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Die Vereinigten Staaten von Nordamerika und Schwarz-Afrika:
Wirtschaftliche Beziehungen und Entwicklungshilfe

(The United States of America and Black Africa:
Economic Relations and Development Aid. English Summary)

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H. DIETER SEIBEL
with the assistance of Wieland W. Jäger
Achievement and Modernization
(Leistung und Modernisierung. Deutsche Zusammenfassung)

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1 Introduction

According to sociological theory, modernized societies are characterized by an emphasis on achievement, non-modernized societies by an emphasis on ascription. Both assumptions are questionable. This paper reports the results of a study in Liberia (one of the least modernized African countries) which was designed to examine the achievement/ascription orientation of a number of Liberian tribal societies. Hypothesis I was: Non-modernized societies are characterized by an emphasis on ascription. Since considerable differences in achievement/ascription orientation were found among non-modernized societies, the question arose as to the social consequences of these differences in terms of modernization. Hypothesis II which had arisen out of previous studies in Nigeria was: There is a relationship between achievement orientation within the traditional structure and receptivity to modernization. When this was confirmed, hypothesis III arose as a corollary to hypothesis II: The more modern a pattern measured (e.g., the more technological skill involved in an occupational role), the larger the magnitude of the difference between members of traditionally relatively achievement vs. ascription oriented societies.

2 Concepts and models

The concept of achievement and of its complement ascription has been introduced into the social sciences by the anthropologist Ralph Linton: "Ascribed statuses are those which are assigned to individuals without reference to their innate differences or abilities. They can be predicted and trained for from the moment of birth. The achieved statuses are, as a minimum, those requiring special qualities, although they are not necessarily limited to these. They are not assigned to individuals from birth but are left open to be filled through competition and individual effort." (12:115) Sociologists adopted these concepts, and with it their haziness. Only recently has Linton's description of achievement and ascription been cast into a definition. Levy (9:190-191), classifying on the germaneness of criteria to actions in terms of roles, defines: "Achieved roles refer to those positions that an individual has acquired on the basis of his qualifications or accomplishments relevant (= germane - HDS) to the actions carried out in terms of the position. Ascribed roles refer to those positions that an individual receives on the basis of qualifications that are not necessarily directly germane to the action in terms of the roles and that are attributed to him by virtue of his social classification in other roles." In this paper, achievement will refer to a cultural, social or individual orientation to criteria of role allocation which are germane to the action carried out in terms of that role. Ascription will be used residually, referring to a cultural social or individual orientation to criteria of role allocation which are non-germane to the action carried out in terms of that role¹. This definition of achievement can be adapted to each one of the three system frames of reference:

- (a) On the social system (as a system of social interaction) level, achievement is defined as a pattern of role allocation based on criteria germane to the actions to be carried out in terms of a given role.

- (b) On the cultural system (as a system of values, norms, symbols and beliefs which serve as guidelines for actions and interactions) level, achievement is defined as a normative pattern which prescribes that actors in given situations should be oriented to patterns of role allocation based on criteria germane to the action to be carried out in terms of a given role.
- (c) On the personality system (as a system of the orientation and motivation of action of one individual actor (18:54-55) level, achievement is defined as a pattern of psychic orientation (or: need disposition) to patterns of role allocation based on criteria germane to the actions to be carried out in terms of a given role.

All three systems are interrelated to some extent but not necessarily congruent. No society is purely achievement or purely ascription oriented. Actual societies are located within a fairly narrow range of the achievement-ascription continuum. The achievement-ascription variable has entered a number of sociological models, starting with Parsons' (16) and Parsons and Shils' (18) system of five pattern variables of which two are combined into a four-fold table to analyze the variability of social systems as structural types. Four principal types of social structure emerge to which Parsons (16:181-182) attributes "evolutionary" significance:

- (a) a universalistic-achievement type which ideally characterizes industrial societies;
- (b) a universalistic-ascription type: an incongruent combination;
- (c) a particularistic-achievement type: an incongruent combination; and
- (d) a particularistic-ascription type which characterizes non-industrial societies.

"The key to the evolutionary importance of stratification lies in the role in primitive societies of ascription of social status to criteria of biological relatedness." (17:341)

The differentiation between the characteristics of industrial and non-industrial, or relatively modernized and relatively non-modernized societies is made more explicit by Levy (9:153, 171) who recasts the pattern variables into a set of aspects of any relationship:

- (1) Cognitive aspects (X_1 = rational; Y_1 = traditional);
- (2) membership criteria aspects (X_2 = universalistic (synonymous with achieved); Y_2 = particularistic (synonymous with ascriptive));
- (3) substantive definition aspects (X_3 = functionally specific; Y_3 = functionally diffuse);
- (4) affective aspects (X_4 = avoidant; Y_4 = intimate);
- (5) goal orientation aspects (X_5 = individualistic; Y_5 = responsible);
- (6) stratification aspects (X_6 = hierarchical; Y_6 = non-hierarchical).

Relatively modernized societies are characterized by an emphasis on X_{1-4} (subsequently referred to as X_i) qualities; relatively non-modernized societies by an emphasis on Y_{1-3} (subsequently referred to as Y_i) qualities. That is, modern societies are relatively rational, universalistic or achievement oriented.

ted, functionally specific and avoidant. Premodern societies are relatively traditional, particularistic or ascriptive, and functionally diffuse.

