

AN INVESTIGATION OF THE RELATIONSHIP
BETWEEN ACCULTURATION, N ACHIEVEMENT
AND N AFFILIATION IN OWAMBO

Thesis

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A chief of the Digger Indians, as the Californians call them, talked to me a great deal about the ways of his people in the old days. He was a Christian and a leader among his people in the planting of peaches and apricots on irrigated land, but when he talked of the shamans who had transformed themselves into bears before his eyes in the bear dance, his hands trembled and his voice broke with excitement. It was an incomparable thing, the power his people had had in the old days. He liked best to talk of the desert foods they had eaten. He brought each uprooted plant lovingly and with an unfailing sense of its importance. In those days his people had eaten "the health of the desert", he said, and knew nothing of the insides of tin cans and the things for sale at butcher shops. It was such innovations that had degraded them in these latter days.

One day, without transition, Ramon broke in upon his descriptions of grinding mesquite and preparing acorn soup. "In the beginning", he said, "God gave to every people a cup, a cup of clay, and from this cup they drank their life. They all dipped in the water, but their cups were different. Our cup is broken now. It has passed away".

Ruth Benedict in *Patterns of Culture*

INDEX

	Page
CHAPTER 1	
INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER 2	
A REVIEW OF THE INTERACTION AND INTER- RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ANTHROPOLOGY AND PSYCHOLOGY	
2.1 INTRODUCTION	3
2.2 THE EARLIEST REALISATION OF DIFFERENCES BETWEEN PEOPLES	6
2.3 THE GRECO-ROMAN PERIOD	7
2.4 THE ARABS	10
2.5 REBIRTH IN EUROPE	11
2.6 HERDER AND FORSTER	15
2.7 WAITZ AND BASTIAN	16
2.8 THE DIVISION OF MAN	17
2.9 RACE AS AN INDEPENDENT VARIABLE	26
2.10 COGNITIVE FACTORS	31
2.11 CONCEPTS OF CENTRALITY	44
2.12 ASSESSMENT OF THE INDIVIDUAL	64
2.13 CONCLUSIONS	78
CHAPTER 3	
STIPULATIONS FOR THE USE OF PROJECTIVE TECHNIQUES IN CROSS-CULTURAL RESEARCH	80
3.1 A DISCUSSION OF THE DIFFERENT POINTS OF CRITICISM	81
3.2 A SUMMARY OF THE STIPULATIONS FOR THE USE OF PROJECTIVE TECHNIQUES WITH PRIMITIVE PEOPLES	103
3.3 THE FUNCTION OF THE STIPULATIONS	107

	Page
CHAPTER 4	
THE INFLUENCE OF ACCULTURATION ON PERSONALITY	108
4.1 AN ANALYSIS OF A NUMBER OF STUDIES THAT EMPLOYED PROJECTIVE TECHNIQUES TO INVESTIGATE THE INFLUENCE OF ACCULTURATION ON PERSONALITY	108
4.2 RESULTS OBTAINED FROM THE STUDIES ANALISED ABOVE	112
4.3 RESULTS OBTAINED FROM STUDIES EMPLOYING PROJECTIVE TECHNIQUES BUT OF WHICH THE ORIGINAL PAPERS COULD NOT BE TRACED	114
4.4 RESULTS FROM NON-PROJECTIVE METHODS	117
4.5 A SUMMARY OF THE FINDINGS ON THE INFLUENCE OF ACCULTURATION ON PERSONALITY FACTORS	119
CHAPTER 5	
THE INDEPENDENT VARIABLE: ACCULTURATION	124
5.1 DEFINITION	124
5.2 THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN ACCULTURATION AND RELATED CONCEPTS	127
5.3 THE DIFFERENT DIMENSIONS OF ACCULTURATION	130
5.4 SCHEMATA FOR THE STUDY OF ACCULTURATION	137
5.5 A BRIEF HISTORY OF ACCULTURATION	137
5.6 GENERAL FINDINGS FROM ACCULTURATIONAL INVESTIGATIONS	140
5.7 CRITICISM OF ACCULTURATION STUDIES	140
5.8 CONCLUSIONS	141
CHAPTER 6	
THE DEPENDENT VARIABLES: N ACHIEVEMENT AND N AFFILIATION	142
6.1 N ACHIEVEMENT	142
6.2 N AFFILIATION	147
6.3 THE MOTIVATIONAL BASIS OF N ACHIEVEMENT AND N AFFILIATION	149
6.4 CROSS-CULTURAL STUDIES ON N ACHIEVEMENT AND N AFFILIATION	154
6.5 CONCLUSIONS	163

	Page
CHAPTER 7	
THE OWAMBO	165
7.1 INTRODUCTION	165
7.2 CLASSIFICATION OF THE OWAMBO AMONGST THE BANTU OF SOUTHERN AFRICA	165
7.3 THE PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT OF THE OWAMBO	169
7.4 ORIGIN OF THE OWAMBO	171
7.5 THE TRADITIONAL CULTURE OF THE OWAMBO - A GENERAL SURVEY	172
7.6 THE EXTENT OF WESTERN INFLUENCE ON THE OWAMBO	180
7.7 CONCLUSIONS	190
CHAPTER 8	
RATIONALE AND GENERAL HYPOTHESES	191
8.1 RATIONALE	191
8.2 GENERAL HYPOTHESES	196
CHAPTER 9	
GENERAL METHODOLOGY	198
9.1 MEASURING INSTRUMENTS	198
9.2 SUBJECTS	221
9.3 STATISTICAL METHODS	227
9.4 RATIONALE FOR THE DIFFERENT DIMENSIONS OF ACCULTURATION	229
CHAPTER 10	
RESULTS	234
10.1 INTRODUCTION	234
10.2 THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN N ACHIEVEMENT AND ACCULTURATION	234
10.3 THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ACCULTURATION AND N AFFILIATION	242
10.4 THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN N ACHIEVEMENT AND SCHOLASTIC ACHIEVEMENT	249

	Page
10.5 THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN N AFFILIATION AND SCHOLASTIC ACHIEVEMENT	251
10.6 THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ACCULTURATION AND SCHOLASTIC ACHIEVEMENT	253
10.7 THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ACCULTURATION AND POST-SCHOLASTIC ACHIEVEMENT	255
 CHAPTER 11	
CONCLUSIONS	
11.1 THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ACCULTURATION AND N ACHIEVEMENT	258
11.2 THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ACCULTURATION AND N AFFILIATION	260
11.3 THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN N ACHIEVEMENT AND SCHOLASTIC ACHIEVEMENT	262
11.4 THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN N AFFILIATION AND SCHOLASTIC ACHIEVEMENT	264
11.5 THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ACCULTURATION AND ACHIEVEMENT BEHAVIOUR	265
11.6 SUMMARIZING CONCLUSIONS	266
11.7 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE FINDINGS	266
11.8 THE APPLICABILITY OF THE METHOD USED IN THIS THESIS FOR THE INVESTIGATION OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ACCULTURATION AND THE CHANGE IN PSYCHOLOGICAL MOTIVES	268
 APPENDIX I	 271
 APPENDIX II	 288
 APPENDIX III	 292
 APPENDIX IV	 293
 BIBLIOGRAPHY	 299

	Page	
TABLES		
TABLE 4.1	THE DEGREE TO WHICH THE STIPULATIONS FOR THE USE OF PROJECTIVE TECHNIQUES ARE MET IN ACCULTURATION AND PERSONALITY STUDIES	109
TABLE 7.1	THE DIFFERENT ETHNICAL GROUPS OF SOUTH WEST AFRICA	167
TABLE 7.2	THE OWAMBO TRIBES	172
TABLE 7.3	THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE DEPENDANCY ON DIFFERENT ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES BY THE OWAMBO	178
TABLE 7.4	THE DIVISION OF TECHNOLOGICAL AND ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES	179
TABLE 7.5	MIGRATORY LABOUR FROM OWAMBO IN S.W.A.	184
TABLE 7.6	THE EXTENT OF SCHOOLING IN OWAMBO	186
TABLE 7.7	PUPILS IN THE DIFFERENT SCHOOL STANDARDS IN OWAMBO	187
TABLE 7.8	SCHOOL ATTENDANCE IN OWAMBO IN 1962 AND 1972	188
TABLE 9.1	THE SCORING RELIABILITY OVER TIME	216
TABLE 9.2	THE INTER-SCORER RELIABILITY	217
TABLE 9.3	CORRELATIONS BETWEEN THE ESSAY AND INTERVIEW METHODS	218
TABLE 9.4	CORRELATIONS BETWEEN THE ESSAY AND TAT METHODS	219
TABLE 9.5	CORRELATIONS BETWEEN THE TAT AND INTERVIEW METHODS	219
TABLE 9.6	INDEX OF SCORING EFFICIENCY OF THE SCORER	221
TABLE 9.7	THE DIVISION OF THE DIFFERENT GROUPS OF SUBJECTS	222
TABLE 10.1	THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ACCULTURATION, AS ESTIMATED ON THE TIME DIMENSION, AND N ACHIEVEMENT	237
TABLE 10.2	THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ACCULTURATION, AS MEASURED ON THE GEOGRAPHICAL DIMENSION, AND N ACHIEVEMENT	239

	Page	
TABLE 10.3	THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ACCULTURATION, AS DETERMINED THROUGH THE PARENTS' OCCUPATION, AND N ACHIEVEMENT	241
TABLE 10.4	THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ACCULTURATION, AS MEASURED ON THE TIME DIMENSION, AND N AFFILIATION	244
TABLE 10.5	THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ACCULTURATION, AS MEASURED ON THE GEOGRAPHICAL DIMENSION, AND N AFFILIATION	247
TABLE 10.6	THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ACCULTURATION, AS DETERMINED THROUGH THE PARENTS' OCCUPATION, AND N AFFILIATION	249
TABLE 10.7	THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN N ACHIEVEMENT AND SCHOLASTIC ACHIEVEMENT	251
TABLE 10.8	THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN N AFFILIATION AND SCHOLASTIC ACHIEVEMENT	253
TABLE 10.9	THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ACCULTURATION AND SCHOLASTIC ACHIEVEMENT	255
TABLE 10.10	THE PROBABILITY THAT QUALIFIED NURSES AND SECONDARY SCHOOL TEACHERS COME FROM ACCULTURATED HOMES SIGNIFICANTLY MORE THAN WAS TO BE EXPECTED ON THE BASIS OF CHANCE ALONE. PROBABILITY TAKEN AS 0,5	257
FIGURES		
FIGURE 4.1	A SCHEMA OF THE INTERRELATIONSHIP OF EMOTIONAL AND INTERPERSONAL FACTORS THAT DEVELOP WITH ACCULTURATION	121
FIGURE 5.1	THE DIFFERENT PHASES OF ACCULTURATION ACCORDING TO MCGEE (1898)	131
FIGURE 8.1	A SCHEMATIC REPRESENTATION OF THE BASIC PLAN FOR THE PRESENT THESIS	191

		Page
MAPS		
MAP 6.1	THE RELATION OF OWAMBO TO THE REST OF S.W.A.	168
MAP 9.1	THE ACCULTURATED AND UNACCULTURATED AREAS OF OWAMBO	225

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CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

It seems that there is a "universal complot" to confront the novice in any sphere of life with a host of problems. In this regard the thesis-writer is no exception and may even prove to be an example, par excellence, of the confused fuddler. In general the following problems predominate.

- (i) In the first instance he may bewail his plight in the following words of Doctor Doolittle
"What to leave out and what to put in? That's the problem".
- (ii) In the second instance he is plagued on what approach to take or what to emphasize.
- (iii) In the last instance he is continually haunted by his portrayal of insight (or loss of insight) into the subject matter and how this is affecting the image he is trying to "sell" to his readers.

The contents of this thesis were mainly determined by the traditional methodological requirements for a thesis of this nature. However a need was felt to include a somewhat expanded survey of the interrelationship between anthropology and psychology. This "need" developed during a review of the above-mentioned interrelationship especially when we found that the historical interaction between these two disciplines had never been followed from the earliest times to the present. Furthermore, although different writers have treated different aspects of this interaction, not one could be found that had treated all the different angles of the relationship. Thus although it is a well-

known fact that there is a prominent relationship between these two disciplines this was found to be quite inadequately documented. Furthermore, it is usually discussed from either a psychological or an anthropological viewpoint. The hazy view of the interrelationship between these two disciplines is naturally a frustrating situation for any researcher in this field - especially one who would prefer to have a view of the position of his research within the wider panorama of research surrounding it.

And then the problem of insight. This will be the painful prerogative of the reader to decide. However, there is a sincere hope that the fate of this writer's thoughts and ideas will not be that of the Baker due to the "insight" merely being a Snark, for

"In the midst of the word he was trying to say,
In the midst of his laughter and glee,
He had softly and suddenly vanished away -
For the Snark was a Boojum, you see."

CHAPTER 2

A REVIEW OF THE INTERACTION AND INTERRELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ANTHROPOLOGY AND PSYCHOLOGY

2.1 Introduction

In this introduction an attempt will be made to present a few remarks that may act as a guide to the understanding of this complex and sometimes confusing angle of the "science of man".

- (i) The most confusing aspect encountered was to find a satisfying method of ordering the subject-matter. As this is not only a history of man but also (and most probably principally) a history of ideas there are continuous changes in the content, classification, emphasis and acceptability of these ideas. This all leads to the problem that any classification only holds for specific circumstances. Added to this we also find that at different periods different classifications are preferable and at certain stages any one of a variety may be used. Thus Hays (1958) classifies his material according to authors, Meggers (1946) uses a subject classification, and Singer (1961) uses a combination of a subject- and a time-period classification. In this study an attempt was made to use a combination of all three of these methods - giving preference to each to suit the subject-matter being discussed at that stage.

- (ii) In the second place it must be remembered that this is a historical survey of the interrelationship between two disciplines in the study of man. This

is thus not an evaluation or integration of the subject matter pertaining to the interrelationship between these two disciplines. In other words, the purpose was descriptive and not evaluative.

(iii) Thirdly it must be realised that although this chapter was limited to only dwelling on the descriptive level, only a mere fraction of all the studies in this field of interest could be mentioned. The following statistics should give an idea of the extent of this field. In 1948, when Kluckhohn and Murray started selecting articles for their now famous work, *Personality in Nature, Society and Culture*, there were over one thousand publications to choose from. (Singer 1961 p.15) By the late 1950's the literature in culture and personality studies virtually exploded into a "boom". Thus Honigman (1959) notes 407 entries on psychocultural studies for the period 1955-1957 and on acculturation and personality he notes more than 20 entries for this period. For the period from 1958 to the first half of 1960 Wallace and Fogelson (1961) note 327 new studies on culture and personality. In this review discussion thus had to be limited to studies that either had a major influence on the field of interest or that were highly representative of the specific sphere of concern.

(iv) In the fourth place some decision had to be made on the period of time to be covered by the survey. The beginning proved to be the least troublesome to decide on as guidance was found in the following warning by Hodgen (1964 p.7)

"It has become a convention in dealing with historical careers of the social studies to fix

their birth dates somewhere in the nineteenth century, when the academic departmentalization of the study of man had its inception; and then, when unfavourable comment is heard, to defend them singly or jointly on the score of their immaturity. To fix casually upon any handful of recent scholars as 'founders' or 'originators' is always a disservice to intellectual history".

Thus it was attempted to trace man's description of the manners and behaviour of groups other than his own to the dawn of western thought. The tail-end of this line of development was much more difficult to treat and once again circumstances formed the guideline. The general intention was to treat studies up to the point where the major developments in a specific line ended and as a rule of thumb an attempt was thus made to stop in the period 1950-1960. By this time the major field of endeavour had mostly been mapped and the myriads of studies in the ensuing "boom" were mostly minor variations on a clearly defined underlying theme.

- (v) Fifthly a point must be clarified that might lead to misunderstanding. Culture-personality studies must not be confused with the "psychology of culture". The latter was founded by W. Dilthey and was a mode or method of interpreting individual areas of culture with the stress laid on understanding them. Later these studies were largely taken over by cultural anthropology. (Eysenck 1972 Vol.I p.237)
- (vi) Lastly a note on the method of notations used in this chapter. Where a work was consulted the notation will be given in the usual standard way. However, where reference is made to a specific work as part of the subject-matter being discussed, the title of

the work will be given and will be in italics. In a number of cases the work being referred to may not have been studied first-hand due to unavailability. In these instances it will be indicated, by use of the usual notations, but the source of reference will also be given.

2.2 The earliest realisation of the differences between peoples

In most ancient times people had realised that not only do they differ from each other as individuals but also that certain groups were different to others. Thus even in the earliest rock paintings in Southern Africa a differentiation was made between light coloured people, with bows and arrows, stealing cattle and being chased by darker skinned people bearing spears and shields. In the same way the old Egyptians of the 18th to the 21st dynasties depicted different peoples with different skin colours on their tombs. They differentiated amongst the southern Negroes (black), Egyptians (reddish), Asian Semites (yellowish) and Libyans (with light coloured skins, beards, and blue eyes). Not only were these people portrayed as being different in physical structure but the material culture they bore was also different in each case. A third example may be taken from the Vedas who were Sanskritspeaking Aryans who migrated over the Kyber Pass into Punjab in about 1800 B.C. In their oldest sacred manuscripts they differentiate between themselves as the light coloured people, and the native people of the region, the Dasyus, as dark-skinned, small of stature "without noses", and having extremely bad manners. (Coertze 1971 pp.1-2)

2.3 The Greco-Roman period

The realisation of the differences between different groups of people increased with contact and intermingling of these peoples in Europe, and it is only natural to expect the old thinkers of ancient Greece to comment on this fact. Herodotus (c. 480-425 B.C.) travelled to North Africa, Egypt and the regions to the east of the Mediterranean Sea and commented in detail on the strange peoples he met. The questions he asked, to try and find an explanation for these differences between the different peoples, leads a writer like Penniman (1965 p.24) to state that

"... (he) may be regarded as the first anthropologist".

Richard Kluckhohn (1962 p.2) also comments that

"Many have owned that Herodotus was the first anthropologist, owing to his detailed accounts of the customs and habits of peoples other than his own".

At about the same time Hippocrates (c. 460-377 B.C.) commented on the characteristics of the Scythians and the people around the Phasis River. Apparently he also believed in the inheritance of acquired characteristics. (Penniman 1965 p.25) A bit later Aristoteles (384-322 B.C.) gave a strong impetus to the biological study of man when he classified man with the other animals and gave the first crude formulation of the principle of natural selection.

The scene now changes from Greece to Rome. In the words of Penniman (1965 p.30):

"The influence of Athens gave way to that of Alexandria, and in its turn, Alexandria yielded to Rome".

The first of the Romans worth noting is Lucretius (c. 98-55 B.C.) who became known for his poem *De Rerum*

Naturae. However, he not only excelled as a poet but was also an outstanding anthropologist and psychologist, commenting on culture, culture change, the mind, the sensory processes, imagination, thinking, volition, motion and speech. Interestingly enough he never tried to merge anthropological and psychological dimensions. (Coertze 1971 pp.7-9) (Kantor 1963 Vol.I pp.176-181) Another Roman to be considered is Plinius (23-79 A.D.) who wrote a monumental work, *Historia Naturalis*, comprising 37 volumes. Volume VII treats anthropology and physiology and describes the geographical distribution of the different tribes of Western Europe, India and China. (Coertze 1971 pp.7-11; Enk 1956 p.233) It was also during this period that the first contributors to the field of Psychological Anthropology are to be found. Poseidonios (Posidonius) (c. 135-50 B.C.), a Stoic philosopher and most learned man of his time, was a native of Apamea in Syria but spent years in travel and scientific research in Spain, North Africa, Italy, Gaul, Liguria, Sicily and on the eastern shore of the Adriatic. Not only did he try to give a description of the habits and customs of different peoples but also tried to describe the mental differences between them. In the words of Coertze (1971 p.9):

"Hy het nie net gewoontes en uiterlike handelinge beskryf nie, maar hy het ook probeer om die mense se innerlike geaardheid te beskryf en hulle karakters te skilder".

Poseidonios regarded the Nordic tribes (i.e. the Celtic and Germanic tribes) not only as primitive and uncivilised but as also having the thymes (thumos) namely passion, rage, desire and courage, and compared them with the peoples of Southern Europe, who, according to him, had the logos, i.e. they were more inclined to act according to their reason than to be ruled by emotional drives. The

reason for these differences he ascribed to the fact that the Germanic and Celtic tribes lived in an area where the sun's rays were weak and thus they had a great amount of water left in them. For this reason they were big of stature, contained a lot of blood, had blue eyes, a white skin, and reddish hair. In contrast to this the southern peoples came in contact with stronger sunrays and were thus smaller in stature and had less water in them. (Coertze 1971 pp.9-10) However, Coertze quotes Muhlman who explains that the thoughts of Poseidonius must not be interpreted directly in terms of the amount of water and sun and must rather be seen in the light of the belief in Neptunism, i.e. the powers of water, and Vulcanism, i.e. the powers of fire, that were predominant at the time of his writing. (Coertze 1971 p.19; Encyclopaedia Britannica 1971 Vol.18 p.304; Kantor 1963 Vol.I p.173).

Cornelius Tacitus (c. 56-120 A.D.) was a historian who in one of his works, *Germania (de origine et situ Germanorum)*, described the geography and customs of various tribes in Germany in an ethnological manner and to a great extent relied on the work of Pliny the elder. However, he went further than Pliny and did not only describe the customs of these people but also gave a psychological flavour to the comparisons he made. In the words of Coertze (1971 p.12):

"Dit was nie 'n blote beskrywing van gewoontes nie, maar 'n poging om in te dring in die gees van die mense. In hierdie sin was Tacitus ook werksaam op die gebied van die Psigiese Volkekunde, net soos Poseidonios voor hom".

The method Tacitus followed has aptly been described as "historiography" by Kantor. He virtually had the same aim as Poseidonius i.e. to show

"the virtue as well as the primitive vice of the Germans".

(Kantor 1963 p.210; Kluckhohn 1962 p.2; McDonald 1971 pp.600-601)

With the decline of the Roman Empire, Emperor Constantine wanted an alliance with the people "who had shown that they were ready to endure fire and rock and sword and wild beasts". In this effort he bound the (Christian) Church and the State together. The church, taking this chance to battle all sects and heretics, had little use for the sciences that had hitherto been practised by heathens. With the rise in power of the church the freedom of thought died a certain death and science went into its long period of hibernation. (Penniman 1965 p.32)

2.4 The Arabs

With the rise of Muhamed (570-632 A.D.) the Arabian tribes were united and waged various wars against a number of different peoples - mostly their neighbours. This presented an opportunity to various Arabian writers, e.g. Masudi (c. 956 A.D.) and Ibn-Hawqal (c. 960 A.D.), to comment on these different peoples. This tradition caught on and soon Indrisi (1100-1160 A.D.), Dimashqui (1256-1327 A.D.) and Ibn Chaldun (1332-1406 A.D.) also concerned themselves with describing the characteristics of the different peoples they had seen or heard about. (Coertze 1971 pp.19-21)

Although these writers did not contribute directly to Psychological Anthropology, they commented on the general characteristics of the different peoples and thus contributed to the general development of Anthropology while European science was in the doldrums.

2.5 Rebirth in Europe

Eventually in the fifteenth century a change came in Europe. Penniman (1965 p.33) regards the discovery of printing (c. 1446), the fall of Constantinople (1453) and the voyage of Columbus (1492-93) as the three most significant factors that effected this change which gave new life to scientific thought and which naturally stimulated anthropological thought and in some cases Psychological Anthropological thought. (Penniman 1965 p.34)

One of the first commentators on the psychological differences between different peoples was Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa (1486-1535) whose life was no less colourful than the remarks he made on different peoples. Amongst other things he was also married three times; left seven children; was a captain in Maxmilian I's army; was a university lecturer; stayed with John Colet for a while; became famous as a magician; was a public orator and advocate at Metz; was appointed historiographer to Charles V at Antwerp; was physician to Louise of Savoy in Lyons, and was imprisoned for debt in Brussels where he was rescued by Chapuys. (Dyer 1971 p.405)

Following is a passage he wrote in 1527 which illustrates his style:

"Some Nations are so planted by Heaven, that they appear eminent for the unity and singularity of their Customs. The Scythians were always infamous for Savageness and Cruelty. The Italians were always eminent for their Magnanimity. The Gaules were reproached for Stupidity. The Sicilians were always Subtile. The Asiaticks Luxurious, the Spaniards Jealous, and great Boasters. Besides, several Nations have some particular Marks of distinction, which are the more immediate marks of Heaven; so that a man may easily discern of what Nation such or such stranger may be, by his Voice,

Speech, Tone, Designe, Conversation, Diet, Love or Hatred, Anger and Malice, and the like. For who that sees a man marching in more state than a Dung-hill-Cock, in gate like a Fencer, a confident Look, a deep Tone, grave Speech, severe in his Carriage, and tatter'd in Habit, that will not straight judge him to be a German? Do we not know the French by their moderate Gate, effeminate Carriage, smiling Countenance, pleasing Voice, courteous Speech, modest Behaviour, and careless Habit? The Italians we behold more slow in Gate, their Carriage grave, their Countenances varying, of words, captious in Discourse, in their Behaviour magnificent, and decent in their Habit. In Singing also the Italians bleat, the Spaniards Whine, the Germans Howl, and the French Quaver".

(Hodgen 1964 p.180)

Sebastian Muenster (1489-1552) was a cartographer, cosmographer and mathematician whose *Cosmographia* was the earliest description of the world as a whole. However, he also indulged in some psychological ethnography by ascribing different psychological characteristics to different cultural groups, e.g. he saw the Scotch as faithful and vengeful; the Jews as prudent and envious; the Spaniards as drunken and violent etc. (Campbell 1971 pp.995-996; Harris 1969 p.399)

Practically following in the footsteps of Agrippa and Muenster was Johann Boemus who in the 1611 edition of his *Omnum Gentium Mores* also associated different European peoples with different, and generally not too pleasant, emotional and behavioural characteristics. (Harris 1969 p.400; Hodgen 1964 p.180)

Gerardus Mercator (actually a latinized form of Gerhard Kremer) (1512-1594) was much more famous for his techniques in map construction than for trying his hand at the characterisation of different peoples. This comes as

no surprise because the latter practice, in which he occasionally dabbled, was no different in standard and flavour to the unsavoury generalizations of the three previous writers. (Skelton 1971 p.177)

In the words of Harris (1969 p.397) these four

"early European prototypes of ethnographers ... all indulged in the practice of condensing ethnographic descriptions into pithy psychological formulae".

These writers must thus not be regarded as true pioneers of the interrelationship of psychology and anthropology. Their approach was much too flippant to be taken seriously. Next came Jean Bodin (1530-1596) who, amongst other things, made an "attempt to explain religious, moral, and intellectual differences as an interaction of human and environmental factors". (Penniman 1965 pp.36-37)

Two centuries later came Karl von Linne (Carl Linnaeus) (1707-1778) who in his description of the different races, mentions that they also possess different mental characteristics, and Boulainvilliers in 1727 who studied the political history of France and concluded that the French Aristocracy were descendants of the ancient Franks, while the rest of the population were descendants of the ancient Celtic population. From this he then inferred that the Franks must have been mentally superior. (Boas 1911 p.32)

Meiners (1747-1810), who was professor in Philosophy at the University of Gottingen, published several works wherein he held forth that

- (i) not only were there physical differences between the different races but also psychological differences;
- (ii) the European race was psychologically superior to the other races;

(iii) the difference in inherited racial characteristics is the main reason why different cultural groups are to be found.

(Coertze 1956 p.49)

It was at this time that Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) the celebrated and eccentric philosopher from Königsberg, first gave the new definition to races when he suggested that "unausbleiblich anerbende" characteristics (translated by Coertze as "erfbestendige eienskappe") must be used as a standard in the classification of races. (Coertze 1971 p.48)

A contemporary of Kant, Johan Friedrich Blumenbach (1752-1840), was also the first to divide man into five main racial groups. It seems that the concept of race was "in the air" at this time because Peter Camper (1722-1789) developed a new method in the measurement of skulls and G.C.L.D. Cuvier (1769-1832) also expounded his theory of "the correlation of parts" (i.e. "the interdependence of functions and structure - as the function of an organ changes so will its structure") and launched the idea that the differentiation of races occurred with Noah - his sons being the originators of the three principal races on earth. At this time Lamarck (1744-1829) also started expounding his abortive theory on the inheritance of acquired traits. A contemporary of Lamarck, William Lawrence (1783-1867), was on much firmer ground in anticipating Darwin by proposing that racial differences can be explained by two principles, namely, "the occasional production of an offspring with different characters from the parents", and "the propagation of such varieties by generation". He also declared that intellectual and moral differences between races can be ascribed to the same factors that causes such variety of types in domesticated animals. The most significant of these

factors being the protected existence these animals have in the domesticated environment. (Coertze 1971 pp.48-67; Encyclopaedia Britannica 1971 Vol.6 p.930; Penniman 1965 pp.64-65)

From this brief review of the awakening of anthropological thought in Europe, the following significant factors stand out:

- (i) With the increasing realisation that there were differences in general between different peoples, the idea of differences in mental characteristics between these different peoples also developed.
- (ii) No sooner had the idea of race been clearly defined and the different races tentatively identified, than differences in mental capacity between these races were postulated - and even explanations for these differences were advanced.

2.6 Herder and Forster

These two writers are discussed in a separate section due to the fact that here we find a remarkable coincidence of two people writing at the same time and taken together their work can be regarded as the first anticipation of acculturation-and-personality studies.

Johann Gottfried von Herder (1744-1803) was a German critic, Lutheran theologian and philosopher. He studied literature, philosophy and theology at Königsberg where he came into close contact with Kant. The importance of Herder for this study lies in the fact that he stressed the concept of communal feeling and thought. This, he held, could be

discovered in the history, language, poetry and song of the different peoples. Where he refers to "communal feeling" it must be remembered that to Herder "the medium of thought is feeling" (Gefühl).

Furthermore he stressed the unity and indivisible wholeness of man's nature and also expanded his concept of "Gestalt" to explain how one (e.g. a person) "can be seen as striving to preserve and emerge from the whole" (e.g. the social group). Herder thus anticipated a concept similar to the concepts of centrality (i.e. national character, basic personality structure and modal personality) which were to appear so prominent in later culture and personality writings. (Coertze 1971 pp.54-55; Irmischer 1971 pp.418-419)

A contemporary of Herder was Georg Forster (1754-1794) who was born near Danzig and later emigrated to England with his father. In 1772 they were invited to accompany Captain James Cook and it was during this voyage that Forster formulated his ideas. The importance of Forster lies in his anticipation of the effects that western culture would have on the primitive cultures that they encountered on their voyage. He also speculated on how these cultures would react to the influences of Western culture. (Ascher 1971 p.632; Coertze 1971 p.52; Villiers 1971)

This was clearly the first speculation on what would later become to be known as acculturation.

2.7 Waitz and Bastian

Indications that the time had come for an upsurge of and interest in general speculation on the mind of

primitive man is best seen in the works of Waitz and Bastian.

Theodor Waitz (1821-1864) was professor of philosophy at Marburg, but was mainly interested in the psychological characteristics of primitive peoples. Thus he published a six-volume work, *Antropologie der Naturvölker*, that was primarily a "treatise on primitive mentality". The first part of this work was singled out by the London Ethnological Society as the "most representative continental treatise on man". In this work Waitz deplored rash racial and geographical explanations for psychological differences between different peoples and stressed that these explanations were rather to be sought in cultural differences.

Lowie (1937 p.17) regards the work of Waitz as a "worthy forerunner" of Boas's *The Mind of Primitive Man* but later Harris (1969 p.102) criticised this viewpoint and also tried to establish Waitz as a racist. However, the latter author is known to be over sensitive to any signs of racism and it is doubted whether this viewpoint is wholly objective.

Although Waitz is regarded as a predecessor of Boas it was to be Bastian who had the greatest influence on Boas. However, Bastian will only be mentioned here to indicate where he fits into the pattern but his work will be discussed in a later section (cf. 2.11.1).

2.8 The division of man

At the turn of the century (c. 1780-1820) the trends in scientific method drastically changed in Europe. Observation triumphed over dogma and empiricism came to light. During the 17th century Descartes had divided man into mind

and body which resulted in the philosophical debate that was to have such an important influence on the disciplines concerned with the study of man. (Van Peursen 1965 p.51)

Of course this was not the first time that man had been divided into body and soul. This dualism can be found as far back as Plato where it had an ethical-religious flavour. Aristoteles and even Thomas of Aquino also speculated on this dualism, but it is only with Descartes that this crystallised to become the theoretical-philosophical basis for a whole school of thought. (Van Peursen 1958 pp.238-240)

According to Descartes the body was to be considered quite apart from the mind. The body was a machine with operations that could be studied by observation. This mechanical interpretation of Descartes must be seen against the Zeitgeist of the time, not only were the populace fascinated by the wonders of mechanical models but Harvey had also added a mechanical angle to the viewing of man by his discovery on the circulation of blood. (Van den Berg (1965) gives an excellent portrayal of the development of this Zeitgeist)

To Descartes the soul was too much of a moral-religious concept, thus he turned to the mind. The soul could only be speculated on but the mind could be studied by observing its operations.

However, a problem confronting Descartes was to decide on the locus of the mind. Although some of his contemporaries were speculating on the importance of the brain he distrusted this idea because the brain was paired into two while he wanted to see the mind as a unity.

Furthermore he traced the nerve fibres with some hope that they would lead him to the mind, but this was not to be as they ended in different parts of the brain. Thus he decided on the pineal gland as the seat of the mind because not only was it centrally situated but it was undivided.

(Murphy & Kovach 1972 p.22; Preller 1972; Schultz 1969 p.18; Van den Berg 1965 pp.222-224)

Apart from the fact that he created innumerable problems for the "Sciences of Man" in general and philosophy in particular, Descartes acted as a tremendous impetus for the development of science in general. It is not possible to ascertain the direct influence of Descartes on other writers and thinkers but in general he undoubtedly contributed to the climate of empiricism, positivism and materialism reflected in the work of the following writers. In 1690 John Locke published *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding* which had gone through four editions and had been translated into French and Latin by 1700; in 1709 George Berkeley published *An Essay Towards a New Theory of Vision* and in 1710 *A Treatise Concerning the Principles of Human Thought*; in 1739 David Hume published his famous *A Treatise of Human Nature*; a number of years later in 1749 David Hartley published *Observations on Man, His Frame, His Duty, and His Expectations*; and in 1829 James Mill published *Analysis of the Phenomena of the Human Mind*.

2.8.1 Changes in Anthropology

As the field of study for the investigation of man's mental life became more clearly defined, questions were not only asked on the nature of man's mental life but also on the forces that determined its formation, nature and

functioning. The answers posed to satisfy these questions resulted in different schools of thought. Not only was man divided into physical and mental components but anthropology was divided into Physical and Cultural Anthropology.

2.8.1.1 Physical Anthropology

Although Buffon, Kant, Lamarck and Cuvier had all made noteworthy contributions to this branch of anthropology, it was Johann Friedrich Blumenbach (1752-1840) who was to become known as the father of Physical Anthropology. His major work was *De Genesis Humani Varietate Natura* (on the natural variety of mankind) which was published in 1770. He made use of the *norma verticalis* to classify mankind into five varieties under one species. Thus he differentiated amongst the Ethiopian, the American, the Malay, the Mongolian and the Caucasian (a concept he introduced) races. (Encyclopaedia Britannica 1971 Vol.III p.813; Harris 1969 p.85; Penniman 1965 p.45)

2.8.1.2 Cultural Anthropology

In the same sense that Physical Anthropology had predecessors dating back beyond the 18th century, Cultural Anthropology dated back to the Greco-Roman period. However, no clear distinction was made between these two branches of anthropology, nor was the field of anthropology divorced from the general philosophical and scientific studies of these earlier times.

At about the same time that Physical Anthropology started budding as an independent science in the early 19th

century a number of different circumstances worked together to distinguish Cultural Anthropology as a separate discipline.

In this connection Coertze (1971 pp.69-75) names the following major factors:

- (i) The colonisation race
Europeans who were colonising the world were coming into contact with peoples different in manners and constitution to their own. This resulted in an interest in the scientific study of the different customs and ways of these "strange" peoples.
- (ii) The work of Rousseau
The concept of the "noble savage" propagated by J.J. Rousseau led to a sentimental and philanthropical interest in the "primitive peoples".
- (iii) The awakening of pietism
The awakening of pietism in Europe resulted in the development of sentimentality in religion and gave rise to the founding of pietist societies, e.g. Fox founded the Religious Society of Friends, Wilberforce established the Committee for the Abolition of Slaves, and the Aborigines Protection Society was founded in London.
At this time an English naturalist, W.F. Edwards (1777-1842), who was living in Paris, was approached by the founders of the Aborigines Protection Society to establish a similar society in Paris. However, for quite a time Edwards had been toying with the idea that the biological history and cultural history of man should be studied simultaneously (an idea he had explained to his friend Amedeé Thierry in a letter). Now he saw his chance to propagate his ideas and instead of establishing a

essence he saw monads as centres of energy and the activity of these monads were the mental events that had differing degrees of consciousness or "clearness". The lower echelons of consciousness he called 'petites perceptions' and their conscious actualisation 'apperception'. Johann Friedrich Herbart (1776-1841) took up the theory of Leibnitz a century later and postulated the "limen" or threshold of consciousness, all the ideas below the limen being unconscious. Ideas in the unconscious could only come to the conscious when they were congruent with the ideas extant in the latter. However, at times irrelevant ideas were forced up into the conscious, these Herbart referred to as "inhibited ideas". In the words of Schultz (1969 p.266):

"Boring suggested that Leibnitz foreshadowed the doctrine of the unconscious, but that Herbart actually began it".

Later the concept of the unconscious and the influence thereof on the thoughts was taken up by Charcot, Janet and William James to come into full flower with Freud and Jung and to pass to the edge of the absurd with Szondi and Róheim. (Murphy and Kovach 1972 p.194; Schultz 1969 p.6)

2.8.2.2 Experimental Psychology

The positivism and empiricism that had their impetus from the theories of Descartes had a major influence on the rise of English empiricism. As indicated elsewhere, works in this direction were published by Locke, Berkeley, Hume, Hartley and the Mills. Empiricism stressed conscious processes, the analysis of conscious experience into elements, the mechanisms of association, and the combination of different mental elements to form complex mental functions. All this was to go into developing the breeding ground for the new science of experimental psychology. Schultz (1969

p.28) gives the following apt description of the dawn of experimental psychology

"By the mid-nineteenth century, when psychology was on the verge of becoming a science, its philosophical anticipators had become empirical in both subject matter and method. Philosophy had done all it could. What was needed now was an experimental attack on the subject matter".

The challenge was met by Fechner, but to understand just how this happened it is necessary to go back in time.

Schultz (1969 p.31) remarks that at the beginning of the 19th century the German intellectual climate was much more favourable for the development of experimental psychology than that of England or France. In the first instance the work of Johannes Müller (1801-1858) in experimental physiology that followed on the earlier work of Harvey, was accepted much more readily in Germany than elsewhere. Furthermore the German temperament was well suited to the taxonomic approach and placed great emphasis on observation, classification, and the inductive approach. Naturally this approach was much better suited to physiological and biological material than the deductive approach which was more favoured in France and England at that time. (Schultz 1969 p.31; Thompson 1968 p.44)

Continuing on the work of Müller on the specific energies of nerves was Marshall Hall (1790-1857) who investigated reflex behaviour, and Pierre Flourens (1794-1867) who investigated the changes in the behaviour of animals after destroying different parts of the spinal cord and the brain. Then came Ernst Weber who experimented on the "two-point discrimination of the skin" and the "just noticeable differences" in the differentiation of weights. (Eysenck et al 1972 Vol.III p.387; Garret 1932 pp.267-269; Schultz 1969 pp.31-33)

Next came Hermann von Helmholtz (1821-1894) who was a prolific researcher in physiology and physics and who gave impetus to experimental psychology with his investigations on vision, audition and the speed of the neural impulse. But it was to be the young assistant of the famous Von Helmholtz (who was regarded as the greatest physiologist of his time), at Heidelberg, who was later to achieve lasting fame as the founder of experimental psychology as a formal academic discipline.

