 68       | 54.8 | 64       | 64   | 87       | 72.3 | 76     | 76   |       |     |       |     |          |       |     |       |     |       |     |          |
| Total    | 124      | 100.0| 100      | 100  | 120      | 100.0| 100    | 100  |       |     |       |     |          |       |     |       |     |       |     |          |

Sub-categ.

|        | Freq.:   | %   | Freq.:   | %   | Freq.:   | %   | Freq.: | %   |          | Freq.: | %   |          | Freq.: | %   |          | Freq.: | %   |          | Freq.: | %   |          |
|--------|----------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| N      | 14       | 11.3  | 14       | 14   | 7        | 5.6  | 10     | 10   |          |       |     |          |       |     |          |       |     |          |       |     |          |
| I      | 14       | 11.3  | 13       | 13   | 6        | 5.0  | 6      | 6    |          |       |     |          |       |     |          |       |     |          |       |     |          |
| Ga+    | 15       | 12    | 10       | 10   | 4        | 3.3  | 2      | 2    |          |       |     |          |       |     |          |       |     |          |       |     |          |
| Ga-    | 4        | 3.2   | 4        | 4    | 0        | 0    | 3      | 3    |          |       |     |          |       |     |          |       |     |          |       |     |          |
| Bp     | 4        | 3.2   | 3        | 3    | 1        | 8    | 2      | 2    |          |       |     |          |       |     |          |       |     |          |       |     |          |
| Bw     | 3        | 2.1   | 4        | 4    | 2        | 1.7  | 4      | 4    |          |       |     |          |       |     |          |       |     |          |       |     |          |
| G+     | 1        | .8    | 3        | 3    | 2        | 1.7  | 1      | 1    |          |       |     |          |       |     |          |       |     |          |       |     |          |
| G-     | 0        | 0     | 0        | 0    | 1        | .8   | 0      | 0    |          |       |     |          |       |     |          |       |     |          |       |     |          |
| Nup    | 0        | 0     | 0        | 0    | 0        | 0    | 1      | 1    |          |       |     |          |       |     |          |       |     |          |       |     |          |
| Ach Th | 12       | 9.6   | 6        | 6    | 1        | .8   | 3      | 3    |          |       |     |          |       |     |          |       |     |          |       |     |          |
Discussion of the Categories:

The discussion will be limited only to the three main categories that are directly related to our study, namely, unrelated imagery, doubtful imagery and achievement imagery.

**Unrelated Imagery (UI):** This category was scored when there was no reference to an achievement goal in the story.\(^{(100)}\) The percentage of UI was lowest among the control group (Lebanese), being 54.8\%. That is, the number of imaginative stories that did not have any reference to n. for Ach was lower than for any of the experimental groups.

Sixty four per cent of the stories that were written by Palestinians showed no relation or reference to n for Ach, while no reference was made to n for Ach in 76 and 72.3 per cent of the stories told by our Armenian and Jewish Ss respectively.

**Doubtful Achievement Imagery (TI):** This category in the scoring system was scored when a story contained some reference to achievement, but failed to meet one of the criteria for Achievement Imagery.\(^{(101)}\) The percentage of stories which referred to the performance of a routine or common everyday task was highest for the control group, being 25.8 per cent and was lowest for the Armenians, 12 per cent. This category occurred in 19.4 and 19 per cent of the stories written by Jews and Palestinians respectively.

**Achievement Imagery (AI):** This category was scored when there was specific mention of "Competition with a standard of excellence."\(^{(102)}\)

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\(^{(100)}\) McClelland, Atkinson, Clark and Lowell, op. cit. p.185.

\(^{(101)}\) Ibid

This means that one sought to perform better so as to meet self-imposed requirements of good performance. In such a situation there is affective concern over goal attainment. This category was also scored when there was reference in the stories for a desire to achieve a unique accomplishment, or for a long term involvement, such as a career.\footnote{105}

The percentage of stories which referred to an achievement goal was highest for the Lebanese, the control group, 19.4 per cent; followed by 17 per cent for the Palestinians, while the Jews and Armenians had 8.3 per cent and 12 per cent respectively. From the above we can see that the score of our Lebanese control group was higher than the experimental groups on the achievement related category.