Following Parsons and Levy, Moore (15:93-96) cites an emphasis on achievement as a condition of industrialization. On the social system level, "labor recruitment must be strongly based on performance qualifications without primary regard to prior social position." On the cultural system level, industrial societies are characterized by "a placement system grounded on merit in performance." On the personality system level, "some degree of 'achievement orientation', of ambition for personal betterment and the acquisition of education and skills to further that ambition, must exist in some groups and spread rather widely, if sustained growth is to be accomplished." By requiring a congruence in emphases on achievement on all three system levels, Moore goes a step beyond Parsons and Levy who limit their discussion to the social system level.

There is basic agreement among Parsons, Levy and Moore and a host of other sociologists as to the qualities on which the emphasis is supposed to be among industrial and among non-industrial societies. At the same time, they are all tantalized by the problem of fit between their ideal type construct and empirical evidence. There is always a difference between ideal and actual structures. Hence, deviations from the ideal type construct have to be expected. But when do deviations become counterevidence against the hypotheses derived from the model? None of the three sociologists operationalizes the model or reformulates it into a set of theoretical statements which can be contradicted by empirical evidence (singular statements). A model which cannot be contradicted by empirical evidence is metaphysical, i.e., non-scientific in the positivistic sense (18). Let us examine how the three sociologists handle "deviant cases", and what conclusions they draw from evidence contrary to theoretical statements derived from the model.

Parsons dispels "deviant" societies into incongruent combinations of pattern variables. He cites the classical Chinese social structure as an example of the particularistic achievement pattern and "conservative" German society as an example of the universalistic ascription pattern (16:193, 195). Within modern societies, specifically the United States, Parsons notes a variety of institutionalized patterns which are at variance with the universalistic achievement orientation, e.g., kinship structures, sex roles, smaller units of territorial community, regional differentiations, or ethnic subdivisions. The existence of such patterns is not evaluated as evidence against the model but as "adaptive structures" (16:186-188).

Levy's emphasis on the ubiquitous discrepancy between ideal and actual structures allows him to explain deviant cases as random oscillations around an ideal type nucleus. Yet, there is also a systematic deviation. Levy (10:810) claims that a basic instability is built into X_i relationships. He hypothesizes that the longer X_i relationships are maintained, the greater is the probability that there will be a breakdown, ideally and/or actually, in the direction of Y_i . It seems that, since these Y_i relationships are not identical with those which characterize non-modernized societies, the breakdown is better represented by $X_i \rightarrow Y'_i$.² Applied to achievement, Levy's hypothesis reads: The longer an emphasis on achievement perdures, the greater the probability of a change to an emphasis on ascription: ideally and/or actually. Levy does not indicate in what way the new emphasis on ascription differs from a cor-

responding emphasis in non-modernized societies. The author believes that the breakdown hypothesis undermines the model, even though Levy contends it does not.

Similar to Levy's breakdown hypothesis, Moore (15:106-108) presents a restoration hypothesis: During the early period of industrialization, there is a sharp break with traditional patterns. This break, however, is only temporary or partial, and is superseded by a restoration of traditional patterns. Yet, the status quo ante is unlikely to be restored in any sector of social life.

Inconsistencies within their models and evidence contrary to the postulates derived thereof notwithstanding, Parsons, Levy, Moore and others have not revised their models. Linton (12:129-130) is one of the very few who has analyzed modern societies without an achievement bias. He argues that achievement prevails only in situations of rapid social change, as e.g., during the days of American frontier society: "Societies living under new or changing conditions are usually characterized by a wealth of achievable statuses and by very broad delimitations of the competition for them. . . . Well-adjusted societies are, in general, characterized by a high preponderance of ascribed over achieved statuses, and increasing perfection of adjustment usually goes hand in hand with increasing rigidity of the social system." Linton's argument implies that non-modernized societies are predominantly ascriptive.

Systematic evidence to the contrary has been gathered mainly by McClelland (14) with reference to the personality system level of achievement. Even though one may question his conclusions and part of his methodology, one result of his studies is exceedingly well documented: Modernized societies vary widely in achievement motivation (n Ach), and so do non-modernized societies; there is no statistically significant difference between both. This does not necessarily allow an inference to the social system and cultural system level; but it may shake one's firm belief in the ascriptiveness of non-modernized societies³.

3 Achievement orientation in Nigeria

Previous studies by the author in Nigeria have shown that on both the traditional social and cultural system level, there is considerable variation in achievement orientation among the various ethnic groups. Of the three societies studied in detail, the Ibo were found to allocate important political and economic roles on the basis of achieved criteria and to value achievement highly. The Hausa were found to be least achievement oriented: Roles are generally allocated on the basis of ascriptive, i.e., non-germane criteria; achievement is not considered as a social value. The Yoruba were found to combine an explicit emphasis on achievement and ascription on both the social and cultural system level. On the personality system level, LeVine (8) found corresponding differences: achievement motivation (n Ach) scores are highest among the Ibo, somewhat lower among the Yoruba and low among the Hausa. It may be noted that traditionally, social mobility occurred in all three societies to a considerable extent. What differentiated the three societies is the basis in terms of the germaneness of criteria on which social mobility occurs.

Examining a number of hypothetical determinants of modernization in these three societies, it was found that while achievement orientation (or: a system of role allocation which emphasizes achieved or germane criteria) is not a direct cause of modernization, it does determine a society's receptivity to modernization. The Ibo were found to be highly receptive to modernization, the Yoruba somewhat less receptive, while the Hausa were found to be resistant to modernization.