On the morning of the 22nd of October 1850 (a Tuesday morning), in the town of Leipzig, a physician turned professor stayed late in bed pondering on how scientific measurement could be applied to the mind and its relation to matter. In a bout of inspiration he realised that it was not so far out of reach at all and that the "law of the connection between the mind and body could be found in a statement of the quantitative relation between mental sensation and material stimulus". Experimental psychology was born and a decade later Gustav Theodor Fechner (1801-1887), the son of a pastor in south eastern Germany, published *Elemente der Psychophysik*. (Eysenck et al 1972 Vol.I p.372; Wilson et al 1965 p.11)

But who was this founder of experimental psychology? Wilhelm Wundt (1832-1920), the son of a Lutheran pastor at Neckarau (a suburb of Mannheim in the German state of Baden), was appointed as assistant to Von Helmholtz at Heidelberg. Although he was later promoted to assistant professor he could not share Von Helmholtz's enthusiasm for physiology and devoted more and more attention to psychology. Neither Fechner nor Von Helmholtz had tried to establish a new science, however, Wundt emphatically strived to this purpose, his prime interest being in the psychology of sensory

processes. In 1875 he was appointed professor in philosophy at Leipzig where he established his famous laboratory (in 1879), shortly after his arrival there. The next 45 years he worked in Leipzig, his output being monumental.

The experimental method was now 'on its feet' to be utilized next by William James and Ebbinghaus with his studies on memory. It must be remembered that the "experimental method" was still a very fluid concept which included observation, categorisation and introspection and it was only in 1908 that control groups were first used. (Garrett 1932 p.50; Koestler 1964 p.152; Schultz 1969 pp.44-47; Wilson 1965 p.11)

2.9 Race as the independent variable

As indicated above some of the early European writers speculated on the mental differences between races, e.g. Boulainvilliers and Meiners had implicitly stated that some racial groups were mentally better endowed than others, however, it should be noted that the entire biological field of thought in anthropology did not develop or emphasise this racist viewpoint. The work of Darwin, Mendel and Cuvier was later carried further by people like Fisher, De Vries and Morgan who developed the respectable science of Physical Anthropology. However, where the intelligence of man was the dependent variable the development of thought was less fortunate in the sense that scientific principles were sacrificed for emotional declarations.

The theories of racial superiority and inferiority mostly developed in the middle of the 19th century. The first cluster of these writings being those of Americans

such as C.R. Gliddon and J.C. Nott which were written with the intention of justifying Negro slavery. With the abolishment of slavery these writings subsided to a certain degree.

A second group of writers, that propagated much the same kind of ideas as Gliddon and Nott, developed their theories in Europe. The main figures in this case was Comte de Gobineau and Houston Chamberlain who propagated the idea of a superior Aryan race - an idea that later became one of the central themes in the Nazi doctrines. (Herskovits 1963 p.5)

Comte Joseph Arthur de Gobineau (1816-1882) was an impoverished French aristocrat who hated the democratic system that existed in France in the 19th century. He was egoistic, embittered, and tried to prove that he was a descendent of the Vikings and the Norse god Odin. This seems to have inspired him as he then continued to try to prove that the white race was intellectually the most superior, the yellow races coming second with the black races the most inferior. This division, he postulated, was the result of the descent of mankind from Noah's three sons - an idea first propagated by Cuvier. An interesting point to note in this connection is that Nietzsche first came on the idea of his "superman" in the writings of De Gobineau. (Coertze 1956 p.51; Hays 1958 p.238)

In 1843 Gustav Klemm divided man into two basic races, i.e. the "male" or "active" and "female" or "inactive" racial groups. The "actives" had more mental power and were highly motivated - these were all the Europeans, Persians, Arabs, Greeks, Turks, Tartars and Incas. The "inactives" were the rest of mankind who naturally had precisely the

opposite characteristics to the "actives". (Boas 1911 p.33)

Another writer who preached white supremacy was Louis Agassiz who declared that Adam and Eve were Aryans and thus the Aryan race was superior as it had existed previous to the other races that were inferior and must have developed later. (Hays 1958 p.24)

Other writers who also proclaimed ideas along these lines were Samuel G. Morton, Laponge and George Combe. (Boas 1911 pp.34-35; Coertze 1956 p.51; Van der Walt et al 1967 p.48)

However, to bring some balance to this kind of thought there were also individuals who differed strongly with any idea on the supremacy of one race over another. Perhaps the most influential (and definitely the most enduring) work in this direction was *The Mind of Primitive Man* written in 1911 by Franz Boas. This was the first complete anthropological work criticising race as the main factor causing the differences in intellectual ability and productivity between different peoples. Cole et al (1971 p.5) describes this work as

"... an important and highly influential landmark in anthropological thinking about thinking".

Houston Steward Chamberlain (1855-1927) was an Englishman who fell in love with Germany. In 1899 he wrote *Die Grundlagen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts* in which he declared some races inferior to others and decided that Dante and Jesus Christ were Indo-Germans. This work appeared in an English translation, in 1911, as *The Foundations of the Nineteenth Century*. It seems that the concept "race" was more to Chamberlain than merely a biological classification as he also saw it as a kind of cultural phenomenon.

Thus maybe he should not ipso facto be judged as a racist.
(Boas 1911 pp.36-37; Coertze 1956 pp.52-53)

In America Chaimberlain and De Gobineau had a staunch supporter in Madison Grant, whose major work, *The Passing of the Great Race*, was - in the words of Boas (1911 p.37) -

"... a dirthrambic praise of the blond, blue-eyed, long-headed White and his achievements".

(Toynbee 1960 p.53)

One ray of light as far as objectivity is concerned was E. von Eickstedt and Francis Galton who tried to examine the influence of race on mental functioning in a scientific manner. These attempts were hopeless because the surge of racism in the fascist countries was so great that all attempts at scientific investigation in this direction were doomed to failure in the aura of suspicion and emotionality surrounding all thought along these lines. Unfortunately this position still exists at present and is largely due to the fact that Hitler was greatly influenced by the work of Chaimberlain which was especially prepared for him by Alfred Rosenberg. (Boas 1911 pp.38-39; Coertze 1971 p.53; Hitler 1927 pp.269-270; Van der Walt 1967 p.49)

Thus Penniman (1965 p.287) states that

"Before World War II, disquiet was aroused by the perverse use made of anthropology by Fascist countries and the association of a few professional workers with inhuman and unscientific Nazi race doctrines. Scientists in non-Nazi countries did much to counter this abuse of anthropology ...".

In later years a few publications have been presented in the field of race and psychology e.g. Garret (1960); George (1961); George (1964) and Klineberg (1958).

However, the work in this field that has evoked the most reaction is a paper, *How much can we boost I.Q. and scholastic achievement*, published by A.R. Jensen in 1969. In this paper he suggested that intelligence is strongly influenced by hereditary factors which raised the ire of the environmentalists to such a degree that Jensen was hindered in his teaching. Some of the reaction to this work was so highly emotional that in itself it is of no academic use e.g. the criticism of Thomas and Sillen (1972 pp.32-34). Not only was this reaction felt in the U.S.A. but in South Africa there was also criticism on Jensen's work by Biesheuvel (1972) and Tobias (1974). However, there has also been some support for Jensen by Eysenck (1971). All this has moved Richard Lewontian (Prof. of Biology at the University of California), as quoted by Tobias (1974), to declare that Jensen

"has surely become the most discussed and least read essayist since Karl Marx".

In summary the following may be said about this section on race as an independent variable and psychological factors as dependent variables.

- (i) Publications in this field have been diverse and sporadic.
- (ii) Most of the writing along these lines has been inspired by social and emotional, rather than scientific, incentives.
- (iii) No clear theory has been proposed or methodology of enquiry developed.
- (iv) It is questionable whether any real progress will be made in this direction as long as it is not regarded or practised as a scientific field of study.
- (v) There is very little, if any, scientific proof

that race has an influence on mental ability and function. But, on the other hand, there is equally little proof that race does not have an influence on mental ability. Psychological tests do not seem to be of much help and generally confuse the issue more than anything else, especially to the uninitiated in this field. Thus the whole issue still remains open and undecided.

2.10 Cognitive Factors

An interesting point to note in this section is that although the environmentalists have always cited culture as the major determinant of the differences in cognitive factors amongst different peoples, they were very slow in developing research to defend their position. Thus Cole et al (1971 p.15) also points out that between 1910 and 1950 very few psychologists used "variations" in culture as an independent variable and cognitive processes as the dependent variable.

A second point to note is that studies in this section can be divided into a number of sub-sections. Price-Williams (1966 p.403) states that this is the result of the problems encountered in measuring ("ascertaining") the entire thinking ability of any group of people, the only option being to select a specific cognitive process and to investigate it by comparing it across various cultures.

2.10.1 General factors

In 1910 R.S. Woodworth made use of the St.Louis

fair of that year to apply psychological tests to people from various cultures and races. He gathered data on vision, hearing, reaction time, threshold of pain, handedness and intelligence. In this same year the first publication of L. Lévy-Bruhl also appeared. Although the publications of Lévy-Bruhl are worlds apart from that of Woodworth and are also very difficult to classify, they are primarily concerned with the cognition of "primitive" man, and are thus treated in this section.

Lucien Lévy-Bruhl (1856-1939) began his career as a student of philosophy and follower of Immanuel Kant but was later strongly influenced by Durkheim. Thus, in the same fashion as Durkheim, he rejected orthodox psychology and developed his own system for the interpretation of the mental life of "primitives". His first publication, *Les fonctions mentales dans les sociétés inférieures*, first appeared in 1910 and was translated into English in 1926, as *How natives think*. A second work, *La mentalité primitive*, appeared in 1912 and was translated into English in 1923 as *Primitive Mentality*. His third major work in this direction, *L'âme primitive*, appeared in 1927 and was translated into English in 1928 as *The Soul of the Primitive*. (All the translations were by L.A. Clare.) The basic ideas proposed by Lévy-Bruhl are the following

- (i) Primitives do not perceive the world around them in the same way as modern man. Their perception is not analytic but is dominated by associations, superstitions and prejudices.
- (ii) Primitives have no conception of causation based on the time-dimension, instead they use the spatial dimension as a basis for all their connections and associations.

- (iii) Primitives differ from Europeans due to the fact that they make use of pre-logical thinking which is strongly based on emotions. Thus they mingle their thoughts with their feelings to such an extent that it completely confuses their whole state of mind.
 - (iv) The thinking of primitives is not susceptible to the law of contradiction and thus they easily hold completely incompatible ideas.
 - (v) Primitives do not place numbers in sequence but attribute magical qualities to different quantities.
 - (vi) Primitives portray no clear idea of individuality.
- (Hays 1958 pp.302-303; Penniman 1965 pp.212-213)

The criticism that naturally arose against the viewpoints of Lévy-Bruhl was based on two main aspects.

- (i) Lévy-Bruhl had very little first-hand knowledge of primitives and mainly used publicised reports of travellers, missionaries and some of the earlier anthropological observers.
- (ii) He based his ideas on the highly vulnerable assumption that the primitivity of cultural products ipso facto indicated the primitivity of thought processes. (Cole et al 1971 p.6)

Under the severe pressure of criticism Lévy-Bruhl later denounced some of his ideas. However, to his credit he received support for some of the points that he makes from no one less than Jung (1964 p.24). In any case at this stage very little of what he said has either been proved or rejected by research, but he certainly stands out as one of the most flamboyant thinkers on "the mind of primitive man". This is clearly reflected in the following colourful passage by Hays (1958 p.302)

"Other scientists had seen primitive man as a philosopher, an unsuccessful scientist, a good communist, a Christian monogamist, a fragment of the group soul. Lévy-Bruhl conceived him as a surrealist poet".

M. Mead also contributed to this field of study. In 1928 she tested Samoan children in colour naming, rote memory for digits, digit symbol substitution, word opposites, picture interpretation and ball and field, with the result that she was one of the first anthropologists to make use of psychometric devices in field-work. The results of this research was eventually published in her book, *Coming of Age in Samoa*. Four years later, in 1932, she conducted an experiment in New Guinea to test the generality of the sequences of cognitive development proposed by Jean Piaget. This was published as a paper, *An investigation of the thought of primitive children with special reference to animism*. The following year in a paper, *More comprehensive field methods*, she touched on a methodological point by suggesting that the field methods of anthropological studies should be expanded to include psychometric methods for the observation and description of individuals. (Cole et al 1971 p.15; Meggers 1946 p.180)

In 1931 S. Porteus, the originator of the widely known Porteus Maze Test, published a work on the cognitive functions of primitive peoples. This work - *The Psychology of a Primitive People* - was concerned with studies carried out on Australian aborigines. (Kluckhohn 1962 p.10)

Another well-known psychologist who published a work in this direction was F.C. Bartlett. In 1932 he published a work, *Remembering*, that was based on experiments

on the relationship between culture and memory. Three years later, in 1935, H.W. Nissen, S. Kinder and F.E. Machover used intelligence tests for the analysis of the influence of culture on cognitive skills. This was published as a paper entitled *A study of performance tests given to a group of Native African Negro children*. (Cole et al 1971 p.15)

Three years later South Africa made its first contribution in this direction. J.A. van Rensburg published a monograph, *The learning ability of the South African Native compared with that of the European*, in 1938. The next noteworthy South African contribution along these lines was an article by S. Biesheuvel in the 1949 Yearbook of Education on *Psychological tests and their application to non-European peoples*.

At this stage, in 1948, H. Werner published a book, *Comparative Psychology of Mental Development*, in which he compared that cognitive development of primitives with that of mental patients and children in western society. Naturally this led to strong protests by anthropologists. (Cole et al 1971 p.16)

With the advent of the 1950's strong emphasis was placed on the environmental influences on cognitive factors. This was the result of a general reaction against the deliberate misinterpretation of genetics and overemphasis of inherited factors by the Nazi regime. One of the major works in this direction was the publication in 1951, of *Intelligence and cultural differences* by K. Eels, A. Davis, R.J. Honighurst, V.E. Herrick, and R.W. Tylor. This was a study of the responses of pupils from different social and cultural backgrounds on 650 items from 8 different intelligence tests, all of these tests being in common use.

Their major aim with this undertaking was to determine which type of items favoured which background. Eventually they found that subjects from high-status homes differed in their performance to subjects from low-status homes on items involving verbal symbolism and book learning.

A new development in the mid 50's was the upsurge of psycholinguistics. A monograph, *Psycholinguistics: a survey of theory and research problems*, by C.E. Osgood and T.A. Sebeok was published in 1954. In this publication they discussed the relationship of culture to language. This new approach in psycholinguistics was important because it not only viewed each language as a mental (or cognitive) product of a specific culture or section of a cultural group but also explored it as a matrix or limiting pattern of thought for its members. (Cole et al 1971 p.16)

With the coming of the 1960's this section of the culture-personality field of study was also caught up in the general upsurge of research in psychology. So much so that Cole et al (1971 p.16) had to remark that

"During the 1960's the relationship between, on the one hand, language, thought, and culture and, on the other, culture and cognitive development dominated psychological research".

One of the creative forces at present is Claude Levi-Strauss. His significance lies in the fact that he is more than a mere compiler and analiser and still concerns himself with molar aspects of behaviour. In a book, *The Savage Mind*, published in 1966, he put forward his major contention that the major difference between primitive and Western thought lies in the differences of attitudes. These different attitudes on their part formed the basis for the formation of different classes or classifications of all

cognitive matter.

Another notable contemporary contribution in this direction is the publication by Cole et al (1971) entitled *The cultural content of learning and thinking*. This intensive study of the thought processes of the Kpelle, a tribe in Liberia, also compares the thought processes of the Kpelle and middle-class Americans.

2.10.2 Perception

This section can be subdivided into a number of separate smaller divisions e.g. the perception of colour, the perception of form, illusions etc. An excellent treatment of these subsections can be found in the work of Segall et al (1966).

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cognitive matter.

Another notable contemporary contribution in this direction is the publication by Cole et al (1971) entitled *The cultural content of learning and thinking*. This intensive study of the thought processes of the Kpelle, a tribe in Liberia, also compares the thought processes of the Kpelle and middle-class Americans.

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and blood pressure changes under various conditions. The results of this research was published in Vol.II of the reports under the title *Physiology and Psychology* which appeared in two parts, Part I in 1901 and Part II in 1903. In this study Myers found that the natives differed very little from Europeans on all the different measures, where there were differences they were on a personal rather than a racial level. However, Rivers indicated that in general the inhabitants of Murray Island were less susceptible to the Muller-Lyer illusion than Europeans. (Meggers 1946 p.184; Penniman 1965 p.99; Price-Williams 1966 p.398)

This pioneer work was remarkable in the sense that it appeared decades before any other research was attempted along the same lines. Later studies can be divided into the following subdivisions.

2.10.2.1 Spatial perception

It had long been felt by researchers in the cognitive field that mental tests could not be used *nolens volens* with any cultural group. One of the problems foreseen was that there is a difference in the interpretation of the pictorial material by different cultural groups. This hunch was later proved when Hudson (1960) found that schoolgoing African children saw pictures 3-dimensionally while non-schoolgoing African children interpreted the same pictures 2-dimensionally. Thus the interpretation of 3-D material seemed to be learned. This study of Hudson gave rise to a spurt of research in this direction. Munday-Castle (1966) examined the same phenomenon in Ghanaian children, Dawson (1967 a and 1967 b) carried the research further by examining the physiological influences on the

development of 3-D perception, Kidd and Rivaire (1965) elaborated on the implications of these findings for mental testing, and Hudson (1967) and Deregowski (1968) published papers in which they gave summaries of the accumulated findings and relevant problems to be clarified in this field. There have also been a number of studies that explored different angles in this direction. Thus studies were carried out on the relationship between 3-D perception and deprivation (Sinha and Shukla 1974), orientation (Deregowski 1971) and cognitive cues (Omari and Cook 1972). There have also been general discussions and critiques on Hudson's test by Deregowski and Byth (1970) and Jahoda and McGurk (1974).

2.10.2.2 Visual illusions

As mentioned earlier W.H.R. Rivers first found that Europeans responded to the Müller-Lyer and Sander Parallelogram illusions much more sharply than non-Europeans. Research along this line was taken up more than half a century later, in 1957, when Allport and Pettigrew (1957) found that urban Zulus were more susceptible to the trapezoid illusion than rural Zulus. Two years later Morgan (1959) compared Europeans, Bantu and Bushmen on six different geometric illusions. The Bushmen and Bantu tended to be less affected by the illusions than the Europeans although the differences were seldom consistent. A number of other researchers have also explored this phenomenon e.g. Deregowski (1967) and Berry (1968). However, the most thorough research in this connection was carried out by Segall et al (1966) who tested 17 different cultural groups (14 non-European and 3 European) from different parts of the world on 5 different tests of illusion. One of the most recent and exciting developments in this direction is the

possibility of a racial factor present in the Müller-Lyer susceptibility. It seems that susceptibility for this illusion is lower where the pigmentation of the Fundus Oculi of the eye is high. This pigmentation on its part is significantly related to skin pigmentation. (Berry 1971; Jahoda 1971)

2.10.2.3 Physionomic perception

Physionomic perception rests on the hypothesis that there are purely structured similarities between sounds and shapes that are unaffected by culture. A study by Davis (1961) supported this hypothesis. A number of other studies have also lent support to this hypothesis and indications have also been found that although aesthetic judgements involving auditory or visual materials are strongly influenced by cultural factors, there seems to be a "panhuman generality" in aesthetic appreciation. (Triandis 1964)

On the other side of the coin cultural preferences for certain shapes (Serpell 1971; Soueif and Eysenck 1972 a; Soueif and Eysenck 1972 b) and different colours (Adams and Osgood 1973; Nelson et al 1971) have also been investigated.

2.10.3 Recognition

The individual that probably had the most influence in this direction was Doob with his theory of the "effect of category codability" (Triandis 1964). Eriksen (1963) gives the best summary of work in this direction after reviewing the work of the previous 15 years and concludes

that the most significant reasons why members of a specific culture recognise X rather than Y is because

- (i) X holds more meaning for them than Y;
- (ii) the frequency of occurrence of X, in the specific culture, is much higher than Y;
- (iii) there are more positive (pleasant) associations with X than with Y.

Since this summary of Eriksen a number of studies have explored this topic further by introducing binocular rivalry as a testing medium. In South Africa an interesting study in this connection was carried out by Hector et al (1961) who used the 7-Squares Test on literate and illiterate Bantu. Although they found an increase in the ability to recognise representational silhouettes with age there was also the interesting finding that there was a decrease in the readiness to "project" with the increase in age.

2.10.4 Retention

A number of studies have demonstrated the influence of cultural values and beliefs on serial reproduction. The content of the material to be reproduced seems to be a strong intermediating factor. In general this seems to be a direction in which not much research is being done with only sporadic publications from time to time, the latest being a study by Ross and Millson (1970) who compared the memory for oral prose between different cultural groups.

2.10.5 Cognitive style

Cognitive style (or more popularly known as "field dependancy"), which is primarily concerned with the individual's utilisation of his cognitive field of reference, was conceptualised by Hallowell before H.A. Witkin and his confederates published their classical study in 1954. Hallowell (1937) illustrated how the individual makes use of his temporal orientation as a frame of reference and how these orientations differ between preliterate and literate societies. However, studies in cognitive style seem to have a much closer relationship to visual perception than they have with temporal orientation. Thus it is no surprise to find the development of research in the cross-cultural applicability of the field-dependancy hypothesis directly stemming from the research of Hudson (1960) on 3-D perception. Dawson (1967 a) speculated that 3-D perception was not solely influenced by education but was more of a general cultural phenomenon, the moderator variable being field dependancy. In his subsequent research there was a strong correlation between 3-D perception and field independancy amongst certain cultural groups in Sierra Leone. This he tried to explain as being the result of differences in socialising methods. Consequently he also found differences in field dependancy between cultural groups with different social practices. Dawson's findings were verified by two other studies that approached the problem from another angle. Du Preez (1968) found a relation between social change and field dependancy amongst rural Xhosa, and Okonji (1969) found that rural and urban upbringing had a significant influence on cognitive style amongst certain cultural groups in Nigeria.

Wober (1967) speculated that subjects from certain

cultures (e.g. some of the African cultures) were relatively more highly developed in auditory and proprioceptive spheres of perception than in visual perception. The opposite was true for Euro-American cultures. He found strong support for his hypothesis in a study carried out on subjects in Southern Nigeria.

Another aspect that has received attention is the difference in field dependence between males and females across different cultures. It does not seem that the difference in field dependency between the sexes is constant across different cultures suggesting that the socialisation practices of males and females differ cross-culturally. Thus Witkin (1967) found differences in field dependency related to sex differences in England, the U.S.A., Italy, Israel, Sierra Leone, Hong Kong, Holland and France, whilst Berry (1966) and MacArthur (1967) found no differences in field dependency between male and female Eskimos.

In general this seems to be one of the most interesting and exciting fields in which research can still be carried out. This is well-illustrated by recent studies on field dependency being carried out on cultures all over the world e.g. in Zambia (Siann 1972), the U.S.A. (Ramirez and Price-Williams 1974) and Israel (Handel 1973).

2.10.6 Other cognitive factors

Apart from the major fields of interest in the cross-cultural study of cognitive factors there still remain a host of minor fields i.e. minor in the sense that they have not been extensively explored. These fields will only be named below and a representative paper quoted for each

of the different fields

- (i) Left-Right Orientation (Price-Williams and Le Vine 1974)
- (ii) Perceptual acuity (Chandra 1972)
- (iii) Future time perspective (Meade 1972)
- (iv) Conservation (Owoc 1973)
This is one of the sections in which quite a lot of development is taking place. Since 1971 at least 6 papers have been published. Price-Williams (1969) also gives an excellent discussion of the research in this direction.
- (v) Sorting behaviour and classificatory abilities (Okonji 1971). This field has also received quite a lot of attention - at least 8 papers since 1970.
- (vi) Cognitive conflict and choice behaviour (Carment 1974). There seems to be a developing interest in this field - at least 6 papers since 1970 - probably due to the rise of interest in game-theory.
- (vii) Cognitive consistency (Gonzalez and Davis 1974)
- (ix) Vividness of mental imagery (Marsella and Quijano 1974)
- (x) Creative thinking and divergent problem solving (Bates et al 1970)
- (xi) Linguistic ability and language use (Clay 1971)
Probably due to its practical applications this field has received a significant amount of attention on a variety of different aspects, all pertaining to language behaviour - at least 14 papers since 1970.
- (xii) General intelligence (Wober 1972)

2.10.7 Summary

The most significant developments in this direction seem to be the following:

- (i) Although the influence of culture on cognitive factors has always been propagated by the environmentalists, research along these lines had a late start.
- (ii) The development of research in this direction has not always followed a smooth line of progress. At the beginning of the century there was an upsurge of interest (e.g. the Torres Strait Expedition) which dwindled completely and was only revived in the 1930's. From the late 1930's to the late 1950's a trickle of unrelated papers appeared. Then in the early 1960's an upsurge started which is still continuing.
- (iii) Suspicion against the relationship of race to cognitive factors is so strong that it was transferred to the earlier studies on the influence of culture on cognitive factors.
- (iv) Reflecting the general position in psychology, the most comprehensive and systematic development of studies are to be found in the studies of perception.
- (v) The most promising field for future research seems to lie in the influence of different cultural factors on cognitive style. However, there are still a host of other sub-sections that have to be explored.

2.11 Concepts of centrality

Studies in this direction have been carried out

under a variety of different names. Basically they all rest on the hypothesis that the adult personality is moulded by childhood events, these events on their part being regulated by the social group, and as the aims and methods of child training differ from society to society, the adult personality characteristics also differ across different social groups. Ralph Kluckhohn (1962 p.9) gives a neat description of the basic aims of these studies.

"All the approaches to the characterisation of a society as a whole presume that each and every member of that society possess as an integrated part of his personality a substantial portion of the norms, values and attitudes of his culture. Though not always stated as such, what this approach attempts is to present a picture of the 'average' culture bearing member of the society minus all the other idiosyncratic factors that vary from individual to individual."

This section will be subdivided into different subsections corresponding to the different approaches to the general problem.

2.11.1 Folk psychology

Haddon, writing in 1910, gives Bastian the credit of being the first to clearly recognise the "anthropological aspects of psychology". As with all other "firsts" this statement is difficult to verify. However, Haddon (1910 p.84) admits that

"The ideas of folk psychology were in the air, and the study of Welt-Auschaung, or, to use Bastians phrase, Volker-Gedanken, was already inaugurated in Germany".

Thus it seems that the origin of Folk Psychology should rather be sought in the Zeitgeist than in the thoughts of Bastian.

Adolf Bastian, the son of a prosperous merchant, was born in Bremen in 1826. He qualified as a surgeon, which enabled him to become ship's surgeon and travel widely. Later he became professor in ethnology in Berlin and eventually curator of the Berlin Museum. His first work was published after a visit to Africa during which time he also paid a visit to Cape Town in June 1857. His interest in the psychological characteristics of different peoples started with his psychological interpretations of native superstitions - he was particularly interested in the psychological interpretation of Buddhism. In these interpretations his basic contention was that the individual's psychic life is very strongly determined by the group he lives in and can thus be understood by studying the groupmind, thus all cultural phenomena were the results of the groupmind and the study of these goods was an excellent method in understanding the groupmind. (From this it is clear how Jung was influenced by Bastian, as the basic contention underlying Jung's work is an advanced and refined version of the latter idea of Bastian.)

To Bastian there was also a large measure of uniformity in the thoughts of different peoples, this basic uniformity he called "Elementargedanke", and these "Elementargedanke" are precipitated in different forms amongst different peoples as "Völkergedanke". These thoughts of Bastian are spelled out (and clearly reflected in the titles) of the following works: *Ein Besuch in San Salvador: Ein Beitrag zur Mythologie und Psychologie* (1859); *Beiträge zur vergleichenden Psychologie: die Seele und Ihrer Erscheinungsweisen in der Ethnographie* (1868); and *Ueber psychische Beobachtungen bei Naturvölker* (1890).

Bastian lived one of the most colourful lives of

all anthropologists and it is not in vain that Hays has described him as the "tireless traveller". He died in Port of Spain, Trinidad, on the 2nd of February 1905.

Not only did Bastian have a great influence on the ideas of C.G. Jung, but as the employer of Franz Boas at the Berlin Ethnological Museum he also had a strong influence on the young anthropologist's thoughts and subsequently on the anthropological thought of later years in the U.S.A. Thus it comes as no surprise that Boas published a paper on the *Psychological problems in anthropology* in 1910 and that the well-known American anthropologists such as Ruth Benedict, A.L. Kroeber, Margaret Mead, Edward Sapir and Melville Herskovits, who all to a greater or lesser degree concerned themselves with the relationship of anthropology to psychology, were all students of Boas. (Encyclopaedia Britannica Vol.III 1971 p.263; Haddon 1910 pp.82-85; Hays 1958 Chapter 25; Meggers 1946 p.178; Penniman 1965 p.112)

After the publications of Bastian folk psychology definitely was "in the air". In 1903 A. Fouillée published *Esquisse psychologique des Peuples Européens*, a folk psychology type of study on Europeans. A few years earlier Wilhelm Wundt had published the first volume of his monumental *Völkerpsychologie* which grew to 4 volumes by 1914 and eventually increased to 10 volumes. Wundt, who was strongly influenced by Durkheim, played a great part in bringing psychology and anthropology together due to his viewpoint that diffusion was the province of anthropology but the mental products created by "a community of human life" was the field of the psychologist. Thus it was natural that in this major work he concerned himself with the systematic psychological interpretation of anthropology and history - concentrating on the psychological interpretation of language.

Furthermore, in this work, which Hays (1958 p.210) regards as the first real union between psychology and anthropology, Wundt also points out that the psychological foundations of culture, cultural goods, and institutions do not lie in the individual but in the interactions of the group. He also speculated on the perception and cognition of primitive peoples, stating that primitives think in pictures (an idea he derived from a study of their language). To Wundt their thinking was highly associative which led them to derive myths from common hallucinations. As far as intelligence was concerned, he regarded the intelligence of primitives to be very restricted in range but not necessarily inferior to that of civilised men. An interesting aspect of Wundt's reasoning was that he was not always consistent in his views. Thus he fought against the application of psychology to education - arguing that the science of psychology should be kept pure - but saw nothing wrong with applying it to anthropology. (Hays 1958 p.210; Murphy and Kovach 1972 p.167; Penniman 1965 p.211)

As pointed out above Wundt was strongly influenced by the works of Emile Durkheim, especially by *Les Formes élémentaires de la vie religieuse*, which was published in 1912. The idea propagated in this work that had the most influence on Wundt was Durkheim's contention that social facts, because they are of a social order, require their own methods of inquiry and explanation. (Penniman 1965 p.211)

2.11.2 Configurational personality

The originator and most important figure of this direction was Benedict. Ruth Fulton Benedict (1887-1948)

was a Vassar graduate who married Dr. Stanley Benedict in 1914. She first took courses in anthropology to satisfy her lively interest in different cultural facets, but when she discovered that she would never be able to give birth to children she turned to anthropology in earnest and completed her doctorate on American Indian religion under Boas. It was during the field-work for this thesis that she cooperated and exchanged ideas with A.L. Kroeber. In 1922 she became assistant to Boas and in 1927 she started to develop her idea that "the pattern of a culture was a projection of the personality of those who created it". The influences that guided Benedict to this idea not only came from psychology, where she was influenced by the ideas of William Stern and the Gestalt psychologists, but also came from her excellent knowledge of literature. Oswald Spengler's *Decline of the West*, in which he described cultures in terms of their dominant values, as well as Nietzsche's idea of the Dionysian and Apollonian personality types, were well-known to her. As a matter of fact the work of Nietzsche appealed to her to such an extent that she used the two dominant types that he proposed as a basis of classification for cultures in her pioneer work, *Patterns of Culture*. But this was not her first publication. She first gave an indication of her theory of configurational personality in a paper, *Psychological types in cultures in the Southwest*, published in 1930. This was followed in 1932 by another paper, *Configurations of culture in North America*. Then in 1935 she published her magnum opus, *Patterns of Culture*. As mentioned above the influence that is mirrored most distinctly in this work is the typology of Nietzsche. This is clearly illustrated when she divides the Pueblos of New Mexico, the Dobuans, and the Kwakiutl of Vancouver Island into these types. To come to such a step she initiated the idea that an analogy may be made between

a culture and a specific personality i.e. each one develops by making choices from the different dominant values open to it - this gives a culture (or personality) its character or specific configuration. On p.36 of her book she also gives recognition to the fact that she was strongly influenced by the Gestalt psychologists.

The notion that each culture had a central value or type structure was later criticised on the grounds that she overgeneralised and used oversimplified psychiatric concepts. This criticism is most apparent in a paper by Bennett and Nagai (1953) in which they criticised *The Chrysanthemum and the Sword* which was published in 1946 and in which she concerned herself with the Japanese culture.

Later Benedict admitted that her approach was undoubtedly humanistic-literary and that her reading of George Santayana's philosophy and Shakespearean criticism had a marked effect on her approach to the study of cultures and the mind of primitive man. This is probably why her work was intuitive rather than deductive. However, in all fairness it should be realised that Benedict did recognise that in any culture there are always a small number of individuals who do not fit the pattern pertaining to the rest of the group. Furthermore her idea that a culture contained central values (the "ethos") that formed the nucleus of the other values had a significant influence on culture-personality studies. This idea also resulted in the study of values becoming an essential study in anthropology, which is clearly reflected in the publications on the study of values of such writers as Bidney (1953 and 1965); Kroeber (1960); Linton (1954); Northrop (1953) and Goldschmidt (1960).

Benedict succeeded Boas when he retired as head of the Department of Anthropology at Columbia University in 1937 and during World War II she acted as one of the chief advisors on the tactical approaches to be taken against the Japanese, thereby giving strong impetus to the status of the social sciences in the eyes of the world outside the "sacred halls of the academe". She died in 1948, of a heart attack, during a trip to Europe. (Benedict 1935; Hays 1958 pp.358-365; Lowie 1937 pp.275-279)

Benedict was a teacher, mentor and lifelong friend of Margaret Mead and thus had a strong influence on the earlier works of Mead. Thus in two of her earlier works, *Sex and temperament in three primitive societies*, published in 1935, and *Cooperation and competition among primitive peoples*, published in 1937, Mead gives some recognition to the configurational idea.

In 1936 John Gillin also gave recognition to the configurational idea by publishing a paper, *The configuration problem in culture*, on this topic.

2.11.3 Basic personality structure

The formulation of the theory of "a basic personality structure" amongst the members of the same culture was chiefly the work of Abram Kardiner although it was later expanded by some of the anthropologists who attended his seminars. The idea of a basic personality structure differs from the configurational personality concept due to the fact that it is based on the idea that certain "unconscious constellations" - to use Singer's formulation (Singer 1961 p.29) - are produced in the individual through child-bearing



practices, and is more than merely ascribing central values to specific cultures. The theory of Kardiner thus concentrates on an area on which Benedict is most vague i.e. the processes through which specific personality patterns are transmitted from the social group to the individual to mould him according to the dominant patterns of the group.

Kardiner, a clinical psychologist, combined his efforts with a number of anthropologists to find out to what extent normal and to what extent pathological behaviour was determined by culture, by carrying out investigations in a number of different primitive cultures. The result of this endeavour was his first major publication, *The individual and his society*. It was also in this work, published in 1940, that he first formulated his ideas on the basic personality structure. Apart from these major features he also attempted some novel endeavours - thus he tried to show how polyandry and scarcity of food in the Marquesas Islands modified the basic drives proposed by Freud. (Hays 1958 p.349; Thompson 1968 p.375)

In a second work, *The Psychological frontiers of Society*, published in 1945, Kardiner explored the validity of his theory of the "basic personality structure" by making use of anthropological material collected by Ralph Linton, Cora du Bois and James West. Thus by analysing data from the Comanche (collected by Linton), the Alorese (collected by Du Bois), and Americans (collected by James West), and by concentrating on the child-mother interactions in these cultures, Kardiner tried to trace the development of the basic personality structure, and also demonstrated that both the individual personality as well as the group character can be studied from sound ethnological material. Opinions on the value and novelty of Kardiner's work are

the field of culture and personality was the publication of *The cultural background of personality* in 1947. In this work he stressed the need for a science of human behaviour that would synthesize the findings of psychology, anthropology and sociology. After elaborating his views on the concepts of culture and personality, the nature of the participation of the individual in culture, and the influence of the specific social structure on this participation, he went on to discuss the role of culture in personality formation. In order to explain the latter point he coined the concepts Status Personalities ("status linked response configurations") and Basic Personality Type ("common personality elements ... a fairly well-integrated configuration") (Linton 1947 p.83). The latter concept was immediately linked to Linton's name and has survived whereas the former never really caught on and has since disappeared into obscurity, in spite of the fact that Linton tried to revive it a few years later. Later he made a contribution to the discussion on national character, a concept quite akin to Basic Personality Type, and still later in 1956 in co-operation with George Devereux he edited a work on the influence of culture on mental disorders. However, all these contributions are less known in the culture and personality field than a work of which Linton was the editor, wherein he himself had nothing to say on culture and personality, but which has come down through the years as one of the most influential works in this sphere of thought. In 1945 he collected into one work the contributions of amongst others Otto Klineberg, Clyde Kluckhohn, William H. Kelly, Abram Kardiner, George Peter Murdock, Melville Herskovitz, Irving Hallowell, Felix Keesing, John Dollard and Paul Lazarsfeld. This work, *The Science of Man in the World Crises*, (the title of which aptly reflected the spirit of the year in which it was published) has only been

rivaled by Parson's work, *Towards a theory of Action*, in respect to the number of notable social scientists who specifically contributed to it and who were, or were soon to become, the élité in their respective fields. One only wonders why Mead missed the bandwaggon.

2.11.4 Modal Personality

Modal personality differs from the former concepts of central tendencies due to the fact that it is a statistical rather than a dynamic or descriptive concept.

The first major work, and most probably still the most important in this direction, is a book by Cora du Bois, *The people of Alor: a socio-psychological study of an East Indian Island*, which was published in 1944. This was a study carried out on Alor, a small island in the former Netherlands East Indies (now Indonesia), which was predominantly peopled by Papuans. The research consisted of a orthodox ethnological description plus 37 Rorschach protocols, childrens drawings, and eight extensive life histories in which dream life, childhood experiences etc., were recorded. Other psychometric measures also included a word-association and Porteus-maze test. The Rorschach protocols were analysed by the noted Rorschach expert, Dr. Emil Oberholzer. The main importance of this work lies in the fact that it was the first instance in which the modal personality concept assumed some importance as a unit of analysis.

Du Bois first gave a descriptive definition of modal personality by regarding it as the product of the social-cultural and environmental influences on the physiologically determined tendencies of humans. Later she modified

this definition to give it a much more statistical flavour by regarding it as the "base line" of "central tendencies". Most probably this statistical inclination arose because Du Bois was the first researcher to make use of psychometric devices to gauge the central tendency in a cultural group. Previously all analyses were merely on a general subjective and theoretically interpretative level. (Kardiner 1945)

Kardiner also made use of Du Bois's work by making a summary of it in *The Psychological frontiers of Society*. He then went on to compare his analysis of the data with the Rorschach interpretations by Dr. Oberholzer and concluded

"conclusions were truly startling as regards their correspondence".

(Kardiner 1945 p.101)

This presents a historically interesting and theoretically significant contact between two different approaches to the study of man.

The other main figure in this section is A.F.C. Wallace who published *The modal personality of the Tuscarora Indians as revealed by the Rorschach Test* in 1952. Although Wallace also defined modal personality in terms of the data he obtained on the Rorschach test, his approach differed to the other studies on modal personality due to his use of a unique method of statistical analysis of the data. Most other researchers determined group profiles by combining the mean scores of the Rorschach traits into a profile of means. Wallace had a much more complicated system. First he plotted a frequency distribution for each of the 21 different Rorschach variables and also calculated the standard deviation for each in order to define the modal range for each of the variables. He then defined the "modal

class" as consisting out of all the Rorschach protocols that fall within the limits of each of the 21 categories. (Singer 1961 p.39; Wallace 1952)

In another paper, *The psychic unity of human groups*, published 19 years later in 1961, Wallace was still busy with modal personality. By then he had developed much more theory to justify (and possibly also to complicate) the modal personality concept.

Of the later writers on the modal personality concept B. Kaplan and the Spindlers seem to be the most influential. The Spindlers used the modal personality concept as a means of studying the influence of acculturation on personality characteristics. However, Kaplan is more concerned with the validity of the modal personality concept. For his Ph.D. he performed an experiment to test the feasibility of the modal personality concept - this was later published in 1954 as *A study of the Rorschach responses in four cultures*. Kaplan analysed 157 Rorschach protocols from four cultural groups (Spanish Americans, Mormons, Navaho Indians and Zuni Indians) and found that the individual differences within the groups were much more pronounced than the differences between the groups. Although this was a very interesting and methodologically ingenious study it had some major flaws. The first problem is that it did not always represent clearly differentiated cultures. Furthermore all the groups were geographically adjacent in north-western New Mexico. These factors may have led to quite an amount of contamination between the groups that could easily have affected the results. (Kaplan 1954; Kaplan et al 1956)

The modal personality concept has survived to the

present both in theory and research. Thus in 1961 George Devereux treated theoretical issues in *Two types of modal personality models* and Inkeles, Haufmann and Beier published a research paper on the *Modal personality adjustment to the Soviet Socio-Political system*. Even as late as 1972 a paper has been published on modal personality features in the Bahamas. (Leftley 1972)

2.11.5 National character

It seems that national character studies originated from a very practical basis. During World War II there was an urgent need to find out more about the enemy and this resulted in a joint effort of psychologists, anthropologists, historians, sociologists, economists, political scientists and psychiatrists to tackle this project. (Singer 1961 pp.44-45)

Thus it was also during the war, in 1944, that Otto Klineberg published the pionering paper that conceptualised national character as a valid direction of study in the social sciences. In 1954 Inkeles and Levinson (1954 p.983) defined national character as the following:

"National character refers to relatively enduring personality characteristics and patterns that are modal among the adult members of the society".