\footnote{105} Ibid
Table 5. Chi-square applied to the data obtained by the three minority groups and the Lebanese

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>High</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Low</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Per</td>
<td>Obs.</td>
<td>Exp.</td>
<td>Per</td>
<td>Obs.</td>
<td>Exp.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cent</td>
<td>Freq.</td>
<td>Freq.</td>
<td>cent</td>
<td>Freq.</td>
<td>Freq.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lebanese</td>
<td>.58</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>3.22</td>
<td>.62</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>3.22</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palestinians</td>
<td>.58</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1.50</td>
<td>.62</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>1.50</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jew</td>
<td>.58</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3.40</td>
<td>.62</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>3.40</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Armenians</td>
<td>.58</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1.50</td>
<td>.62</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>1.50</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>42</td>
<td>69</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Observed Freq.</th>
<th>Expected Freq.</th>
<th>(O-e)</th>
<th>(O-e)^2</th>
<th>((O-e)^2 / e)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>11.78</td>
<td>3.22</td>
<td>10.37</td>
<td>.68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>9.50</td>
<td>1.50</td>
<td>2.25</td>
<td>.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>11.40</td>
<td>3.40</td>
<td>11.56</td>
<td>1.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>9.50</td>
<td>1.50</td>
<td>2.25</td>
<td>.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>19.22</td>
<td>3.22</td>
<td>10.37</td>
<td>.54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>15.50</td>
<td>1.50</td>
<td>2.25</td>
<td>.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>18.60</td>
<td>3.40</td>
<td>11.56</td>
<td>.62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>15.50</td>
<td>1.50</td>
<td>2.25</td>
<td>.15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ x^2 = 3.83 \]

The degrees of freedom for our samples is:

\[(\text{rows} - 1) \times (\text{columns} - 1) \text{ or } (2 - 1) \times (4 - 1) = 3\]

The level of significance of the value of chi-square is .20.
The scores obtained were treated statistically in order to
determine whether there were significant differences between the control
and the experimental groups, and between the experimental groups them-
selves. For this purpose the chi-square test of significance was applied.
Chi-square is useful in testing whether two samples or more have been
drawn from a homogeneous population, and when we have frequency data.

In computing chi-square we have to set up a hypothesis in
relation to the population ratio. Next, we have to determine the
frequencies. Here the deviations are the differences between the expected
frequencies and those that we have actually observed in the samples
studied. (104)

Our data for the whole sample studied, 111 Ss, has been dichoto-
mised into high and low scorers, based on the analysis of their n for Ach
scores. All doubtful (or 0 scores) and the Unrelated (or negative scores)
were put under the "Low" category, while the Achievement scores (positive)
were included under the "high" category.

Since our obtained value of chi-square is 3.38 with 3 degrees of
freedom, the level of significance is .20. This means that the differences
are not significant statistically. They may be due to sampling errors or
chance fluctuations. We must therefore reject the hypothesis that the
samples were from different populations and conclude that the observed
differences are not significant.

Our results indicate that there are no significant differences
between the control minority groups studied in the strength of their
n for Ach. That is, the experimental groups did not score significantly

(104) Edwards, A., Statistical Analysis for students
in psychology and education. New York, Rinehart
and Co., 1955, p.239-257.
higher on the n for Ach test than the control group. According to the samples studied, the hypothesis that minority groups score significantly higher on n for Ach does not hold true. The level of significance of chi-square is at .20 level of confidence. This could have occurred 20 times in a 100 by chance. Therefore the observed differences are not significant. Possibilities for obtaining of the results will be accounted for in the next chapter.
Table 6. Chi-square applied to each of the groups versus the other.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Minorities</th>
<th>Total No. Ss</th>
<th>Value of $X^2$</th>
<th>DF</th>
<th>L. of C.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Leb. vs Pal.</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>.11</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leb. vs Jews</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>10.92</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leb. vs Arm.</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>1.55</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jews vs Arm.</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>.19</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pales. vs Arm.</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>.76</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pales. vs Jews</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>1.85</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 6 shows the results of chi-square applied to each of the minority groups versus the other, for example, Lebanese vs Palestinians, Jews, and Armenians separately.