4 Achievement orientation in Liberia

Since the hypothesis of a relationship between achievement orientation and receptivity to modernization was formulated after the data collection and evaluation, and since there are certain methodological problems involved about the ex post facto test of hypotheses, it was felt that an ex ante facto test of the hypothesis was needed.

The hypothetical relationship between the two variables 'achievement orientation' and 'receptivity to modernization' was used ex ante facto to predict differential receptivities to change for the Kpelle and a cluster of related tribes generally referred to as the Kru group in Liberia. The Kpelle were chosen because their system of role allocation (i.e., achievement orientation on the social system level) were known through the works of Gibbs (5; 7). The Kru group was selected because comparable information was received through an anthropological survey in which the author participated. Let us first examine whether and to what extent traditional societies are characterized by achievement.

4.1 The Kpelle

Politically, the Kpelle are organized into a "polycephalous associational state" (5:342), consisting of a series of autonomous paramount chiefdoms of the same level of authority. Kinship and age are the most important criteria of status allocation. The positions of chief, subchief, head of secret society, and all other traditional offices are filled by the core lineage who is in the most direct line of descent from the founding ancestor. The main institution through which the allocation of important positions is channeled is Poro, a secret society for men, together with its sister organization Sande for women. Poro and Sande are ever-present: at birth, during childhood and adolescence, during adult life, and at death. They implement the maintenance of patrilineal principles of organization which otherwise would only rest upon the ideological orientation of high status lineage-segments. The leaders of Poro and Sande represent an ideal family in which all members are agnates, symbolically married to one another. Poro and Sande may be called a patrilineal gerontocracy. "As initiation, schooling, and life-long membership in these unisexual organizations are compulsory for all persons as a basis of citizenship, the degree of control centered in the upper echelons of leadership is little short of absolute". (2:514) They are inherently conservative, directed towards the preservation of the status quo; even in situations of acculturation or social flux, they attempt to maintain adherence to the traditional norms, not the competing intruding ones (5:341; 6:230). The ascriptive system of

status allocation is mirrored in the value system, the primary organizational device through which it is effectively instilled and strongly maintained being Poro and Sande. The most important values are respect for tradition and unquestioning and unqualified acceptance of authority exercised by elders. Education is basically coercive. Children are punished when asking a why question or acting in a manner unsanctioned by tradition (4). Elders are to be obeyed with great respect, and neither peers nor aliens are sources of knowledge. Gay and Cole (4:18-20) summarize the main features of Kpelle education: (a) The pragmatic is subordinated to the traditional. This implies that the innovator is frowned upon, and independence is stifled. (b) Reasons need not be given for what is learned. (c) Learning is largely non-verbal: by observation and imitation.

Gibbs (6) claims that the Kpelle also emphasize personal autonomy and the individual achievement of status: A Kpelle may climb ahead of his fellows through the possession of certain obtainable skills. Summarily, Kpelle culture may be characterized by a primary emphasis on ascription and a secondary emphasis on achievement. The Kpelle are located closer to the centers of modernization than most of the Kru tribes.

4.2 The Kru tribes

Within the Kwa-speaking Kru group, the Kru proper represent only one tribe. The others are: Kran (including Sapo), Grebo, Bassa, De and Belle. The latter two have migrated west and adopted many traits of the neighboring tribes. Since De and Belle do not appear in the empirical studies, no account is taken of the differences between them and the other Kru tribes. The four main Kru tribes (Kran, Kru, Bassa, Grebo) on which the following discussion is based occupy a continuous tract of land and are linguistically and culturally closely related. The political system is decentralized, the village being typically the largest political unit. (11:39) Positions are on principle open to everyone, the almost exclusive criterion being personal achievement. Achievement is not only relevant during the period of striving for higher status. Since there are no institutions like the Ibo title societies, only permanent efforts allow the incumbent to keep a position. If someone else turns out to be a better warrior, war leader, judge, rich man, etc., this person will get the position (20) (21) (24). The coastal Kru who are generally seafaring men have been in contact with the West for centuries⁴. The land of the Kru and the other Kru tribes, however, has remained one of the most isolated and poorly developed parts of Liberia (3:155). Only a few years ago has a road been built to link the area with the capital. Emigration has been their only chance for modernization which they in fact took eagerly; the Kru are today overrepresented in the population of Monrovia.

Summarizing, the Kpelle may be characterized as a relatively ascription oriented society, the Kru tribes as relatively achievement oriented. The existence of an incipient class system, of chieftaincy, and of strong secret societies extending their power into many spheres of secular life among the Kpelle and the absence of these institutions among the Kru tribes places these two groups on different points on the achievement-ascription continuum. The hypothesis of a relationship between achievement orientation and receptivity

to modernization allows the prediction that the Kru tribes are more receptive to modernization than the Kpelle.

4.3 Case Studies

4.3.1 Case Study I: Plantation workers

At the initiative of the author, Hendrickson (7), then a graduate student of sociology at the University of Oregon, did a study of achievement orientation among 1300 rubber plantation workers in Liberia in 1968/69. He examined two basic questions: (a) Are nonmodernized societies ascriptive? (b) What accounts for differences - if any - in achievement/ascription orientation? Plantation workers are in the very first stage of adaptation to modern wage labor, particularly in Liberia where modernization did not start until about 1930 when the Firestone rubber plantations were established. This process gained some momentum around and after 1950 when some iron ore companies started operation. Today Liberia is still one of the least modernized African countries. Plantation workers who invariably grew up in a traditional environment⁵ and are still strongly oriented towards it may be expected to have retained most of the major traits of their respective society. 62,2 % of them are illiterate; 26,4 % have some elementary education (grades 1-6); the remaining 11,4 % have gone to school beyond grade 6. 88,1 % of them are on an hourly wage of between 8¢ and 14 ¢.