According to Inkeles (1961 p.173) this is still the most widely accepted definition, however, this does not imply that national character can be accepted as a unitary concept. Singer (1961) differentiates the following subdivisions

- (1) National character as cultural character;

- (ii) National character as social character;
- (iii) Tribal character;
- (iv) National character as modal personality.

When national character is compared with other concepts of centrality, Gorer (1953 p.57) sees it as essentially different in the sense that all the other approaches carry a "suggestion of primacy" that is not suggested in national character. To him the emphasis in national character is on "national" that

"... must be understood as referring to a society possessing a culture at an identified space and an identified time, and not necessarily to a nation state".

Singer (1961 p.45) sees national character as a synthesis of Kardiner's basic personality structure and Benedict's configurational personality.

In general it seems that one of the chief differences between national character and the other tendencies is that it is chiefly concerned with characteristic interpersonal relations within groups, whereas the other approaches are all concerned with core values or common traits that can be detected in the study of individuals originating from a group or groups. Undoubtedly G. Gorer must be regarded as the most enthusiastic and best known exponent of this field. His paper on *Themes in Japanese Culture*, which was published in 1943, was one of the first attempts to study national character. In 1948 he published a book, *The American people*, on the American national character which was followed in 1949 by a book on the Russian national character, *The people of Great Russia*. J. Rickman cooperated with Gorer in the writing of this work. In 1955 he published yet another book, *Exploring English character*,

which was the result of 11 000 questionnaires he had sent out to "English men and women in all walks of life". In the same year he also published a very interesting paper on a specific aspect of the English national character, namely the traditional role of the police in English society. (Gorer 1955a; Gorer 1955b)

Another well-known writer in this field is Margaret Mead. Although two of her earlier works, *Sex and temperament in three primitive societies* published in 1935 and *Cooperation and competition among primitive peoples* published in 1937, were both concerned with personality characteristics and group life particular to specific groups, they cannot be regarded as particularly concerned with national character. Thus it was not until 1942 that she collaborated with Gregory Bateson (at that stage her husband) in an unconventional method of studying the Balinese national character. The result was a publication, *Balinese Character: a photographic analysis*. Later, in 1953, she collaborated with M. Métraux in publishing a book, *The study of culture at a distance* which has become one of the milestones in national character studies for not only does it give descriptions and illustrations of the conventional methods of studying national character, such as making use of informants and projective techniques but also includes such novel methods as the analysis of films and the style of games (e.g. chess) popular amongst specific groups. Apart from the papers by Mead and Métraux this volume also included contributions by such well-known figures as G. Gorer, G. Bateson, F.L.K. Hsu and R. Benedict.

Mead published work concerning national character till quite recently. In 1955 she published a paper on anthropological fieldwork models for the study of national

character and in 1965 she contributed a chapter on national character to Kroeber's well-known work *Anthropology Today*.

The work that Benedict published in 1946 on the Japanese ethos (*The Chrysanthemum and the sword*) was intended as a study in configurational personality, however, in latter years it has also been recognised as a study in national character. In this work she emphasises child rearing practices and although her characterisation of the Japanese seemed quite accurate this work was later criticised as being too static. In any case this work seems to be one of the best examples of the tendency for the studies on national character to have originated from wartime intelligence operations. In 1944 Benedict made a study of the Japanese for the Office of War Information of the U.S.A. and recommended that the Japanese Emperor should be retained in office after the allied occupation of Japan. She reasoned that the Emperor was a symbol of peace to the Japanese and once he could be coaxed to instruct the Japanese army to surrender there would be no stretched out guerilla warfare by far-flung unconquered Japanese soldiers. Needless to say when her prediction proved correct the public image of anthropology was greatly enhanced. The data she gathered for this operation was then assimilated for publication. Two other research projects that also had their origin in World War II were carried out by Dicks. In 1950 he published a paper on the personality characteristics of German adherents to the National Socialist Ideology. This paper was the result of research he had carried out on wartime German prisoners of war. Two years later, in 1952, he published another paper on the national character of Russians. This was the result of research he had carried out in collaboration with the Russian Research Center at Harvard University. In their study they had made a comprehensive analysis of data collected

from 29 male Soviet citizens who had been born and grew up in the U.S.S.R. but who had left that country for various reasons.

One of the later, and certainly one of the most popular and generally well-known works on national character was the publication of David Riesman (in collaboration with R. Denney and N. Glazer) in 1950 with the catching title *The Lonely Crowd*. This work had a sub-title, *A study of the changing American character*, which never really caught on. This was essentially a study of the American social character or what Erich Fromm refers to as the

"... nucleus of the character structure of most members of a group which has developed as the result of the basic experiences and mode of life common to that group".

(Fromm 1942 p.239)

In this analysis Riesman et al differentiated among three basic types i.e. "the tradition-directed type", "the inner directed type" and "the outer directed type" according to their characteristic methods of conforming to social requirements and commitments. (Sargent and Williamson 1958 p.86)

Although this work and its successor, *Faces in a Crowd*, were mainly published for the academic cadre, they soon became bestsellers after publication - while the academic world sceptically looked on. Maybe there was a touch of popularisation in this work because Riesman himself admitted, in a journal two decades later, that on rereading the work some statements struck him as "dubious", others "extreme" and some as "plainly mistaken". (Riesman 1969)

In any case this work led to a measure of demand

for this type of analysis of contemporary society. A demand that was soon met by writers such as Vance Packard (*The Hidden Persuaders, The Status Seekers, The Waste Makers, The Pyramid Climbers, The Naked Society*); William A. Whyte (*The Organisation Man*); C. Wright Mills (*The Power Elite*) and J.K. Galbraith (*The Affluent Society*) who produced semi-popular accounts on different angles of American character and life-style. In a more academic trant D. Potter published a book, *People of Plenty*, in 1954. This was an analysis of the American character and its formation within the environment of economic abundance.

In 1955 Henry published an interesting paper on a specific aspect of American national character (and an aspect that seems quite relevant to South African conditions - judging by the comments of teachers), namely the "process whereby urban middle-class children in elementary school acquire the habit of giving their teachers answers expected of them". Another work worth noting is a publication by Bauer, Inkeless and Kluckhohn (1956) on *How the Soviet system works: cultural psychological and social themes* which was the result of a study undertaken by the Russian Research Center at Harvard on 330 Soviet refugees of World War II. Apart from gathering information on the life history of each of these subjects they were also tested on the sentence completion test and 52 were tested with a battery of clinical tests including the Rorschach and the TAT. From this information they tried to make an analysis of the Russian national character and its mode of functioning under the Soviet system. (Singer 1961 pp.53-57)

From time to time papers have been published that have taken up the task to analyse the national character concept from a theoretical viewpoint. The pioneering work

in this direction was the paper by Klineberg (1944) of which mention has already been made. Farber (1950) also made a methodological analysis of this concept and Mandelbaum (1953) and Farber (1955) followed suit.

A most significant factor in the contemporary studies on national character, and in truth for all studies of central tendencies, is that there has been a complete decline in the study of "culture as a whole". Even where an elaborate psychometric technique such as factor analysis has been utilised to study the psychological characteristics of a cultural group, it has received strong criticism (e.g. Hsü 1953). Thus the latter studies have concentrated on the central tendencies of subgroups such as children (Weinberg 1968), family groups (Fisher and Fisher 1960), industrial workers (Inkeles 1960), psychiatric patients (Johnson and Sikes 1965), or general subcultural groups (Derskovitz 1971).

2.12. Assessment of the Individual

This section is primarily concerned with the assessment of the psychological characteristics of the individual and the influence of cultural factors on this assessment. As the developments in this field have not run parallel for psychology and anthropology, the development in these two disciplines will be treated separately.

2.12.1 Developments in anthropology

On this side of the picture it seems that the enthusiasm for the measurement of individual characteristics had an early start. This is probably due to the fact that

psychological studies had an early influence in anthropology and that a number of anthropologists were very enthusiastic in developing the psychological assessment of biographical data. Meggers (1946 p.185) gives an explanation for this enthusiasm by pointing out that anthropologists started developing an interest in the study of the individual's personality in order to give a more understandable and complete record of his culture. Singer (1961 p.61) points out that this development would have been much stronger if so much attention had not been paid to the study of central tendencies.

Kroeber seems to have been the first to publish in this direction. In 1908 he wrote a paper, *Ethnology of the Gros Ventre*, that consisted of the narratives of the war experiences of three Indians and that was intended to give a general view of the "personal feelings and behaviour of the Plains Indians while they were in a state of war". (Meggers 1946 p.185)

Paul Radin also attempted some early studies along these lines. In 1913 he published a paper on the *Personal reminiscences of a Winnebago Indian*, and in 1920 a paper entitled *The autobiography of a Winnebago Indian*. In 1926 he published a book, *Crashing Thunder: the autobiography of a Winnebago Indian*. The purpose of all these publications was to illustrate the typical personality of the middle-aged Winnebago Indian. This Radin tried to achieve by making a thorough analysis of the life of one particular Winnebago Indian. (Meggers 1946 p.185; Singer 1964 p.66)

Sapir applied much the same technique as Radin by giving a biographical description of the life of a Nootka Indian in a paper published in 1921. Meggers (1946 p.185) referring to the 1930's says

"About this time the purpose for collecting these stories changed. The interest in a way of life, and in the individual only secondarily as he illustrates it, gave way to an interest in the individual, and in the way of life secondarily and as it affects him".

This gave rise to development in four different fields:

- (i) "articles on the importance of using information on primitive peoples in forming an adequate concept of personality". Examples here are publications by Mead and Sapir.
- (ii) "descriptions of personality in primitive cultures". Examples here are publications by Hallowell, Henry and Landes.
- (iii) "discussions of the relationship between personality and culture". Examples are papers by Devereux, Mead and Opler.
- (iv) "biographies". Examples here are publications by Barton, Dyk and Underhill.

As this summary of Meggers covers the 1930's no further attention will be given to this time period. However, note should be taken that this was the time that Mead concerned herself with publications in this direction and that Walter Dyk published his classic, *Son of Old Man Hat: a Navaho autobiography*, in 1938. This was once again an academic work that caught the attention of the general public. Probably the impetus for this came from Clyde Kluckhohn who gave a review of this work in the "Boston Evening Transcript" of the 19th of November 1938.

After this period there was a general decline in the use of biographical material for the assessment of

personality although studies in this direction still appear from time to time. Thus in 1949 A.H. Leighton and D.C. Leighton published *Gregorio, the Hand Trembler: A psychobiographical study of a Navaho Indian*. This consisted of the personal experience of a specific cultural phenomenon, handtrembling, by an Indian. (Singer 1964 p.64)

One of the best recent works in this direction is a chapter by Hanks and Phillips (1961) that integrates the socio-cultural and geographical settings of a "Young Thai from the countryside" with his personal life, in order to give an illumination of his personality "in action".

Some anthropologists have also concerned themselves with the validity of the methodology of studies in this direction.

In the optimistic atmosphere of the 1930's Sapir (1932 p.236) made the following statement:

"The true locus of culture is in the interactions of specific individuals and, on the subjective side, in the world of meanings which each one of these individuals may unconsciously abstract for himself from his participation in these interactions. Every individual is, then, in a very real sense, a representative of at least one subculture which may be abstracted from the generalised culture of the group of which he is a member".

Later commentators are seldom as explicit or certain of their views. The following statement by Singer (1961 p.67) is representative of the less optimistic and much more guarded climate that exists at present:

"There is a tendency to pass too quickly from the holistic and collective type of statements to the distributive and individualistic statements, and vice versa".

2.12.2 Developments in psychology

The general problem of the influence of cultural factors on psychological assessment seems to have had a late start in psychology. This is clearly reflected in the following well-known works in the field of psychological assessment. (In each case, reference is to the influence of cultural factors.)

- (i) Intelligence. Guilford (1967) gives attention to this aspect on 4 out of 477 pages.
- (ii) Psychodiagnosis (Clinical). Rapaport (1968) gives attention on 27 out of 528 pages to background factors, which includes cultural factors.
- (iii) Psychometric methods. Gulliksen (1950) in 467 pages does not refer to cultural factors. Torgenson (1958) in 425 pages does not refer to cultural factors. Nunnally (1967) in 633 pages does not refer to cultural factors. Horst (1968) in a book of 437 pages makes no mention of cultural factors. Cronbach et al (1972) in a book of 395 pages gives no attention to cultural factors.
- (iv) Personality. Guilford (1959) only mentions cultural factors on one single page. Cattell (1966) gives attention to cultural factors on 6 out of 877 pages. Jackson and Messick (eds.) (1967) spend one chapter out of 74 on cultural factors. Dreger (1972) gives attention to cultural factors on 3 out of 639 pages. Wiggins (1972) in 603 pages gives no reference to cultural factors.
- (v) Educational measurement. Lindquist (1951) in a book of 807 pages does not give any attention to cultural factors.

2.12.3 Projective techniques

As projective techniques have played a major role in cross-cultural psychological assessment they are treated separately in this section. To give a clear idea of the use and implementation of projective techniques in cross-cultural research, this section will be classified according to fields of application of these techniques.

2.12.3.1 Acculturative studies

This section is treated in detail elsewhere (cf. Chapter 4).

2.12.3.2 Test development and procedural studies

Once again it seems that Mead was one of the initiators of the use of projective techniques with primitive peoples. In 1932 she published a paper entitled *An investigation on the thought of primitive children with special reference to animism*. This report is significant as it antedates the article by the Bleulers, which is usually earmarked as the beginning of the use of projective techniques with primitives. Although Mead did not specifically refer to projective techniques, she was definitely making use of a procedure and material that can be classified as projective. It also seems quite likely that the study of Mead influenced the Bleulers who published their pioneer study on the use of the Rorschach on Moroccans in 1935. (Bleuler & Bleuler 1935; Meggers 1946 p.184)

In 1936 Anne Anastasi and J.P. Foley published an article on an analysis they had made of 602 drawings of

children from 41 different countries. Although this study was primarily to ascertain the developmental level of these children it is the beginning of the projective use of drawings that Denis championed in later years. In 1941 the the first critical paper in this field appeared, this was a publication by Spoerl (1941) who criticised the methods used by Anastasi and Foley. In this same year Irving Hallowell also published one of the first of a long list of papers on the use of the Rorschach in primitive societies. The only study concerning the use of the Rorschach on primitives that Hallowell refers to in this paper is the publication of the Bleulers. Thus it seems that no other work on this topic was widely known at this time. However, he does mention that 300 Rorschach protocols of primitives had been collected by this time, this being the result of the efforts of Jules Henry, Irving Goldman, Ruth Bunzel, the Bleulers, Dorothy Spencer and Cora du Bois. (Hallowell 1941) On the 29th of November, 1944, Hallowell read a much lengthier paper on the use of the Rorschach in the study culture-and-personality before the Chicago Society for Personality Study. This was published as a paper in 1945. By this time some other writers had also joined in the application of projective techniques to primitive peoples, the best known being the Henry's (Jules and William E.), who were to excel in this field in later years. Jules published in 1941 and W.E. published in 1944. (Hallowell 1945)

All the research up to this point was more or less tentative explorations in the use of projective techniques with primitive peoples, but it was to be William E. Henry's pioneer study in 1947, on the use of the TAT to explore the culture-personality relations, that really established a firm basis for the further use of projective techniques in this direction. Henry's study was part of the Indian

Education Research Project. In this study he made use of eleven modified ("redrawn so as to be appropriate for Indian subjects") TAT pictures to test Hopi and Navaho children. This was largely a validity study in which Henry compared the findings from the TAT with other data sources such as biographical material and evaluations by individuals who had expert knowledge of the particular groups tested. This study by Henry comprised 129 pages and he finally concluded that

"... the TAT data was of sufficiently high validity and (made a) sufficient contribution to the study of the society to justify its inclusion in the total Research on Indian Education and to have a strong claim on inclusion in future studies of personality and culture".

(Henry 1947)

In 1949 C.E. Thompson made a modification of the TAT for Negro subjects. In contrast to the method Henry used for his modification, Thompson adhered very closely to the original TAT and in most cases only altered the features of the main figures ("heroes") to match the figures to fit the physical likeness of the American Negro. The following year Riess et al (1950) criticised this adaptation as superfluous because they found no difference in the responses of Negroes to the Murray TAT and to the Thompson adaptation.

In 1953 S.G. Lee adapted the TAT for African subjects. He claimed that the cards "served their purpose adequately" among Sotho, Zulu, Owambo, Fingo, Xhosa, Tswana, Griqua and Swazi groups. Further adaptations for South African cultural groups were made by Sherwood (1957) (for Swazi's); De Ridder (1961) and Barnard (1969) (for urban Bantu). Lately the NIPR and HSRC have both developed sets of projective cards for African subjects but the utility of

these still have to be tested. Another well-known adaptation of the TAT was done by Uma Chowdhury (1960) for Indian subjects. With the development of projective tests there was also a rise in criticism and discussion on the applicability of these techniques to different cultural groups. The essence of this is portrayed elsewhere (cf. Chapter 3). It seems that most of this criticism and discussion arose from the fact that

- (a) projective techniques did not turn out to be the "wonder techniques" the earlier writers had regarded them to be and
- (b) the fear of anthropologists that these tests were crowding out the traditional anthropological research methods.

The major publications in this connection are the following:

- (i) A paper by Mensh and Henry (1953) examining the contrasts and applicability of projective techniques as opposed to direct observation in anthropological field work.
- (ii) A chapter by W.E. Henry (1951) on the use of the TAT in the study of group and cultural problems.
- (iii) A chapter by Jules Henry and Spiro (1953) on the use of projective techniques in field work.
- (iv) A symposium on projective testing in ethnography initiated by Jules Henry (1955). Caudill, Fiske, Honigman, Nadel, G. Spindler and Spiro participated in this symposium.
- (v) A paper on the intercultural use of the Rorschach by Adcock and Ritchie (1958).
- (vi) A book by Lindzey (1961) on the use of projective techniques in cross-cultural research.

- (vii) A book by Abel (1973) on psychological testing in cultural context.

2.12.3.3 Research on personality development

The best known of the studies in this direction (the studies by Thompson and Joseph, MacGregor, Leighton and Kluckhohn, Joseph, Spicer and Chesky) were all concerned with the personality development of American Indian children in their total environment i.e. their historical, social, cultural and geographical environment. All these studies were carried out under the auspices of the Committee on Human Development of the University of Chicago and the United States Bureau of Indian Affairs. In 1944 Thompson and Joseph published *The Hopi Way* in which they made use of the TAT to investigate the development of Hopi children against the background of their harsh physical environment. In 1946 MacGregor published *Warriors without Weapons* in which use was made of the TAT as well as the Rorschach in a study of the Pine Ridge Sioux. In 1947 Leighton and Kluckhohn followed with *Children of the People* which was a study that employed the Rorschach and the TAT to study three subgroups of Navaho Indians at Shiprock, Ramah and Navaho Mountain. Finally in 1949 Joseph, Spicer and Chesky used the TAT and Rorschach to study the Papago Indians and published their findings as *The desert people: a study of the Papago Indians*. (Leighton and Kluckhohn 1947; Lindzey 1961 pp.257-275; Thompson and Joseph 1944)

Another work in this direction that became quite well-known was a book, *Truk: man in paradise*, by Gladwin and Sarason published in 1953. In this work they reported on their study of the various stages of personality develop-

ment of the Trukese - a Micronesian cultural group. They also made use of the TAT and Rorschach. (Lindzey 1961 p.269)

In 1966 David Gutman tested out aspects of the "developmental theory of personality in later life" by testing aging Mayan Indian men in the Yucatan province of Mexico and white men in Kansas City with the TAT. (Gutman 1966) This work was later criticised by Press (1967) on the grounds that Gutman did not have a thorough knowledge of the anthropological background of the Maya peasant community and that the results may be interpreted quite differently.

2.12.3.4 Central tendencies

One of the first studies along this line was published by Bleuler and Bleuler (1935) in which they tried to assess the typical reactions of Moroccans to the Rorschach plates. In their own words they tried to "gauge the character of a foreign people". (Bleuler and Bleuler 1935 p.114) Another work that also contributed to this field was the work of Cora du Bois, *The People of Alor*, published in 1944. In this work du Bois made use of the Rorschach to determine the typical personality of the Alorese. As indicated earlier Emil Oberholzer the well-known psycho-analyst helped her with the interpretation of the protocols. (Kardiner 1945)

In 1949 Honigman published a monograph entitled *Culture and ethos in Kaska society* in which he made use of 28 Rorschach protocols to evaluate the national character of the Kaska Indians in the Southern Yukon. (Honigman 1954)

In 1951 O. Lewis published a book, *Life in a Mexican village: Tepoztlan restudied*. This was principally a re-examination of a village that the well-known anthropologist Robert Redfield (who participated with Herskovits and Linton to draft the Memorandum for the study of Acculturation) had studied seventeen years previously and on which he had written his best known work, *Tepoztlan - a Mexican Village*. In this study 106 Rorschach protocols were collected by Ruth Lewis and were analysed by Abel and Calabresi in an attempt to gauge the typical personality of the members of this small Mexican community. During this same year (1951) Joseph and Murray also published a book, *Chamorro and Carolinians of Saipan: personality studies*, in which the Rorschach was not only used to study the 'general personality pattern but was also utilised to investigate the influence of American culture on the culture of Saipan in the Marianas Islands. (Gutman 1966; Lindzey 1961 p.206) The next year A.F.C. Wallace published his well-known paper on the personality structure of the Tuscarora Indians. In this study he made use of the Rorschach protocols of 102 Objibwa Indians and 70 Tuscarora Indians to compare the modal personality of these two groups. (Wallace 1952) This "comparative" approach used by Wallace seems to have sparked off quite a number of studies along these lines. Thus in 1957 M.A. Straus and J.H. Straus published a paper, *Personal insecurity and Sinhalese social structure: Rorschach evidence for primary school children*, in which they compared the Rorschach protocols of children on the Island of Ceylon with protocols of American children to see whether there was a difference in the modal personality between these two groups. (Lindzey 1961 p.214)

Another study that also compared the modal personality between two different cultural groups was carried

out by Carstairs, Payne and Whittaker (1960). In this research they compared the Rorschach responses of Hindus and Bhils. Later, in 1964, Melikan (1964) used the TAT to compare the modal personality of Arab and American students. In a further study Melikan and Wahab (1969) used Machover's DAP to compare certain aspects of the modal personality of Afghan and American college students. Parker (1962) used a novel method of projection, i.e. mythology, to compare the basic "motives" (personality characteristics) of the Eskimos and Objibwa Indians. Some researchers also compared certain subgroups within the same culture, thus Siegman (1956) used the Rorschach to compare the responses of Jewish College students with the responses of Yeshivah ("an institute of Jewish learning that prepares some of its students for the rabbinate") students. Megargee (1966) tried another angle by comparing members of a specific subculture (juvenile delinquents) from two different subcultures (Negro and White Americans) on the TAT, Rosenzweig P.F. Study and Holtzman Inkblot Technique. But perhaps one of the most interesting and embracing of all these comparison studies was carried out by Aronoff (1967). Basing his study on the theory of hierarchical needs as proposed by Maslow, he hypothesised that the level of needs satisfied in a community will have a overriding effect on the social organisation and practices of the community. He then tested out his hypothesis by investigating two different communities in the village of Dieppe Bay on the Island of St.Kitts in the West Indies. One was a fishing community and the other was a sugar cutting community. He proved his hypothesis that "psychological needs along with environmental and socio-economic variables, as basic determinants, greatly expands the social scientist's power to trace out the causal network of social phenomena" (p.222). To measure the different needs he made use of an incomplete sentences projective technique.

A number of researchers did not make use of the comparative approach but tried to gauge the modal personality of a specific cultural subgroup. Thus Wayne Dennis (1960) studied Bedouin Arabs by using human figure drawings while De Ridder (1961) studied the South African Urban Bantu by using a set of TAT cards constructed for this specific group. With these cards he tested about 2 500 male Africans from Johannesburg. Quite recently Maccoby and Foster (1970) used the Rorschach, the TAT and dream interpretation to study Mexican peasant personality.

2.13 Conclusions

(i) From the earliest times men had realised that there are differences, racially and culturally, between different groups of people. With the dawning of western thought some of the old thinkers and writers also started commenting on the psychological differences between peoples. When scientific thought went into its long period of hibernation in Europe, the Arabs took over where the Europeans had left off and described the differences, including psychological differences, they encountered in the different peoples they were subjugating to Islam. With the Renaissance in Europe some writers offered very extravagant descriptions of the mental peculiarities of different peoples, however, this later channelised into more meaningful directions. Then came Descartes who divided man into body and soul, a division that led to the rise of empiricism and eventually resulted in the development of psychology as a scientific discipline. During this time of intellectual development, anthropological thought received tremendous impetus from the different discoverers who came into contact with many strange peoples. Thus in this bubbling intellectual climate both anthropology and psychology were born.

(ii) One of the first interactions between these two disciplines was probably also one of the most unhappy interactions. This was where race was regarded as the independent variable and mental characteristics the dependent variable. Publications in this field were diverse and sporadic and unfortunately rather inspired by emotional factors than academic reasons. Thus before the studies in this direction are placed on a scientific basis and the highly emotional climate surrounding these studies changes, it is doubtful whether any real progress will be made in this direction.

(iii) Probably the most extensive research in the field of culture and personality has come from studies that were concerned with concepts of centrality. These studies have appeared under a wide array of names, and although they have different approaches, they are all basically concerned with the core mental characteristics that are unique to a certain specified human group - usually a readily delineable cultural group. Folk psychology was the oldest of these approaches and also includes the most diverse viewpoints. Configurational personality came next with Ruth Benedict as its progenitor and most important contributor. Later came Abram Kardiner with his theory of the basic personality structure, a theory with strong psycho-analytical undertones. A later development was the statistically inspired concept of a modal personality. This is probably the central tendency that is still explored the most in contemporary research. World War II also had its influence in this direction by giving impetus to the development of studies on national character - studies that originated with the idea of getting to know the enemy better.

CHAPTER 3

STIPULATIONS FOR THE USE OF PROJECTIVE TECHNIQUES IN CROSS-CULTURAL RESEARCH

Having explored the general relationship between anthropology and psychology, the focus of this study now converges on one of the facets within this field i.e. the relationship between acculturation and certain personality characteristics. But before any evaluation can be made of acculturation and personality studies that have been reported in the literature, some basis or norm must first be found. This norm will basically be a standard for the use of projective techniques with primitive cultures. This is no idle or accidental choice but is due to the fact that most acculturation and personality studies made use of projective techniques. Furthermore, acculturation-and-personality studies not employing projective techniques do not require such an extensive norm but can be judged on the grounds of general psychometric and experimental methodology. To establish the 'norm' for studies employing projective techniques the following procedure will be followed.

- (i) Different points of criticism on the use of projective techniques with primitive cultures will be examined and from the valid criticisms stipulations for their use will be derived.
- (ii) To these indications will be added stipulations suggested by those who have had some experience of research in this field.

As far as the first part of this endeavour (point (i)) is concerned the following procedure will be followed:

- (i) Where different writers refer to a common point of criticism their viewpoints will be discussed simultaneously.
- (ii) In each case the point of criticism will be presented and then evaluated.
- (iii) Deductions will be made from the evaluations with a view to establish the norms mentioned above.

3.1 A discussion of the different points of criticism

3.1.1 Criticism

Projective techniques only measure the process of development and do not tell us anything of the determinants that have played an important part in this development. (Mensch and Henry 1953)

Comment

The first problem with this argument is commented on by Lindzey (1961 p.181) when he points out that Mensch and Henry make the assumption that the researcher should always investigate the determinants as well as the results of human behaviour, a point on which psychologists and social scientists do not share a uniform opinion.

Another point that should be noted is that projective techniques, or for that matter any other psychological measuring instrument, have never pretended to be able to point out the string of behavioural sequences that lead to a specific emotional or behavioural position.

However, when the acculturation process is studied in full this criticism has some bearing. This results from the fact that in acculturation studies interest is not only focused on the present state of acculturation of the subjects of study, but also on the process of acculturation that contributes to the moulding of personality in the different stages of acculturation. This is a point which has been particularly stressed for acculturation studies in general by Ralph Linton.

Stipulations

To bypass this problem the following procedures are suggested:

- (i) By utilising present knowledge in connection with events that result in the formation of specific personality traits it may be possible to infer tentatively which events in acculturation have led to specific personality patterns.
A problem with this approach is that there is no data to prove conclusively that events which lead to certain personality characteristics in Western culture will have the same effect in other cultures. This approach must thus be handled with great care.
- (ii) Subjects may be questioned on events in their past, especially their childhood, that may have had an influence on the shaping of their personality. Although the maxim that the present colours the past should always be guarded against, this still seems a better procedure than point (i) above.
- (iii) Another procedure that may be followed and which may prove to be of value is to compare the dif-

ferent ways according to which children are reared in the different stages of acculturation. This procedure has produced valuable information in studies on the influence of different methods of enculturation on 'basic personality structures' of different cultures in studies carried out by Whiting (1953) and Kardiner (1963).

3.1.2 Criticism

Projective techniques only give personality data and don't give any ethnographic data. In contrast to this, the interview method gives personality as well as ethnographic data. (Henry 1955)

Comment

This criticism does not carry much weight because the aims of projective techniques and the aims of the interview are totally different and although they may cover some common ground, they can scarcely be compared. Furthermore, projective techniques must be regarded as supplementing and not replacing the interview. Projective techniques in no way try to gather ethnographic materials, but have as their main purpose the measurement of personality characteristics. On the other hand, apart from the psychiatric interview, interviews cannot be used to measure personality characteristics.

Lindzey (1961 p.184) also concludes that this criticism is unwarranted as it rests on the invalid assumption that the purpose of projective techniques is to

gather ethnological data. Furthermore he points out that this comparison of the interview with projective techniques

"... seems only vaguely relevant to any decision concerning the use of projective tests in cross-cultural settings".

3.1.3 Criticism

Projective techniques are mostly used on their own without integrating the projective data with ethnographic data. (Nadell 1955; Honigman 1955)

Comment

This criticism carries some weight because by implication it suggests that projective techniques cannot be used independently of any other techniques in the study of primitive cultures, but must rather be seen as complementary to other techniques. In the second place this criticism is also supported as it suggests that projective material must be interpreted against the background of the subject's frame of reference. Lindzey (1961 p.189) makes much the same point when he says that this criticism implies

"that by itself the projective technique does not provide data that may be interpreted without ambiguity".

This, he points out, is readily supported in the literature.

Stipulation

To curb the problems mentioned above the investigator should try to gather as much overlapping data as possible to aid him in interpreting the projective material

obtained from primitive peoples.

3.1.4 Criticism

The same researcher cannot carry out ethnographic fieldwork and also analyse the projective data from the same culture without contaminating the interpretation of projective data. (Mensch and Henry 1953)

Comment

This criticism implies that projection must be something quite apart or different from behaviour within cultural context which would mean that it originates from some point of the personality immune to the influence of the environment. To regard projection in this way arouses some doubt but may still hold under special circumstances; but as far as the content of the projective data is concerned this viewpoint cannot be supported. In primitive cultures, projective material must specifically be evaluated against the knowledge available on the cultural framework, as this content only starts gaining any meaning when it is analysed against this background.

Lindzey (1961 p.188) also suggests that this criticism tends to be an overgeneralisation as it depends on the specific investigation being carried out whether 'contamination' is desirable or not. In some studies an excess of contamination is desired i.e.

"to provide the projective-test interpreter with as much information concerning the culture and its individual members as he can successfully absorb".

(p.188)

Stipulation

Although this criticism is not tenable, a stipulation may well be derived from the comments on it. Projective techniques can never be interpreted without a thorough knowledge of the culture of the background of the subject. This is necessary because the analysis of projective data can only be made against this background of the subjects.

3.1.5 Criticism

Different members of a community are not equally willing to co-operate in giving responses to projective techniques. This willingness on its part may be determined by different factors such as age, sex, social status etc. This all results in independent variables that may have an influence on the projected data. (Nadell 1955; Amir 1966)

Comment

This is an important point of criticism that stresses the fact that the researcher must be very careful in his sampling and that all moderator variables must be taken into account.

Lindzey (1961 p.186) also points out that this is an important point of criticism which must be taken into account. However, he also remarks that there are methods that can be used to curtail this problem.

Stipulation

The most important stipulation to be derived from the discussion above seems to be that the investigator must be careful in his sampling and furthermore he must constantly be on the alert to be correct in his behaviour and approach towards the people he intends studying.

3.1.6 Criticism

There is very little agreement in connection with interpretation of projective techniques. (Mensch and Henry 1953; Henry 1955)

Comment

This is an important point of criticism because generally speaking there are very few clear-cut rules for the interpretation of projective techniques. However, this generalisation should not be stretched too far because the Rorschach, for example, has quite a structured scheme of interpretation, but as far as the TAT is concerned this is not always the case. In any case it is still an open question as to whether there are fixed rules for the analysis of any form of observed behaviour. Thus Lindzey (1961 p.186) also points out that the investigator who expects a well-worn path in any field of personality measurement will find little of this, and thus projective techniques should not be held out as the only culprits. Although this statement of Lindzey seems to be a "two-wrongs-make-one-right-argument", in all fairness it should be agreed with him that personality assessment is still very primitive and any criticism must be made against the background of the existing circumstances.

Furthermore these techniques of personality assessment (including the projective techniques) have definitely proved to be better than nothing.

Stipulation

The most important point here seems that every investigator should at least indicate which system of analysis he used in interpreting the projective material.

Furthermore the point made by Henry (1961 pp.592 and 596) that projective tests should be analysed in the "light of the behavioural situation in which the responses were gathered" and that this analysis should thus be in terms of the constructs relevant to the cultural environment in which they were used, seems to hold in this case.

3.1.7 Criticism

Projective techniques are bound to the terminology of psychopathology. (Mensch and Henry 1953; Henry 1955)

Comment

As far as the Rorschach is concerned the major methods of interpretation discussed by Exner (1969) are definitely not necessarily coupled to psychopathology. In general all these techniques are concerned in interpreting the reaction of the individual to ink-blot stimuli and there is nothing to suggest that they are bound to small language differences or anything that specifically suggests clinical factors.

As far as the analysis of the TAT is concerned, there is a diversity of methods that have been contrived for its interpretation. Some of these methods are totally separate from the field of psychopathology e.g. the method of McClelland et al (1953). It is also interesting to note that the TAT was originally created by Murray et al (1938) as a non-clinical instrument but it only came to be regarded as a clinical instrument after it was predominantly used by clinical psychologists.

Lindzey (1961 p.183) also points out that it is usually clinical psychologists who see pathology in all responses coming from the projective techniques (especially the TAT) although these techniques have no inherent structure that forces the investigator to interpret all the data in psychopathological language.

3.1.8 Criticism

Projective techniques are wasteful of precious time. (Nadell 1955)

Comment

It does not seem to be a valid point of criticism merely to state that projective techniques are too wasteful of time without giving the general frame of reference wherein this statement must be seen. It actually seems to be a question as to whether the same data can be gathered using any other faster technique. When this becomes possible then this criticism is tenable but up to that time it seems that the problem is whether the investigator needs the

information projective techniques can give him, or not.

3.1.9 Criticism

Projective techniques bar the researcher from studying "human societies" as a whole. (Henry 1955)

Comment

It is difficult to understand what Henry sees as "human societies". It seems that he possibly refers to tribes because he refers to "relatively small, complete human societies". (Henry 1955 p.267) If this is so, then this criticism might touch on a relevant point. However, so far as acculturation studies are concerned this criticism is less tenable. This is so because in acculturation there is only a degree of complete integration of the whole society or culture at the beginning or right at the end of the process. During the different phases of the acculturation process, there might be integrated communities within the larger culture, but these will be relatively small and furthermore this period of stability will usually only last a short while before the larger waves of flux once more envelope them. Lindzey (1961 p.178) points out that most criticism in this connection rests on the assumption that projective techniques force the researcher to study only a part of the culture and thus do not allow him to study the culture as a whole. In refuting this viewpoint he points out that no researcher can ever study a culture as a whole - with projective techniques or without them. The projective techniques are there to aid the researcher in areas of behaviour which he is unable to probe by mere observation

or questioning.

In general it seems that this criticism of Henry is the result of a "fad" in the social sciences that stresses the importance of "wholeness". This resulted from the Gestalt school in psychology and the Functionalist school in anthropology both of which stressed the study of the "total integrated society". (It is interesting to note that Henry holds Malinowski - one of the originators of the Functionalist school in anthropology - as the "model" investigator.) Although this approach has its merits in some cases it errs by only seeing the forest and not the trees.

3.1.10 Criticism

Projective techniques pretend to measure the unconscious or "covert" aspects of personality but there is little evidence to support this pretence especially where foreign cultures are concerned. (Henry 1955)

Comment

In general it seems that this criticism is to be seen in the light of the investigator's final aim. Should he be specifically interested in the "covert" processes of a foreign culture then it holds, but should he be interested in how these subjects structure their world then it has no bearing. This is because in this latter instance the stress is not on covert or overt factors but rather on how the subjects use their total mental facilities to see, interpret and construe their environment as a meaningful (to them) psychological structure.

Lindzey (1961 p.187) points out that this criticism touches on a very complex problem i.e. the question whether the basic psychological processes are influenced by culture. This problem arises from the fact that although there is evidence that projective techniques measure covert factors of subjects in Western cultures we must question whether we can use these techniques with subjects from Non-Western cultures. Lindzey states that personally he is given to believe that Western and Non-Western peoples have basic similarities in their mental processes.

3.1.11 Criticism

In the analysis of projective techniques the past history of the researcher and the specific test he is using is not always thoroughly taken into account. (Mensch and Henry 1953)

Comment

This criticism carries some weight because it mentions an aspect that is merely ignored in many investigations. It seems to be the most natural procedure that the investigator will determine the public history of the instrument he intends using although this is not always done.

As far as the investigator himself is concerned it depends on the technique and method of analysis he uses whether this criticism has some bearing or not. In the analysis of some projective techniques there is little chance that the investigator projects his personal psychological needs, frustrations etc. into the data he has to

analyse. With other techniques this is not the case and the investigator has to take special precautions not to influence the results by projecting his own psychological factors into the data he is interpreting.

Stipulations

- (i) The public history, i.e. the utility, validity and reliability, of the research instrument should be stated.
- (ii) The researcher should be extra careful not to project his own needs, frustrations, values, fears, etc. into the data that he analyses. He should also indicate his proficiency in the analysis of the specific technique in question.

3.1.12 Criticism

Although the validity of projective techniques have been proven to a certain degree in Western cultures, this is far from true as far as primitive cultures are concerned. (Nadell 1955; Adcock and Ritchie 1958; Lindzey 1961 p.191)

Comment

This criticism carries much weight and in addition also touches on one of the most important fields in which research is needed. However, the validity problem is also much more complicated than is usually realised and therefore there are certain aspects that have to be taken into careful consideration before any criticism can be offered. Because there are no questions concerning his own behaviour, that

the subject has to answer, there is also no question as to whether the subject speaks the truth or not. The projective technique rather gives the subject an opportunity to illustrate how he structures certain (given) stimuli and from this certain deductions are then made as to how he structures his world as a whole. The subject thus presents a sample of behaviour that cannot possibly be graded as "false" or "true" and the "truth" (the validity) of the test rather rests on the degree of validity of generalisation from the subject's responses to his life in general. On the whole the validity problem must thus be sought in the problems in connection with the analysis of the projective techniques - a point also strongly emphasised by Fiske (1955 p.158).

All this does not mean that any stimulus may be presented and that all stress must solely be laid on the analysis of responses. On the contrary, the projective material must be "meaningful" in terms of the subjects own cultural background. Furthermore the analysis of the responses must be made with due recognition of the way that subjects marshall and frame the available material within the framework of their cultural background.

Stipulation

Adcock and Ritchie (1958) reviewed a number of suggestions that have been followed to try and curb the validity problem. Although these suggestions are specifically for the Rorschach they are equally valid for projective techniques in general and will be presented in this light.

- (i) The investigator must use the interview or any other test information to try and support the

validity of the projective technique used.