The degrees of freedom being 1, the results are not statistically significant except in one case, and that is in the comparison between the Lebanese and the Jews. It may be said that the Lebanese Ss scored significantly higher on \( n \) for Ach than the Jewish Ss. In all the other cases, the results are not significant. Therefore it may be concluded that the experimental groups studied do not differ from the control group in their strength of \( n \) for Ach as measured by McClelland's method. The only exception was in case of the Jews who scored significantly lower than the Lebanese control Ss.
Table 7. Chi-square test for scores obtained by all Ss on each of the 4 pictures used, separately.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Picture</th>
<th>High n for ACh Score</th>
<th>Medium</th>
<th>Low</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pict.I</td>
<td>.14</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>15.54.19</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pict.II</td>
<td>.14</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>15.54.19</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pict.III</td>
<td>.14</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>15.54.19</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pict.IV</td>
<td>.14</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>15.54.19</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>63</td>
<td></td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Observed Freq.</th>
<th>Expected Freq.</th>
<th>(O-e)</th>
<th>(O-e)^2</th>
<th>(O-e)^2/e</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>15.54</td>
<td>7.54</td>
<td>56.85</td>
<td>3.66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>21.09</td>
<td>6.09</td>
<td>37.09</td>
<td>1.76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88</td>
<td>74.57</td>
<td>13.63</td>
<td>185.78</td>
<td>2.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>15.54</td>
<td>4.54</td>
<td>20.61</td>
<td>1.33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>21.09</td>
<td>4.09</td>
<td>16.75</td>
<td>0.79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83</td>
<td>74.57</td>
<td>8.63</td>
<td>74.48</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>15.54</td>
<td>8.54</td>
<td>72.93</td>
<td>4.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>21.09</td>
<td>13.09</td>
<td>171.35</td>
<td>8.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96</td>
<td>74.57</td>
<td>21.63</td>
<td>467.86</td>
<td>6.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>15.54</td>
<td>21.46</td>
<td>460.53</td>
<td>29.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>21.09</td>
<td>22.91</td>
<td>524.67</td>
<td>24.89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>74.57</td>
<td>44.87</td>
<td>1968.70</td>
<td>26.47</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[x^2 = 111.14\]

DF = (3-1) x (4-1) = 6.

The value of chi-square is significant at the .01 level of confidence.
Table 7 shows the chi-square test results applied to the total scores obtained by all the Ss combined on each of the four pictures.

The scores were divided into three categories: "low" or (negative) scores, "medium" or (zero) scores, and "high" or (positive) scores.

The inspection of Table 7 reveals that the "low" n for Ach category had significantly a higher score than either the "medium" or "high" n for Ach categories. Also, picture I obtained a higher score on the "high" category and a "medium", and a lower score on the "low" category. Pictures II and III scored relatively similar in respect to their eliciting of n for Ach responses. Picture IV, however, obtained the lowest score on "high" and "medium" categories, as well as the highest score on the "low" category.

The scores obtained by Ss on the four pictures differ significantly at the .01 level of confidence. It may be concluded that for the samples studied the picture used to elicit the imaginative n for Ach response is an important factor. The results obtained would have been different if picture IV was not used to elicit n for Ach responses.
Table 7 shows the chi-square test results applied to the total scores obtained by all the Ss combined on each of the four pictures.

The scores were divided into three categories: "low" or (negative) scores, "medium" or (zero) scores, and "high" or (positive) scores.

The inspection of Table 7 reveals that the "low" n for Ach category had significantly a higher score than either the "medium" or "high" n for Ach categories. Also, picture IV obtained a higher score on the "high" category and a "medium", and a lower score on the "low" category. Pictures I and II scored relatively similar in respect to their eliciting of n for Ach responses. Picture III, however, obtained the lowest score on "high" and "medium" categories, as well as the highest score on the "low" category.

The scores obtained by Ss on the four pictures differ significantly at the .01 level of confidence. It may be concluded that for the samples studied the picture used to elicit the imaginative n for Ach response is an important factor. The results obtained would have been different if picture IV was not used to elicit n for Ach responses.
Chapter V

Interpretations of Results

The statistical analysis of the results has shown that there are no significant differences between the Lebanese control group and the experimental groups of Armenians, Jews and Palestinians. The experimental groups did not score lower on n for Ach than did the control group. The result of the specific group comparisons showed that only Lebanese versus Jews comparison was significant at the 0.01 level. The Jews scored significantly lower on n for Ach than the Lebanese. This is not in the expected direction. The differences between the Lebanese compared with Armenians and Palestinians were low and insignificant.

The findings are not in the expected direction. Therefore our hypothesis has to be rejected. The results show that the Lebanese high school students scored higher on n for Ach than did one of the experimental groups, the Jews, only.

What are then the possible explanations for our results? To answer this question we have to examine the factors that are known to be related to n for Ach and see how they apply to our findings.

1. Child Rearing: The relation of child rearing to n for Ach has been examined and affirmed in the West. (105) The findings indicate that child rearing practices which encourage independence training and autonomy are correlated with high n for Ach scores on McClelland type test. Is there anything in Lebanese child rearing that can shed light on our results?