Hendrickson asked a number of achievement/ascription (germaneness-non-germaneness) related attitudinal questions which are briefly summarized:

- | | |
|--|---|
| (1) Who should be paid more: | |
| an older man with a big family | 34,5 % (nongermane) |
| a younger man without a family | 9,5 % (ambiguous) |
| both should be paid the same | 56,0 % (germane) |
| (2) Whose education should a father finance: | |
| younger bright son | 67,7 % (germane) |
| older dumb son | 3,4 % (nongermane) |
| both | 29,0 % (ambiguous) |
| (3) Whose education should a father finance: | |
| dumb boy | 12,5 % (nongermane) |
| smart girl | 52,6 % (germane) |
| both | 34,9 % (ambiguous) |
| (4) Higher respect should be paid to: | |
| lazy clan chief | 13,3 % (nongermane) |
| hard working town chief | |
| (lower ranking than clan chief) | 74,7 % (germane) |
| both | 12,0 % (ambiguous) |
| (5) Higher respect should be paid to: | |
| hard working clan chief | 83,7 % (germane with some
nongermane elements) |
| lazy town chief | 6,1 % (nongermane) |
| both | 10,2 % (ambiguous) |

(6) If asked for, money should be given to:

lazy relative	28,5 % (nongermane)
hard working friend	51,8 % (germane)
both	19,6 % (ambiguous)

Hendrickson (7:182) concludes: "When adjectives stressing hard work and intelligence were contrasted with age, sex, birth order, political position and kinship ties, a majority of the respondents chose the former. We have no comparable data from Euro-American samples on these questions. So while we cannot effectively criticize the often repeated assumption that industrial populations emphasize achievement, we can criticize the often repeated, still-repeated assumption that social relationships in non-literate tribes are characterized by rigidly prescribed custom bound ways of feeling and living."

One may hypothesize that the tendency to achievement responses is a product of modernization rather than a preceding phenomenon. In that case, one would expect achievement responses to vary with the degree of modernization as expressed in indicators of modernization like modern education and urban experience. However, neither education nor years of urban experience nor an additional four other indicators of modernization were found to have an influence on the frequency of achievement responses. "In general, a group of 'well educated', 'urbanized', 'modern men' who consistently give 'modern' responses to the attitude questions does not exist in our sample." (7:189)

What, then, explains the tendency to achievement responses? One may hypothesize that it is the achievement orientation built into the structure of traditional societies in Liberia which is crucial. In fact, all Liberian societies are relatively achievement oriented and variations are relatively limited, compared with Nigerian societies. No Liberian tribe is as ascriptive as the Nigerian Hausa for instance. Yet, this comparison is no test. For a test, one would predict that members of those Liberian societies which are traditionally more achievement oriented are, in the sample of plantation workers, more likely to give achievement answers. The Kru tribes should then be more likely than the Kpelle and the surrounding tribes (Gibbs claims that these are very similar to the Kpelle, and d'Azevedo confirms this for the Gola) to give achievement answers.

Hendrickson factor analyzed his data and confirmed this prediction. On ten achievement/modernization questions, the Kran, Kru and Grebo (three Kru tribes) form a cluster the profile of which is almost the exact reversal of the Kpelle profile. The profile of the Bassa, another tribe, of the Kru group, is located in between. In a second factor analysis, Hendrickson uses only those three questions which unambiguously tap into achievement responses. Again, the Kran, Kru and Grebo are pulled out as a separate group, their loadings being exceptionally and distinctly high (0.956; 0.971; 0.950). The loadings of the other tribes are between 0.004 and 0.535. Hence, the traditional achievement orientation of the Kru group of tribes explains the fact that members of these tribes in a sample of plantation workers are more likely to give achievement responses than members of other tribes. The only deviant case are the Bassa who are located around Monrovia, the capital of Liberia. They do not cluster with the other Kru tribes. Hendrickson explains this by their different migration history. The Kru, Kran and Grebo were the very

first tribes to have migrated into Liberia. They have not been intensive farmers until quite recently, and still rely more on fishing, hunting and gathering than the other tribes. The Bassa have migrated into Liberia later, though earlier than the Kpelle⁶. Their different history and their location around Monrovia may have had some kind of an influence on them from which the isolated Kran, Kru and Grebo were free. It may be noted that in the author's studies, the Bassa did not deviate from the Kru, Kran and Grebo.

4.3.2 Case Study II: Mine workers

To examine the achievement orientation of Africans in a somewhat more advanced stage of modernization than among plantation workers and to test the hypothesis of a relationship between achievement orientation within the traditional structure and receptivity to modernization, a probability sample of 383 workers was drawn in a mining company (Company I) in Liberia, located on Kpelle territory. 115 workers in the sample are Kpelle; 105 belong to the Kru group of tribes.