- (ii) The projective material may be used to obtain hypotheses which may be tested by other techniques.
- (iii) The projective material may be interpreted but the interpretation must remain limited i.e. the full clinical interpretation must not be applied but rather a limited interpretation in broad outlines must be applied.
- (iv) The responses must be treated "as a sample of verbal behaviour collected in a standard situation" which has no more validity than data collected by any other interviewing technique.
- (v) A factorial analysis should be carried out to determine the most appropriate groups of response categories, thereafter an attempt must be made to validate these categories for cross-cultural use.

3.1.13 Criticism

There are special problems attached to the statistical analysis of projective techniques that makes them unsuitable for conventional statistical analysis. This has the implication that on methodological grounds much of the data derived from projective techniques is strongly questioned. (Mensch and Henry 1953)

Comment

The writers who voice the criticism above are particularly concerned (in their further explanation) that statistical methods based on the normal distribution cannot always be used in the case of projective techniques. (cf.

p.468) This objection is of course quite naive as sophisticated non-parametric methods have been developed that are not far behind the parametric methods as far as their power of analysis is concerned.

If this criticism is evaluated against the fact that "the proof of the pudding lies in the eating" then it does not hold because the successful use of projective techniques by McClelland et al (1953) and Atkinson and Feather (1966), and the writing of Cronbach (1949) proves this criticism to be invalid.

Lindzey (1961 p.185) also points out that this is an overgeneralised criticism as numerous investigators have successfully applied statistical methods to projective material. He also stresses the fact that although it might not always be easy to express the responses to projective techniques as quantified data, these problems are equally serious in the case of other methods used for personality evaluation e.g. the interview, direct observation, the analysis of life-history material etc.

3.1.14 Criticism

People who use projective techniques in anthropological fieldwork do not always have the necessary clinical psychological training. (Henry 1955)

Comment

Henry who airs this criticism also advises the researcher to get into contact with "real psychiatric case

material". (Cf. p.246)

This only goes to illustrate more clearly that this criticism is also based on the invalid assumption that all projective techniques are inevitably linked to clinical psychology - a notion already refuted above.

What may be relevant in this connection is that anthropologists using these techniques should consult psychologists on matters pertaining to psychodynamics and general problems in the analysis and interpretation of the projective material. This is a point that Henry (1961 p.594) also stresses.

3.1.15 Criticism

Investigators apply projective techniques on primitive peoples without ascertaining what the latter are seeing. (Own criticism)

Comment

Hudson (1960) is probably the person who contributed the most to our knowledge on the perceptual habits of primitive peoples. He found that they have difficulty or are sometimes completely unable to interpret three dimensional (3-D) pictorial material. Later Schwitzgebel (1962); Munday-Castle (1966); Segall et al (1966) and Deregowski (1968) verified Hudson's results. From this it is clear that the perceptual habits of primitive peoples are not only of importance as far as it concerns the interpretation of projective techniques, but are also of major importance in

comparative studies with groups in different stages of acculturation. A new variable now appears on the scene as the Bantu (in the general process of acculturation) are progressively learning to interpret 3-D pictorial material in the correct manner.

Stipulation

Some tentative solutions to the problems mentioned above are the following:

- (i) With the construction of the projective material (especially with any TAT-type pictures) care should be taken that a minimum amount of 3-D material is used, or rather the 3-D characteristics of the pictures should not affect the main theme of the picture. A practical solution might be to get a local artist, from the cultural group being investigated, to draw the pictures. Where research is being carried out using projective material with primitive peoples it could be of value if researchers were also to indicate what precautions they have taken to curb the "3-D problem".
- (ii) With the interpretation of the projective material, special care should be taken that problems that the subjects may have had interpreting 3-D material do not affect the deductions that are made.

3.1.16 Criticism

Projective techniques commit the investigator to a certain theory of behaviour. (Henry 1955)

Comment

Lindzey (1961 p.182) refutes this criticism of Henry by pointing out that the linkage between projective techniques and psychological theories is so fragile that this is specifically one of the advantages of these methods, because they do not commit the researcher to any specified theory.

3.1.17 Criticism

Projective techniques come to stand between the researcher and the data he works with, namely human behaviour. (Henry 1955)

Comment

This criticism is not acceptable as the responses of subjects to the projective material are still behaviour and it is precisely this behaviour that is observed and evaluated. The projective material is merely a uniform stimulus to which the subjects must respond. This stimulus is kept uniform in order to form a norm for the evaluation of the behavioural reactions of different individuals. In acculturation studies this is of special importance because it enables the investigator to see how the subjects (from a specific culture) in the different phases of acculturation differ in their reactions. Lindzey (1961 p.179) also points out that this criticism is unfounded as it rests on the assumption that the reactions to projective techniques are not behaviour. Furthermore he stresses that projective techniques should not be regarded as a "screen" between the

investigator and the behaviour he is studying but should rather be seen as a method to "facilitate behavioural observations of a relevant sort".

Spindler (1955 p.262) also disagrees with Henry and points out that contrary to Henry's statement, projective techniques specifically lead to better contact and rapport because they are impersonal and do not form an immediate threat to the subject and yet lead to highly personalised data.

3.1.18 Criticism

If the investigator takes the time to train himself properly in the procedures of the interview he will be able to understand personality directly from the material that he has gathered through the use of the interview, and projective techniques will become unnecessary. (Mensch and Henry 1953; Henry 1955)

Comment

Lindzey (1961 p.179) points out that this statement rests on the false assumption that personality may be observed "directly". He quotes L.J. Henderson's dictum that "A fact is a receptor experience in terms of a conceptual scheme" to emphasize that the investigator only observes behaviour but "that any personality inference depends on a set of prior assumptions and empirical rules ...". Fiske (1955) and Hallowell (1955) both make the same point by pointing out that whether the interview or projective techniques are used, there is still the problem of the "validation of understanding".

Another point that has been overlooked by the individuals who aired the criticism above, is the problem that modern research is directed towards large groups (for various valid reasons) which makes the use of the interview somewhat impossible and at the same time accelerates the need for a standard stimulus to elicit behaviour. Furthermore projective techniques have an advantage over the interview in that they set a standard stimulus (to elicit behaviour) that the interview in its most rigid and standardised form does not possess. Projective techniques may also be used unobtrusively to circumvent the defence mechanisms and the mistrust of subjects while this is hardly possible with the interview.

3.1.19 Criticism

When a projective technique is applied in a foreign culture

- (a) it must be applied via an interpreter and
- (b) because these techniques rest on minute language differences,

no great importance may be attached to these methods.

(Nadell 1955)

Comment

This criticism carries some weight because much depends on the interpreter. The researcher who uses a weak interpreter must naturally expect weak results.

As far as the language problem is concerned Lindzey (1961 p.190) points out that the projective technique and the method of analysis used determines whether the language

will have a major influence or not. Thus when the TAT technique is interpreted in a "non-clinical" manner the language differences between the tester and testee do not always play such an important role, as the stress is on global concepts and not specific words.

Stipulation

- (i) Where an interpreter is used he should be completely bilingual in the two languages used. Furthermore this interpreter should be acceptable to the people on whom the study is being carried out - the ideal being that the interpreter should be chosen and instructed by the chief of the tribe. Should such an interpreter be used the researcher must at least indicate this.
- (ii) Projective techniques that do not rely too much on verbal responses should be chosen.

3.1.20 Criticism

Projective techniques limit the vista of the researcher as he is only permitted to perceive what the inherent design of the instrument permits him. (Mensch and Henry 1953; Henry 1955)

Comment

Although this point of criticism has frequently been all too much true, it is not necessarily imperative in all psychological research. The investigator at least has

the choice of what instrument he wants to use and to what purpose he wants to apply it. Thus this must rather be seen as a voluntary selection than a compulsory restriction.

Lindzey (1961 p.182) also replies to this criticism by pointing out that the popularity of projective techniques, was in their "absence of specific and delimited scoring schemes that commit the user to a particular set of variables".

Spindler (1955 p.261) also rejects this criticism by arguing that projective techniques rather bring some points to the attention of the researcher that he would never have noticed in the first place.

3.2 A summary of the stipulations for the use of projective techniques with primitive cultures

In this section the stipulations, derived from the different points of criticism, will be integrated with conditions for the use of projective techniques in primitive cultures, as suggested by writers in this field of study.

3.2.1 Researchers should have a thorough knowledge of the culture of the subjects they are investigating. This condition is also set by Lindzey (1961 p.196).

3.2.2 The researcher should indicate the method of analysis used with the projective technique. Lindzey (1961 p.196) divides this stipulation into even more specific conditions, namely:

(1) The researcher must indicate whether the methods

of analysis have shown any signs of stability and sensitivity in the past.

- (ii) The researcher should indicate whether he used a qualitative or quantitative method of analysis.

3.2.3 The researcher should select his sample so that the most important and pertinent variables, that may influence the results, cancel out.

3.2.4 The researcher must state whether he made use of an interpreter and what influence this might have had on his results. Lindzey (1961 p.195) also sets this condition.

3.2.5 The researcher must use additional methods of investigation to ascertain the degree to which his derivations are valid. Lindzey (1961 p.196) and Henry (1961) also set this stipulation.

3.2.6 The researcher must state which precautions he took so as not to read his own frustrations, conflicts, needs etc. into the projected material. This condition is also set by Lindzey (1961 p.196).

3.2.7 The researcher must always take the 3-D factor into consideration when constructing a projective technique or when analysing projected material.

3.2.8 The projective technique must be adapted to the

specific cultural group to be studied, i.e. the stimulus material must be "meaningful" to the subjects. Henry (1951 p.263); Sherwood (1957) and Kaplan (1961a p.304) also set this stipulation.

3.2.9 The researcher must analyse the projective techniques against the background of the specific culture being studied.

In this connection Kaplan (1961 a p.304) holds that any response on a projective technique occurs in relation to the specific situation in which it is given. Thus any social situation is also a normative situation, i.e. the subject has a choice amongst a specific number of emotional expressions and behavioural patterns. And as a response to a projective technique is nothing less than a behavioural pattern, the same rule also pertains in this case. Thus in the analysis of any projective data the researcher has to evaluate the subject's personality against his personal cultural and social background.

3.2.10 The possible influences that the test situation had on the responses of the subjects must be clearly indicated by the researcher. This stipulation is also set by the following researchers:

- (i) Henry (1961 p.596) who suggests that the analysis of projective techniques must be made with full consideration given to the behavioural situation in which the test was executed.
- (ii) Kaplan (1961 a p.302) who points out that differences in response to projective techniques (.e.g

the vagueness in the TAT stories of the Melanesians, the two to three sentence TAT stories of the Navaho and Hopi children and the seventy-five page TAT stories of Javanese men) is not an indication of their personality differences, but merely the differences in approach to the test situation.

- (iii) Lindzey (1961 p.195) who stresses that a "full description of circumstances surrounding the administration of the projective technique" is required.

3.2.11 The researcher must indicate how he differentiated between the groups of subjects in the different phases of acculturation.

This stipulation was not found in the literature because most of the criticism and stipulations are concerned with the general use of projective techniques with primitive cultures and are not specifically concerned with acculturation studies. However, it has been included because it is essential for the evaluation of acculturation and personality studies.

3.2.12 Hypotheses must be set that are clear, meaningful and measureable. Although this is not a stipulation that is specific to projective studies or acculturation and personality studies it has been included here because it is a problem quite common in these studies. Furthermore quite a number of writers in this field have commented on this issue. Thus Henry (1961 p.589) points out that questions which have been asked in this field have been too broad for meaningful answers. He also stresses the fact that inves-

tigators should attempt to test specific hypotheses derived from anthropological or psychological theory rather than to try to answer general questions. Spindler (1955 p.259) also criticises investigators who set out to do fieldwork with a projective technique in their baggage but with no clearcut idea what they intend to use it for.

3.3 The function of the stipulations

The stipulations above have the following two functions:

- (i) They must form the norm for the analysis of acculturation and personality studies to be performed in the next chapter.
- (ii) They must serve as a general guide for the further execution of this investigation (i.e. the investigation on the influence of acculturation on the n Achievement and n Affiliation of the Owambo).

CHAPTER 4

THE INFLUENCE OF ACCULTURATION ON PERSONALITY

4.1 An analysis of a number of studies which employed projective techniques to investigate the influence of acculturation on personality

This section utilises the different stipulations set in the previous chapter to analyse seventeen different studies that employed projective techniques to investigate the influence of acculturation on personality. Each study was thus evaluated for 12 different characteristics and for each characteristic there are four different categories of classification, namely

- (a) Stipulation satisfactorily met.
- (b) Stipulation not satisfactorily met.
- (c) The investigator gave no indication whether the stipulation was met or not. This category most probably includes most of the cases classified under (b) because the usual practice for any researcher is to indicate in detail what was done. Thus if an aspect is not indicated it was most probably not carried out.
- (d) Not applicable. In a few instances there are categories that do not pertain to specific projective techniques. This category was included because certain studies are designed in such a manner that some categories are irrelevant to them.

The analysis of the different studies is presented in Appendix I. A summary of these different analyses is presented below as Table 4.1.

TABLE 4.1

THE DEGREE TO WHICH THE STIPULATIONS FOR THE USE OF PROJECTIVE TECHNIQUES ARE MET IN ACCULTURATION AND PERSONALITY STUDIES

	Satisfac- torily met	Unsatisfac- torily met	No indication	Not applicable	Total
1. Method of Analysis	16	1			17
2. Sampling	12	4	1		17
3. Interpreter	8	1	8		17
4. Validity Check	7	7	3		17
5. Own Check	7		10		17
6. Hypotheses	13	4			17
7. Cult. Know.	8		9		17
8. 3-D Factor			13	4	17
9. Specific Adaptation	6	6	1	4	17
10. Analysis in Cult.	8	4	4	1	17
11. Situational Influence	3	6	8		17
12. Accult. Different.	15	2			17
N	103	35	57	9	204

The studies analysed above can be treated as a representative sample of the research in this particular field of interest. Seven other papers in this direction were also traced and although the results obtained in them are given below they could not be analysed as the original papers were unobtainable.

From the analysis above the following can be deduced:

- (i) Points that were satisfactorily met in most of the studies.
 - (a) The way in which data was analysed.
 - (b) The method of sampling.
 - (c) Setting the hypotheses.
 - (d) The division of subjects into different stages of acculturation.
- (ii) Points that were satisfactorily met in about half of the studies.
 - (a) Indications on the use of an interpreter.
 - (b) Comparisons of the data from the projective technique with data from other techniques to ascertain validity.
 - (c) Control by the researcher to determine that he does not project his own personality characteristics into the data.
 - (d) A reasonable knowledge (by the researcher) of the culture of the subjects on whom the research is being carried out.
 - (e) The specific adaptation of tests (where necessary) to the cultural group being investigated.
 - (f) Analysing the data against the cultural background of the subjects being studied.
- (iii) The following points were met most unsatisfactorily.

- (a) Taking the 3-D factor into account.
- (b) Making provision for situational influences on the results.

From these points it is clear that there is no reason for complaint as far as the strict psychometric properties of the studies are concerned. However, the aspects that go beyond the rigid formalistic standards to make the research more meaningful and "natural" are not always met. This point is also clearly reflected in the following statement by the Spindlers.

"If these statements read like sheer nonsense to many trained psychologists, working on highly selective, minutely defined, sharply operationalised laboratory problems, the point we make is only strengthened. Academically respectable psychologists seem to work on isolable and limited variables and their inter-relationships. But for the anthropologist, variables make sense only when seen in their natural context."

(Spindler and Spindler 1963 p.543)

Thus the validity of the data and the interpretation of this data is not always carefully controlled. Neither is the influence of cultural factors on the validity of the data always considered. The reason that the 3-D factor was not taken into account is probably due to the fact that the research along these lines only became generally known after most of the studies analysed above had already been carried out. It is puzzling that the situational factor has largely been ignored. Probably this reflects an attitude found amongst many researchers who, when they start testing and measuring, completely forget that they are working with humans who are sensitive to their environment. This is a symptom of a much more comprehensive problem in psychological research that has been dramatically illustrated by Neil Friedman (1967) who focussed attention on social-psychological intricacies of psychological experimentation.

When the four different categories are compared as a whole, the picture does not seem to be so gloomy. Thus the stipulations were met 103 times (or 50% of the times); there is definite evidence that they were not met in 35 instances (or 17% of the times) and in 57 instances (or 28% of the times) there is no indication whether they have been met, with a strong probability that they have not been met. In 9 instances (or 4,5% of the times) the stipulations were unapplicable. Granting that few, if any, of these researchers ever realised that all these stipulations had to be met, this comparison does not seem to put studies in this direction in too unfavourable a light. Thus on the whole these studies have not been methodologically so poor as some writers would have us believe, and consequently the results obtained in these studies must carry some weight.

4.2 Results obtained from the studies analysed above

These results will be grouped according to subject rather than by author as this is much more readable and excludes duplication.

(i) Cognitive factors

In comparison with the relatively less acculturated group the more acculturated group

- (a) is less rigid (De Vos 1955; De Vos and Miner 1958);
- (b) has a greater ability to abstract important details from problem situations (Doob 1957);
- (c) has a greater ability to follow instructions in novel situations (Doob 1957).

(11) Emotional factors

In comparison with the relatively less acculturated group the acculturated group

- (a) is more frustrated (Doob 1957; Ainsworth 1962);
- (b) is more aggressive and hostile (Doob 1957; Ainsworth 1962; Parker 1964);
- (c) is more insecure (Alexander and Anderson 1957; Boyer 1965);
- (d) is more apt to see their environment as hostile and threatening (De Vos and Miner 1958);
- (e) is more anxious and has more depression (Du Preez 1969);
- (f) is more apt to postpone immediate gratification for the sake of future reward (Doob 1957).

Two other general factors that have been found in connection with emotional factors are the following:

- (a) There is well documented evidence that with acculturation, women adjust much better than men. (Caudill 1949; Caudill 1952) This is probably due to the fact that men are much more in the spearhead of acculturation than women with the result that they are also exposed to much more stress and tension.
- (b) There are also indications that in acculturating subjects there is a strong persistence of the basic personality structure dominant in the "old" culture resulting in only superficial personality changes with acculturation. (Caudill 1949)

(iii) Interpersonal factors

In comparison with the relatively unacculturated group the more acculturated subjects

- (a) are more outspoken on controversial issues (Doob 1957; Ainsworth 1962);
- (b) portray more negative feelings to authority (Doob 1957; Ainsworth 1962);
- (c) are more discontented with the political status quo (Ainsworth 1962);
- (d) deviate more from traditional beliefs (Doob 1957);
- (e) are much more politically aware (Ainsworth 1962);
- (f) portray significantly greater intra-ethnic and inter-ethnic social distance (Parker 1964);
- (g) are more sensitive to other people (Doob 1957);
- (h) show a much greater attraction to the "new" culture, particularly to learning (Ainsworth 1962; Badri and Dennis 1964; Parker 1964).

On a more general level Caudill (1949) found that there was an increasing destruction of old roles with acculturation. This fact probably forms the basis of a number of the other changes noted above.

4 3 Results obtained from studies employing projective techniques but of which the original papers could not be traced

There were a number of studies that also employed projective techniques to determine the influence of acculturation on personality but the original papers of these studies could not be traced. However, the results obtained in these studies were gathered "second-hand" from other

sources. These results must thus be seen as additional data to verify the results presented in 4.2 above.

(i) Cognitive factors

De Vos (quoted by Lindzey 1961 pp.247-248) also found that more acculturated groups were less rigid than unacculturated groups.

(ii) Emotional characteristics

- (a) McGregor (quoted by Henry and Spiro 1953) found that more acculturated subjects portrayed much greater hostility.
- (b) Vogt (quoted by Henry and Spiro 1953 p.428 and Lindzey 1961 pp.241-244) found that acculturated groups had much greater feelings of insecurity.
- (c) Barnauw (quoted by Henry and Spiro 1953 p.423 and Lindzey 1961 pp.230-232) found that acculturated subjects expected as little as possible from others; Hallowell (quoted by Seward 1956 p.19) found that acculturated subjects showed a greater degree of regression; and MacGregor (quoted by Henry and Spiro 1953 p.428) found that acculturated groups were more withdrawn and apathetic. All these findings support the earlier finding that acculturated groups see their environment as much more hostile and threatening than the unacculturated groups.
- (d) MacGregor (quoted by Henry and Spiro 1953 p.428) and Abel and Hsu (quoted by Seward 1956 p.51) both found that acculturated groups were higher in anxiety than unacculturated groups.
- (e) Hallowell (quoted by Henry and Spiro 1953 p.425

and Lindzey 1961 pp.226-228) and Barnauw (quoted by Lindzey 1961 pp.230-232) also found that women adjusted much better with acculturation than men.

There are also a number of points not mentioned in 4.2 but which seem to be quite significant. Thus it was found that in comparison with unacculturated groups, acculturated groups

- (f) had greater personality conflicts (Vogt - quoted by Henry and Spiro 1953 p.428 and Lindzey 1961 pp.241-244);
- (g) had more adjustment problems (Abel and Hsu - quoted by Seward 1956 p.21; and Hallowell - quoted by Henry and Spiro 1953 p.425);
- (h) have less inhibitions in expressing affect (De Vos - quoted by Lindzey 1961 pp.247-248).

(iii) Interpersonal factors

In this section the following findings are worth noting.

- (a) Abel and Hsu (quoted by Henry and Spiro 1953 p.423; Lindzey 1961 pp.239-241; and Seward 1956 p.21) found that acculturated subjects portray a much greater degree of role inconsistency. A finding that lends support to Caudill's (1949) finding that old roles were destroyed by acculturation.
- (b) Abel and Hsu (quoted by Henry and Spiro 1953 p.423) also found that acculturated groups showed a much greater degree of rebelliousness against authority than the unacculturated groups.

4.4 Results from non-projective methods

A third source of research on the influence of acculturation on personality factors comes from studies employing non-projective measures. Two aspects should be noted in this respect. In the first instance personality must be understood in its widest psychological sense - i.e. in the way that Guilford (1959) described it. In the second instance no attempt was made to analyse these studies along the same lines that the studies employing projective techniques were analysed, because such an analysis would not be relevant for this thesis. All that was thus required was the results.

(i) Cognitive factors

- (a) The acculturated groups were found to be less rigid in problem solving (Ainsworth 1959);
- (b) No difference was found in time estimation between acculturated and unacculturated subjects (Robbins et al 1968);
- (c) Acculturated groups were less field dependent. (Okonji 1969; Ramirez et al 1974) Du Preez (1968) also found the interesting condition that subjects who were more field independent were also more capable of adjusting to social change.

(ii) Emotional factors

- (a) Probably the best documented finding in all the acculturation and personality studies examined for this chapter was that acculturated subjects had many more mental ailments than unacculturated subjects. This finding was reported by Carothers

(1948), Carothers (1953), Spiro (1952) (Also quoted in Kiev 1972), Seward (1956 p.267) Slotkin (quoted in Kiev 1972), Raman (1960 p.160), Sommers (1960), Weiner (1967), De Reuck and Porter (1965) and Henning (1973). Thus the statement by Crocetti and Lemkan (1967), that there is some confusion amongst researchers whether acculturation is associated with an increase in mental disease, seems a bit far-fetched.

- (b) In comparison with less acculturated groups the more acculturated subjects also portrayed a greater degree of inferiority feelings (James 1961); more confusion (Ruesch 1965); more hostility (Eggen 1943); and more hypochondriachal delusions (Lambo 1955, also reprinted in Kiev 1972).
- (c) Two studies (Thompson 1948 and Friedl 1956) found support for the notion that with acculturation there may be a superficial change in values but the basic personality structure does not change. This finding is also supported by Scotch (1961) who found a persistence of basic values in acculturated subjects. However, the relationship between acculturation and superego values seems to be more complex. Thus Sommers (1960) found that with acculturation initially there is a development of superego values but Henry (1957) mentions that later in the acculturation process there is a gradual development of id values (whatever this means).
- (d) James (1961) found that there is a progressive degree of "role and value" conflict with acculturation. This seems to support the findings of Gillin (1942), that with acculturation there is an increase of "status anxiety", and Boggs (1958),

that consistency of parent-child interaction diminishes with acculturation.

- (e) Miller (1973) found that there is an increase of competitive behaviour with acculturation.
- (f) There is an indication that acculturation affects hypertension. Thus Scotch (1963) found an increase in hypertension in Zulu subjects acculturating to Western culture. However, Seward (1956 p.20) points out that with Americans acculturating to the Chinese culture there was a decrease in hypertension.

(iii) Interpersonal factors

- (a) Horton (1965) found an increase in insobriety with acculturation.
- (b) Lin (1958) found that in Taiwan, acculturation led to two different types of delinquent youths, the one group was hyper Westernised while the other was hyper traditional. This duality in lifestyle resulting from acculturation has also been found by Mayer (1963) amongst the Xhosa in the East London locations.
- (c) Acculturation also results in social reactions. Thus La Barre (1947) found an increase in cults amongst acculturated American Indians, and Kiev (1964) found an increase of sects amongst West Indian immigrants to England.

4.5 A summary of the findings on the influence of acculturation on personality factors

This section will attempt to give an integrated summary of the findings on the influence of acculturation on personality factors. Naturally the relations proposed

between the different variables are tentative and of speculative value.

(i) Cognitive factors

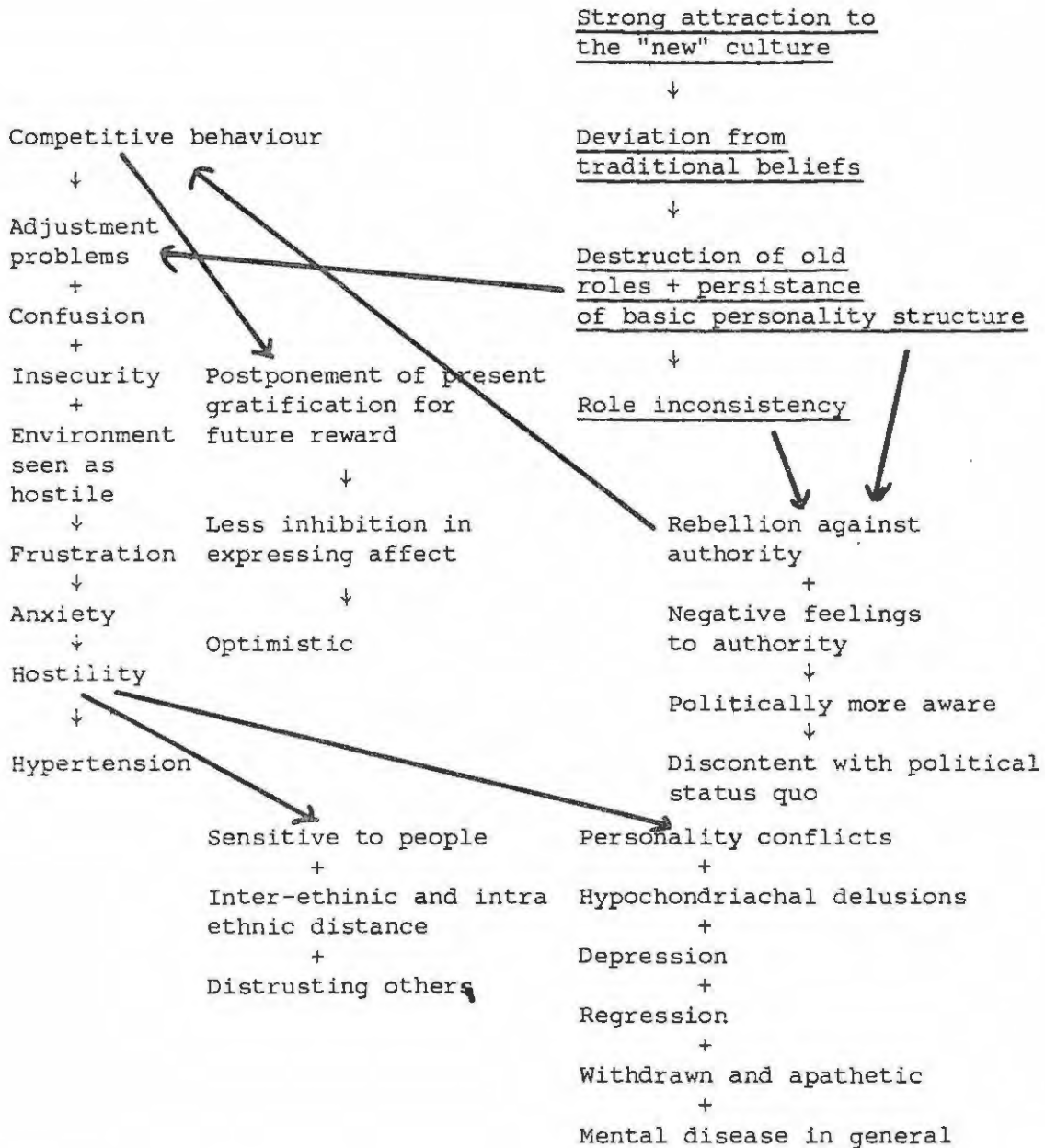
The most significant result of the influence of acculturation on cognitive factors seems to be the decrease in rigidity. Although this decrease is most prominent in problem solving behaviour it probably has a general influence on other cognitive factors. Closely tied to this is also the decrease in field dependancy of acculturated groups. Thus with a decrease in rigidity and an increase in field independence it comes as no surprise that acculturated subjects have a greater ability to abstract important details in problem solving situations and also perform better in following instructions in novel situations as both of these activities calls for flexibility and independence from the immediate surroundings.

(ii) Emotional and interpersonal factors

As far as the emotional and interpersonal factors (including attitudes) are concerned a certain line of reasoning (Diagramatically presented in Figure 4.1) has been followed to find a basic relationship between the different variables. Once again it must be understood that the relationships proposed are speculative and it is most probable that any other researcher would see the relationships quite differently. Furthermore it is not possible to explore all the different relationships that may exist as there are 33 different factors which gives a mathematical possibility of 528 different relationships - a figure that allows for several volumes of speculation.

FIGURE 4.1

A SCHEMA OF THE INTERRELATIONSHIP OF EMOTIONAL AND INTERPERSONAL FACTORS THAT DEVELOP WITH ACCULTURATION



The entire relationship of the more acculturated subjects to the world around them is based on conflicting

forces. On the one hand they have a strong attraction to the "new" culture with a resulting deviation from and destruction of the traditional roles and values. But on the other hand there is also a persistence of the basic personality structures that were dominant in the "old" culture. This naturally results in the acculturating subjects attempting to pursue a pattern of behaviour that is foreign to their basic personality. The most immediate result of this is an increase of role inconsistency, however, quite a number of other processes might be set in motion by this state of affairs:

- (a) In the first instance if the strong drive to competition, in a world foreign to their nature, is added to these basic conflicts already existing in the acculturating subjects, then it comes as no surprise that an increase in adjustment problems is found with these subjects. This situation probably also leads to the feelings of insecurity and confusion and a general view of the world as insecure and hostile, that predominate with acculturated subjects. All this probably leads to anxiety that results in aggression and hostility in its mildest form and in more serious instances to the following:
1. A greater sensitivity to other peoples which can develop in a general distrust of others with a resultant inter-ethnic and intra-ethnic social separation.
 2. Personality conflicts and hypochondriachal delusions and in some instances depression, regression, withdrawn and apathetic behaviour or full-blown mental ailments.
 3. An increase in hypertension - although this is not always a one-way affair, because in some instances

of acculturation there is a decrease in hypertension. Thus it seems that the nature of both the "new" as well as the "old" culture determines whether there will be an increase or a decrease in hypertension.

4. An increase in insobriety, delinquency, cults and sects.
- (b) In the second instance the conflict between the basic personality and the new roles may lead to the rebelliousness against and negative feelings towards traditional authority and institutions. The result of this is probably the greater political awareness and general discontent with the political status quo that is found with the more acculturated groups. However, there is also a more constructive line of development in this direction. The negative feelings towards authority may also find an outlet in a heightened degree of competitive behaviour. This probably results in the development of optimism, greater willingness to express feelings of affect and a general tendency to postpone immediate gratification for future rewards in acculturated subjects.

CHAPTER 5

THE INDEPENDENT VARIABLE: ACCULTURATION

As this study is concerned with the influence of acculturation on n Achievement and n Affiliation it naturally follows that acculturation is the independent variable. As "acculturation" is strictly an anthropological concept that is not equally familiar to all psychologists an attempt will be made in this chapter to illustrate it to some extent.

5.1 Definition

The first definition of acculturation was formulated by Lesser in 1933. According to him "Acculturation is a useful term for the processes by which aspects of elements of two cultures mingle and merge. (Herskovits 1938 p.6) The problem with this definition was immediately sensed by Lesser himself for in his subsequent explanation of the concept, he tried to limit it by differentiating it from assimilation. In the same year E.C. Parsons also used the concept but did not attempt a specific definition. The first systematic definition thus followed in 1936 when Redfield, Linton and Herskovits defined it as follows

"Acculturation comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups".

(Herskovits 1938 p.10)

This definition formed the basis for their memoranda for the study of acculturation. Beals (1953) points out that although this definition has been widely criticised and

modified by subsequent writers it still remains the standard definition that is most used. Beals notes the following major problems in connection with this definition:

- (i) There is no indication what "continuous first-hand contact" is.
- (ii) No clear indication is given of what is meant by "groups of individuals".
- (iii) No indication was given of the relation of the concept to the concepts of "diffusion" and "culture change".
- (iv) It is not clear what relationship acculturation bears to assimilation.
- (v) It is not clear whether acculturation is a "process or a condition". (Beals 1953 p.626)

In later publications (cf. Herskovits 1938 pp.10-11, Linton 1940 pp.463-465 and pp.501-502) these original authors still upheld this definition in its original form, but gave an explanation of several points in order to erase some of the problems that had arisen from the definition. Thus rather than change the original definition, they decided that the following note should be added.

"Under this definition acculturation is to be distinguished from culture-change, of which it is only one aspect, and assimilation, which is at times a phase of acculturation. It is also to be differentiated from diffusion, which while occurring in all instances of acculturation, is not only a phenomenon which frequently takes place without the occurrence of the types of contact between peoples specified in the definition above, but also constitutes only one aspect of the process of acculturation."

(Herskovits 1947 pp.523-524)

There have been a number of other attempts at defining acculturation but none of these seem to have caught

on. Below are listed a number of these later attempts.

- (i) "By definition acculturation involves at least two societies which had or are having contact and which almost always reciprocally (if one-sidedly) affect each other." (Doob 1957 p.143)
- (ii) "It is the process of culture change that occurs when a culture undergoes drastic alterations in the direction of conformity to another culture from which it borrows numerous traits or principles." (Hoebel 1958 p.606)
- (iii) "Acculturation refers mainly to a situation marked by a relatively continuous interaction between two or more cultures. From the standpoint of process, however, acculturation designates all the processes that ensue when two or more cultures come into lasting direct or mediated contact." (Honigman 1959 b p.255)
- (iv) "The term 'acculturation' has come to mean the transfer of 'cultural' or social elements from one society to another." (Moore 1963 p.85)
- (v) "Acculturation ... means an influence of one cultural system on another, or a mutual influence, that operates a change in at least one of these systems on at least one layer or sector of them." (Ponsioen 1965 p.50)
- (vi) "The process by which culture is transmitted through continuous first-hand contact of groups with different cultures, one often having a more highly developed civilization." (Winnick 1966 p.3)

In comparing these different definitions it becomes clear that the following is common to most of them:

- (i) It is a process of change.
- (ii) There is contact between two or more cultural groups.
- (iii) The cultures that come into contact are different from each other.
- (iv) Change takes place in one or more of the cultures.
- (v) Certain cultural elements are transferred from one culture to another.

5.2 The difference between acculturation and related concepts

After defining acculturation Redfield, Linton and Herskovits added a note to differentiate it from related concepts for the following reasons:

- (i) There are a number of concepts closely related to acculturation that are not always clearly differentiated by anthropologists and other social scientists writing in this field.
- (ii) Acculturation is an American coinage. The British anthropologists rather refer to "culture change" and to confuse the matter still further the Americans also use the concept "culture change" to refer to a much more comprehensive process of which acculturation is only one part.
- (iii) The concept acculturation is sometimes wrongly used by writers who have the processes of enculturation and/or socialisation in mind. Two instances where this occurs are in Maslow (1951) and Brammer and Shostrom (1968 p.73).

These problems still exist at present and thus an attempt will be made to try and avoid confusion (in this study) by describing these related concepts.

Diffusion

This is the process by which a certain cultural element, system or invention spreads from one culture to another. Thus there is not a general change in the receiving culture but only a "borrowing" of certain cultural goods from another culture or cultures. (Herskovits 1938 p.13)

Hoebel (1958 p.606) points out that diffusion usually precedes acculturation and Honigman (1959 p.255) makes the point that whereas acculturation depends on direct contact between cultures, this is not necessary for diffusion.

Assimilation

This term is generally used to indicate the culmination of the acculturation process when the one culture has been completely changed by the other and the process of change has more or less become stabilised. (Herskovitz 1938 p.13; Ponsioen 1965 p.50)

Culture change

As indicated above the British Anthropologists, especially the followers of Malinowski, used this concept to represent acculturation. Radcliffe-Brown deviated still further and in his presidential address before the Royal Anthropological Institute in 1940 he proposed "social change" to designate acculturation. Although it did not really catch on he persisted in using this concept. Today it is still in use amongst the adherents to the Functionalist school in Social Anthropology but with the passing of time it has changed its meaning somewhat, and at present deviates

quite significantly from the concept of acculturation.
(Mair 1957 pp.229-230)

Basically the American anthropologists regard cultural change as a much more comprehensive process than acculturation, the latter merely being a part of it. To them cultural change includes all changes in culture including all natural developments. (Herskovits 1938 p.10)

Adaptation, Adjustment and Accommodation

Ponsioen (1965 p.50) gives the following clear differentiation between these concepts:

"Adaptation is a behavioural term and means developing a behaviour in accordance with new situations."

"Adjustment is a psychological term and means getting a feeling of acquaintance with elements of another system."

"Accommodation is a tolerant co-existence of opposite cultural systems."

Enculturation

This is the anthropological equivalent of the better known sociological (and sometimes social-psychological) process of socialisation. In general it is less defined and discussed and thus also less obscure and confusing than socialisation. The general consensus seems to be that enculturation is the process in which the individual is consciously or unconsciously conditioned to adapt to his culture and thus to function in accordance to his status and role in the culture. (Herskovits 1947 p.39; Winnick 1966 p.185)

Barnett's differentiation

In a single paragraph Barnett (1953 p.291) gives an interesting differentiation between the principle concepts mentioned above by stating that:

"The growth in popularity of a new idea within the society of its origin then comes under the heading of 'adoption', 'acceptance', or some similar term, whereas the passage of an idea across ethnic boundaries is usually referred to as its 'spreading', 'borrowing', or 'diffusion'. Or if considerable parts of the cultures of two ethnic groups are involved in the transfer, the equalisation is called 'assimilation' or 'acculturation'."

5.3 The different dimensions of acculturation

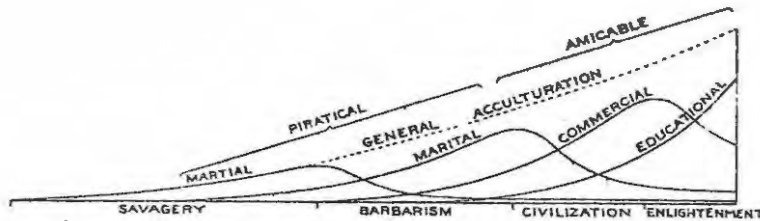
As is to be expected with any topic in the social sciences, not only have the approaches to the definition of acculturation differed, but there has also been a marked variation in the different aspects that have been stressed. These aspects will be referred to as "dimensions" as this term seems to be most suitable in conveying the apt meaning for these 'units'. The division used below is merely a "working arrangement" that has no pretence at being comprehensive or definite.

5.3.1 The different phases of acculturation

As far back as 1898 McGee attempted to differentiate between the different phases of acculturation. He gave an interesting schema representing the different stages to be isolated. Figure 5.1 illustrates the different phases he proposed.

FIGURE 5.1

THE DIFFERENT PHASES OF ACCULTURATION ACCORDING TO
McGEE (1898)



In this schema he isolated four phases of acculturation which he correlated with the four stages in human development.

Linton (1940 p.470) also proposed different phases in the acculturation process. He differentiates the following stages:

- (i) The intitial acceptance of a cultural element by innovators.
- (ii) The dissemination of this cultural element to other members of the community.
- (iii) The modification of the cultural element to fit or adjust to the already existing cultural matrix.

In comparison with the stages proposed by McGee these stages (proposed by Linton) are much less "grandiose" and more pragmatic in the sense that they can at least be tested to some extent.