(105) Winterbottom, op.cit. p.454.
"Cultures changing from an old to a new order, such as the Middle East, are more likely to stimulate in their children a desire to get ahead."(106)

In a study by Prothro(107) data are available on child rearing in Lebanon among Greek Orthodox Arab mothers and Armenian Gregorian mothers. According to Prothro, the Armenian mothers are more indulgent of dependent behavior than are Greek Orthodox mothers. Prothro(108) concludes that the Arab child seems to be granted more autonomy than the Armenian child. Also, the Greek Orthodox mothers favour early independence training more than the Armenian mothers. Even though child rearing differed among the two groups, Prothro(109) found no significant differences in the n for Ach scores among the children he has studied, who were younger in age and from different religious groups than ours. This is in agreement with the findings of our study in respect to n for Ach.

2. Socio-economic Class: Previous studies report that achievement motive scores of middle class and upper class high school students are significantly higher than those of lower class students.(110) Since the socio-economic variable is important, let us examine our data in this respect. Our samples do not come from the same socio-economic class. The


(108) Ibid

(109) Ibid

(110) Rosen, op.cit. p.204.
Jews, for example, were all upper middle class, according to our classification, while the other groups were composed of both upper and lower middle class Ss. Some information is available about Lebanon in which socio-economic factors rather than religion appear to be related to \( n \) for \( \text{Ach} \). In a study by Tabourian,\(^{111}\) it was found that within each of the Moslem and the Greek Orthodox samples studied, the \( n \) for \( \text{Ach} \) score as measured from stories told to Moslems and Greek Orthodox children of the upper class was significantly higher than those of the lower class. Our findings are different. The Jews, the sample that has all its Ss classified as upper middle class, scored lower on \( n \) for \( \text{Ach} \) than the other less homogeneous groups.

3. Minority Status: While minority status is attributed to Armenians, Jews and Palestinians, it is worthwhile to question such a consideration.

The Palestinians although refugees in Lebanon, are not considered a minority proper, because they share the same language and culture as the Lebanese. The ages of the Ss studied, at the time they came to Lebanon ranged between one and five years, so their independence training was begun before they became a minority.

The Armenians and Jews are old communities which have been settled in the country for some time. Even if we assume that cultural differences existed between them and the Lebanese to start with, it is

\(^{111}\) Tabourian, \textit{op. cit.} p.135.
possible that they have decreased through the process of acculturation, and they have become more like the Lebanese. This does not shed light on findings obtained by the Lebanese and Armenians on one hand, and the Jews on the other hand, because if they have been affected by the Lebanese culture, it is assumed that they would be similar in this respect.

4. Religion: Reference has been made to the effect that Protestants and Jews in the West favour early independence training and that they have as a result, high n for Ach. It is worth mentioning here that our Lebanese and Palestinian Ss were chosen from two Protestant schools, and may be therefore considered a minority in their own right, even though they did not obtain higher n for Ach scores. Religion may therefore have contaminated the results. In another study this needs to be taken into consideration as an important variable.

McClelland considers that a high intensity of the n for Ach or "getting ahead" is a very important characteristic of entrepreneurs or innovators. They are persons who are willing to take calculated risks, and to innovate in ways that have reasonable chances of success. (112) The need for Ach is modified by society through the child rearing patterns practiced, and also, persons with high n for Ach modify the social and economic conditions of society. Early or late independence training determines the n for Ach, and this is related to the energy and success with which these innovators start the economic enterprises.

Even if differences in the strength of the n for Ach motive do not appear, there is no doubt that the three minority groups selected for study are occupationally high achievers. But it does not necessarily follow that the Lebanese are lower, on n for Ach than the former groups mentioned.

As far as the child rearing patterns are concerned, the Lebanese Arab mothers are more permissive than the Armenian mothers. (113) Since independence training is related to n for Ach, it is expected that the Lebanese Arabs possess a higher n for Ach than the Armenians yet this did not seem to result in high achievement motivation when small children (114) and high school students were measured.

It becomes important therefore to question the applicability of the method developed by McClelland to the Lebanese culture. May be this was due to the use of children for study, instead of adults.

Also, the n for Ach score is known to be sensitive to the situational differences at the time of the administration, and requires skill in content analysis.

Some of the deficiencies of the study have become apparent. In another study, attention to the choice of the samples is very essential. For example, our Lebanese Maronite sample, and the Palestinians were both in Protestant schools, and therefore are not representative of the Lebanese.

It was inappropriate to consider the non-camp Palestinians as representatives of the Palestinians, because these are fewer in number, compared to the refugees.

(113) Prothro, op.cit. p.154.

(114) Ibid, p.149.
BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books


Reviews and Periodicals