To examine their achievement orientation within the company, an open-ended question was asked: "Why are some workers in this company more respected, and others are less respected?" 30 % of the total sample stated skill level or knowledge, and another 23 % work performance. Thus, the group of definitely achievement oriented answers comprises 53 percent. Definitely non-achievement oriented answers comprise only 10 percent: compliance - 5 percent; position in hierarchy - 5 percent. The remaining answers like wage (13 percent), behavior and attitudes (20 percent) and miscellaneous others (4 percent) are ambiguous. As in the Hendrickson's study: the achievement answers prevail. This was most unlikely if the workers who all grew up in a traditional environment had internalized a thoroughly ascriptive system during their formative years. These data can be directly compared with answers given by members of a relatively modernized society. In the same company, 220 German staff members were asked the same question. Only 11 % gave definitely achievement oriented answers, while 62 % gave definitely non-achievement oriented answers; 27 % were ambiguous, giving both achievement and nonachievement oriented answers. For the test of the hypothesis of a relationship between achievement orientation and receptivity to modernization, adaptation to wage labor was chosen as an indicator of receptivity to modernization. It was measured by a composite index consisting of six sub-indices⁷. Each individual was scored on a 49 point scale. The results of the test confirm the hypothesis: The Kpelle score among the lowest, the Kru tribes highest, the Kpelle mean score of 22.90 being different from the Kru tribes mean score of 26.45 beyond the .001 level of significance ($t = 3.906$; $F = 15.25$). (Table 1; figure)

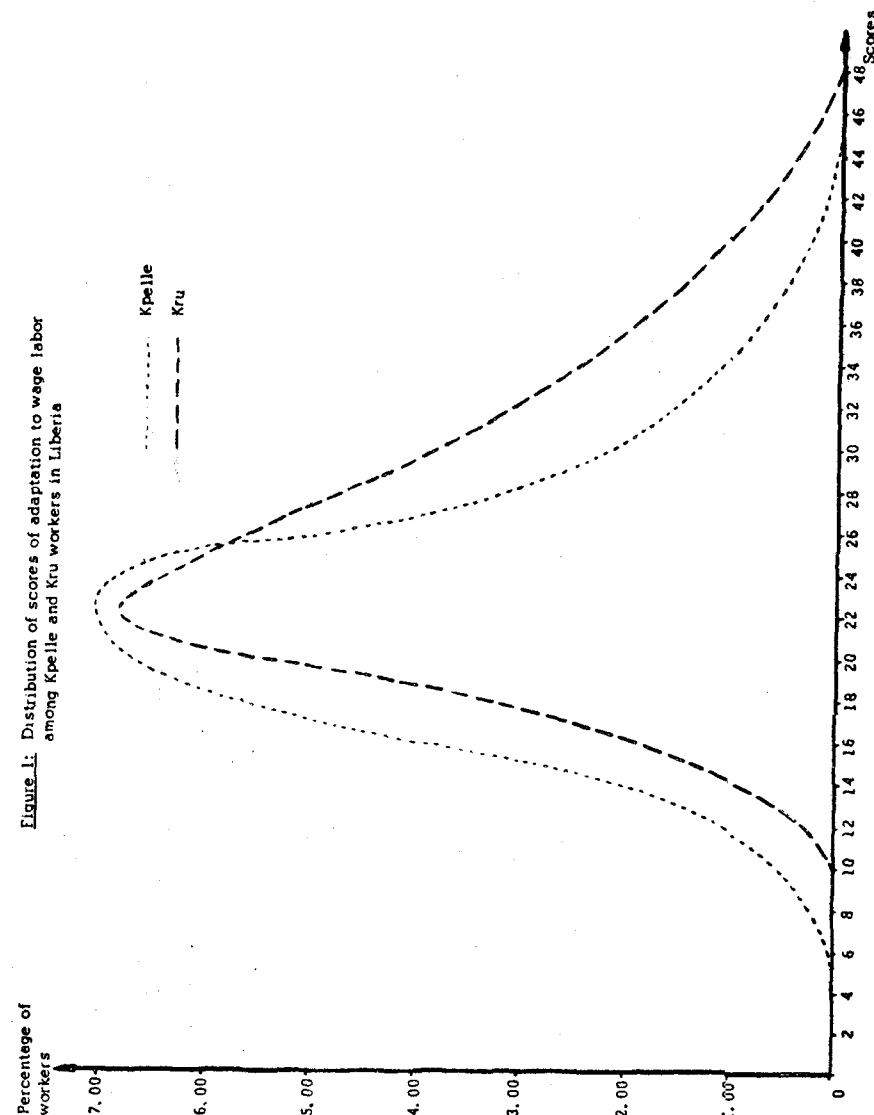


Table 1

Moving average of scores of adaptation to wage labor in percent among Kpelle and Kru workers in Liberia⁺

Score	Kpelle	Kru	Score	Kpelle	Kru
5	0.00	0.00	27	3.83	4.76
6	0.17	0.00	28	3.65	4.76
7	0.17	0.00	29	3.48	4.38
8	0.17	0.00	30	3.13	4.19
9	0.17	0.00	31	2.61	2.86
10	0.52	0.00	32	1.91	3.24
11	0.70	0.00	33	1.39	3.62
12	1.22	0.19	34	0.70	2.86
13	1.22	0.57	35	0.52	2.29
14	2.26	0.95	36	0.35	2.29
15	3.30	1.71	37	0.35	1.90
16	4.35	1.90	38	0.00	1.33
17	5.04	2.67	39	0.00	1.14
18	5.91	3.62	40	0.00	0.95
19	6.26	4.38	41	0.17	0.57
20	6.26	5.14	42	0.17	0.95
21	6.43	6.86	43	0.17	0.76
22	7.00	6.29	44	0.35	0.76
23	7.13	5.33	45	0.52	0.57
24	6.61	5.52	46	0.35	0.57
25	5.74	5.14	47	0.35	0.00
26	4.87	4.95	48		
			49		

N 115 105
 Meanscores 22.90 26.45
 $t = 3.906, p < .001$
 $F = 15.25, p < .001^{++}$

+) Average calculated on three scores at a time.