A more expanded but equally realistic scheme is the following proposed by Coertze (1968 pp.9-14):

- (i) The transference of ideas to and change in the behaviour of the receiving group.
- (ii) Disarrangement in the personality structure of individuals in the receiving group.
- (iii) Disarrangement in the social arrangements of the receiving group.
- (iv) Cultural disintegration in the receiving group.
- (v) Reintegration to a new unified group.

5.3.2 Speed

For many years it had been realised that there were different factors that may affect the speed of the acculturation process and this aspect is thus quite regularly mentioned in anthropological literature. Bruner (1956), Moore (1963), Coertze (1968), Wallace (1970) and Linton (1963) all refer to it. The best synopses of the factors affecting the speed of acculturation are to be found in Moore (1963) and Coertze (1968). Moore (1963 p.86) lists the following factors that have an effect on acculturation.

- (i) The extent and continuity of contact between the different cultures.
- (ii) An already "changing situation in the receiving culture".
- (iii) The prestige of the bearers of novelty.
- (iv) The consistency of the new values with the values already existing in the receiving group.
- (v) Lack of close integration of the receiving culture.

Coertze (1968 p.16) also listed a number of factors that influence the speed of acculturation. As these points by Coertze mostly differ from those mentioned by Moore no attempt was made to integrate the two groups. The factors mentioned by Coertze are the following:

- (i) The method of contact and transfer of cultural goods.
- (ii) The difference in the size between the donor and recipient groups.
- (iii) The difference in cultural development between the groups.
- (iv) The degree to which the different cultural aspects have been adapted to the natural environment.
- (v) The natural ability of the recipient group to accept ("borrow") the cultural goods of the donor group.
- (vi) Racial differences between the different groups.
- (vii) The degree of patriotism and conservatism existing in the receiving group.
- (viii) Historical factors that have an influence on the process of acculturation.

Apart from these two synopses, mention should also be made of an interesting approach followed by Bruner (1956). He proposed specific hypotheses in connection with the speed of acculturation. Thus he presents the following hypotheses:

- (i) A hypothesis (first suggested by Kroeber) that a practice will persist (and thus resist acculturation) if it is well integrated and well interrelated with other aspects of the culture as a whole.
- (ii) A hypothesis (that seems to be an extension of the hypothesis presented above) stating that if a cultural factor is functional, in the sense that

it is adaptive or adjustive for a given system, it will not change.

- (iii) A hypothesis stating that cultural factors that have been internalised in early childhood will be those that resist acculturation the most.

Of these three hypotheses Bruner only mentions examples that confirm the latter hypothesis.

An aspect that has not been specifically mentioned by any of the writers above but which crops up from time to time in anthropological literature is the difference in the rate of change (when influenced by acculturation) between material and non-material objects. Thus Titiev (1954 p.603) points out that non-material objects (e.g. values, attitudes etc) will resist acculturation much more than material goods. Although this viewpoint of Titiev is generally held in anthropology, there have also been those who have opposed it. Moore (1963 pp.86-87) warns that we should not overstate this point and cites three instances of sudden and drastic change in non-material cultural phenomena -

- (i) the world-wide spread of the great religions such as Buddhism, Christianity and Islamism;
- (ii) the Code Napoleon that forms the basis of civil, administrative and criminal law in most of Western Europe; and
- (iii) the universal acceptance of the doctrine of economic development.

However, it is still doubtful whether this viewpoint of Moore will be accepted.

5.3.3 Nativistic movements

An interesting and somewhat dramatic aspect of acculturation is what Herskovits (1947 p.531) refers to as "contra-acculturative movements" but what is better known as nativistic movements.

The best known of these movements is the Ghost Dance that spread through the Indian tribes of the western states of the U.S.A. in the latter part of the nineteenth century. The Vailala madness of New Guinea is also quite well-known. Herskovits (1947 p.531) regards the domination of one culture by another as the major reason for this phenomenon and Ponsioen (1965 p.55) points out that the movements never occur at the beginning of the acculturation process but tend to develop later on. Linton (1963 p.517) relates these movements to the amount of discomfort experienced by the recipient group and also points out that they usually have strong undertones of magical practices. Furthermore they can be violent or may merely be a glorification of the past. They never attempt to revive the entire culture but usually select specific cultural elements that they then try to reinstate.

5.3.4 The negative effects of acculturation

The negative effects of acculturation have constantly been mentioned in anthropological literature. Thus Bidney (1953 p.360) refers to acculturation as "crises" in the culture of a people; Linton (1940) points out the destructive effects of enforced acculturation; Winnick (1966 p.3) refers to "antagonistic" acculturation; and Anderson (1971 p.1121) goes so far as to speak of "culture shock".

One of the immediate effects of this consciousness that there are negative effects coupled to acculturation, is once more the drawing together of anthropology and psychology. Thus Ruesch (1965 p.134) suggests that psychotherapy should be used to ease the problems created by acculturation.

5.3.5 The psychological dimensions of acculturation

The psychological dimensions of acculturation is what Lindzey (1961 p.226) refers to as the traditional meeting ground of psychology and anthropology. This topic is treated in detail elsewhere but it suffices to mention two points that should be remembered at this stage.

- (i) The psychological reactions to acculturation have far-reaching effects on the recipient culture. This is clearly illustrated in detail by Young (1969) in the case of the socialisation of American minority groups.
- (ii) All cultures have to a lesser or greater extent a self-correcting tendency that adapts the culture to acculturative stresses (Ponsioen 1965 p.52). Thus many psychological reactions will basically be of a temporary nature and are bound to disappear with the lessening of the acculturative stresses, however, there are also psychological changes that are more than mere reactions and which will of necessity be much more permanent. An interesting aspect of the self-correcting tendency of a culture is that it now places culture in the cadre of phenomena suitable for study by cybernetics. Although no publications could be found in this connection, this might still be an interesting field of interest to pursue.

5.4 Schemata for the study of acculturation

Apart from defining acculturation and exploring the dimensions of this process, some researchers also proposed schemata for the studying of the process. Thus both of the main contingents of anthropology, the American anthropologists and the British Functionalist schools, have proposed schemata.

In their memorandum for the study of acculturation, Redfield, Linton and Herskovits also gave an exhaustive outline or schema for the investigation of acculturation. However, very few, if any, anthropologists ever followed this plan as it was too cumbersome and extensive to adhere to. Even one part, e.g. the part on the psychological aspects of acculturation, is too extensive for any single investigator to examine.

Malinowski also proposed a plan for the study of acculturation or "culture change" to use his terminology. But this plan had the same weakness as the American plan i.e. it was too extensive and thus it also met the same fate - although Malinowski tried to employ it once or twice it never caught on.

At present there does not seem to be any generally accepted schema for the study of acculturation.

5.5 A brief history of acculturation

Herskovits (1947 p.523) points out that the concept "acculturation" was first employed by J.W. Powell to mean culture-borrowing as early as 1880. Hays (1958) also quotes

this date for the first use of the concept and goes on to point out that Graebner was one of the first anthropologists to make general use of the concept. Then in 1898 McGee published a paper on "Piratical acculturation". It is interesting to note that Beals (1953) erroneously declared that "Thurnwald was the earliest writer to use the word (acculturation) in the title of an article in English". The paper he refers to was published in 1932 whereas the paper by McGee antedated this paper by at least three decades.

It seems that after the turn of the century acculturation had to make way for studies on diffusion and it was only in the 1930's that there was some further development in acculturation studies. This does not mean that it was not used at all because as Beals (1953 p.621) points out the concept was used by Walter Krichenberg in 1910 and by Thurnwald in 1932. In the 1930's acculturation studies had a fresh impetus, which came as a reaction in anthropology against the reconstructions of cultural characteristics that could only be gauged from memory. There was also a general feeling that anthropology was getting too theoretical and was in a process of separating itself from the dynamic aspects of its material of study. (Beals 1953 p.622)

In America acculturation studies also had their greatest impetus from a reaction against the former highly theoretical anthropological studies (i.e. the Kulturkreisers and the Culture-area school) and from the functional studies that had developed in Britain and Europe. In relation to these functional studies, the Americans regarded their own anthropological studies as too highly theoretical and far removed from the actual "living" of the subjects they were studying. (It is interesting to note that these factors

also resulted in personality studies in anthropology). Thus Herskovits, (1945 p.149) referring to the Historical Schools in anthropology, remarks

"The fact of cultural change was not denied, nor that life is lived on a single time-plane, problems of this kind were merely ignored".

The most important development of the 1930's was the memorandum and definition by Redfield, Linton and Herskovits published in 1936. This firmly established acculturation as a respectable field of study in anthropology.

A major development of the 1940's and early 1950's was the fact that more and more anthropologists made use of psychological measuring instruments in acculturation studies. However, these instruments were used with some naïve expectations and when they did not produce the "magic" results expected of them, a period of gloom set in, in the late 1950's and early 1960's. Only quite recently have psychologists started using psychometric measures in acculturation studies, but with much greater care than in the past. This whole development is most clearly illustrated in a comparison of the "psychological usages in culture change analyses", in the period 1929-1952, by the Spindlers (1963).

At present there seems to be very little development in acculturation theory, with the resultant lack of research in this direction. This is most clearly illustrated in the papers presented to the American Anthropologist. In the last three to four years hardly any papers on acculturation have appeared in this journal.

Another recent development is a movement towards studies of "modernisation" rather than acculturation. This was suggested by Moore (1963 p.88) and has also been taken

up by Doob (1967) who is one of the major forces in acculturation studies at present.

5.6 General findings from acculturational investigations

Although Titiev (1954 p.603) points out that few general rules have emerged from acculturational studies, he lists the following as possible general findings:

- (i) A recipient society will most likely only accept cultural aspects that fill a conscious need.
- (ii) Material objects will most readily be "borrowed" by one culture from another.
- (iii) Non-material objects will most likely present some initial resistance to acculturation.
- (iv) An advanced or developed cultural group usually imposes its cultural goods on a retarded or undeveloped cultural group.
- (v) Different aspects of a culture will change with different speeds in the acculturation process.

5.7 Criticism of acculturation studies

Apart from the fact that there is no generally accepted consensus on the methodology for the study of acculturation, the following criticisms have also been directed against acculturation studies.

- (i) There has been a minimum of theoretical, methodological or even creative research development in this field. The only truly original studies in this direction have been obtained by tagging acculturation onto psychological phenomena.

- (ii) No clearly differentiated units of analysis have been isolated in acculturation studies.
- (iii) A large number of studies, especially those making use of psychological phenomena, have been very slipshod in their methodology. (This point is treated in greater detail elsewhere.)
- (iv) Past studies on acculturation have been very one-sided in only stressing the influence of the higher on the lower culture. This is a point that was specifically made by Radcliffe-Brown (1952).
- (v) The methodology of many acculturation studies lack sophistication, thus Moore (1963 p.85) notes that
"... studies of acculturation have suffered from either an excess of simplicity - treating variables in isolation - or an excess of complexity - treating cultures or social systems as so extensively and autonomously integrated that external influences were viewed as either fundamentally altering the entire system or trivial".

5.8 Conclusions

- (i) On the whole acculturation seems to be reasonably well defined and demarcated within the social sciences. However, there is a large overlap in meaning covered by acculturation and concepts closely related to it.
- (ii) For the rest there seems to be an abundance of loose connections in theory as well as research in acculturation studies. Research and writing in this direction have been generally unsystematic and it is difficult to find any planful or systematic development of thought. Thus the points of criticism aired in 5.7 seem quite justified.
- (iii) A number of the points mentioned by writers on

acculturation seem justified by the findings from studies that have explored the influence of acculturation on personality factors e.g.

- (a) The disarrangement in the personality structure and social arrangements of the receiving group (steps ii and iii of the stages in acculturation proposed by Coertze 1968. cf.5.3.1) is justified by the findings from a number of studies. These findings (as summarized in 4.5 ii) show that there is undoubtedly a major disruption in the emotional and interpersonal structures and functions of the receiving group in the acculturation situation.
- (b) The hypothesis of Bruner, (1956) (cf.5.3.2) that cultural factors that have been internalized in early childhood will be those that resist acculturation the most, is supported by Caudill's findings. (Cf.4.2 ii) He found that in acculturation there is a strong persistence of the basic personality structure dominant in the "old" culture, and that the relatively peripheral components of personality, acquired in later life have a greater tendency to change. Further research may possibly indicate this is a personality factor analogous to the fluid and crystalized intelligence factors identified by Cattell (1967) in the cognitive domain.
- (c) Evidence that natavistic movements (cf.5.3.3) have their origin in acculturational stresses is supported by the findings of La Barre (1947) and the relationship of acculturation to cults among the American Indians, and the increase of sects amongst West Indian immigrants to England as demonstrated by Kiev (1964).

CHAPTER 6

THE DEPENDENT VARIABLES: N ACHIEVEMENT AND N AFFILIATION

6.1 n Achievement

6.1.1 A brief history of n Achievement

Narziss Ach first used the concept "determining tendency" to try and explain achievement behaviour. Thus in 1910 he attempted laboratory studies in this connection. Later, in 1926 Kurt Lewin used the concept "quasi need" also to explain achievement behaviour. (Heckhausen 1967 p.1). Then in 1937 H.A. Murray published a paper defending the concept of "need" or "drive". (Murray 1937) In the next year he continued in this direction and published his classic work, *Explorations in personality*, in which he set out his theory of motivation in detail. In this work he also made ample use of the "need" and "press" concepts, one of the major needs being n Achievement. In 1943 when he introduced the Thematic Apperception Test n Achievement was once again suggested as one of the major factors to be measured with this technique. (Murray 1943 p.9) Then, with financial support from the Office of Naval Research, David McClelland and a few of his associates (Clark, Roby and Atkinson) started research on n Achievement at Wesleyan University on 1 January 1947. (McClelland et al 1953 p.V) The initial experiment in this series was an experiment by Atkinson and McClelland in 1948 and was conducted with the purpose to

"... seek any principles which might govern the relationship between need intensity and its expression in perception".

(Atkinson and McClelland 1948 p.643)

They chose to explore the effect of the need for food because this procedure would enable them to control and assess the independent variable (i.e. hunger) without postulating some hypothetical concept. Having demonstrated that a biological need can be objectively measured on the TAT, they began to consider the possibility of demonstrating the same for a psychogenic need. In their own words:

"The point is, do the same kinds of shifts occur for an experimentally controlled psychogenic need, or are the clues which have been discovered applicable only to some simple physiological tension like hunger?"

(McClelland et al 1949 p.242)

By using various arousal conditions and demonstrating the changes in effect (of the different conditions) of imaginative behaviour, they established the validity of n Achievement measurement on a TAT-type measure. Now the way was clear and the "landslide" of n Achievement research began, headed by two of the most prolific researcher-writers in the history of psychology David C. McClelland and John W. Atkinson.

In 1951 McClelland published his first book, *Personality*, a work that is not well-known (and is almost impossible to obtain in South Africa) and is still less quoted. In this work it seems that McClelland tried to systematize and expand the ideas proposed by Murray. In some ways this work gives the impression of being a sequel to Murray's work. However, the publication that launched n Achievement studies was a joint effort of McClelland, Atkinson, R.A. Clark and E.L. Lowell that was published in 1953. Primarily this was a summary of the research on n Achievement conducted at Wesleyan University in the period January 1947 to January 1953. The importance of this work is that for the first time, a readily useable method for

measuring a clearly defined psychogenic variable, through the TAT method, was presented. Naturally the other psychometric data in the book, and the fact that achievement tends to be one of the key values in the American culture, helped to elicit and promote interest in n Achievement studies.

Apart from numerous papers in psychological journals, the next major work in this direction was *Motives in Fantasy, Action and Society*, under the editorship of Atkinson (1958) which contained

"... an integrated series of forty-six articles surveying the progress that has been made in the past decade to develop a valid method for measuring socially meaningful human motives".

(Atkinson 1958, dust jacket)

Then in 1961 McClelland wrote *The Achieving Society* in which he tried to demonstrate the relationship between the achievement motive and economic development. Although this is one of the most readable and "popular" books on n Achievement, it gives the impression that scientific rigour has not always been adhered to. Furthermore some of the theories proposed in this work rest on very scant evidence. In 1966 *A theory of achievement motivation* was published under the editorship of Atkinson and Norman Feather. This work concentrated on exploring some of the basic theoretical aspects of achievement motivation. The relationship of n Achievement to the fear of failure, aspiration, and persistence was also carefully explored.

These are the major milestones in the development of research on n Achievement although they are not the only publications in this field. Apart from the numerous papers that have been published in different journals, some minor publications have also appeared from time to time. Thus

McClelland edited *Studies in motivation* (1955), *The roots of consciousness* (1964), and with A.L. Baldwin, U. Bronfenbrenner and F.L. Strodbeck, *Talent and society* (1958). In 1964 Atkinson also published *An introduction to motivation*. An interesting point to note is that of late, Atkinson has tended to concentrate on the theoretical issues of n Achievement. One of the latest studies he has participated in is *The dynamics of action* (1970), which is a highly theoretical study on the mathematical relationships of different motivational factors. On the other hand McClelland has shown greater interest in the application of n Achievement, his latest works being, *Motivating economic achievement*, (1969) which is concerned with developing n Achievement to promote economic achievement and, *The drinking man: alcohol and human motivation* (1972) which explores the relationship of n Achievement to alcoholism.

One of the most significant books on n Achievement in latter times is *Leistungsmotivation* published by H. Heckhausen (1965), a German from the Ruhr-Universität, Bochum. This work was translated into English by K.F. Butler, R.C. Birney and D.C. McClelland and published as *The Anatomy of Achievement Motivation* in 1967. It integrated all the significant research on n Achievement up to that date.

6.1.2 Definition

McClelland et al (1953 p.110) defines n Achievement as

"success in competition with some standard of excellence".

6.1.3 Explorations on n Achievement

To give an enumeration on n Achievement would fill several volumes. The following examples give some indication of the enormous number of works that have appeared in this direction.

- (i) Klinger (1966) had already traced 42 fieldstudies and 44 laboratory studies that had correlated n Achievement with some measure of achievement.
- (ii) Heckhausen (1967) cites approximately 400 works on n Achievement.
- (iii) Suin and Oskamp (1969) gives a review of the predictive validity of projective techniques for the past 15 years. However, they excluded all studies on n Achievement on the grounds that studies in this direction are far too voluminous.

No attempt will be made to present all this research, as it would fill several volumes. Only the research on n Achievement that has been carried out in cross-cultural context will be presented below (cf.6.4).

6.2 n Affiliation

6.2.1 A brief history of n Affiliation

The prehistory of n Affiliation is practically the same as that of n Achievement, but with the experiment of McClelland et al (1949) (that demonstrated the measurement of n Ach on the TAT) their ways parted. Not long after this experiment Shipley and Veroff (1952) demonstrated that it is possible to arouse n Affiliation and that a valid

measure of this need was possible on a TAT-type test. Thus they found that when n Affiliation was experimentally aroused, the frequency of imaginative stories "dealing with affective concern over separation from another person" also increased. Later Atkinson, Heyns and Veroff (1954) repeated this experiment and developed a method of scoring thematic apperception stories to measure the strength of n Affiliation motivation.

Although the method of measuring n Affiliation was just as easy (or difficult) as that for n Achievement and a definite system for scoring n Affiliation had only been developed three years later than that for n Achievement, it never seemed to "catch on" to the degree that the latter did. The reasons for this would in itself be an interesting study. Thus in contrast to n Achievement, the history of n Affiliation is but brief and sketchy. Furthermore a search of the literature revealed that all the published material on n Affiliation is confined to journal literature. A book has been published on affiliation by Schachter (1959) but it is not concerned with n Affiliation. The affiliation it treats is a much wider and somewhat different concept.

6.2.2 Definition

Heyns, Veroff and Atkinson (1958) define n Affiliation as

"... establishing, maintaining, or restoring a positive effective relationship with another person. This relationship is most adequately described by the word friendship".

6.3 The motivational basis of n Achievement and n Affiliation

As indicated above, n Achievement and n Affiliation had their origin with Murray (1938). Murray, under the influence of both Jung (with whom he stayed for over a month) and the American empirical tradition, tried to bridge the gap between clinical description and empirical research by choosing a large enough number of variables to take the full complexity of the human personality into consideration. Thus he proposed a large number of needs (driving forces from outside the individual). (Murray 1938 Chapter 2) To Murray the basis of motivation lies in the relationship of the needs to the presses, he thus proposed the concept "thema" to account for this relationship. (E.g. an individual with a strong need for affiliation receiving love and friendship from someone.)

The clinical influence is clearly visible through this rather mechanistic theory of Murray, because to him each personality is unique due to the fact that each person has his own hierarchy of needs. The Gestalt influence is also visible (Murray himself admits to be much influenced by Lewin - cf. Murray 1959) in his idea that the different themas have coherence. Later he coined the concept "unity thema" to denote this coherence. (Murray and Kluckhohn 1965 p.32)

The major problem with Murray's theory is that it was originally based on the homeostasis or tension reduction principle (cf. Murray 1938 pp.40-46), and although he later tried to also incorporate tension generating motives into his theory (cf. Murray and Kluckhohn 1965 pp.36-37) he was not very successful in his attempt.

As far as n Achievement and n Affiliation are concerned it is significant to note that McClelland took very little notice of Murray's later ideas, and was more concerned with the earlier tension-reduction ideas. While McClelland was busy with the initial experiments on n Achievement he also published his main theoretical work, *Personality*, in 1951, in which he tried to integrate Allport's "trait theory", Cattell's "factor analytical theory" and Murray's "need theory". However, by the time he set out his viewpoint on motivation in *The Achievement Motive*, in 1953, his ideas had somewhat changed. It seems that McClelland had been strongly influenced by D.O. Hebb, especially by *The Organization of Behaviour* that was published by Hebb in 1949. McClelland no longer saw needs as the result of tension, generated by some deficiency (McClelland et al 1953 p.8), but rather regarded needs as motivation in terms of a deviation from the adaptation level, and reaction to external cues. (McClelland et al 1953 pp.28-29)

Thus although Murray and McClelland originally may have had the same concept of n Achievement and n Affiliation, McClelland had become more behaviouristic in emphasis and Murray had become more humanistic in outlook. Although the tension-reduction basis of needs, as presented by McClelland, may have some validity, we cannot accept it as the total basis of n Achievement and n Affiliation. The reasoning that has led us to this conclusion is presented in the paragraphs below.

The reigning idea in all behaviouristic theories of motivation is the principle of homeostasis i.e. tension reduction to a point of equilibrium. (The psychoanalytic theories are not as different as they would like us to believe. To them the object of all motivation is to keep

the conflicts between the id, ego and superego at a minimum - thus homeostasis at a different level.) One of the first people to criticize the homeostasis principle was Kurt Goldstein. To him behaviour did not result from the successive satisfaction of different needs but (in the holistic tradition) was the result of one sovereign motive: self-actualization. The goal of the behaviour of the normal healthy person was not to discharge tension but rather to equalize it. (Hall and Lindzey 1970 p.305 and Severin 1973 p.127) Another avid critic of the homeostatic principle as sole origin of motivation was Bühler. She contended that instead of a single process of homeostasis, two general categories can be discerned.

- (a) Motives oriented to need reduction, and
- (b) motives directed to the internal organization of the individual.

This latter category can further be divided into the following sections

- (i) self-limiting adaptation,
- (ii) creative expression,
- (iii) internal order.

(Severin 1973 p.128)

Another criticism of the homeostatic principle as the basis of the motivation to learn a certain train of behaviour, (the building-block of all behaviouristic oriented motivation theories, especially that of McClelland) is aptly demonstrated in the following passage by Schreier (1957 p.51)

"The stimulus offered has no meaning; deliberately, possible differences in interpretation are excluded and only stimuli set up which cannot give even an

indication of what happens when we react to them. The starting point is trial and error, the paths in the maze at first sight do not offer any clue as to which may be 'better'. But in actual life there is hardly any such situation".

Thus a sounder basis for motivation must be sought elsewhere.

Three people who have continually spoken out against the reductionistic theories of human behaviour and who have come to represent the "third-force" in American psychology are Allport, Rogers and Maslow. Allport has addressed himself to motivation theory by postulating the functional autonomy of motives (and thus divorcing these motives from any basis of tension-reduction); however, he will best be remembered for his work on personality. (Madsen 1968 p.125) Rogers, apart from developing basic ideas on the actualizing tendency as a "growth motive" in human behaviour, did not develop a formal theory of motivation. However, Maslow developed a specific theory of motivation.

Maslow was strongly influenced by Allport and by the holistic-dynamic viewpoints of Angyal and Goldstein (his colleagues at Brandeis University). (Hall and Lindzey 1970 p.325)

The influence of Allport on Maslow can best be seen in the following:

- (a) Allport rejected animal experiments on motivation - claiming them not to have any bearing on human motivation. Furthermore he rejected Freud's theories of instinctive drives (formulated from the behaviour of patients) as having no relationship to the behaviour of normal adults. Maslow also held the

same views on these issues.

- (b) Both Allport and Maslow professed the belief that humans are totally different from animals and were more than mere higher-order animals.
- (c) Both Allport and Maslow stress the fact that psychologists should have a specific philosophy of man.

(Madsen 1973 p.695)

In general Maslow can be differentiated from the behaviouristic theorists due to the fact that he not only stressed stimuli from outside for the development of personality, but also believed in growth within the person. (Hall and Lindzey 1970 p.326) He differed from the psychoanalysts as he drew his information from well-adjusted adults. But perhaps the point on which Maslow differs the most from the other theorists is that he stresses the role of growth motivation which includes needs for self-realization, altruism and creative work. He does not ignore man's basic needs (e.g. hunger, affection, security etc.) as units of motivation but sees them as limited in their function. However, he also includes the growth needs (that he also calls meta-needs) such as justice, goodness, beauty, order, unity etc. as additional factors in human motivation.

The significance of Maslow's formulation for this study lies in that n Achievement and n Affiliation need no longer be seen as needs that result from a building of tension to achieve or to affiliate with others, but may be viewed as the self-actualizing tendency that develops in any healthy personality. No wonder that current researchers such as Cunningham et al (1975) have investigated the empirical relationships between Murray's and Maslow's needs systems. When n Achievement and n Affiliation are seen as

simple experimental variables, this reformulation does not seem so significant. However, it gains in significance when we note that Stagner (1961 p.291) points out that such long term behavioural patterns such as professional ambition (which is closely tied to n Achievement) and enduring love (that is closely tied to n Affiliation) can hardly be directly related to tension reduction.

6.4 Cross-cultural studies on n Achievement and n Affiliation

6.4.1 Introduction

Cross-cultural studies on n Achievement and n Affiliation have in general been thinly spread over a wide field of interest. Certain researchers have merely investigated the difference in the strength of these motives across cultures, while others have concentrated on the relationship of n Achievement and n Affiliation to a variety of other behavioural characteristics prevalent in different cultures. A few researchers have also focussed attention on the change in n Achievement and n Affiliation accompanying change in a specific culture or social group.

6.4.2 Comparisons of the strength of n Achievement and n Affiliation in different cultures

The most studies in this respect have come from comparisons between Negroes and Whites in the U.S.A. However, the findings are contradictory. Thus McClelland and Winter (1969 p.351) found that Negroes have much lower n Achievement than Whites whereas Travis and Anthony (1975) found precisely the opposite when they compared the n Achievement of Negro

and White students. To confuse the issue still more Hall (1975) found no racial differences in n Achievement in the U.S.A. An explanation for these contradictory results is most probably to be sought in differences in the samples from the different cultural groups. Naturally there are also a myriad of other variables that interact with n Achievement (cf. Heckhausen 1969 pp.53-66) that may lead to these results. Then there is also the heterogeneity of cultures amongst the Whites in the U.S.A. Someone who took this into account was Strodbeck (1958), who compared the achievement values of children from Jewish and Greek homes (in the U.S.A.) with those of children from Negro and Italian homes. The latter two groups proved to have much lower achievement values.

A number of researchers concentrated on cultures in other parts of the world. E.g. Hines (1973) found that Cook Islanders had a higher level of n Achievement than Western Samoans, whereas Moaris and White (European) New Zealanders had a higher level of n Achievement than the Cook Islanders; Melikan et al (1971) found a high degree of n Achievement in Afganistan and Brazil, followed by Saudi Arabia, then Turkey, and at the bottom came Britain. Some researchers have selected comparable groups more discriminately e.g. Harnell (1971) compared Iranian and U.S. managers and found the latter to have a higher degree of n Achievement. Hayashi and Lynn (1970) tried to test McClelland's theory on the relationship of n Achievement to industrial growth, by comparing the commitment to career success of young people of low growth countries (Britain and Ireland), with that of high growth countries (Japan and Israel), and found the latter to score significantly higher on this variable.

A cross-cultural comparative study, that is noteworthy because it related the psychological variables to

specific cultural variables, was carried out by Parker (1962). In comparing the ethnographic evidence on the Objibwa and the Eskimo he found that the Objibwa strove for individual achievement, were independent and were highly competitive, while the Eskimo were more co-operative and placed much less value on individual achievement. He thus postulated a higher degree of n Achievement with the Objibwa than with the Eskimo and an inverse relationship with n Affiliation. By selecting 29 myths from each group and scoring these for the two psychological motives, he found significant differences in these two cultural groups for n Achievement and n Affiliation, in the direction he had predicted.

Only three studies on Africa could be found. Levine (1966) compared the levels of n Achievement of the 160, Yoruba and Hausa. He found the Ibo to have the highest level of n Achievement, the Yoruba followed and last in line was the Hausa. Morsbach (1969) compared South African groups and found the English South Africans to have a much higher degree of n Achievement than Afrikaans speaking groups. Botha (1971) tested South African, American and Arab undergraduates, and found no significant differences in n Achievement between the different groups.

6.4.3 Variations of n Achievement within cultures

Differences in psychological motives are to be expected within any culture, because no cultural group consists of absolutely identical members or even identical subgroups of members. A number of studies have specifically tried to isolate these differences. Thus social class has been found to be related to differences in n Achievement in Japan (McClelland 1961 p.379), Brazil (Rosen 1962), and the

U.S.A. (McClelland 1961 pp.362-363 and Rosen 1958 pp.495-508) The higher status groups tend to have a higher average degree of n Achievement with the highest level of this motive to be found amongst the upper-middle class.

Another intra-cultural variable that seems to have an influence on n Achievement is acculturation (sometimes more specifically indicated as modernization and/or industrialization). An issue that makes research interpretation in this respect confusing, is the fact that there is no certainty concerning what variable acts as the independent variable and which as the dependent variable. This problem is neither new nor unique to this area of human behaviour as Smelser and Smelser (1963) have discussed it extensively in an introductory chapter in a book of readings on the relationship between personality and social systems.

The changes within a culture that have an influence on n Achievement have been investigated by using analytic strategies on a number of different dimensions. In the first instance there have been a number of studies that have investigated the change of culture on the time dimension. They achieved this by analyzing psychological motives in the literature of a specific culture, at different stages in its historical past. Not only were these motives compared for changes that have taken place in their strength, but they were usually also equated with some other validating indexes. (E.g. n Achievement in England was equated to the rise in the Industrial Revolution.) Thus McClelland (1961) quotes studies of this nature that have been carried out on Ancient Greece, Spain in the late Middle Ages, England from Tudor times to the Industrial Revolution, and the U.S.A. for the years 1800-1950. In all these cases n Achievement correlated significantly with the other indexes of achievement

behaviour. Another strategy was to make use of an environmental variable in comparative studies of the psychological motives. Thus subjects from different environments are compared with regard to the motives. These environments may be geographical (e.g. rural or urban) or psychological (e.g. educated parents vs. uneducated parents). Thus Sinha and Chaubey (1972) compared the n Achievement of subjects in ten highly developed villages (in Allahabad) with that of subjects in ten undeveloped villages and found the latter to have significantly lower n Achievement. Singh (1969) found higher n Achievement amongst less traditional oriented agricultural entrepreneurs than amongst the more traditional oriented entrepreneurs in Delhi. There are two other studies (also carried out in India) where n Achievement seems to be the independent variable but which are mentioned here as they are related to the two studies quoted above. Hundall (1971) found a significant difference in n Achievement between entrepreneurs with fast-growing enterprises and those with slow-growing enterprises in Punjab and Nandy (1973) studied entrepreneurs from two subcultures in India. He found that although n Achievement correlated with entry into enterprise, n Affiliation did not correlate with this index of achievement behaviour. In Brazil Angelini et al (1970) also found that adolescents from industrialized areas portrayed significantly higher n Achievement than their counterparts from the less industrialized areas.

Whereas all the studies quoted above demonstrated some relationship between acculturation and n Achievement, there are studies that contradict this finding. Lokesh (1971) found no significant differences in n Achievement and n Affiliation between rural and urban Hindi students. Le Vine (1966 p.57) using the education of the subjects' parents as an indicator of westernization, also failed to find any

behaviour. Another strategy was to make use of an environmental variable in comparative studies of the psychological motives. Thus subjects from different environments are compared with regard to the motives. These environments may be geographical (e.g. rural or urban) or psychological (e.g. educated parents vs. uneducated parents). Thus Sinha and Chaubey (1972) compared the n Achievement of subjects in ten highly developed villages (in Allahabad) with that of subjects in ten undeveloped villages and found the latter to have significantly lower n Achievement. Singh (1969) found higher n Achievement amongst less traditional oriented agricultural entrepreneurs than amongst the more traditional oriented entrepreneurs in Delhi. There are two other studies (also carried out in India) where n Achievement seems to be the independent variable but which are mentioned here as they are related to the two studies quoted above. Hundall (1971) found a significant difference in n Achievement between entrepreneurs with fast-growing enterprises and those with slow-growing enterprises in Punjab and Nandy (1973) studied entrepreneurs from two subcultures in India. He found that although n Achievement correlated with entry into enterprise, n Affiliation did not correlate with this index of achievement behaviour. In Brazil Angelini et al (1970) also found that adolescents from industrialized areas portrayed significantly higher n Achievement than their counterparts from the less industrialized areas.

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relationship between n Achievement and westernization amongst the Ibo, Hausa and Yoruba in Nigeria. Still more surprising is the finding by Okano and Spilka (1971) that the less acculturated Japanese in the U.S.A. portray higher achievement values than their more acculturated counterparts.

Although there is a significant body of literature available on variables that affect n Achievement and n Affiliation in the Euro-American culture, very little is available on other cultures and any explanation of the anomalies pointed out above must of necessity remain speculation.

6.4.4 The relationship of n Achievement and n Affiliation to other cultural and behavioural variables

This section can be divided into two sub-sections:

- (a) The relationship between the motives and other cultural variables and
- (b) the relationship between the motives and other psychological variables.

Naturally this division is quite superficial as the difference between culture and behaviour is arbitrary (or in Sorokin's words "a false dichotomy") both being aspects of human behaviour. Smelser and Smelser (1963 pp.1-3) also point out that in all cases the "organizing conceptual unit" still is the person and that these demarcations merely rest on the level of analysis (of the person's behaviour) that is selected.

6.4.4.1 The relationship between cultural variables and n Achievement and n Affiliation

From the 400 different cultures that Textor (1967) compared in his monumental cross-cultural summary he was able to compare the n Achievement of 36 of these cultures with other ethnographic characteristics. Thus although this is not a very representative sample of world cultures, it gives some indication of possible tendencies. He found that n Achievement was related ($p < 0,10$ or stronger) to the following variables.

- (a) Cultures from environments that is harsh, i.e. desert, tundra, high plateau steppe etc.
- (b) Cultures that have non-fixed settlements.
- (c) Cultures that have full-time entrepreneurs.
- (d) Cultures where the communities are non-exogamous.
- (e) Cultures where the number of food taboos during pregnancy is low or absent.
- (f) Cultures where the child's inferred anxiety over non-performance of obedient behaviour is low.
- (g) Cultures where the initial indulgence of dependency is high.
- (h) Cultures where sexual expression by the young is restricted or semi-restricted.
- (i) Cultures where a high god is present.
- (j) Cultures where the role of religious experts is conducive to the development of the individual's need to achieve.
- (k) Cultures where the mode of the individual's contact with the divine is conducive to the development of the individual's need to achieve.

McClelland (1961 p.69) also made use of Murdock's *World Ethnographic Atlas* as a basis of comparison and found

gatherers to portray significantly lower n Achievement than agriculturists. Furthermore he indicates that cultures with a low degree of n Achievement are much more traditional, especially in the religious sphere, than cultures with a high degree of n Achievement. Harrington and Whiting (1972 p.485) found that cultures which placed a high reward on achievement also had significant more games of skill.

Probably the variable that has been the best documented in this field is socialization. In studies carried out in Brazil, Japan and Germany (McClelland 1961 pp.345-347) it was found that specific achievement training by mothers developed n Achievement in children. McClelland also describes the optimal pattern for fostering n Achievement as a dominating mother who demands standards of excellence and a father that allows the child autonomy. This finding correlates with Rosen's (1962) study in Brazil that indicated an authoritarian, father-dominated family is less likely to produce high n Achievement in the child. Bradburn (1963) found the same results in Turkey. Child, Storm and Veroff (1958) analyzed the folk-literature from 52 preliterate cultures and found that cultures with many restrictions and stress on obedience were lower in n Achievement.

As early as 1952 McClelland had investigated independence training across 23 cultures and found it significantly related to n Achievement. Later Child, Storm and Veroff (1958) investigated the same variables across 110 different cultures and found n Achievement unrelated to independence training. Probably there is a sex variable present that has some influence on these relationships, because Olsen (1971) found a significant correlation between independence training in boys and their n Achievement score,

in a study carried out in Taiwan. However, in girls this relationship was not significant. In a summary of the literature on the relationship of independence to n Achievement over different cultures, Young (1972) comes to the conclusion that there are major contradictions in the research findings at this stage.

6.4.4.2 The relationship of n Achievement and n Affiliation to general behavioural aspects

Probably the most cross-cultural research on the relationship of n Achievement to other behavioural variables concerns the relationship of n Achievement to some other form of achievement behaviour. McClelland (1961 pp.71-105) found a significant correlation between n Achievement (as portrayed in children's readers) and a wide range of economic indexes in 23 countries for the period 1920-1929 and 40 countries for the period 1946-1955. Lambert and Klineberg (1963), in a cross-cultural study, found n Achievement to be related to the career aspirations of boys. These findings correlate with that of Le Vine (1966) who found that in Nigeria the Ibo, who were the most progressive, also portrayed the highest n Achievement.

Two studies investigated the results of blocking n Achievement. Tidrick (1971) found that Jamaican students who intended emigrating from Jamaica (where they saw no future for achievement) had higher n Achievement than their counterparts who intended remaining in Jamaica. Feierabend and Feierabend (1973) found that in countries where there is a sharp rise in n Achievement and no clear avenue for realization of this n Achievement the possibility of political unrest and revolution is very high.

A number of writers have speculated that the relationship between n Affiliation and achievement behaviour is strongly culture-bound. Wallace (1961 p.148) first raised this issue. Later Boyatzis (1973 p.257) suggested that subjects high in n Affiliation may well be motivated to achieve if it is instrumental in building interpersonal relationships. Kubany et al (1970) went so far as to suggest that in some cultures the relationship between n Achievement and achievement behaviour might be influenced by n Affiliation due to the fact that subjects from these cultures attach no significance to achievement behaviour if it does not lead to group acceptance. This hypothesis was supported in a study they carried out on Filipino high school boys in Hawaii. Gallimore (1974) also found support for this viewpoint in research amongst Hawaiian-Americans. Ramirez and Price-Williams (1976) also found evidence that Mexican-American and Black American subjects were more concerned with family bound achievement (which is strongly tied to affiliative motives), than n Achievement, whereas Anglo-American children are more concerned with the latter motive. In contrast to these trends there seems to be an inverse relationship between n Affiliation and achievement behaviour in Western society. This was found in an empirical study by S.W. Koch in Finland. (McClelland and Winter 1969 p.15)

6.5 Conclusions

- (i) There seems to be a sound theoretical basis for n Achievement and n Affiliation. Although the major theoretical approach is tension-reductionalistic, a strong case can be made out for tension generating motivational theory.

- (ii) A substantial body of research exists on the nature of n Achievement and n Affiliation and the role they play in the Euro-American culture. However, the literature on the function of these two motives in other cultures, especially the more "primitive" cultures, is very sketchy. From the literature that does exist there are indications of the following general tendencies:
- (a) There are differences in n Achievement between different cultural groups. However, these differences are contaminated by differences within cultural groups and should thus not be indiscriminately accepted. Two variables isolated in this connection are social class and acculturation.
- (b) In general it seems that within a specific culture the more traditional members portray lower n Achievement than the more Westernized members. However, there is no finality on this issue. Only one study carried out in Africa on this issue could be found. Le Vine (1966) found no differences in n Achievement between acculturated and unacculturated subjects in Nigeria. The only study of this nature where n Affiliation was used, found no differences between acculturated and unacculturated subjects.
- (c) A number of different cultural variables have been correlated with n Achievement - however, the samples used do not seem representative of the population of cultures in the world at large. Thus the results are open to question. The only variable on which quite a substantial body of research exists, is socialization. However, there is no clarity on which socialization practices lead to the develop-

ment of n Achievement, as the different empirical studies still contradict each other.

- (d) There seems to be substantial proof that n Achievement is related to achievement behaviour (across cultures). However, there is no clarity on the relationship between n Affiliation and achievement behaviour and some writers have speculated that this relationship is strongly culturally bound.

From this literature review it thus seems that it may prove fruitful to investigate the following issues in an African culture:

- (a) Is there any significant relationship between acculturation and n Achievement?
- (b) Is there a significant relationship between acculturation and n Affiliation?
- (c) What is the relationship of these two motives to achievement behaviour?

These questions will form the basis of the empirical study of this thesis.

CHAPTER 7
THE OWAMBO

7.1 Introduction

This chapter will strive to give a general review of

- (i) the classification of the Owambo amongst the Bantu of Southern Africa;
- (ii) the physical environment of the Owambo people;
- (iii) the origin of the Owambo people;
- (iv) the general characteristics of the Owambo culture;
- (v) the extent of western cultural influences on the Owambo.

As this chapter is merely included to form a general background to the investigation, brevity will be the norm. Thus no detailed geographical or culturological study should be expected.

7.2 Classification of the Owambo amongst the Bantu of Southern Africa

The most satisfactory (and supported) classification of the Bantu of Southern Africa is presented by Hitzeroth (1972 p.130). He divides the Southern Bantu into three main groups:

- (i) The South-Eastern group which includes the Nguni, Shangana-Tsonga, Sotho, Venda and Lemba.
- (ii) The Central group consisting of the Shona tribes of Rhodesia.

- (iii) The Western group that live to the north and south of the Kunene and Okavango rivers and that include the Mbundu, Herero and Owambo.

The Owambo mostly live within South West Africa where they are the largest ethnical group. Cf. Table 7.1

TABLE 7.1

THE DIFFERENT ETHNICAL GROUPS OF SOUTH WEST AFRICA

ETHNICAL GROUP	N	% OF THE POPULATION OF S.W.A.
Bushmen	11 762	2,24
Damaras (including Bergdamas)	44 353	8,43
Namas	34 806	6,62
Coloureds (Rehoboth)	11 257	2,14
Coloureds (Cape)	12 708	2,42
Whites	73 464	13,97
Herero	35 354	6,72
Tjimba, Ovahimba etc.*	9 234	1,75
Owambo	239 363	45,50
Okavango	27 871	5,30
East Caprivians	9 992	1,90
TOTAL	526 004	100,00

* Groups in the Kaokoveld.

(South African Bureau of Census and Statistics 1960)

MAP 7.1

THE RELATION OF OWAMBO TO THE REST OF S.W.A.



7.3 The physical environment of the Owambo

Between 17°20'S to 18°14'S and 14°E to 18°E lies the homeland of the Owambo - namely Owambo. In the north of South West Africa, approximately 60 miles north of the mining town of Tsumeb, lies the south-eastern corner of Owambo. From here the eastern border stretches due north to the northern border which in its turn stretches 235 miles (379 km.) due west to the Kunene river. From there it follows the river to a point where it joins the western border. This border slants in a south-easterly direction and stretches for 80 miles (129 km.) to join the southern border, the latter stretches for 196 miles (315 km.) due east to join the eastern border. Owambo is bounded in the north by Angola, in the east by Kavango, in the south by the Etosha nature reserve and in the west by Kaokoland. In total it covers an area of 16 220 sq. miles (53 300 sq.km.) which comprises approximately ,5% (1/20) of South West Africa and has a population density of 14,27 per sq. mile - compared to 1,65 for the rest of S.W.A.

The climate is sub-tropical with a mean annual temperature of 22,5°C (72,5°F) and a mean annual humidity of ±50%, rising from 30% in September to 70% in March. The average rainfall increases diagonally from 350 mm. (14 inches) p.a. in the south-west to 550 mm. (22 inches) p.a. in the north-east. Along the Ondangwa-Ombalantu line the rainfall averages 450-500 mm. (18-20 inches) p.a. with the rainy season from October to April.

Geographically Owambo forms part of the great Central African Plain. It is markedly flat with no outcrops of rock in the central part - the underlying rocks being covered with the thick Kalahari Beds of sand. On the whole

the relief resembles a large flat ladle with the outer edges, except in the south, approximately 100 m higher than the central flats (which lie about 1100 m above sea level). The northern parts are drained by tributaries of the Kunene in the west and the Kavango in the west. The central part is "an archaic delta of an internal drainage system once fed by the Kunene river before it diverted to the Atlantic Ocean". The remaining two-thirds of the country consists of Kalahari sand formations which have no water. The central part, where most of the population lives, slopes almost imperceptibly towards the Etosha Pan and is drained by a maze of shallow watercourses called "oshanas". When rain falls, in the highlands of Angola or in the Kunene river region, it causes the oshanas to fill and flow toward the south. With these floodwaters (the "efundja") large quantities of fish is brought down - a major source of food to the Owambo. The main watercourse down the central part is the Kuvelai, an ancient tributary of the Kunene, that consists of a myriad of interflowing watercourses that eventually open out into Lake Oponona. Because of the conspicuously flat terrain and the fact that the topsoil has a high permeability while the permeability of the subsoil is $\pm 0,0\%$, the whole of the central part is covered with large patches of water for a large part of the year.

The southern and western parts are mostly tree steppe while the northern and eastern parts are covered with open forest. The central parts mostly contain *makalani palm* (*hyphaene ventricosa*), *marula* (*sclerocarya caffra sond*) and *mopane* (*colophospermum mopane*). Towards the northwest there is a large area of *mopane* bush with *boabab* (*abdabsonia digitata L*) trees in between. On the outer edges of Owambo (except the south) *marula* and a certain kind of teak (*pterocarpus angolensis DC*) is to be found. (Bruwer 1961;

Department of Foreign Affairs 1971; Van Vuuren 1966; Winter et al 1966)

7.4 Origin of the Owambo

A decade or two ago the origin of the Owambo still seemed relatively simple to explain - they were merely a product of Negro and Hamitic mixture who originated in the "great lakes" region. Equally simple was their migration route - across from the "great lakes" region to the Atlantic coast, near the present-day city of Luanda, and from there down the coast to their present homeland. Through all the speculations of Froebenius, Ankerman and Bauman this theory was not markedly altered. However, with the publication of Murdock's work on the cultural history of Africa, this theory has joined quite a few others as interesting relics in the search for Africa's past. In the 1930's there was also some speculation of a link between the Mediterranean peoples and the Owambo, but this never seemed to catch on. (Loeb 1936) As matters are at present much more evidence (mostly archaeological) will be needed before any other such a sweeping theory can be attempted.

So far as the domestic scene is concerned, quite a few observers have tried their luck in explaining the pre-historical migrations of the Owambo. Some have even been brave enough to offer reasons for these migrations! Of the better known theories are those of Hahn (1927) and Vedder (1938). Hahn suggests that the Owambo migrated from the upper reaches of the Zambesi to their present location. Vedder, on the other hand, holds the idea that the Owambo, together with Herero, moved over from the northern regions of the present-day Botswana. On the border of the present Owambo, at a legendary "omumborombonga" tree the two tribes

parted. He calculates that the Owambo, under their chief, Situene, reached their present locality in 1550 - approximately the year that the Kunene river changed its course by incising its new course along an ancient glacial valley.

A few more pet theories have been advanced - but these will all just remain theories up to the discovery of any substantial evidence. Up to that happy time we might as well believe the Owambo themselves who have it that they came from a country where there was a large lake with many elephants on its banks.

7.5 The traditional culture of the Owambo - a general survey

The name Owambo (formerly Ovambo and originally Ambo) is a collective name for the eight tribes that live in Owambo (formerly Ovamboland or Owamboland and originally Amboland) and in a small part of Angola. These tribes are the following:

TABLE 7.2

THE OWAMBO TRIBES

TRIBE	N	% OF GROUP
Kwanyama	87 511	36,56
Ndonga	68 601	28,66
Kwambi	28 341	11,84
Ngandjera	18 527	7,74
Mbalantu	17 665	7,38
Kwaluudhi	12 040	5,03
Kolonkadhi-Eunda*	6 678	2,79
TOTAL	239 363	100,00

* Because of

- (i) their living together and
- (ii) their small numbers,

these two tribes are usually taken together as one.
(Van Vuuren 1966 p.5)

Today the Owambo population has grown to a total of over 342 000 people (with \pm 11 500 more females than males) which constitutes 46% of the total population of South West Africa. (Department of Foreign Affairs 1971)

7.5.1 Social Structure

(i) Primary grouping

With the Owambo the primary groupings consist of primary families, extensions of the primary family and sibs ("clans" in British usage). These sibs, epata (p.omapata) are matrilineal exogamic in nature and consist of lineages whose membership enfolds residents of more than one community. There is a complete absence of any patrilineal kin groups and patrilineal exogamy. The family organisation consists of independent polygamous families with co-wives occupying separate quarters. Polygamy is general and thus not sororal or "preferentially sororal". (Bruwer 1961 p.49; Murdock 1966 p.62)

(ii) Secondary grouping

A man, his wife (or wives) and their children live in a village. The position of this stockaded village is

determined by the availability of land and not by any lineage or kinship regulations. Another secondary grouping is formed through the segregation of adolescent boys. Although they eat and reside with their families, they sleep apart in a cattle shed or separate hut.

Although caste stratification is absent, there is a dual class stratification into the lower class (ordinary commoners) and a hereditary aristocracy. In the past, hereditary slavery also formed a secondary grouping. These slaves consisted mostly of Bergdamas but this practice vanished as early as 1910. (Bruwer 1961 p.53; Lemmer 1964 p.4; Murdock 1966 pp.51, 63-65; Vedder 1938 p.74)

(iii) The Tribe

The Owambo is divided into eight different tribes, each occupying its own area. Traditionally each tribe had its own chief but at present only three of the tribes still have chiefs. Originally the chief was the paramount ruler of the tribe. The tribe was divided further into districts, each under the jurisdiction of a headman. Each district was subdivided into wards, each with its local headman. The chief and the headmen had hereditary succession but not so the local headmen who were usually chosen by one of the higher authorities. In early times these chiefs took unfair advantage of their powers, ruling their subjects in a most tyrannical manner and taking great delight in diabolical acts. Custom forbade any questioning or defiance of the chief's actions or instructions. It is thus not surprising to learn that some of these chiefs died a violent death at the hands of their subjects.

As far as the traditional culture is concerned it

seems that the differences of tribes in the past was more a kind of enhanced patriotic feeling than an actual cultural difference. Today, apart from minor language differences, differences in the manufacture of artifacts (e.g. pottery), and a few prevailing customs, there does not seem to be any major differences between the different tribes. The language differences are chiefly dialectical differences, with oshiKwanyama and oshiNdonga being the two major dialects, due to the fact that they are represented by the two most populous tribes.

In latter years there has also been a considerable amount of intermarrying amongst the different tribes. Although an Owambo will still refer to his home or "farm" as a specific plot of land in his tribal area, he may wander anywhere he likes in Owambo. Furthermore there has been a long period of contact amongst the members of the different tribes during the periods that they have been on contract in other parts of South West Africa.

7.5.2 Marriage

Murdock (1966 p.62) and Hahn (1927 p.32) point out that the mode of marriage follows the presentation of cattle and other utility tools by the groom or his relatives, to the kinsmen of the bride. Bruwer (1961 p.122) remarks that

"These tokens are known as *oionda* and should in no way be looked upon as a 'bride-price' (Loeb) or comparable with the custom of *lobola* practised elsewhere. It does not imply any specific rights obtained by the husband, other than the privileges of marriage and the right to remove the girl from her father's homestead to that of the husband or his people. The *oionda* tokens in other words, simply validate the union".

Formerly marriages were mostly duolateral cross-cousin

marriages (i.e. marriage with the MoBraDa or Fa Si Da but not with a parallel cousin) with preference towards patrilineal cross-cousin marriage. Lately this has changed and nonlateral marriages (i.e. marriages in which unions are forbidden with any first cousin but are permitted with any second cousin) are most common. (Murdock 1966 p.62)

For the first few years of marriage, residence is ambilocal (i.e. residence is optional with the parents of the wife or husband, depending on personal choice or circumstances) but later the residence becomes virilocal (i.e. the same as patrilocal residence - residence near or with male patrilineal relations of the male - but limited to instances where the husband's patrikin are not collected in patrilocal or patrilineal kin groups). There also tends to be an increasing amount of neolocal residence (i.e. residence apart or determined by parents or relatives of any of the spouses). (Bruwer 1961 pp.120-124; Murdock 1966 p.62)

7.5.3 Inheritance

As far as real property (land) is concerned there is absence of individual property rights or any custom or regulation governing the transmission of any such rights. This has resulted in the practice that after a man dies his land rights go back to the chief and have to be repurchased by his children. Movable property is usually inherited by matrilineal heirs. (Murdock 1966 p.65)

7.5.4 Religion

Traditionally the high god of the Owambo was Kalunga.

When the Finnish and German missionaries started translating the Bible they thus used the name "Kalunga" for God. At present it is thus not clear whether the conception of Kalunga is traditional or Christian. The Owambo also believe that the spirits of the dead return to earth, especially to their old abodes. Some of these spirits are evil and cause the people great damage while others are good and strengthen the people in their daily tasks.

Personal and impersonal supernaturalism are distinctly separated in the minds of the Owambo. Thus they believe in a spiritual world of personal beings, but in addition to this they also believe in magical power that is invisible but innate in certain substances or people, and which may be utilised for good or evil. (Bruwer 1961 p.126; Lemmer 1964 p.4; Vedder 1938 pp.74-75)

7.5.5 Games

Games of chance are absent but games of physical skill or strategy are common. (Murdock 1966 p.63)

7.5.6 Economic and technological activities

Table 7.3 gives an indication of the percentage of dependence on a number of the most important economic activities.

TABLE 7.3

THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE DEPENDENCY ON DIFFERENT
ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES BY THE OWAMBO

Activity	Percentage of dependence
Gathering of small land fauna and wild plants	0 - 5%
Hunting, including trapping and fowling	6 - 15%
Fishing	6 - 15%
Animal husbandry *	26 - 35%
Agriculture **	46 - 55%

(Murdock 1966 p.62)

* Animal husbandry consists of farming with cattle (which are milked regularly), goats, donkeys, pigs and a few sheep and horses. The Owambo livestock population was the following for 1970:

Cattle	567 000
Goats	338 000
Sheep	9 000
Horses	1 500
Donkeys	54 000
Pigs	26 000

(Department of Foreign Affairs 1971 p.13)

** Extensive or shifting cultivation (i.e. the fields are cleared annually, planted for a couple of seasons and then left) is a major practice. There is also some casual agriculture that consists of "the slight or sporadic cultivation of food or other plants incidental to a primary dependence on another primary source of food". In this case the primary source of food being *P. spicatum* (*Omuhangu*) and to a lesser degree *A. sorghum* (*oilyavala*).

(Murdock 1966 p.63)

The division of technological and economic activities is given in Table 7.4

TABLE 7.4

THE DIVISION OF TECHNOLOGICAL AND ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES

Specialisation by sex	Craft specialisation by a small group of adult males beyond the prime of life.	Junior age specialisation by both ages before age of puberty. To certain extent males more than females.	Performed by many or most female or male (or both) adults.
Males alone perform the activity	Metal working		Leather working House construction Hunting
Females alone perform the activity			Pottery Agriculture
The activity is absent or unimportant in this society	Weaving of true cloth or loom (Not including basket working) Boat building		
Both sexes participate - but females more than males			Gathering of wild plants and small fauna
Both sexes participate - but males more than females		Animal husbandry	Fishing

(Murdock 1966 p.64)

7.5.7 Dwellings

The ground plan of the dwelling is circular and the floor level is formed by or level with the floor itself. The wall material used is wood including logs. The shape of the roof is conical and is made of grass. (Murdock 1966 p.65)

7.6 The extent of Western influence on the Owambo

The present pattern of culture still has its roots in the traditional customs, but due to foreign influences there has also been a significant deviation from the traditional patterns. It is interesting to guess at the earliest influences on the Owambo culture, but this can only remain at guesswork as there are only indirect indications of these early influences. In the first place the Owambo have much stronger Negroised characteristics than the South Eastern Bantu. On the other hand it is calculated that there has been approximately 3% interbreeding with Bushmen. (Hitzeroth 1972 p.152) Many Owambo have also migrated from Angola, where they might have been in contact with the Portuguese from the earliest times.

7.6.1 The first Europeans

Francis Galton and the Swedish naturalist Charles John Anderson were the first Europeans to explore Owambo. Galton landed in Walfish Bay in 1850 and in 1851 set out from Okanhandja with Anderson, first to find Lake Omambonde (which later turned out to be a large vlei) and then to reach the Kunene river, with the purpose of proving that

Lake Ngami can be reached from the Atlantic Ocean. In May they met a group of Owambo traders and joined them on their journey north. On the 26th of May they reached Lake Otjikoto, near the present town of Tsumeb, from where they travelled on to discover the Etosha Pan and eventually to reach the country of the Ondonga tribe. On the 6th of June they met chief Nangoro, who gave them a cool welcome and forbade them to pass through to the Kunene, and thus on the 15th of June they left for the south. Their accounts stimulated the Rhenish missionaries who decided, in 1856, to explore this new territory. The first missionaries to reach Owambo, in 1857, were Hahn and Roth, but after a misunderstanding that ended in a brawl they had to flee south again. Later, in 1866, Hahn returned and met the ruling chief of the Kwanyama. (Bruwer 1961 pp.18-21; Vedder 1938 pp.293-299)

7.6.2 Missionaries

Although the London and Wesleyan mission societies had started their work in the southern parts of South West Africa as early as 1805, the northern parts only came into contact with the missionaries much later. Prior to 1870 there was no mission action in Owambo. As mentioned above Hugo Hahn of the Rhenish Mission Society had journeyed to Owambo in 1857 and 1866 to explore the possibilities of doing mission work in this region. However, the Rhenish Mission Society did not have enough money and staff for any extensive work in this area and thus Hahn asked the Finnish Mission Society whether it would not be interested in this work.

The result of this was that on the 20th of December 1868 six Finnish Missionaries arrived in Cape Town and from March 1869 to May 1870 they stayed with Hugo Hahn at

Otjimbingwe. In 1870 they started with their work in the Ndonga district and in 1876 P. Kurninen, one of the missionaries, wrote the first book in oshiNdonga entitled *ABD Moshindonga, Omukanda natango koshindonga na piangoa* (ABD in Oshindonga. The first book to be written in Oshindonga). This book was first published in Helsinki in 1877. In 1901 the church newsletter, which still exists, was first published and in 1903 the New Testament was first translated into Ndonga. In the same year a mission station was established in Ngandjera; in 1908 in Kwambi and Kwaludhi; in 1913 in Kulankadhi; in 1918 in Mbalantu and in 1921 they took over the old Rhenish mission station at Engela. (Department of Foreign Affairs 1971 p.8; Van Vuuren 1966 pp.15-17)

The mission activities started earlier in the Ndonga than Kwanyama tribe, as the latter was much more hostile towards intruders. Thus the first Rhenish missionaries in Kwanyama were A. Wulfhorst and E. Meisenhall who started work in Namacunde and Omatemba in 1891. The first publication on the Kwanyama was the *Lehrbuch des Oshikwanyama* by P.H. Brinckner, which was published in 1891. The first publication in oshiKwanyama was *O-Evangelio ei ja shangua ku 'mujapuki Matteus* (The gospel according to Mathew) by A. Wulfhorst in 1896. The New Testament and the Psalms were translated into Oshikwanyama in 1927 by the Rhenish Mission Society. After World War I this mission society left, and their work was taken over by the Roman Catholic, Anglican and Finnish Mission Societies.

The Roman Catholics started their work in Owambo in 1910 followed by the Anglican St.Mary's mission in 1924. The Roman Catholics started at Okatana (near the present Oshakati) and later built another mission station and hospital at Oshikuku.

With the arrival of Bishop G.W.R. Tobias in Kwanyama in 1924 the Anglican mission started a mission station, known as St.Mary's Mission at Odibo near Oshikango. (Department of Foreign Affairs 1971 p.8; Van Vuuren 1966 pp.22-24)

At the outset, the missionaries were more interested in the propagation of the Christian faith and ethics, and only later did they start with direct schooling. These mission schools later changed to community schools. That the missionaries had an influence on the culture of the Owambo is very certain. Not only did they have an influence on the religious life of the Owambo, but also on other aspects of the culture connected directly or indirectly with ethics or religion. At a very early stage education must also have had a significant effect. Thus it is interesting to notice that as early as 1867, two of chief Tjikongo's sons had entered the teachers' training college ("The Augustineum") at Otjimbingwe. (Vedder 1938 p.403)

7.6.3 Migratory labour

For many years Owambo workers have migrated on a temporary basis to different parts of S.W.A. and in latter years it has been estimated that these workers annually return with over R4 million to their homeland. The extent of this migratory labour can be seen in Table 7.5.

TABLE 7.5

MIGRATORY LABOUR FROM OWAMBO IN S.W.A.

Year	Kwanyama	Ndonga	Others	Total
1912	-	-	-	7 000
1919	-	-	-	10 500
1962/3	4 223	5 980	6 434	16 637
1963/4	4 809	5 018	7 207	17 034
1964/5	4 749	6 214	7 399	18 362

(Department of Foreign Affairs 1971 p.20)

7.6.4 Printed material

Printed material (books, newspapers etc.), especially publications containing pictorial material, is rare or usually only confined to schools. Newspapers from S.W.A. are very scarce and periodicals and newspapers from further afield are virtually nonexistent. The Finnish missionaries built a press at Onipa but this only printed Bibles, hymnals and school publications. Presently there are two newsletters that are regularly distributed in Owambo but these can hardly be considered as newspapers. These are *Eume*, that is distributed by the Department of Information and mainly carries news on development, and important social events in Owambo (and to a lesser degree S.W.A.), and *Omukwetu*, that is distributed by the Owambo-Kavango church and mainly confines itself to church news and events in the Kavango and Owambo.

The largest distribution of printed material in

Owambo consists of catalogues from mail order houses in South Africa. The quantity of these catalogues may be assessed from the fact that at Oshakati Post Office the turnover for C.O.D. parcels from mail order houses is usually around R10 000 per month. This results in many, if not most, of the Owambo being better dressed (and closer to the reigning fashions) than many of the Bantu in Pretoria and Johannesburg. If this is taken into consideration, and it is remembered that due to the mission effort many of the Owambo are able to converse quite fluently in Afrikaans, then it is clear that to the casual observer the level of acculturation of many Owambo seems much further than it actually proves to be.

7.6.5 Health services

At present there are 13 hospitals (although some of these stretch the concept of 'hospital' a bit) and 34 clinics in Owambo and Kaokoland. The centre of all these medical services is the State Hospital at Oshakati. The strength of the nursing staff in Owambo is 650 and the ideal is to have 24 doctors employed. Added to this there is also a Malaria Control Unit. (Department of Foreign Affairs 1971 pp.23-34)

7.6.6 Education

The largest educational complex in Owambo is the Ongwediva Training Centre (± 8 km. from Oshakati) which comprises a secondary school, a teachers' training centre and technical training institute. This complex cost over R5 million to build and caters for 750 pupils. (Department of Foreign Affairs 1971 pp.29-30) The second largest

Educational centre, an agricultural college at Orongo, was completed in 1973 and is planned to cater for 120 pupils annually.

Table 7.6 gives a picture of the extent of schooling in Owambo. This table must be viewed against the background of the total Owambo population of 342 000 in 1970. (Later statistics are available but are not given as they do not convey the precise background picture for this study.)

TABLE 7.6

THE EXTENT OF SCHOOLING IN OWAMBO

Year	Government and territorial schools			Mission schools			Total		
	Number of schools	Number of pupils	Number of teachers	Number of schools	Number of pupils	Number of teachers	Number of schools	Number of pupils	Number of teachers
1961	85	21 010	445	43	5 109	134	128	26 119	579
1971	217	60 856	1 241	5	742	26	222	61 598	1 267
1972	-	-	-	-	-	-	241	64 355	1 346

(Department of Foreign Affairs 1971 p.29; Department of Bantu Education 1973 p.19)

The pupils in the different school standards in 1972 are presented in Table 7.7.

TABLE 7.7

PUPILS IN THE DIFFERENT SCHOOL STANDARDS IN OWAMBO

STANDARD	N
Sub A to Standard 2	50 426
Standard 3 to Standard 6	13 020
Form I to Form III	599
Form IV to Form V	27
Total for primary school	63 446
Total for secondary school	626
Teacher training	216
Trade and vocational training	67
Total post-primary	909
Grand Total	64 355

(Department of Bantu Education 1973 pp.20-21)

Van Vuuren (1966 p.13) the Chief Inspector of Schools in Owambo calculated the possible school attendance for 1962 by accepting the possible school population as 23% of the total population. Using the same basis as Van Vuuren the school attendance was also calculated for 1972. These results are given in Table 7.8

TABLE 7.8

SCHOOL ATTENDANCE IN OWAMBO IN 1962 AND 1972

	1962	1972	DIFFERENCE
Total population	240 000	342 000	+ 102 000
Possible school population*	55 200	78 660	+ 23 460
Actual school attendance	27 136	64 355	+ 37 219
Percentage school attendance	49,33	81,81	+ 32,48

* Taken at 13% of the total population.

These figures give a global indication of the extent of schooling in Owambo. The increase in educational facilities and school attendance present a clear picture of the increase in education - and thus acculturation.

7.6.7 Transport

In the five years 1966-1971 a total of about R12 million was spent on road construction and maintenance in Owambo and approximately another R1,9 million on two aerodromes, the one at Ondangwa and the other at Ruacana. These developments provided labour for many Owambos and subsequently brought them into contact with western technology.

7.6.8 Postal Services

In 1929 a postal agency was established at Ondangwa

- this was the inauguration of postal services in Owambo. Today there are eight Post Offices and Sub-Post Offices and six Postal Agencies. The postal duties are mostly performed by Owambo personnel. The offices at Uukwaluudhi, Ongandjera, Oshikango and Ombalantu are entirely under control of Owambo staff. Teleprinter and telephone services have also been installed. (Department of Foreign Affairs 1971 p.25-26)

7.6.9 Radio

At Oshakati there is a FM transmitter that broadcasts in oshiNdonga and oshiKwanyama and is on the air for nine hours a day. There is also a production centre where many of the programmes are produced.

7.6.10 Bantu Investment Corporation (BIC)

The BIC mainly promotes industrial and business development in Owambo. Following is a brief list of their developments.

- (i) A wood-processing factory that employs 130 Owambos, has been erected at Oshakati.
- (ii) More than 1 500 Owambo traders have their own rural stores - many of whom are aided by the BIC.
- (iii) A light steel industry has been developed at Oshakati.
- (iv) A soft drink factory has been built at Oshakati.
- (v) At Oshakati and Ondangwa savings bank facilities have been established. There is also a mobile savings bank unit that travels through the rural areas and visits 59 points every month.

- (vi) The BIC employs approximately 2 000 Owambos in its Construction Department. This department constructs various buildings throughout the whole of Owambo.
- (vii) At Oshakati and Ondangwa, Omafufu, Endola and Ombalantu they have wholesale businesses.
- (viii) At Oshakati and Ondangwa they operate panelbeating works, mechanical workshops, service stations and garages. These provide in-job-training facilities for panelbeaters, auto-electricians, mechanics and garage managers. There are also opportunities for training in turning and fitting and spray painting at the Oshakati machine shop.

(Department of Foreign Affairs 1971 pp.13-21)

7.6.11 Electrical power

A power station has been erected at Ruacana Falls and the construction of a pumping station at Calueque in Angola is under construction - together these will provide six cumecs per second. This is part of the "master water plan" for Owambo, which is estimated to cost about R30 million. (Department of Foreign Affairs 1971 pp.13-21)

7.7 Conclusions

- (i) Ethnographical knowledge on the original cultural pattern of the Owambo seems to be quite satisfactory.
- (ii) There is also quite an extensive documentation on the acculturational influences that have come to play on the Owambo culture.
- (iii) In the past the acculturation in Owambo had been

slow and gradual. Thus it comes as no surprise that the more serious social problems usually associated with acculturation have not been prevalent. Thus no indications of natavistic movements or cults and sects are to be found. However, in latter years the pace of acculturation has been stepped up considerably and already there is a great increase in insobriety, delinquency and vagrancy.

- (iv) Because
- (a) parts of Owambo have been exposed to a long history of acculturative influences while the other sections have seen very little of western culture;
 - (b) all movements into or out of Owambo is strictly controlled (for Owambo as well as Europeans); and
 - (c) this area has never known the random and sporadic acculturative influences of tourists, fortune-seekers, travellers etc.;

it is probably one of the most ideal natural laboratories for acculturation studies still available in Southern Africa if not in the whole of Africa.

CHAPTER 8

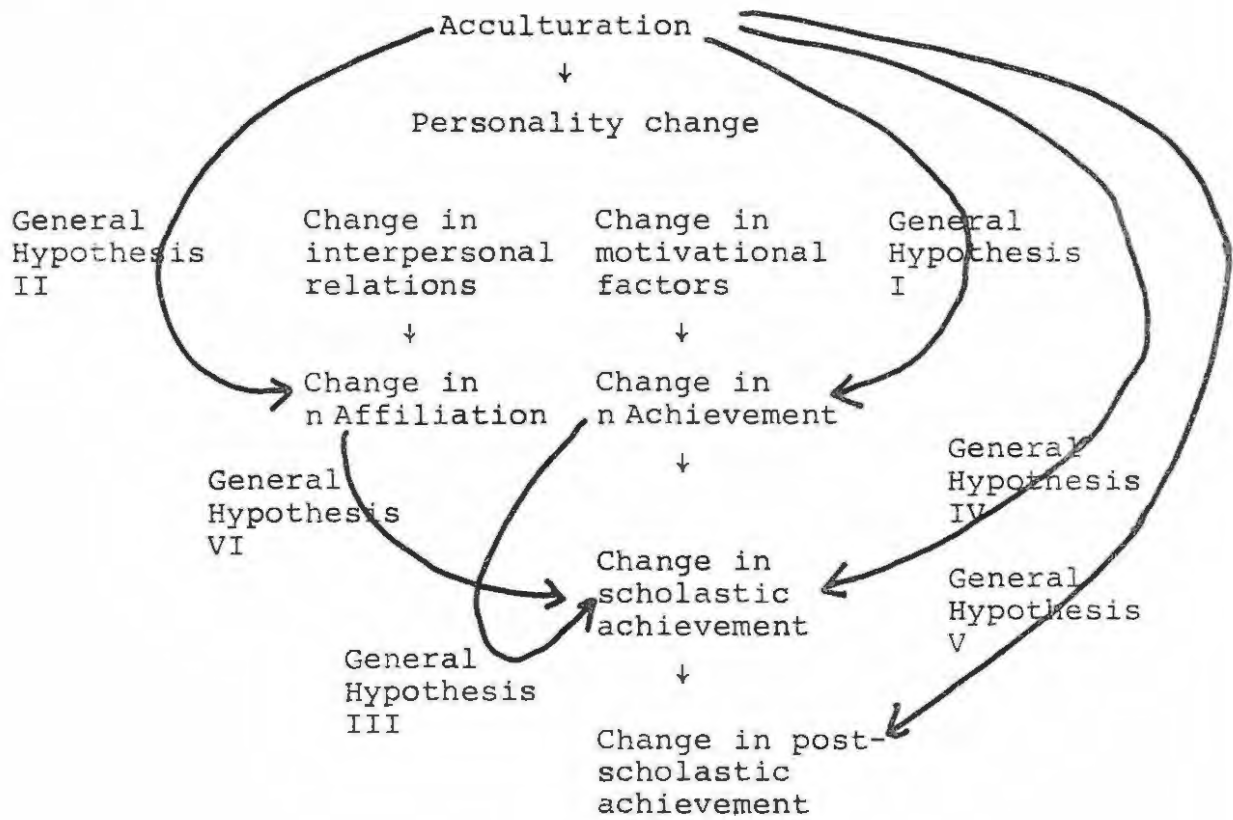
RATIONALE AND GENERAL HYPOTHESES

8.1 Rationale

The basic rationale for this thesis is best presented by explaining Figure 8.1.

FIGURE 8.1

A SCHEMATIC REPRESENTATION OF THE BASIC PLAN FOR THE PRESENT THESIS



This schema can be explained along the following lines:

The literature on the influence of acculturation on personality (Chapter 4) clearly shows that the influence of acculturation on personality characteristics is diverse in nature. On the one hand it leads to more competitive behaviour and eventually to what is regarded in Western society as a motive to achieve. But on the other hand acculturation also results in a broad spectrum of interpersonal problems. This state of affairs leads to two pertinent questions:

'Is there a general increase of n Achievement with acculturation?', and

'Do people feel more (or less) affiliated towards one another in the turmoil of personality problems that results from acculturation?'

From the literature reviewed in Chapter 6 a tentative answer can be given to the first question. There tends to be a general increase in n Achievement with the acculturation of traditional societies to a westernized type of cultural pattern. However, the evidence on this tendency is far from conclusive and as far as Africa is concerned the only study reported in the literature failed to support this tendency. This question is thus still generally unanswered for Africa and Hypothesis I was formulated to try and gain some clarity on the issue.

Only one empirical study could be found that attempted to answer the second question posed above. This research, carried out by Lokesh (1971) on Hindi students, found no change in n Affiliation with acculturation. As far as Africa is concerned this question still remains completely unanswered. However, should some of the findings

on n Affiliation in Western society be combined with the general results on the influence of acculturation on personality in general, then some indication may be found on what to expect. Schachter (1959) found that an increase in anxiety is strongly related to an increase in affiliation. Furthermore a number of studies in Chapter 4 have indicated an increase of anxiety with acculturation. Thus we should expect a general increase in affiliation with acculturation. A probable explanation for this tendency lies in Festinger's (1954) social comparison theory. According to this theory man has an inherent drive to evaluate himself in relation to others and the more uncertain he is of himself (e.g. in the process of acculturation where he has no fixed values) the stronger this drive becomes to evaluate his opinions and abilities with those of people around him (i.e. affiliative behaviour) so as to determine his worth through this comparison and thus to rid himself of anxiety and to gain some security. Thus Hypothesis II was formulated to try and gain some clarity on this issue, in any case as far as Owambo was concerned.

As far as n Achievement is concerned the question still remains - does acculturation only result in an increase of achievement imagery or is there also an increase in achievement behaviour? General Hypotheses III, IV and V were set to answer this question. But this is still not the full story. Why investigate the direct link of acculturation on achievement behaviour if links were found between acculturation and n Achievement, and between n Achievement and achievement behaviour. There were two reasons for this procedure:

- (a) It was not practically possible to measure the n Achievement of individuals outside the scholastic environment without giving rise to strong suspicions

on the part of the subjects.

- (b) The "direct link" approach is intended to be a supplementary or validatory approach that has to shed more light on the function of n Achievement as a mediating factor between acculturation and achievement behaviour.

As far as the relationship of n Affiliation to achievement behaviour is concerned the question is not so straightforward. From the research quoted in Chapter 6 it seems that a number of researchers (i.e. Wallace 1961, Boyatzis 1973, Kubany et al 1970, Gallimore 1974, Ramirez and Price-Williams 1976) are of the opinion that in certain primitive cultures n Affiliation is significant in mediating achievement behaviour. They believe that the achievement motive as envisaged by McClelland is particularly a Western oriented formulation that does not hold in certain primitive cultures. Thus they tend to believe that individuals who have a high degree of n Affiliation will also tend to achieve better in certain primitive cultures because the cultural matrix, of which they are part, rewards achievement behaviour aimed at winning the approval of fellow subjects. This hypothesis fits in with a study of Banks (quoted by Boyatzis 1973 p.268) that determined that even in Western society there is a highly significant relationship between n Affiliation and Marlowe's Need for Approval.

In general there seems to be very little certainty as to whether the relationship between n Affiliation and achievement behaviour is culturally bound or not. It is believed (on the grounds of some tentative findings) that in Western society there is an inverse relationship between n Affiliation and achievement behaviour, (cf. McClelland and Winter 1969 p.15) whereas precisely the opposite is true

for some primitive cultures (cf. Kubany et al 1970 and Gallimore 1974). Thus to shed more light on this issue as far as Owambo is concerned Hypothesis VI was formulated.

8.2 General Hypotheses

The general hypotheses derived from the rationale above is presented in this section.

General Hypothesis I

Where there is a meaningful difference in the level of acculturation of two groups of Owambo subjects, the more acculturated group will portray significantly more n Achievement than the less acculturated group.

General Hypothesis II

Where there is a meaningful difference in the level of acculturation of two groups of Owambo subjects, the more acculturated group will portray significantly more n Affiliation than the less acculturated group.

General Hypothesis III

Owambo subjects who portray n Achievement achieve significantly higher scholastic marks than their fellow subjects who do not portray n Achievement.

General Hypothesis IV

Where there is a meaningful difference in the level of acculturation of two groups of Owambo subjects, the more acculturated group will achieve significantly higher scholastic marks than the less acculturated group.

General Hypothesis V

Owambo subjects who have achieved a meaningful degree of success come from an acculturated background significantly more than could be expected on the basis of chance.

General Hypothesis VI

Owambo subjects who portray n Affiliation achieve significantly higher scholastic marks than their fellow subjects who do not portray n Affiliation.

CHAPTER 9
GENERAL METHODOLOGY

9.1 Measuring instruments

9.1.1 Reasons for the choice of projective techniques

A number of different factors decided the type of measurement that would be used in this study.

- (i) The Owambo are very sensitive to any form of questioning or information gathering. Any person who attempts anything in this line is immediately branded as a member of the "special branch".
- (ii) The major personality characteristics that are measured in this thesis have traditionally been measured by projective methods. Although some questionnaires also claim to measure n Achievement and n Affiliation (e.g. the Edwards Personal Preference Schedule and the French Test of Insight), McClelland (1958 p.25) states
"All the evidence reviewed ... points to low or insignificant relationships between fantasy measures of motivation and measures based on choice or self-description".
- (iii) Most of the work on acculturation and personality studies that were listed in the literature had used projective techniques. It thus seemed a sound policy to follow the traditional well-beaten path rather than to try some novel but risky method.

These points thus lead to the natural choice of projective methods of measurement.

9.1.2 Eliciting projection

Use was made of three different types of projective stimuli to elicit projection.

- (i) Essays
- (ii) TAT protocols
- (iii) Interviews

In addition to this, use was also made of traditional legends and stories. The latter choice was made on the grounds that McClelland (1961) indicated that a number of researchers have found (and used) the traditional literature of a people as a valid measure of the achievement and affiliation motives in the specific people, at the specific time that the stories had their origin.

Four indicators rather than one was used to meet the stipulation set in 3.2.5.

- (i) The legends and traditional stories were all collected by Loeb (1951) and consists of about 8600 words divided into units of approximately 120 words apiece. This specific size of the units was decided on because most of the stories are about this length.
- (ii) Three different essays were used to elicit projection.
 - (a) The Standard 6 subjects all wrote an essay entitled "The day I went to Tsumeb". (Essay III) This essay enabled them to project either of the two motives or both together. Unfortunately it was not possible to use two different essays, for the two different motives, because of some practical

problems that were encountered.

(b) The Form III and IV subjects wrote the following essays:

Essay I : "My Uncle"

Essay II: "I'm glad to be at school because..."

The titles for these essays were not just chosen at random. Some experimentation was carried out by choosing a number of different titles and trying these out. In all cases we derived our norm from Kaplan (1961 p.303), who in his forthright criticism of blind standardization and sterile results declares,

"This is directly counter to my belief that good results - in the sense that they reflect personality adequately - depend upon tailoring the procedures to the characteristics of the subject and his culture".

(Kaplan 1961 p.303)

Thus the essays that gave the best indication that they "worked" or were most conducive in eliciting n Achievement and n Affiliation imagery were selected. This might seem a very arbitrary method of selecting titles, but to our purpose it seemed to function most adequately. Furthermore no definite guidelines could be found in the literature for selecting titles of essays to measure psychological motives. Although Essay I might seem more directed towards n Affiliation and Essay II towards n Achievement they were chosen so that any of the two motives could be projected in each of the two essays. In all instances subjects were told that this was an exercise in creative writing and the essays were thus written as part of their normal schoolwork. Thus no suspicion was aroused as to the nature of the essays. This was done to comply with the

stipulation set in 3.2.10.

This practice of presenting the essays as exercises in creative writing has continually been used by McClelland and his followers (especially with the stories written in response to TAT cards). A problem that exists is that this procedure may have some influence on the stories that subjects tell. However, in their discussion on the factors influencing the elicitation of n Achievement McClelland et al (1953) and Heckhausen (1967) give no indication of this.