++) Mean scores and t and F tests are calculated on the basis of the original frequencies, not of the moving averages.

An additional test was done on the basis of the wage lists of the company. The need for such a test was felt because one might argue that since the composite index of adaptation to wage labor contains characteristics acquired before and after entering the company, any difference in scores of adaptation to wage labor could be due to unequal opportunities, or unequal influences by agents of change. However, once a worker enters the company, he has the same opportunities as anyone else, and the wages express purely how far he made

it within the company. It may be emphasized that as a matter of policy, wages differ according to performance but not according to educational standard. The wage test confirmed the hypothesis again: The 476 Kpelle workers in the company average 19.97 ¢ /hour; the 405 workers belonging to the Kru group of tribes average 23.59 ¢ /hour, the difference being significant beyond the .001 level ($t = 6.80$; $F = 2.42$).

4.3.3 Case Study III: Staff members

Another measure of receptivity to modernization is mobility into the higher echelons of an industrial hierarchy. On the basis of the hypothesis of a relationship between achievement orientation in the traditional structure and receptivity to modernization, one would predict that the proportion of staff members from tribes of the Kru groups would be significantly higher (after adjustment for differential population size) than the proportion of Kpelle. Further, one may hypothesize that the discrepancy between the two groups is the higher, the closer a measure is to the ideal type construct of modernization.

The hypothesis was tested in two mining companies in Liberia. In company I, the Kru tribes represent 33 percent and the Kpelle only 6 % of the African staff. In company II, the Kru tribes represent 44 % and the Kpelle only 3 %. Even when taking into account that the Kpelle make up 21 % and the Kru tribes a little less than 40 % of the population of Liberia (1962 census), the proportions for the Kpelle adjusted for different population size would still be less than 12 % and less than 6 % respectively; strikingly lower than the proportion of Kru⁸.

Table 2

Ethnic composition of African staff members in two Liberian mining companies

	Company I		Company II	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
Kru tribes	29	33 %	15	44 %
Kpelle	5	6 %	1	3 %
Other Liberian tribes	53	61 %	18	53 %
Total	87	100 %	34	100 %

The fact that the magnitude of the difference between Kru and Kpelle in terms of mobility into the higher echelons of the industrial hierarchy is considerably larger than the magnitude of the difference in terms of adaptation to wage labor among blue collar workers confirms the hypothesis that the discrepancy in terms of modernization between two groups of different achievement orientation is the higher, the closer a measure is to the ideal type construct of modernization.

There is a considerable difference between the two companies which remains to be explained: In company I, the Kpelle-Kru ratio is 1:6 (or 1:3) when adjusting for population size; in company II, this ratio is 1:15 (or 1:7.5 when adjusting for population size). Why has company II relatively more of the achievement oriented members of Kru tribes than company I?

The difference is explained by a difference in achievement orientation between the two companies. Company I is a non-achievement system:

- (a) It is the official policy of the company declared by the management that occupational positions are not allocated on the basis of achievement.
- (b) Striving for excellence is reprimanded. Compliance and "doing one's duty" are rewarded.
- (c) Only a small minority of the members of the company (18.8 %) perceive the company as achievement oriented. (Table 3)

Company II is an achievement system:

- (a) It is the official policy of the company declared by the management that occupational positions are allocated on the basis achievement.
- (b) Achievement orientation (striving for excellence) is rewarded by promotion and by higher remunerations.
- (c) Most of the members of the company (60.5 %) perceive the company in fact as achievement oriented. (Table 4)

Hence, the conclusion is: An achievement oriented company is more likely to attract staff members from societies with an emphasis on achievement in their traditional structure than a nonachievement oriented company.

The achievement orientation of the companies is accurately reflected in the perceptions of the African staff members:

- (a) The proportion of African staff members who perceive Company II (which is in fact achievement oriented) as achievement oriented is considerably higher than the proportion of those who perceive Company I (which is in fact not achievement oriented) as achievement oriented.
- (b) The perceptions of African and American staff members in Company II are very similar, corresponding to the approximate equality of achievement opportunities for the two groups.
- (c) In Company I, more African than German and other European staff members perceive the company as achievement oriented, corresponding to the fact that the management rewards achievement among the African and does not so among the expatriate staff members. (Tables 3 and 4)
- (d) The relative objectivity of these perceptions is also expressed in the fact that no difference was found in the perceptions of the members of the Kru group of tribes and of other tribes, achievement opportunities being the same for both.

Table 3
Achievement orientation by nationality in Liberian mining industry: Company I

Achievement Orientation (Score)	African		European ⁺⁺		German	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
(+1) Achievement Oriented	22	27.8	11	25.6	27	13.7
(0) Ambiguous ⁺	38	48.1	11	25.6	80	40.6
(-1) Non-Achievement Oriented	19	24.1	21	48.8	90	45.7
Total	79	100.0	43	100.0	197	100.0
Mean Achievement Score	+0.04		-0.23		-0.32	
Chi Square	$\chi^2 = 17.98$; df = 4; p = 0.05					

⁺) Both achievement and nonachievement criteria are mentioned.