- (iii) In the case of the TAT method used it was found that none of the existing sets of TAT-type cards were suitable as their settings and the facial features of the figures were foreign to the Owambo. In order to counter this problem and also to meet the stipulations set in 3.2.8 and 3.2.9 the following procedure was carried out. McClelland et al (1953 pp.100-101) presented two plates for measuring n Achievement. (Later these pictures were also used in the measurement of n Affiliation.) In order not to diverge too much from McClelland but also to make the pictures suitable for the Owambo subjects an Owambo artist (Mr Aula) was requested to redraw these plates but using Owambo figures. However, as both these plates were concerned with people busy working (studying and working in a workshop) they were probably better suited to achievement motivation. It was thus decided to select a plate more suited to measure n Affiliation. This picture of two people facing each other was based on a picture originally used by Henry and Guetzkow (1951) and later extensively used for measuring n Affiliation (cf. Atkinson 1958). This

picture differed from the original due to the figures looking away from the observer. This was done for two reasons.

- (a) In some instances the Owambo (especially the females) regard it as an aggressive gesture when you look directly at a person.
- (b) We would have been unable to judge what emotions the two figures were portraying to the subjects being tested. (This cross-cultural evaluation of facial emotion is an issue about which very little is known but which can have significant effects on TAT type of testing procedures.) As this variable could have a significant effect on the elicitation of n Affiliation (and probably also n Achievement) it was decided to keep the issue neutral by having the figures face the other way.

The drawings were made on posters of 50 cm x 60 cm. (Reproduced in Appendix II.) All subjects were tested in small groups (N = ± 20) and an attempt was made to keep the conditions within the scope of what McClelland et al (1953 p.139) refer to as "neutral". The posters were presented one at a time and the subjects were asked

- (a) What is happening?
- (b) What led to the situation?
- (c) What is being thought? What is wanted? By whom?
- (d) What will happen?

These questions were all based on the questions suggested by Murray (1938) and McClelland et al (1953). Five minutes were given for each poster

before another was presented. Subjects were told it was a test on the creative use of language and they were allowed to write in either English or Afrikaans. In no way was any reference made to any psychological factors and as psychometric devices are foreign to Owambo it is doubtful whether any of the subjects ever realised what was actually happening. This naturally complies with the stipulation set in 3.2.10. Subjects were asked to write their stories because this is the standard procedure used by McClelland and his followers.

- (iv) In the case of the interview method, use was made of the usual interviews that are used to determine an oral mark for Form III. Each subject was questioned on what his/her intentions were after leaving school. From the answers given it was then determined whether an Achievement could be scored. Thus once again the subjects did not realise what was happening and the stipulation set in 3.2.10 was met.

The interviews were not recorded or transcribed as this would only have led to suspicion. The scoring was thus performed during the interview. The problem with this procedure lies in the fact that no check could be made on the accuracy of the scoring procedure.

In order to satisfy the stipulation set in 3.2.4 it must be stated that in no instance was it necessary to make use of an interpreter.

9.1.3 Scoring

The scoring of the legends, essays and the TAT

techniques all follow the same method. This scoring system is based on the systems suggested by McClelland et al (1953) for n Achievement and Heyns et al (1958) for n Affiliation.

A modification was made in the system of scoring because in a pilot study it was found that it was seldom possible to mark the full range of categories suggested by McClelland and Atkinson. This tends to agree with the criticism put forward by Terhune (1969) that the McClelland and Atkinson method of assessment produced skewed and bimodal scoring distributions. Terhune goes on to suggest that it is much more valid to use this scoring method merely to indicate whether the motives are present or not, rather than to try and measure their intensity. Anastasi (1954 p.166) makes the same point when she says

"In most tests, ..., an all-or-nothing system has generally proved as effective as one based on differentially weighted items".

Where this study is concerned with the global increase of n Achievement and n Affiliation in a certain section of the Owambo community, it seemed that it would be more feasible to determine whether the motives were present (to the degree that they can be measured) or not in each individual, rather than to try and measure the intensity of these motives in individual cases. The number of individuals portraying the specific motive(s), in the different phases of acculturation, could then be compared with each other.

The disadvantages of this method is that measurement is only on the Nominal scale. But as this study is mainly concerned with proving a certain social psychological hypothesis, rather than using complicated psychometric techniques, this disadvantage does not seem so serious.

Thus the basis of scoring was to decide whether

n Achievement or n Affiliation, as the case may be, is present or not. Where the motive is present +1 is scored and where it is not present 0 is scored.

n Affiliation was scored when there was "some evidence of concern in one or more of the characters over establishing, maintaining, or restoring a positive affective relationship with another person". More specifically it was scored for

- (i) statements of liking or desire to be liked or to be accepted e.g. friends who are glad to see each other after some time of parting; a man who is worried about his acceptance in a social group; someone who is worried about a certain friendship after he has had some quarrel with a friend etc.
- (ii) a reaction of concern to some separation or disruption of an interpersonal relationship. The stress here is on the existing relationship e.g. sorrow expressed in parting from a friend for a period of time; feeling bad about some separation from a friend on a physical or psychological level; expressed desire to restore an old friendship that was disrupted by one or other factor etc.

Thus to summarize Heyns, Veroff and Atkinson (1958 p.207) declare the following to be the basis of n Affiliation

"In otherwords, any word that implies feeling bad about some action that has led to separation, such as shame, guilt, would be the basis for scoring Aff. Im."

n Affiliation was not scored for

- (a) statements containing affiliation but that had most probably been learnt by heart - a common practice

of schoolchildren in Owambo when writing essays in a foreign language (e.g. When referring to any relative a standard remark is "They love me and I love them");

- (b) statements of acts of kindness in helping someone who is hungry, helping the poor, or taking people to hospital. These are not necessary duties arising from a sense of affiliation but are natural duties that are compulsory in the Owambo culture.

Naturally this is not the whole story for the scoring of n Affiliation for an attempt was made to keep to the stipulation set in 3.2.9. Thus many subjective factors naturally went into evaluating each separate protocol, but on the whole the guidelines above served as the major framework for the scoring.

n Achievement was scored when there was reason to believe that there was imagery on "success in competition with some standard of excellence". More specifically this involved

- (a) success in competition with some standard of excellence whether explicitly stated or not;
- (b) some involvement with a unique accomplishment;
- (c) some accomplishment that involved a long term involvement.

Added to these categories that are suggested in the manual for scoring n Achievement (McClelland et al 1958 pp.183-184), a number of special considerations were taken into account to suit the situation in Owambo. The points above are all culturally bound, thus a "standard of excellence" had to be interpreted in what this comprises in Owambo.

The same situation also went for "unique accomplishment" and "long-term involvement". Thus achievement as a general norm had to be redefined in terms of what it meant for an Owambo. (E.g. Buying a motorcar is a tremendous achievement for any Owambo and even to become a motor driver for the State Hospital, S.W.A. Administration or BIC is also a noteworthy achievement.)

However, at times an achievement in European terms might not be much to talk about in Owambo society. (E.g. To become a preacher in Western society is quite an achievement but this is not always the case in Owambo where there seems to be an overproduction of lay preachers.)

As a rule of thumb the following professions were regarded as attainments for which an Achievement could be scored.

1. All professional groups (European standards).
2. Car driver.
3. Qualified nurse.
4. Orderly (male nurse).
5. Any sport star.
6. Clerk.
7. Shopkeeper if there is some indication that it is more than just a shanty "Cuca-shop". (Cuca being a cheap bitter beer imported from Angola.)

Scoring the interview was also based on the schema of an Achievement that was used for the stories. If the person indicated a future (after school) that met any of these standards of achievement, an Achievement was scored. With this scoring schedule an attempt was made to meet the stipulations set in 3.2.2, 3.2.6 and 3.2.9.

9.1.4 Illustrations of scoring n Achievement and n Affiliation

9.1.4.1 n Achievement

To give a clearer picture of the scoring of n Achievement the following stories from McClelland et al (1953 pp.115-119) are presented.

- (i) The following story was scored for n Achievement on the grounds that the subject indicated some competition with a standard of competency. (The significant section is underlined.)

One fellow is the supervisor and the other the machine operator. There has been trouble with the machine, and the supervisor is attempting to repair it. The machine operator has been turning out faulty equipment and after having been called down by the supervisor, he explained what he thought has been wrong. Upon inspection by the supervisor, this theory has been proven correct. The operator has his doubts about the ability of the supervisor to repair the machine. The boss realizes this and is determined to repair it. He wants to prove that he is capable of making minor repairs. The boss will do part of the repairs, but due to the technicalities of the machine will be unable to complete the job, and he will have to either call in the maintenance men or a specialized repair man from the outside.

- (ii) This story was scored for n Achievement on the grounds that the subject indicated some long-term involvement.

The boy is thinking about a career as a doctor. He sees himself as a great surgeon performing an operation. He has been doing minor first aid work on his injured dog, and discovers he enjoys working with medicine. He thinks he is suited for this profession and sets it as an ultimate goal in life at this moment. He has not weighed the pros and cons of his own ability and has let his goal blind him of his own inability. An adjustment which will injure him will have to be made.

- (iii) This story was also scored for n Achievement because

There was a direct stated need for achievement.

A young person wishes to become a doctor. He can visualize himself performing an operation. He received a toy doctor's kit for a present several years ago, and several of his friends are planning to be doctors. He is thinking of the pleasant or glamorous side of the picture and not the long years of study. He will be unable to pass pre-medical school. He decides to become a lab. technician as he wants to stay in that field.

- (iv) The following story could not be scored for n Achievement because there was doubtful achievement imagery.

There are two men working in some sort of machine shop. They are making some sort of a bolt or something. One of the men's car broke down, and he has discovered that a bolt is broken. So, being a fairly good forger, he is making a new bolt. He is discussing with the other man just how he is making the bolt and telling him about all of the details in making this bolt. When he is finished, he will take the bolt and replace the broken bolt in the car with it. He will then be able to get his car going.

- (v) This story could not be scored for n Achievement because the imagery was completely unrelated to achievement.

A young fellow is sitting in a plaid shirt and resting his head on one hand. He appears to be thinking of something. His eyes appear a little sad. He may have been involved in something that he is very sorry for. The boy is thinking over what he has done. By the look in his eyes we can tell that he is very sad about it. I believe that the boy will break down any minute if he continues in the manner in which he is now going.

9.1.4.2 n Affiliation

The following stories from Atkinson (1958 Appendix I) illustrate the scoring of n Affiliation.

- (i) The following story was scored for n Affiliation because there is concern over separation from a group (i.e. an affiliative object). (Significant sections are underlined.)
1. A younger man is approaching a man older than himself for help or advice on a problem.
 2. The younger man is worried about his lack of acceptance in the new social group he has just become acquainted into.
 3. The young man seeks a restoration of his confidence. He knows his problem.
 4. A short conversation will ensue in which the older man will restore the young man's confidence in himself.
- (ii) This story was also scored for n Affiliation because there is affective concern over the loss of an affiliative object.
1. The boy is the son of a deceased person probably father. He is thinking alone at the door.
 2. The boy has had a very happy family life and the death is a great shock.
 3. He is thinking of his childhood and also wondering of the future.
 4. He will go on in his father's business and try to make good.
- (iii) This story was not scored for n Affiliation because there is no affiliation emotions portrayed.
1. It is one of the first days of spring and the man is enjoying the peace and security of his home.
 2. It has been a long winter, with many worries and anxieties that have passed - troubles don't seem as big now that spring is here.
 3. The man is thinking just how lucky he is and how things perhaps weren't as bad as he thought they were.
 4. The man will enjoy himself for awhile and then go back to his work, with a new vigor that was lacking during the bleak months of the winter.

9.1.4.3 Stories from Owambo

The following are some of the stories collected in Owambo:

- (i) The following story portrays no n Affiliation but shows some clear n Achievement. The essay has been left uncorrected for language and the significant parts (for our purpose) have been underlined.

My Uncle

One holiday my uncle, my eldest sister and I went to hunt in the forest. We spent three days in the forest. My uncle take his gun with him for we think we could find some buck for meat. At night my sister make for us coffee and we were finished to drink we went to sleep in the tents. At midnight I hear a strange scratching in the bushes before our tent. After a while I heard a strange thing approaching the tent, followed by a sneeze. My uncle heard it also and he took his gun. After a while he told us to be calm and not to make noise. He told us that it was a lion. Suddenly I heard a terrific explosion and the lion growled frightfully. He shot again and the lion growled frightfully. He shot again and the lion dropped snarling dead. The second lion make its appearance and my uncle shot again and killed it with the single shot. Therefore I say my uncle is the bravest and best hunter in all of Owambo, better than all other men.

- (ii) In the following story there are indications of n Affiliation but no n Achievement.

I am glad to be at school because ...

I am glad to be at school because there are very many people who we can be with and we feel good then. All of us at school are very satisfy because here we have good chance to stay together in clubs also.

I am glad here at school because I am enjoying well there at the dining room. We get enough food, for example bread, milk, porridge and meat sometimes.

Here at school are sports wherein I am very interested. Athletics teach you how to be a whole and hearty man. I have no words to give description of my feeling here at school because I am very, very glad for this good chance to be with as many friends as possible.

One day I will also send all my children to come to the school and enjoy also.

- (iii) The following story does not portray any n Achievement or n Affiliation.

My uncle

In Angola I have an old uncle of mine who does not

believe in christianity and education. This man has many herds of cattle because he annually holds a cattle feast at his kraal.

I once paid him a visit, he was very pleased to see me as he thought I had come to stay with him so as to look after his cattle as his sons are big, some of them have already their own kraals and the young ones work in the Copper Mines at Tsumeb.

The day I arrived in his kraal I had to introduce myself to him as he is very old that he cannot recognise me because he did not see me for the previous seven years. I also told him that I am from school and I have just come to spend the holiday with him. He was very angry to hear that, and he criticized everything about school to me, he said we are just learning to become thieves we won't achieve anything, he told me that it is better to come and look after his cattle otherwise I will not inherit anything the day he dies. Everything he said I seemed as if I agree to what he says so as not to make him angry.

I stayed there for two weeks and looked after his cattle, but when the school was due to reopen I told him that I am going to tell my parents that I am going to stay with my uncle but I did not come again. I don't know what to say when he sees me again. I think he is still waiting for his nephew to come.

9.1.5 Controls against contamination

Control against contamination in the scoring procedure was carried out as follows:

- (i) First of all the essays plus the TAT's received a code number which was also tabulated on a separate list.
- (ii) These essays and TAT stories were then shuffled and scored for the two psychological motives. The scores were only written on the separate list. At this stage the scores for the interviews were also tabulated.

- (iii) The subjects were then classified as acculturated or unacculturated according to the different criteria systems and these results tabulated.
- (iv) Lastly the scholastic marks were tabulated.
- (v) After this, no further changes were made on the lists and the necessary results for the different calculations extracted when necessary.

With this procedure it was hoped to keep our contamination at a minimum. However, it will be realized that no control could be presented in the case of the legends as these could not be disguised between the essays and TAT stories. Although we attempted to be as objective as possible in our scoring, some subjective factors could have crept in.

9.1.6 Interdependency of the TAT pictures

Two problems arise in the use of a set of TAT cards to measure different motives.

- (i) Isn't it possible that there is a contamination of scores between the different motives because a single set of protocols were used?
Although it wasn't possible for us to answer this question from empirical results in this study, Bowen (1973) reports that the scoring of n Achievement, n Affiliation and n Power on a single set of TAT cards is generally independent. Thus scores on one motive do not seem to influence any of the other motives.
- (ii) Then there is also the question as to whether a specific motive is elicited with equal strength by

the different TAT pictures. Or to put it more briefly; Do all TAT pictures have the same stimulus value?

To answer this question the following procedure was followed:

Thirty Form I subjects, who had only scored n Achievement once (out of the possible three times), were randomly selected.

For n Achievement the H_0 would be: There is no difference in the number of times that subjects would portray n Achievement in response to the different pictures. The following distribution was found from the sample.

	Times n Achievement was scored
Picture A	7
Picture B	13
Picture C	10

The χ^2 - one sample test was applied and $\chi^2=1,80$ (df=2) was obtained. This gives $p=.20$ and H_0 could not be rejected as p was larger than $0,05$.

The same procedure used above was also applied to n Affiliation. In this case the H_0 states that there is no difference in the number of times that subjects would portray n Affiliation on the different pictures. The following distribution was found.

	Times n Affiliation was scored
Picture A	14
Picture B	8
Picture C	8

The χ^2 - one sample test was applied and $\chi^2=2,40$ (df=2) was obtained. As this gives $p=0,20$; H_0 could not be rejected (p being larger than ',05).

From these results it is clear that although there are slight tendencies for certain pictures to be more sensitive to certain motives than to others no significant statistical evidence, to support these tendencies, could be found.

9.1.7 Method of comparing the acculturated and unacculturated groups

Where essays were used it was no problem in comparing the motives of groups because for each comparison the results from only a single essay was used at a specific time. Thus a subject was classified according to whether he portrayed the relevant psychological motive or not. But where the TAT type of test was used, three different cards were scored for each subject. Thus a subject's score on a specific psychological motive could vary from +3 to 0. It was thus decided to group subjects with 0 and +1 together, as "subjects not portraying the relevant psychological motive" and those with +2 and +3 were grouped as "subjects portraying the relevant psychological motive".

9.1.8 Reliability

The reliability in scoring the different stories was calculated on two dimensions, time and interscorer. In both cases the formula suggested by Smith and Feld (1958 p.688) was used. Naturally the input differed in the two different instances.

9.1.8.1 Reliability over time

In this case the reliability index was calculated by using the following formula

$$\text{Reliability index} = 2 \frac{\left(\begin{array}{c} \text{Number of times scoring the same motive} \\ \text{over the two different periods} \end{array} \right)}{\left(\begin{array}{cc} \text{Number of times} & \text{Number of times} \\ \text{the motive scored} & \text{the motive scored} \\ \text{the 1st time} & \text{the 2nd time} \end{array} \right) + \left(\begin{array}{c} \text{Number of times} \\ \text{the motive scored} \\ \text{the 2nd time} \end{array} \right)}$$

The results are presented in Table 9.1. For each motive there were three categories and for each category 30 stories were scored two weeks apart.

TABLE 9.1

THE SCORING RELIABILITY OVER TIME

	LEGENDS	ESSAY	TAT
n Achievement	0,84	0,83	0,94
n Affiliation	0,84	0,85	0,95

9.1.8.2 Interscorer reliability

Stories were scored by two scorers. The other psychologist (other than the writer) was instructed on all the intricacies for scoring n Affiliation and n Achievement on the basis of the manuals presented in Atkinson (1958) and modifications presented above. The stories that he had to score bore no marks of the first scorer as all scores were recorded on separate answer sheets. By following this procedure the second scorer had no indication of any scores that had previously been given. The formula used was the following:

$$\text{Reliability index} = 2 \frac{\left(\text{Number of times the two scorers gave the same score} \right)}{\left(\begin{array}{l} \text{Number of times} \\ \text{the motive scored} \\ \text{by the 1st scorer} \end{array} + \begin{array}{l} \text{Number of times} \\ \text{the motive scored} \\ \text{by the 2nd scorer} \end{array} \right)}$$

The stories were scored for three categories and for each category 20 stories were included and scored for the two different motives, thus 120 stories were scored by each scorer. The results are presented in Table 9.2.

TABLE 9.2

THE INTERSCORER RELIABILITY

	LEGEND	ESSAY	TAT
n Achievement	0,87	0,83	0,91
n Affiliation	0,83	0,78	0,89

Unfortunately the scoring reliability of the interview method could not be determined as no record of the interviews could be made.

9.1.9 Validity

The validity studies presented below should in no way be regarded as part of the major theme of this thesis, but should rather be regarded as data necessary for the interpretation of results in later chapters. We are specifically interested in the correlation between the different measures, thus a form of construct validity.

9.1.9.1 Correlation between the different measures

Because all measures were on the nominal scale chi square had to be calculated and from this the contingency coefficient could be derived according to the formula presented by Siegel (1956 p.197). The results are presented in Tables 9.3, 9.4 and 9.5. (All comparisons were only at the Form III level because this was the only group of subjects on whom all the different measures were applied.)

TABLE 9.3

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN THE ESSAY AND INTERVIEW METHODS (N=71)

Motive	Sex	χ^2	c	df	p
n Achievement	M+F	0,04	0,04	1	0,90

TABLE 9.4

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN THE ESSAY AND TAT METHODS

Motive	Sex	χ^2	c	df	p
n Achievement	M+F	4,16	0,34	1	0,05
n Affiliation	M+F	5,32	0,39	1	0,05

TABLE 9.5

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN THE TAT AND INTERVIEW METHODS

Motive	Sex	χ^2	c	df	p
n Achievement	M+F	1,03	0,18	1	0,25

From the results above the following becomes clear:

- (i) As far as n Achievement is concerned, there seems to be no correlation between the interview with either the TAT or essay methods. Thus there is a strong possibility that the interview method did not measure the same factors as the other two methods. However, the correlation between the TAT and essay methods suggests that both these were measuring some common factors.
- (ii) As in the case of n Achievement above there is also a significant correlation between the TAT and essay methods in the measurement of n Affiliation.

In general thus, the same tendencies (although they may not be significant) can be expected in the results where the essay and TAT methods are used although this is not necessarily the case with the results from the interview method.

9.1.10 The index of scoring efficiency of the scorer

As the method of scoring n Achievement and n Affiliation is not purely mechanical and requires some skill that must be developed on the part of the scorer, some index has to be obtained on how well this skill has been developed in the scorer. Thus Smith and Feld (1958) had a number of stories scored by a panel of experts in this direction and made the script of the stories plus the scoring available in Atkinson (1958). Thus, any novice in this field can use these scores to check on his own proficiency by scoring the stories and then comparing his scores to the scores given by the experts. The method of making comparisons involves using the formula presented by Smith and Feld (1958). This comparison is then known as the Index of Scoring Efficiency. In essence this index is

"... the percentage agreement between you (i.e. the scorer) and the expert on the presence of motive-related imagery. This idea is the ration of twice the number of the times you and the expert agree in scoring the presence of motive related imagery divided by the number of times the expert has scored the imagery present".

(Smith and Feld 1958 p.688)

In formula form this will be the following:

$$\text{Index of scoring efficiency} = 2 \frac{(\text{Agreement between scorer* and expert**})}{\left(\begin{array}{l} \text{Number of times} \\ \text{the scorer scored} \\ \text{the imagery present} \end{array} + \begin{array}{l} \text{Number of times} \\ \text{the expert scored} \\ \text{the imagery present} \end{array} \right)}$$

* "Scorer" here refers to the novice who is learning or using the technique.

** "Expert" refers to a person (or persons) who has extensive experience with this scoring system. In this case it consists of a panel of experts including John W. Atkinson, Berne Jacobs, Edward Lichtenstein, George Litwin, Charles Mahone, Joan Munson, Patricia O'Connor, Clara Oppenheimer, Walter Reitman and Joseph Veroff.

(Smith & Feld 1958 p.685)

The stories scored in this instance consisted of 120 different stories for each motive that had been collected by Smith and Feld (1958). These stories were then scored by the panel of experts. The stories and their scoring is given in Atkinson (1958). The results are presented in Table 9.6.

TABLE 9.6

INDEX OF SCORING EFFICIENCY OF THE SCORER

Psychological Factors	Formula used	N	% agreement
n Achievement	Formula of Feld and Smith	90 stories	0,91
n Affiliation	Formula of Feld and Smith	90 stories	0,92

9.2 Subjects

The following groups were used

- (i) Standard 6 pupils from primary schools in Owambo.
- (ii) Form I, III and IV subjects from the Ongwediva Training Centre.
- (iii) Qualified Owambo teachers and nurses.

TABLE 9.7

THE DIVISION OF THE DIFFERENT GROUPS OF SUBJECTS

GROUP	TOTAL N	MALES	FEMALES	COMPARISONS IN WHICH THE GROUP WAS USED
Nurses	39	0	39	Investigated whether the ss. came from acculturated backgrounds significantly more than can be expected on the basis of chance alone.
Teachers	24	19	5	
Std.6	268	148	120	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The relationship between acculturation and n Achievement. 2. The relationship between acculturation and n Affiliation.
Form I	100	56	44	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The relationship between acculturation and n Achievement. 2. The relationship between acculturation and n Affiliation. 3. The relationship between n Achievement and scholastic achievement. 4. The relationship between n Affiliation and scholastic achievement. 5. The relationship between acculturation and scholastic achievement.
Form III	71	34	37	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The relationship between acculturation and n Achievement. 2. The relationship between acculturation and n Affiliation. 3. The relationship between n Achievement and scholastic achievement. 4. The relationship between n Affiliation and scholastic achievement. 5. The relationship between acculturation and scholastic achievement.
Form IV	29	17	12	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The relationship between n Achievement and scholastic achievement. 2. The relationship between n Affiliation and scholastic achievement. 3. The relationship between acculturation and scholastic achievement.

The size of each of the different groupings and the empirical comparison that it was used in is given in Table 9.7.

These groups that were used in the different comparisons were kept as large as possible because it was found that where class groups were divided into smaller groups (e.g. males and females separately) the results were not always consistent in delineating tendencies. Consultation with statisticians revealed that even when using non-parametric statistics the chance factors still become too great where the groups become smaller and thus the chances of making Type II error (i.e. accepting H_0 when in fact it should be rejected) also becomes greater. This tendency is also confirmed by Siegel (1956 p.10).

Thus although we would have preferred to divide the samples into smaller groups in order to investigate the relationship between a larger number of variables, this procedure had to be abandoned in order to satisfy statistical requirements.

The results from primary school subjects were analyzed separately from those of the secondary school subjects, because the latter were in a school where they came into direct contact with Europeans, whereas this was not the case with the primary school subjects. Thus there is the contaminating factor of direct contact with Europeans that might have had an influence on the results and thus these two groups were kept apart. Further groupings and divisions between class groups was in accordance with the psychometric and background material available on these groups. If this practice seems somewhat strange it should be remembered that one of the main purposes of this study

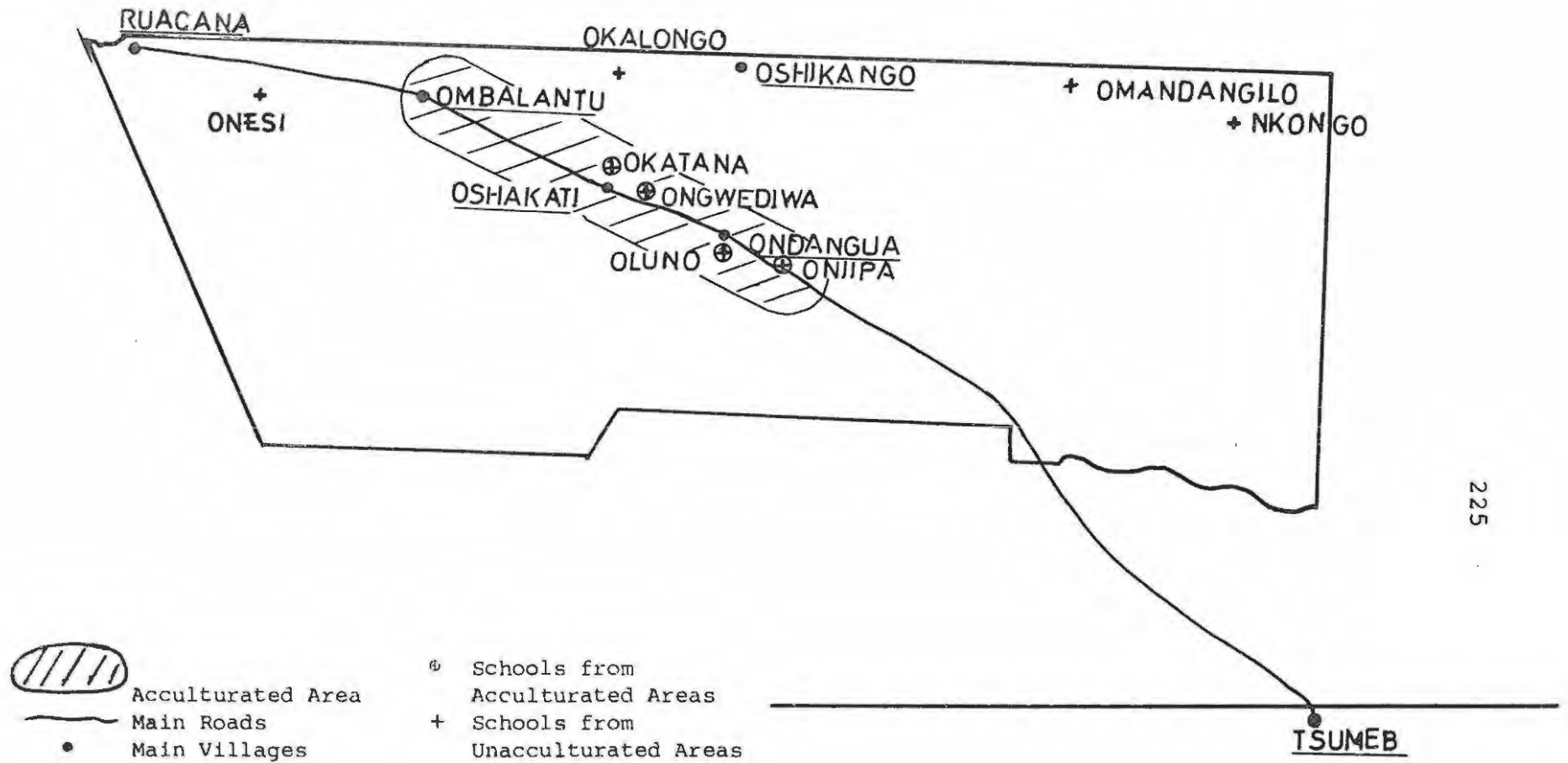
was to give the subjects no indication that we were busy with any psychological research. Reasons for this have already been treated in detail. Schoolchildren were chosen as subjects for the following reasons:

- (i) It is much easier to obtain essays from them under relatively controlled conditions.
- (ii) They are all able to write.
- (iii) They are less mobile than the adult population which makes the division into acculturation phases by means of geographical areas much more valid. Many of the adults are contracted in different parts of S.W.A. for different periods of time and the influence of this would have been very difficult to check.
- (iv) The age factor is controlled to a greater degree.

The sampling was carried out as follows:

- (i) Std. 6. As indicated in Map 9.1 four primary schools were chosen at random from all schools within the acculturated area. Four schools were also chosen (at random) from the unacculturated area. All the Std.6 pupils from these schools were used in the comparison.
- (ii) Forms I, III and IV. All pupils attending Ongwediva Training Centre in these three classes were used. (This is the major secondary school in Owambo.) They were divided into acculturated and unacculturated groups on the following basis.
 - (a) On the geographical dimension all the subjects who came from homes within the acculturated area (as indicated on Map 9.1) were regarded as acculturated,

THE ACCULTURATED AND UNACCULTURATED AREAS OF OWAMBO



the rest were regarded as unacculturated. This acculturated area was identified on the basis of the following points:

1. This is the area with the oldest mission stations and the most intense mission activity at present.
2. It houses about 90% of all Whites in Owambo.
3. This area contains all the main BIC industries.
4. Oshakati (the head-quarters of the Commissioner General) and Ondangua (the chief administrative centre) are both located in this area.
5. In general this is the area that has been under the most intensive western influence historically as well as at present.

These points were also used by the Inspector of Schools that aided in deviding the "acculturated" schools from the relatively less acculturated ones.

- (b) On the parental dimension all those who had a parent who fulfilled the standards set in 9.4.3 were regarded as acculturated. The rest were regarded as unacculturated.
- (iii) Nurses and secondary school teachers. With these two groups we did not work with samples but with the entire population of the two groups available in Owambo at that stage. It should be noted that we only selected nurses and teachers who were fully qualified.

Owambo was specifically chosen for this investigation as it is in itself the most suitable "natural laboratory"

for this type of study in the whole of South Africa or S.W.A. The only major problem encountered was that the people were exceptionally wary of any strange questioning or discussion. Thus it was deemed necessary to use unobtrusive psychological measures as much as possible.

9.3 Statistical methods

Because of the nature of the measuring instruments and the method of scoring used, most of the data obtained was only on the nominal scale. This situation naturally resulted in nonparametric methods being used in most cases. (In a few instances the t-test was used.) Thus the following tests were employed:

- (i) The chi square one-sample test (Siegel 1956 p.43)

Rationale

This test was used for the following reasons:

- (a) It is a non-parametric test.
- (b) It is a one-sample or goodness-to-fit test.
- (c) It is suitable for use with data on the nominal scale.

Power of the test

As there is no suitable alternative parametric test for this test it is not possible to determine its power.

- (ii) The chi square test for two independent samples
(McNemar 1969 p.262, Roscoe 1969 p.199)

Rationale

This test was chosen for the following reasons:

- (a) It can be used with data that consists of frequencies divided into discrete categories.
- (b) It can be used to test for significance of differences between two independent groups.
- (c) The measurement used may be as weak as the nominal scale.
- (d) It is a nonparametric test.

Power of the test

Siegel (1956 p.110) points out that the power of this test is difficult to compute because there is no clear alternative for it.

With the chi-square test the Yates correction was not used because the frequency in any of the categories was never less than 10 and this correction was thus not necessary.

- (iii) The Binomial test (Siegel 1956 p.37)

Rationale

This test was used for the following reasons:

- (a) It is a nonparametric test.
- (b) It is a one-sample or goodness-of-fit type test.
- (c) It is suitable for data on the nominal scale of measurement.
- (d) It was employed as a check for the chi-square one-sample test.

Power of the test

As there is no parametric goodness-to-fit test for data on the nominal scale it is not possible to determine the power efficiency of this test. (Siegel 1956 p.42)

9.4 Rationale for the different dimensions of acculturation used

This section is presented in order to meet the stipulation set in 3.2.11.

9.4.1 Rationale for the time dimension

Through contact with Europeans the Owambo have acculturated with the passage of time. If the n Achievement or n Affiliation imagery of the Owambo is thus sampled at different points in time and a significant increase in the motive(s) is found, then there is some evidence for the hypothesis that acculturation has an influence on the amount of n Achievement and n Affiliation in the Owambo society.

In this investigation traditional Owambo folk stories and legends will be scored for n Achievement and n Affiliation and this score will be compared with the

proportion of n Achievement (or n Affiliation - as the case may be) in modern stories in the Owambo society.

The latter stories were the essays obtained from the school children. There might be some argument to the effect that legends and essays from schoolchildren don't derive from the same motivational basis. However, they were compared on the basis of McClelland's (1961) argument that stories told in a community portrays the dominant motives reigning at that stage in the history of the particular community - thus it is a kind of reflection of the *zeitgeist* of the particular community at that time. Thus stories from different periods can be used although their specific origin might be different. Furthermore this method has already been employed with success by Bradburn and Burlew in their investigation of the change of the n Achievement level in England for the period 1400 to 1830, and the study of the De Charms and Moeller in their investigation of the change of the n Achievement level in the U.S.A. for the years 1800 to 1860. (McClelland 1961 pp.129-158)

9.4.2 Rationale for the geographical dimension

This section will follow the method generally used to study the influence of acculturation on personality characteristics. In the past this method has been used by such well-known workers in this field as the Ainsworths, De Vos, Doob, Hallowell, Kaplan and the Spindlers. The first step is to select one cultural group (for convenience to be referred to as Culture X) that is being influenced by another cultural group (to be referred to as Culture Y). Two extreme sections of Culture X is then selected,

- (i) a section that has hardly been influenced by

- Culture Y and
- (ii) a section that has been influenced to a considerable extent.

The same psychological variable(s) is then measured in both these sections and a comparison is made to see whether there is a significant statistical difference in the frequency that these variables are manifested in the two different groups. On a logical basis a connection is then sought between the change in Culture X and the shift in frequency of manifestation of the psychological factors.

In Owambo the people in these different phases of acculturation also tend to be geographically separated with the more unacculturated groups far away from the European settlements of Oshakati and Ondangwa and the more acculturated groups in and around these two settlements. In this investigation subjects from the most unacculturated areas were thus compared with subjects from the most acculturated areas. (See Map 9.1)

The Chief Inspector of Schools was asked to divide the schools into acculturated and unacculturated groups as he had a thorough knowledge of this area and had also completed an M.A. on one of the Owambo dialects.

The Inspector had no knowledge of the results and was thus not able to influence the study at any point. The author of this thesis did not participate in this action and could thus not have had an influence on the results. The division was done solely on geographical considerations.

9.4.3 The dimension of parental influence

The basic guidelines in deciding whether there was any noteworthy parental acculturative influence that might influence a subject's results are the following:

- (a) Parental acculturative influence was regarded as being present where either the father or mother was evaluated as being somewhat acculturated.
- (b) Such a parent was regarded as "somewhat acculturated" where he or she
 - 1. had lived in S.W.A. or the Republic of South Africa for more than 2 years, or
 - 2. had worked at an institution in Owambo where he had come into constant contact with Europeans for approximately 4 years or more, or
 - 3. was qualified for a profession e.g. a teacher or a nurse.

9.4.4 The special index

The special index was constructed with the view of ascertaining whether the background of a specific teacher or nurse could be regarded as relatively acculturated or unacculturated. The data gained from this was later used to determine whether the qualified nurses and teachers in Owambo come from relatively acculturated homes more than could be expected on the basis of chance alone. The nurses were all asked to fill in a special form. (See Appendix III) Teachers were interviewed personally and asked the questions appearing on the form presented to the nurses. The index is basically a combination of the geographical and parental

dimensions discussed above. Thus if three or more indications of acculturation influences were found on the form the subject was regarded as having an acculturated background.

CHAPTER 10

RESULTS

10.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the empirical results obtained in this study. These results will be presented in four sections, i.e.:

- (a) The relationship between acculturation and n Achievement.
- (b) The relationship between acculturation and n Affiliation.
- (c) The relationship between n Achievement and achievement behaviour.
- (d) The relationship between acculturation and achievement behaviour.

10.2 The relationship between n Achievement and acculturation

10.2.1 Introduction

In this section three different methods of estimating acculturating influences were used (i.e. the time dimension, the geographical dimension, and the influence of parents). The rationale for these different methods is given in the Methodology. Four different methods of measuring n Achievement are used (i.e. legends, essays, the TAT-type of test, and an interview).

10.2.2 An investigation of the relationship between acculturation, as measured on the time dimension, and n Achievement.

10.2.2.1 Rationale

- (i) The rationale for the use of the time dimension has been pointed out in the Methodology.
- (ii) The two hypotheses that are set in this section are both derived from General Hypothesis I.

10.2.2.2 Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1

Contemporary acculturated Owambo subjects portray significantly more n Achievement in their stories than the n Achievement portrayed in traditional Owambo legends.

Hypothesis 2

Contemporary unacculturated Owambo subjects portray significantly higher n Achievement in their stories than the n Achievement portrayed in traditional Owambo legends.

10.2.2.3 Method

(i) Experimental design

Traditional Owambo folk stories and legends collected by Loeb (1951) and stories from contemporary Owambo

subjects were scored for n Achievement. The latter group was divided into an acculturated group and an unacculturated group. Acculturation was taken by area according to the method described in 9.4.2. The n Achievement in the legends was compared with

- (a) the n Achievement in the stories of the acculturated subjects;
- (b) the n Achievement in the stories of the unacculturated subjects.

(ii) Size of the sample

All the traditional stories and legends collected by Loeb (1951) were used. This consisted of about 8600 words divided into units of approximately 120 words apiece. This size of unit was chosen as most of the legends and stories were approximately of this length. Twice this number of units were collected from Owambo subjects, one half being from acculturated subjects and the other half from unacculturated subjects.

(iii) Statistical methods

In all cases the chi-square test for two independent samples was used to test for significance of differences.

(iv) Measurement

The traditional legends and modern stories were all scored for n Achievement according to the method described in 9.1.

10.2.2.4 Results

The results are presented in Table 10.1

TABLE 10.1

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ACCULTURATION, AS ESTIMATED ON THE TIME DIMENSION, AND N ACHIEVEMENT

Subjects	χ^2	N(a)	df	p(b)
Acculturated	3,62	140 units	1	0,05
Unacculturated	1,12	140 units	1	0,15

(a) The division into units is explained in 9.1.2.

(b) All the probabilities are one-tailed.

From Table 10.1 it is clear that Hypothesis 1 was supported by the results but Hypothesis 2 was not supported.

10.2.3 An investigation on the relationship between acculturation, as measured on the geographical dimension, and n Achievement

10.2.3.1 Rationale

- (i) The rationale for the use of the geographical dimension has been pointed out in the Methodology.
- (ii) The hypothesis that is set in this section is derived from General Hypothesis 1.

10.2.3.2 Hypothesis

Acculturated Owambo subjects (acculturation by area) portray significantly higher n Achievement than unacculturated Owambo subjects.