⁺⁺) Except German

The hypotheses listed in the introduction were tested in Liberia in four different settings:

- (1) in a traditional setting;
- (2) among plantation workers;
- (3) among mine workers;
- (4) among staff members in mining industry.

The findings are:

- (1) Hypothesis I was rejected. Non-modernized societies may place a strong emphasis on achievement.
 - (2) There is considerable variation in emphasis on achievement among non-modernized societies.
 - (3) Hypothesis II was confirmed: The more achievement oriented a non-modernized society is, the more receptive it is to modernization.
 - (4) Hypothesis III was confirmed: The magnitude of the difference in actual response to modernization stimuli among members of traditionally relatively achievement vs. ascription oriented societies is moderate when the stimuli involve a relatively moderate degree of modernization (e.g., in terms of modern technological skill). The magnitude of the difference between the two types of society increases considerably when the stimuli of modernization involve relatively high degrees of modernization.
- These findings may have far-reaching consequences:
- (1) Those theories of social change which are built on the assumption that achievement orientation characterizes modernized societies and ascription traditional societies have to be revised.
 - (2) Those theories which attribute the failure to modernize (or the failure of development projects) on principle to an allegedly inherent conservatism of traditional structures because of their ascription orientation have to be revised.
 - (3) For the social engineering of modernization, one may speculate on the basis of these results that two different models have to be set up:
 - (a) In achievement oriented and hence change-receptive societies, society and its members are likely to respond vividly to opportunities for change, and modernization from below is likely to be the most suitable approach.
 - (b) In traditionally ascriptive societies which are resistant to change, the approach to modernization has to be different: Modernization from above may be the only way to implement change on a significant scale. If the leaders of such a society can be persuaded to introduce change, their subjects - frequently well socialized in the attitude of authoritarian submission - are likely to prove responsive. If the leaders cannot be persuaded to modernize, a more radical approach is likely to be the only one effective.

Table 4
Achievement orientation by nationality in Liberian mining industry: Company II

Achievement Orientation (Score)	African		American		European	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
(+1) Achievement Oriented	23	67.6	16	69.6	7	36.8
(0) Ambiguous	8	23.5	3	13.0	4	21.1
(-1) Non-Achievement Oriented	3	8.8	4	17.4	8	42.1
Total	34	99.9	23	100.0	19	100.0
Mean Achievement Score	+ 0.59		+ 0.52		- 0.05	
Chi Square	$\chi^2 = 10.08$; df = 4;		p		.05	

Leistung, definiert als kulturelle, soziale und/oder individuelle Orientierung auf Rollenzuweisungsmuster, die durch Zuweisung von Rollen nach rollenbezogenen (= funktionalen) Kriterien charakterisiert sind, wird in der soziologischen Theorie als Kennzeichen moderner (industrieller) Gesellschaften angenommen.

Zuschreibung (Askription), residual definiert als kulturelle, soziale und/oder individuelle Orientierung auf Rollenzuweisungsmuster, die durch Zuweisung von Rollen nach rollenfremden (= extrafunktionalen) Kriterien charakterisiert sind, gilt als Kennzeichen nichtmodernisierter (vorindustrieller) Gesellschaften. In der Realität bewegen sich Unterschiede in der Leistungsorientierung auf einem relativ kleinen Ausschnitt des Leistungs-Zuschreibungskontinuums.

Voruntersuchungen in Nigeria haben ergeben, daß die soziologische Unterscheidung zwischen modernisierten Gesellschaften als Leistungssystemen und nichtmodernisierten Gesellschaften als Zuschreibungssystemen unzutreffend ist, und ferner, daß Unterschiede in der Leistungsorientierung der traditionellen Struktur den Modernisierungsprozeß beeinflussen.

Diese Vorergebnisse wurden als Hypothesen an einer Reihe von libertanischen Stammesgesellschaften systematisch überprüft, und zwar in vier Studien:

1. in einer Untersuchung der traditionellen Sozialstruktur der Kpelle, Kran (einschließlich Sapo), Kru, Grebo und Bassa;
2. in einer Untersuchung von Plantagenarbeitern, die sich in einem ersten Stadium der Modernisierung befinden;
3. in einer Untersuchung von Bergbauarbeitern, die sich in einem zweiten Stadium der Modernisierung befinden; und
4. in einer Untersuchung von höheren Bergbauangestellten, die sich in einem relativ weit fortgeschrittenen Stadium der Modernisierung befinden.

Die Untersuchungen kamen zu folgenden Ergebnissen:

1. Viele, allerdings nicht alle nichtmodernisierten Gesellschaften sind leistungsorientiert: sowohl auf der Ebene des sozialen Systems (System der Rollenallokation) als auch auf der Ebene des Kultursystems (System der Werte, Normen und Glaubensvorstellungen). Leistungsorientierung auf der Ebene des Persönlichkeitssystems (McClelland's n Ach) wurde nicht untersucht.
2. Es gibt beträchtliche Unterschiede im Grad der Leistungsorientierung zwischen nichtmodernisierten Gesellschaften.
3. Es besteht ein Zusammenhang zwischen Leistungsorientierung in der traditionellen Struktur und Modernisierungsbereitschaft: je stärker die Leistungsorientierung einer Gesellschaft in der traditionellen Struktur, desto stärker die Bereitschaft zur Modernisierung. (Bereitschaft zur Modernisierung stellt hierbei eine endogene Variable dar; die Ursachen der Modernisierung sind exogen).
4. Der Umfang des Unterschiedes im Grad der tatsächlichen Modernisierung (d.h. in der tatsächlichen Reaktion auf Modernisierungsstimuli) zwischen Stämmen unterschiedlicher Leistungsorientierung in der traditionellen Struktur und dementsprechend unterschiedlicher Modernisierungsbereitschaft wächst mit dem Grad der Modernität des Stimulus. Z. B., Unter-

schiede zwischen Mitgliedern relativ leistungsorientierter und relativ nichtleistungsorientierter Stämme sind gering, allerdings deutlich feststellbar, wenn der Modernisierungsstimulus in der Schaffung ungelernerter oder angelernter Arbeitsplätze besteht; dagegen sind diese Unterschiede erheblich, wenn der Stimulus in der Schaffung hochqualifizierter Arbeitsplätze besteht.

Eine Reihe von Folgerungen läßt sich aus diesen Ergebnissen ableiten:

1. Theorien des sozialen Wandels, die von der Annahme ausgehen, daß nicht-modernisierte Gesellschaften nichtleistungsorientiert sind, sind zu revidieren.
2. Theorien (allgemeine Theorien von Soziologen sowie Ad-hoc-Theorien von Entwicklungsfachleuten), die Entwicklungsprobleme (u. a. das Fehlschlagen von Entwicklungsprojekten) grundsätzlich auf eine mit fehlender Leistungsorientierung in Verbindung stehende Konservativität traditioneller Strukturen zurückzuführen, sind zu revidieren.
3. Spekulativ lassen sich zwei Entwicklungsmodelle entwickeln:
 - a) In leistungsorientierten und dementsprechend modernisierungswilligen Gesellschaften besteht eine hohe Wahrscheinlichkeit für eine spontane positive Reaktion auf Modernisierungsstimuli. Modernisierung von unten dürfte daher die geeignete Entwicklungsmethode sein.
 - b) In nichtleistungsorientierten und dementsprechend modernisierungsfeindlichen Gesellschaften besteht eine geringe Wahrscheinlichkeit für den Erfolg der "Modernisierung von unten Methode". Modernisierung von oben dürfte hier angebrachter sein, wenn die traditionellen Führer einer solchen Gesellschaft dazu überredet werden können. Wenn auch sie modernisierungsfeindlich sind, können wahrscheinlich nur radikalere Methoden zur Modernisierung führen.

7 Notes

- 1 See Dahrendorf's (1:553-554) distinction between functional and meta-functional or extrafunctional skills and Weinstock's (23:145) distinction between central and peripheral criteria.
- 2 A student of modernization may be surprised to learn that $Y \rightarrow Y_i$, rather than $Y_i \rightarrow X_i$; that is, Y_i relationships break down in the direction of other such relationships (Y_i), rather than in the direction of X_i relationships. Yet, paradoxically, $Y_i \rightarrow X_i$ is the symbolic expression of the process of modernization. Levy's explanation of this puzzle is that modernization represents a continuous increase in emphases on X_i which take the form of new types of relationships rather than alterations or subversions of the old.
- 3 See also Weber (22:17)
- 4 Of the 105 members of Kru tribes in the sample, only 21 are Kru. How many of them are coastal Kru and how many are so-called bush-Kru from the hinterland is not known. In any case, their number is too small to have any significant effect on the results to be discussed below.

Table 5

Score	education	cents/h	time in wage labor		attitude to job	rating by supervisor
			in years	in % of time since 1st job		
0	illiterate	15	less than 1	0 - 20 %	very negative	very bad
1	grade 1-2	17	1	21 - 40 %		
2	grade 3-4	19	2	41 - 60 %	negative	
3	grade 5-6	21-23	3	61 - 80 %		
4	grade 7-8	26-28	4	81 - 100 %	neutral	
5		30-33	5			(continuous between 0 and 9)
6	grade 9	35, 38, 40, 43	6		positive	
7	grade 10-11	45, 48	7			
8		51, 53, 58	8			
9	grade 12	61, 65, 73	over 8		very positive	excellent

5 Age at first job in Hendrickson's sample:

under 15:	20.1 %	21-23:	15.0 %
15 - 17:	17.4 %	24-26:	12.6 %
18 - 20:	23.8 %	27-29:	2.9 %
		30 and above:	8.1 %

6 Livingstone (13:538-539) reconstructed historical migration from the distribution of sickle cell genes in a population. The lower the rate, the earlier the date of migration into an area of dense tropical forest. The rates of sickle cell traits in percent for the Kru, Kran and Grebo are almost identical: 0.68; 0.65; and 0.68 respectively (the rate for the Grebo is based on the author's recalculation of Livingstone's rates for the Grebo and Webbo which he erroneously treated as separate tribes. The Webbo are a subtribe of the Grebo). All other rates are between 2.10 (Giu or Dan) and 19.46 (Kissi). The Bassa rate is 7.15 and the Kpelle rate 13.03. The rates for the De and Belle which do not appear in Hendrickson's sample are 3.77 and 10.34 respectively.

7 The scoring system is described by the table 5.

8 In company I, the Kru proper represent about a third, in company II somewhat less than half the staff members of the Kru group of tribes. What proportion of the Kru proper in the sample are coastal and what proportion are hinterland Kru was not ascertained.

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Appendix: Tribal map of Liberia