10.2.3.3 Method

(i) Experimental design

The results from the primary school subjects were analyzed separately from the results from the secondary school subjects on grounds of the reasoning presented in 9.2.

Each of these two groups was divided into an unacculturated group and an acculturated group. This division was on the basis of area as described in 9.4.2.

In each case the n Achievement of the unacculturated group was compared with the n Achievement of the acculturated group.

(ii) Size of the groups

Primary school subjects N = 268. Secondary school subjects N = 171.

(iii) Statistical methods

The chi-square test for two independent samples

was used in all instances.

(iv) Measurement

Essays, a TAT-type test and an interview was used to measure n Achievement.

10.2.3.4 Results

The results are presented in Table 10.2.

TABLE 10.2

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ACCULTURATION, AS MEASURED ON THE GEOGRAPHICAL DIMENSION, AND N ACHIEVEMENT

Subjects	Method of measurement	χ^2	N	df	p
Standard 6	Essay III	80,86	268	1	0,001
Forms I and III	TAT	2,90	171	1	0,05
Form III	Essay I	3,13	71	1	0,05
Form III	Essay II	6,09	71	1	0.01
Form III	Interview	0,66	71	1	0,25

From the results presented in Table 10.2 it is clear that the hypothesis set in 10.2.3.2 was supported.

10.2.4 An investigation on the relationship between acculturation, as measured according to parental acculturative influences, and n Achievement

10.2.4.1 Rationale

- (i) The rationale for the use of parental influence as an acculturational agent has been pointed out in the Methodology.
- (ii) The hypothesis that is set in this section is derived from General Hypothesis 1.

10.2.4.2 Hypothesis

Acculturated Owambo subjects, (acculturation determined through the occupation of the parents) portray significantly higher n Achievement than unacculturated subjects.

10.2.4.3 Method

(i) Experimental design

Only secondary school subjects were used in this section of the study.

The subjects were divided into an unacculturated group and an acculturated group. This division was on the basis of the parents' occupation as described in 9.4.3.

In each case the n Achievement of the unacculturated group was compared with the n Achievement of the acculturated group.

(ii) Size of the group

N = 171

(iii) Statistical methods

The chi-square test for two independent samples was used.

(iv) Measurement

Essays, a TAT-type test and an interview was used to measure n Achievement.

10.2.4.4 Results

The results are presented in Table 10.3.

TABLE 10.3

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ACCULTURATION, AS DETERMINED THROUGH THE PARENTS' OCCUPATION, AND N ACHIEVEMENT

Subjects	Method of measurement	χ^2	N	df	p
Forms I and III	TAT	2,78	171	1	0,05
Form III	Essay I	1,09	71	1	0,15
Form III	Essay II	2,32	71	1	0,10
Form III	Interview	0,74	71	1	0,25

From the results presented in Table 10.3 it is clear that the hypothesis set in 10.2.4.2 could not be unconditionally supported.

10.3 The relationship between acculturation and n Affiliation

10.3.1 Introduction

In this section three different methods of estimating acculturating influences were used (i.e. the time dimension, the geographical dimension, and the influence of parents). The rationale for these different methods is given in the Methodology. Three different methods of measuring n Affiliation are used, (i.e. legends, essays and a TAT-type test).

10.3.2 An investigation of the relationship between acculturation, as measured on the time dimension and n Affiliation

10.3.2.1 Rationale

- (i) The rationale for the use of the time dimension has been pointed out in the Methodology. (Cf. 9.4.1)
- (ii) The two hypotheses that are set in this section are both derived from General Hypothesis II.

10.3.2.2 Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1

Contemporary acculturated Owambo subjects portray significantly higher n Affiliation in their stories than n Affiliation portrayed in traditional Owambo legends.

Hypothesis 2

Contemporary unacculturated Owambo subjects portray significantly higher n Affiliation in their stories than the n Affiliation portrayed in traditional Owambo legends.

10.3.2.3 Method

(i) Experimental design

Traditional Owambo folk stories and legends collected by Loeb (1951) and stories from contemporary Owambo subjects were scored for n Affiliation. The latter group was divided into an acculturated and an unacculturated group. Acculturation was taken by area according to the method described in 9.4.2. The n Affiliation in the legends was then compared with

- (a) the n Affiliation in the stories of the acculturated group;
- (b) the n Affiliation in the stories of the unacculturated group.

(ii) Size of the sample

All the traditional stories and legends collected by Loeb (1951) were used. This consisted of about 8600 words divided into units of approximately 120 words apiece.

(iii) Statistical methods

In all cases the chi-square test for two independent samples was used.

(iv) Measurement

The traditional legends and modern stories were all scored for n Affiliation according to the method described in 9.1.

10.3.2.4 Results

The results are presented in Table 10.4.

TABLE 10.4

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ACCULTURATION, AS MEASURED ON THE TIME DIMENSION, AND N AFFILIATION

Subjects	χ^2	N	df	p
Acculturated	10,30	100 units	1	0,001
Unacculturated	1,02	100 units	1	,25

From the results presented in Table 10.4 it is clear that Hypothesis 1 is supported but Hypothesis 2 is not supported.

10.3.3 An investigation of the relationship between acculturation, as measured on the geographical dimension, and n Affiliation

10.3.3.1 Rationale

- (i) The rationale for the use of the geographical dimension has been pointed out in the Methodology.
- (ii) This hypothesis is derived from General Hypothesis II.

10.3.3.2 Hypothesis

Acculturated Owambo subjects (acculturation by area) portray significantly higher n Affiliation than unacculturated Owambo subjects.

10.3.3.3 Method

(i) Experimental design

The results from the primary school subjects were analyzed separately to the results from the secondary school subjects on grounds of the reasoning presented in 9.2.

Each of these two groups was divided into an unacculturated group and an acculturated group. This division was on the basis of area as described in 9.4.2.

In each case the n Achievement of the unacculturated group was compared with the n Achievement of the acculturated group.

(ii) Size of the groups

Primary school subjects N = 268. Secondary school subjects N = 171.

(iii) Statistical methods

The chi-square test for two independent samples was used in all instances.

(iv) Measurement

Essays and a TAT-type test was used to measure n Affiliation.

10.3.3.4 Results

The results are presented in Table 10.5.

TABLE 10.5

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ACCULTURATION, AS MEASURED ON THE GEOGRAPHICAL DIMENSION, AND N AFFILIATION

Subjects	Method of measurement	χ^2	N	df	p
Standard 6	Essay III	15,68	268	1	0,001
Forms I and III	TAT	3,15	171	1	0,05
Form III	Essay I	1,09	71	1	0,15
Form III	Essay II	1,72	71	1	0,10

From the results presented in Table 10.5 it is clear that the hypothesis set in 10.3.3.2 could not be unconditionally supported.

10.3.4 An investigation on the relationship between acculturation, as measured through the parents' occupation, and n Affiliation

10.3.4.1 Rationale

- (i) The rationale for the use of parental influence as an acculturational agent has been pointed out in the Methodology.
- (ii) The hypothesis that is set in this section is derived from General Hypothesis II.

10.3.4.2 Hypothesis

Acculturated Owambo subjects, (acculturation

determined through the occupation of the parents) portray significantly higher n Affiliation than unacculturated subjects.

10.3.4.3 Method

(i) Experimental design

Only secondary school subjects were used in this section of the study.

The subjects were divided into an unacculturated group and an acculturated group. This division was on the basis of the parents' occupation as described in 9.4.3.

In each case the n Achievement of the unacculturated group was compared with the n Achievement of the acculturated group.

(ii) Size of the group

N = 171

(iii) Statistical methods

The chi-square test for two independent samples was used.

(iv) Measurement

Essays and a TAT-type test was used to measure

n Affiliation.

10.3.4.4 Results

The results are presented in Table 10.6.

TABLE 10.6

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ACCULTURATION, AS DETERMINED THROUGH THE PARENTS' OCCUPATION, AND N AFFILIATION

Subjects	Method of measurement	χ^2	N	df	p
Forms I and III	TAT	3,12	171	1	0,05
Form III	Essay I	7,29	71	1	0,001
Form III	Essay II	1,74	71	1	0,10

From the results presented in the table above it seems that there is ample support for the hypothesis set in 10.3.4.2.

10.4 The relationship between n Achievement and scholastic achievement

10.4.1 Rationale

This section attempts to investigate Hypothesis III set in the Rationale. (Cf. Chapter 8)

10.4.2 Hypothesis

Owambo subjects who portray n Achievement achieve significantly higher scholastic marks than their fellow subjects who do not portray n Achievement.

10.4.3 Method

(i) Experimental design

Only secondary school subjects were used in this section of the study.

The group was divided into a group portraying n Achievement and a group not portraying n Achievement. The scholastic marks of the two groups was then compared.

(ii) Size of the group

N = 200

(iii) Statistical methods

The t-test for two independent (or unpaired) groups was used.

(iv) Measurement

Essays, a TAT-type test and an interview was used to test for n Achievement.

10.4.4 Results

The results are presented in Table 10.7.

TABLE 10.7

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN N ACHIEVEMENT AND SCHOLASTIC ACHIEVEMENT

Subjects	Method of measurement	t	N	df	p
Forms I, III & IV	TAT	3,95	200	198	0,02
Form III	Essay I	0,32	71	69	0,35
Form III	Essay II	1,87	71	69	0,10
Form III	Interview	0,17	71	69	0,35

From the results presented in the table above it seems that there is very little support for the hypothesis presented in 10.4.2.

10.5 The relationship between n Affiliation and scholastic achievement

10.5.1 Rationale

This section attempts to investigate Hypothesis VI set in the Rationale. (Cf. Chapter 8)

10.5.2 Hypothesis

Owambo subjects who portray n Affiliation will

achieve significantly higher scholastic marks than their fellow subjects who do not portray n Affiliation.

10.5.3 Method

(i) Experimental design

Only secondary school subjects were used in this section of the study.

The group was divided into a group portraying n Affiliation and a group not portraying n Affiliation. The scholastic marks of the two groups was then compared.

(ii) Size of the group

N = 200

(iii) Statistical methods

The t-test for two unpaired groups was used.

(iv) Measurement

Essays and a TAT-type test was used to measure n Affiliation.

10.5.4 Results

The results are presented in Table 10.8.

TABLE 10.8

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN N AFFILIATION AND SCHOLASTIC ACHIEVEMENT

Subjects	Method of measurement	t	N	df	p
Forms I, III & IV	TAT	0,15	200	198	0,10
Form III	Essay I	1,63	71	69	0,10
Form III	Essay II	0,98	71	69	0,10

From the results presented in the table above it is clear that the hypothesis presented in 10.5.2 is not supported.

10.6 The relationship between acculturation and scholastic achievement10.6.1 Rationale

- (i) The rationale for the use of the geographical dimension and the influence of the parents' occupation as indexes of acculturation, has been pointed out in the Methodology.
- (ii) This section attempts to investigate General Hypothesis IV. (Cf. Chapter 8)

10.6.2 Hypothesis

Where there is a meaningful difference in the level of acculturation of two groups of Owambo subjects, the more acculturated group will achieve significantly higher scholastic marks than the less acculturated group.

10.6.3 Method

(i) Experimental design

Only secondary school subjects were used in this section.

The subjects were divided into an acculturated and an unacculturated group. The scholastic marks of the two groups were then compared.

(ii) Size of the sample

N = 200

(iii) Statistical method

The t-test for two unmatched groups was used.

10.6.4 Results

The results are presented in Table 10.9.

TABLE 10.9

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ACCULTURATION AND SCHOLASTIC ACHIEVEMENT

Subjects	Method of determining acculturation	t	N	df	p
Forms I, III & IV	Area	1,41	200	198	0,15
Forms I, III & IV	Parents	1,13	200	198	0,15

From the results presented in the table above it is clear that the hypothesis set in this section is not supported.

10.7 The relationship between acculturation and post-scholastic achievement

10.7.1 Rationale

- (i) The rationale for the use of a special index in this study of acculturation has been pointed out in the Methodology. (Cf. 9.4.4)
- (ii) In this section two hypotheses are set. Both of these hypotheses are derived from General Hypothesis V.

10.7.2 Hypotheses

Hypothesis 1

In Owambo a larger number of qualified nurses

come from acculturated homes than could be expected solely on the basis of chance.

Hypothesis 2

In Owambo a larger number of qualified secondary school teachers come from acculturated homes than could be expected solely on the basis of chance.

10.7.3 Method

(i) Experimental design

The subjects were divided into the following groups:

Nurses
Secondary School teachers

An evaluation was then made of the proportion of each group that came from acculturated homes.

The special acculturation index (described in 9.4.4) was used to judge whether the family background could be regarded as acculturated or not. It was then calculated whether the members of each group came from acculturated homes significantly more than could be expected on the basis of chance alone. The level of probability was taken at 0,5 (50%) in each case.

(ii) Size of the population

The population was composed of the following groups:

Nurses	N = 39
Secondary School teachers	N = 24
Total	N = 63

(iii) Statistical methods

In each case both the chi-square one sample test and the Binomial test were used.

10.7.4 Results

The results are presented in Table 10.10.

TABLE 10.10

THE PROBABILITY THAT QUALIFIED NURSES AND SECONDARY SCHOOL TEACHERS CAME FROM ACCULTURATED HOMES SIGNIFICANTLY MORE THAN WAS TO BE EXPECTED ON THE BASIS OF CHANCE ALONE. PROBABILITY TAKEN AS 0,5

SUBJECTS	MALE (M) OR FEMALE (F)	PROBABILITY LEVEL	STATISTICAL TEST	DIFFERENCE	N	df	P (ONE-TAILED)
Nurses	F	0,5	χ^2 one sample test	$\chi^2 = 4,33$	39	1	0,05
Nurses	F	0,5	Binomial test	$Z = 1,92$	39		0,02
Teachers	M+F	0,5	χ^2 one sample test	$\chi^2 = 5,80$	24	1	0,02
Teachers	M+F	0,5	Binomial test	$Z = -3,67$	24		0,0001

From the results presented in Table 10.10 it is clear that both Hypotheses 1 and 2 were supported by the data.

CHAPTER 11
CONCLUSIONS

11.1 The relationship between acculturation and n Achievement

Although no significant difference between the n Achievement in the legends of the traditional Owambo culture and the n Achievement of unacculturated Owambo subjects could be found, a significant increase was found in the case of acculturated subjects. This change in n Achievement through time is in line with McClelland's (1961) findings and also correlates with other results in this thesis, discussed below.

On the geographical dimension, there is also strong evidence pointing to the conclusion that there is a significant increase of n Achievement with acculturation. Although Lokesh (1971) failed to find such a change amongst Hindi students, the results of Sinha and Chaubey (1972) and Singh (1969) in India and Angelini et al (1970) in Brazil are in line with our findings. The fact that the results, from the investigations where the interview method of measurement was used, do not correlate with the general trend above, is probably due more to problems in measurement than to some irregularity in the general trend of the results. In 9.1.9.1 there was already some indication that the interview method might present some problem, this now proves to be so and will become even more clear in some of the results to be discussed below.

Where the parental dimension of acculturation was used, only the results from the TAT measure showed a sig-

nificant increase with acculturation. Although the results from the essay method did not show such a significant increase, there is some indication of a trend (in the results) that corresponds with the results obtained with the TAT. This finding partly correlates with that of Le Vine (1966) who also failed to find any significant increase in n Achievement in Nigeria, where he also used a parental index of acculturation. The reason why there is such unsatisfactory evidence of an increase in n Achievement is probably to be found in the weak relationship between the Owambo parents and children. Evidence for such a weak relationship may be seen in the following instances.

- (i) In the first instance it should be remembered that in Owambo the parents do not always have such a strong influence on their children as we would expect to find in some other traditional societies in Southern Africa. The reason for this is that the Owambo are partly a matrilineal people and the seat of authority over the children is more likely to be with the uncle (the mothers brother) than with the father. The link between the parents and the children can be relatively weak and it may thus not always be so easy for the parents to pass their own value system on to their children.
- (ii) The social climate and certain factors extrinsic to the nuclear family (e.g. education, the radio, and peer influences) in Owambo may have a strong enough influence to neutralize or counter the parental influence.
- (iii) Young (1972) has demonstrated that there is no clearcut and consistent one to one relationship between socialization practices and the development of n Achievement.

On the whole there thus seems to be strong support for Hypothesis I because the results were either significant or showed a trend in the expected direction. The problems encountered with results from the interview method of measurement were most probably a phenomenon of the measure and not of contradictions within the general trends of the findings. With this, one of the questions set in 8.1 can also be answered in the affirmative. There is a general increase of n Achievement with acculturation in at least one tribe in Africa i.e. the Owambo.

11.2 The relationship between acculturation and n Affiliation

On the time dimension there is also a strong indication of a change in n Affiliation with acculturation. Although this change is not significant for unacculturated Owambos, the results show a trend in the expected direction. Probably the reason why there is no significant difference in n Affiliation between members of the original baseline or uncontaminated Owambo culture, and members of the contemporary unacculturated Owambo culture, is the fact that there is still very little cultural difference between these two groups. (This same phenomenon was also encountered in the case of n Achievement.) However, the acculturated members have already changed sufficiently to show a significant difference in n Affiliation. Support for this reasoning is also to be found in the fact that significant differences were found in the psychological motives between contemporary unacculturated and acculturated members. These changes in n Affiliation through time correlate with McClelland's (1961) finding that n Affiliation changes with changes in a society through time. On the geographical dimension a significant difference in n Affiliation between

acculturated and unacculturated subjects was found at Standard 6 level and at Form III level where the TAT was used. However, where the essay method was used with Form III subjects, this tendency still persisted but not at a significant level. The fact that no significant difference could be found in this case, can either be due to insensitivity in the essay method for measuring n Affiliation, or due to the leveling effects of scholastic influences on the acculturated level of the subjects. It must also be realized that the Std.6 subjects were most probably much less migratory and were more bound to their local area than the Form III subjects. Most of the latter had at least three years of secondary school experience, in which they were not living in their home areas. In any case, the trends measured by the two essays were in the expected direction. Where the parental dimension was used as an acculturation index, the results show that in the case of the TAT and two of the essays there was a significant relationship between acculturation and n Affiliation. With the other essay where no significant relationship could be found, the trend was also in the expected direction. As indicated earlier there is no supportive or contradictory literature for these findings above, as we are on virgin soil with this section of the research.

As far as the results from the parental dimension of acculturation are concerned, the explanation probably lies in the following. Because n Affiliation is concerned with friendship relations and is also strongly related to self-evaluation (Radloff 1968 p.945) the child still uses his parents as a reference point for these aspects. Thus parental influence is strong on n Affiliation. This also fits in with the Owambo culture which has strong matrilineal influences in its organization; with the result that the

mother's brother (tatekulu) has an avunculate function. Thus the uncle is the symbol of achievement in the wider world and probably has an influence in promoting n Achievement; however, the child's parents form the central locus of his friendship relationships and the development of his friendship patterns and are thus much more related to the development of his n Affiliation.

On the whole, Hypothesis II is supported by the results. Where no significant relationship was found, the results did not contradict the general trend but were in the expected direction. Although no supporting studies could be found in the literature, the findings are in the direction expected from the general literature.

Thus the expectation voiced in Chapter 8, that acculturation leads to an increase in anxiety, and this in turn leads to an increase in n Affiliation, seems to hold. It will naturally be worthwhile to investigate these relationships in greater detail as the indication for these causal links illustrated above, is still very general and tentative.

11.3 The relationship between n Achievement and scholastic achievement

To start at the negative end, no relationship between n Achievement, as measured through the interview method, and scholastic achievement was indicated by the results. Probably the explanation for this situation lies in the method of measurement. As in the case of the relationship of acculturation to n Achievement no meaningful relationship (not even a trend) could be found where the interview was used as a measure. Thus no deductions can

be drawn from the results where the interview measure is used. Where the TAT measure was used, a significant relationship was found between n Achievement and scholastic achievement; but with the essays only, some general non-significant trends could be detected. The problem here is possibly that the essay methods were not sensitive enough to detect the small changes in n Achievement that the TAT method could detect. This probability is strengthened when it is remembered that the TAT is regarded by McClelland (cf. McClelland 1958) as the most sensitive measure of n Achievement and also the fact that our earlier results (concerning the relationship between acculturation and n Achievement) indicate that with the TAT there were significant relationships that could not be detected when the essay methods were used. Then there is of course the possibility that some intervening variables may have contaminated the relationship between n Achievement and scholastic achievement.

There is an abundance of literature on the relationship between n Achievement and achievement behaviour in Euro-Western society. Thus Heckhausen (1969 Chapter 11) could write a whole chapter only summarizing the different results and Atkinson and Feather (1966) could develop a model of motivation from these results. Cross-cultural evidence concerning the relationship between n Achievement and achievement behaviour has been presented by McClelland (1961 pp.71-105) for 23 countries for the period 1920-1929, and for 40 countries for the period 1946-1955. Le Vine (1966) also presents evidence supporting the relationship found in our results in his research carried out in Nigeria.

On the whole it thus seems that there is a strong trend denoting a relationship between n Achievement and

achievement behaviour in Owambo, although Hypothesis III could not be unquestionably supported. The problem here probably derives from insensitive measures. The trends we found were similar to the trends that could be deduced from the literature on research carried out on Western societies, as well as from the literature on the little cross-cultural data.

11.4 The relationship between n Affiliation and scholastic achievement

The results clearly show that no relationship exists between n Affiliation and scholastic achievement. Hypothesis VI could in no way be supported. Thus we may conclude that at this stage affiliation motivation does not seem to have any significant influence on achievement behaviour in Owambo. Thus the speculation of Wallace (1961) and Boyatzis (1973) that n Affiliation is a significant factor in the achievement behaviour of certain non-Western cultures, and the findings of Kubany et al (1970), Gallimore (1974) and Ramirez and Price-Williams (1976) that support this idea as far as the Mexican and Hawaiiin cultures are concerned, do not apply to the Owambo. From this we may then tentatively deduce the fact that the Owambo culture does not specifically reward achievement behaviour that is based on generating affiliation motives, and the probability exists (if the other results in this thesis are taken into consideration) that although there is an increase of affiliation with acculturation in Owambo, it is rather n Achievement that is connected with achievement behaviour and that n Affiliation plays an insignificant role in this relationship. In general then, achievement in Owambo is based rather on the Western type of achievement motivation than on an affiliative type of motivation as proposed by

certain writers for non-Western cultures.

11.5 The relationship between acculturation and achievement behaviour

The results showed that although there was a strong trend towards a relationship between acculturation and scholastic achievement, this trend was not strong enough to be significant and Hypothesis IV could thus not be supported. However, a significant relationship was found between acculturation and post-scholastic achievement and Hypothesis V could be supported. These findings can probably be explained along the following lines. From the results obtained from a summary of the studies that have investigated the influence of acculturation on personality (cf. Chapter 4), it is clear that the acculturated subjects carry a heavy load of negative personality and interpersonal problems and these problems must have an effect on their performance whatever they are doing. Furthermore if acculturation is seen as a process in the way that Coertze and Linton (cf. 5.3.1) portrays it, then there are certain stages during which these problems are greater than during others. Thus at the scholastic level, the acculturated subjects do not have higher scholastic marks than the more unacculturated subjects (as we would have expected because of their higher level of n Achievement), but seem to be hampered by the negative acculturation influences mentioned above. The result of this is that there is no difference in the scholastic achievement of the acculturated and unacculturated subjects at the scholastic level. However, at a post-scholastic level, these acculturation problems seem to become less intense due to the more advanced level or phase of acculturation.

Naturally there may also be other factors affecting the achievement of these post-scholastic achievers, e.g. more money, higher standing in the community, social status etc. All these factors might compensate for the negative influences from acculturation and might enable or even motivate the individuals to strive significantly more than their counterparts in the transitional phases of acculturation.

11.6 Summarizing conclusions

To summarize we may conclude that for Owambo:

- (i) There is an increase of n Achievement and n Affiliation with acculturation.
- (ii) Although there is a significant relationship between n Achievement and scholastic achievement, no such relationship exists between n Affiliation and scholastic achievement.
- (iii) No significant relationship exists between acculturation and scholastic achievement; but on a post-scholastic level a greater number of subjects who have achieved in their community come from an acculturated background as opposed to an unacculturated background, than would be expected from chance alone.

11.7 Significance of the findings

The practical significance of the findings of this thesis are at present mainly confined to the academic world. However, it is envisaged that they can be used (especially

in combination with the results from other disciplines such as anthropology and economics) in the applied social sciences. McClelland and Winter (1969) have already set an example in demonstrating that n Achievement and n Affiliation are not only of academic importance, since the knowledge gained in research on these motives can be utilized in the practice of the entrepreneurial development in developing countries. Social scientists in South Africa have also realized that the human factor plays an important role in the development of underdeveloped areas. Thus the presidential address at the 1971 conference of the Psychological Institute of the Republic of South Africa was specifically on this issue. The previous year the H.S.R.C. had also published a report on the human factors that have an effect on the economic development of the Bantu homelands. In both these instances it is interesting to note that the work of McClelland played a leading role.

On the whole the role of n Achievement in the development of Owambo seems very important. Not only does this thesis demonstrate a change in this motive with the acculturation of the Owambo, but it also shows that n Achievement is intrinsically associated with actual performance. Furthermore there is also a strong possibility (that may prove to be fruitful for some future research) that the basic level in n Achievement of all the Owambo is in fact much higher than some of the other tribes in Southern Africa. This can be deduced from the following:

- (i) In South-West Africa the Owambo are generally known as the "Black-Jews" due to their general industriousness and natural astuteness in handling money. They are not attracted to manual labour but are immediately attracted to any business or commercial undertaking.

- (ii) On the factors that correlate with cultures portraying high n Achievement (as presented by Textor 1967) the Owambo score on at least eight out of the eleven possibilities.

On the negative side there is also a warning that must be heeded. McClelland (1961) argued that the impact of high n Achievement on deprived or oppressed groups can easily lead to conflict with the dominant groups in power. By comparing results from 23 nations over the world Feierabend and Feierabend (1973) presents some results that support McClelland's notion. Thus if the Owambo are not presented with opportunities to fulfill their achievement aspirations, some form of unrest and conflict with the authorities is to be expected.

11.8 The applicability of the method used in this thesis for the investigation of the relationship between acculturation and the change in psychological motives

It is not possible to give an unqualified "Yes" or "No" as answer to the question as to whether the method employed in this thesis is applicable to the investigation of the relationship between acculturation and the change in psychological motives. The reasons for this situation are the following:

- (i) The psychometric methods we employed are restricted in the number of motives that they are able to measure. Although there is a substantial amount of research available on n Achievement and n Affiliation, the measurement of n Power was still in an experimental stage when we started the present

study. Atkinson (1958) had included papers on the measurement of hunger, sex, fear and aggression in the basic manual on the measurement of motives through the basic method developed by McClelland and his followers. Since then very little development has taken place in demonstrating that these motives can be successfully measured. *Thus to conclude, the number of motives that can be investigated using this method is limited.*

- (ii) A major problem in the psychological investigation of non-Western cultures is suspicion. (A point we experienced in practice and emphasized in this thesis.) This is a point that must definitely be taken into account when using the thematic methods of measurement as it has frequently been demonstrated that these methods are very susceptible to extraneous influences, especially the general attitude of the experimental subjects. *Thus to conclude, this type of method in measurement can be successful where the experimental situation is carefully controlled, otherwise it will prove to be disastrous.*
- (iii) Strictly on methodological grounds, if
 - (a) our data could have been on the ordinal or interval scales of measurement instead of on the nominal scale; and
 - (b) the division of acculturation could have been along a scale with more possibilities of classification (rather than only two categories) the inter-relationship of the different variables could have been investigated much more precisely, and more sophisticated levels of analysis could have been employed that would naturally have influenced the general level of interpretation.

Thus we may conclude that although the method we employed, in investigating the relationship between acculturation and changes in certain psychological motives, seems to have been relatively successful, for our purposes it was quite restricted in its scope of applicability and was also relatively sensitive to extraneous influences.

APPENDIX I

<u>INVESTIGATION:</u> AINSWORTH AND AINSWORTH (1962 a)				
STIPULATIONS	SATISFACTORY	UNSATISFACTORY	NO INFORMATION	UNAPPLICABLE
1. Way of Analysis	x			
2. Sampling	x			
3. Interpreter			x	
4. Validity Check		x		
5. Own Check			x	
6. Hypotheses	x			
7. Cult. Know.			x	
8. 3-D Factor			x	
9. Specific Adaptation	x			
10. Analysis in Cult.			x	
11. Situational Influence			x	
12. Accult. Different	x			

INVESTIGATION:

AINSWORTH AND AINSWORTH (1962 b)

STIPULATIONS	SATISFACTORY	UNSATISFACTORY	NO INFORMATION	UNAPPLICABLE
1. Way of Analysis	x			
2. Sampling	x			
3. Interpreter			x	
4. Validity Check		x		
5. Own Check			x	
6. Hypotheses	x			
7. Cult. Know.			x	
8. 3-D Factor			x	
9. Specific Adaptation	x			
10. Analysis in Cult.			x	
11. Situational Influence			x	
12. Accult. Different.	x			

INVESTIGATION:

AINSWORTH AND AINSWORTH (1962 c)

STIPULATIONS	SATISFACTORY	UNSATISFACTORY	NO INFORMATION	UNAPPLICABLE
1. Way of Analysis	x			
2. Sampling	x			
3. Interpreter			x	
4. Validity Check		x		
5. Own Check			x	
6. Hypotheses	x			
7. Cult. Know.			x	
8. 3-D Factor			x	
9. Specific Adaptation	x			
10. Analysis in Cult.			x	
11. Situational Influence			x	
12. Accult. Different	x			

INVESTIGATION:

ALEXANDER AND ANDERSON (1957)

STIPULATIONS	SATISFACTORY	UNSATISFACTORY	NO INFORMATION	UNAPPLICABLE
1. Way of Analysis	x			
2. Sampling		x		
3. Interpreter			x	
4. Validity Check		x		
5. Own Check			x	
6. Hypotheses		x		
7. Cult. Know.	x			
8. 3-D Factor			x	
9. Specific Adaptation	x			
10. Analysis in Cult.	x			
11. Situational Influence		x		
12. Accult. Different		x		

<u>INVESTIGATION:</u>				
BADRI AND DENNIS (1964)				
STIPULATIONS	SATISFACTORY	UNSATISFACTORY	NO INFORMATION	UNAPPLICABLE
1. Way of Analysis	x			
2. Sampling			x	
3. Interpreter	x			
4. Validity Check		x		
5. Own Check	x			
6. Hypotheses	x			
7. Cult. Know.	x			
8. 3-D Factor				x
9. Specific Adaptation				x
10. Analysis in Cult.				x
11. Situational Influence		x		
12. Accult. Different	x			

INVESTIGATION:

BOYER ET AL (1965)

STIPULATIONS	SATISFACTORY	UNSATISFACTORY	NO INFORMATION	UNAPPLICABLE
1. Way of Analysis	x			
2. Sampling	x			
3. Interpreter		x		
4. Validity Check			x	
5. Own Check			x	
6. Hypotheses		x		
7. Cult. Know.	x			
8. 3-D Factor			x	
9. Specific Adaptation				x
10. Analysis in Cult.		x		
11. Situational Influence		x		
12. Accult. Different	x			

INVESTIGATION: CAUDILL (1949)				
STIPULATIONS	SATISFACTORY	UNSATISFACTORY	NO INFORMATION	UNAPPLICABLE
1. Way of Analysis	x			
2. Sampling	x			
3. Interpreter			x	
4. Validity Check	x			
5. Own Check			x	
6. Hypotheses	x			
7. Cult. Know.	x			
8. 3-D Factor			x	
9. Specific Adaptation		x		
10. Analysis in Cult.	x			
11. Situational Influence		x		
12. Accult. Different	x			

INVESTIGATION: CAUDILL (1952)				
STIPULATIONS	SATISFACTORY	UNSATISFACTORY	NO INFORMATION	UNAPPLICABLE
1. Way of Analysis	x			
2. Sampling	x			
3. Interpreter			x	
4. Validity Check	x			
5. Own Check	x			
6. Hypotheses	x			
7. Cult. Know.	x			
8. 3-D Factor			x	
9. Specific Adaptation		x		
10. Analysis in Cult.	x			
11. Situational Influence			x	
12. Accult. Different	x			

INVESTIGATION:

CAUDILL AND DE VOS (1956)

STIPULATIONS	SATISFACTORY	UNSATISFACTORY	NO INFORMATION	UNAPPLICABLE
1. Way of Analysis	x			
2. Sampling	x			
3. Interpreter	x			
4. Validity Check	x			
5. Own Check			x	
6. Hypotheses	x			
7. Cult. Know.	x			
8. 3-D Factor			x	
9. Specific Adaptation		x		
10. Analysis in Cult.	x			
11. Situational Influence			x	
12. Accult. Different	x			

INVESTIGATION:

DE VOS (1955)

STIPULATIONS	SATISFACTORY	UNSATISFACTORY	NO INFORMATION	UNAPPLICABLE
1. Way of Analysis	x			
2. Sampling	x			
3. Interpreter	x			
4. Validity Check			x	
5. Own Check			x	
6. Hypotheses		x		
7. Cult. Know.	x			
8. 3-D Factor			x	
9. Specific Adaptation				x
10. Analysis in Cult.	x			
11. Situational Influence			x	
12. Accult. Different	x			

INVESTIGATION:

DE VOS AND MINER (1958)

STIPULATIONS	SATISFACTORY	UNSATISFACTORY	NO INFORMATION	UNAPPLICABLE
1. Way of Analysis	x			
2. Sampling	x			
3. Interpreter			x	
4. Validity Check	x			
5. Own Check	x			
6. Hypotheses	x			
7. Cult. Know.			x	
8. 3-D Factor				x
9. Specific Adaptation		x		
10. Analysis in Cult.	x			
11. Situational Influence			x	
12. Accult. Different	x			

INVESTIGATION:

DOOB (1957)

STIPULATIONS	SATISFACTORY	UNSATISFACTORY	NO INFORMATION	UNAPPLICABLE
1. Way of Analysis		x		
2. Sampling	x			
3. Interpreter	x			
4. Validity Check	x			
5. Own Check			x	
6. Hypotheses	x			
7. Cult. Know.			x	
8. 3-D Factor			x	
9. Specific Adaptation			x	
10. Analysis in Cult.		x		
11. Situational Influence	x			
12. Accult. Different		x		

INVESTIGATION:

DU PREEZ (1969)

STIPULATIONS	SATISFACTORY	UNSATISFACTORY	NO INFORMATION	UNAPPLICABLE
1. Way of Analysis	x			
2. Sampling		x		
3. Interpreter	x			
4. Validity Check		x		
5. Own Check	x			
6. Hypotheses	x			
7. Cult. Know.			x	
8. 3-D Factor				x
9. Specific Adaptation		x		
10. Analysis in Cult.		x		
11. Situational Influence			x	
12. Accult. Different	x			

INVESTIGATION:

KAPLAN (1954)

STIPULATIONS	SATISFACTORY	UNSATISFACTORY	NO INFORMATION	UNAPPLICABLE
1. Way of Analysis	x			
2. Sampling		x		
3. Interpreter	x			
4. Validity Check			x	
5. Own Check	x			
6. Hypotheses		x		
7. Cult. Know.			x	
8. 3-D Factor			x	
9. Specific Adaptation		x		
10. Analysis in Cult.			x	
11. Situational Influence		x		
12. Accult. Different	x			

INVESTIGATION: LEBLANC (1958)				
STIPULATIONS	SATISFACTORY	UNSATISFACTORY	NO INFORMATION	UNAPPLICABLE
1. Way of Analysis	x			
2. Sampling	x			
3. Interpreter	x			
4. Validity Check	x			
5. Own Check	x			
6. Hypotheses	x			
7. Cult. Know.			x	
8. 3-D Factor			x	
9. Specific Adaptation	x			
10. Analysis in Cult.	x			
11. Situational Influence	x			
12. Accult. Different	x			

INVESTIGATION:

PARKER (1964)

STIPULATIONS	SATISFACTORY	UNSATISFACTORY	NO INFORMATION	UNAPPLICABLE
1. Way of Analysis	x			
2. Sampling		x		
3. Interpreter			x	
4. Validity Check		x		
5. Own Check	x			
6. Hypotheses	x			
7. Cult. Know.			x	
8. 3-D Factor			x	
9. Specific Adaptation	x			
10. Analysis in Cult.		x		
11. Situational Influence	x			
12. Accult. Different	x			

INVESTIGATION:

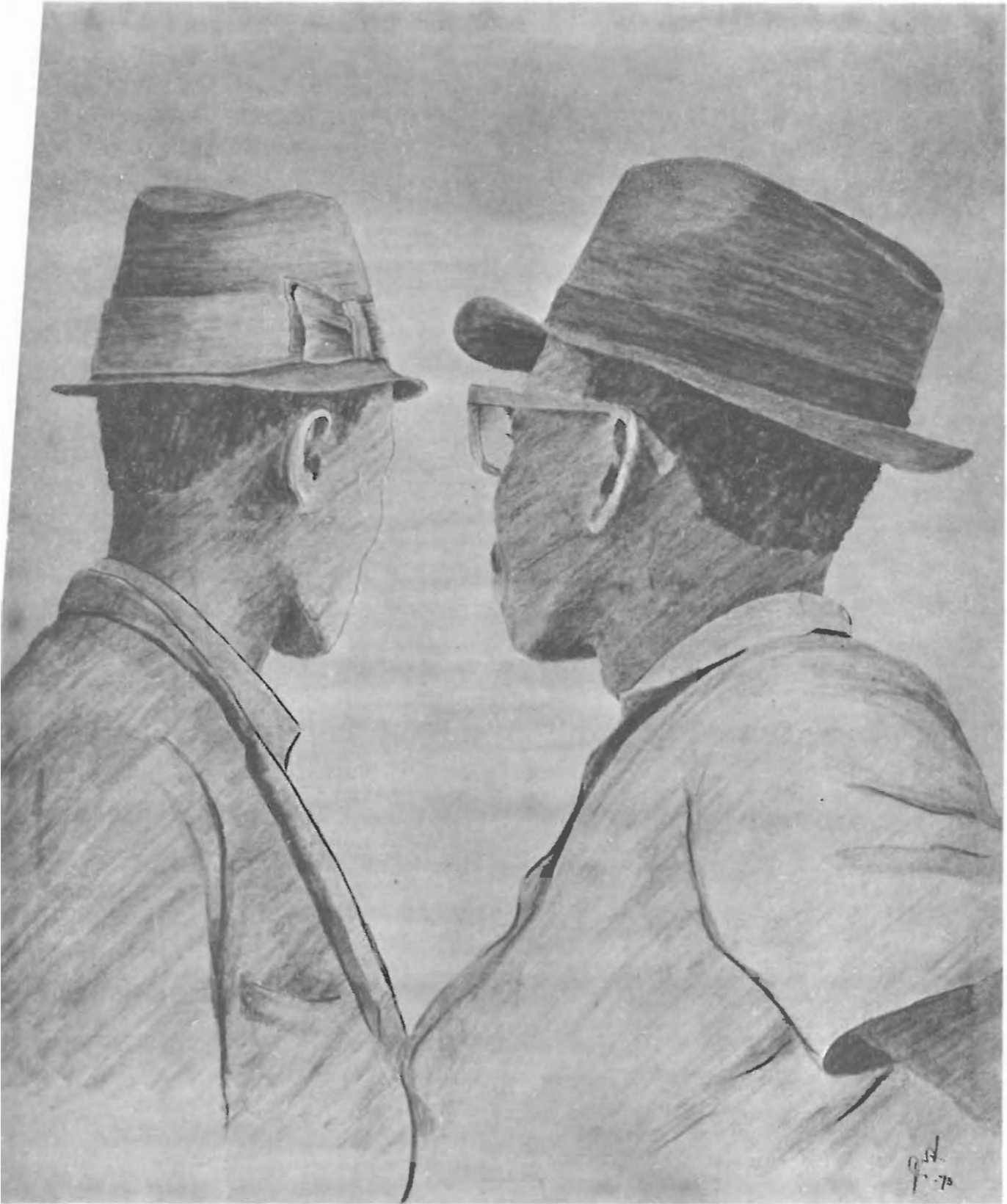
SPINDLER AND SPINDLER (1961)

STIPULATIONS	SATISFACTORY	UNSATISFACTORY	NO INFORMATION	UNAPPLICABLE
1. Way of Analysis	x			
2. Sampling	x			
3. Interpreter	x			
4. Validity Check	x			
5. Own Check			x	
6. Hypotheses	x			
7. Cult. Know.	x			
8. 3-D Factor				x
9. Specific Adaptation				x
10. Analysis in Cult.	x			
11. Situational Influence		x		
12. Accult. Different	x			

APPENDIX II

PICTURES

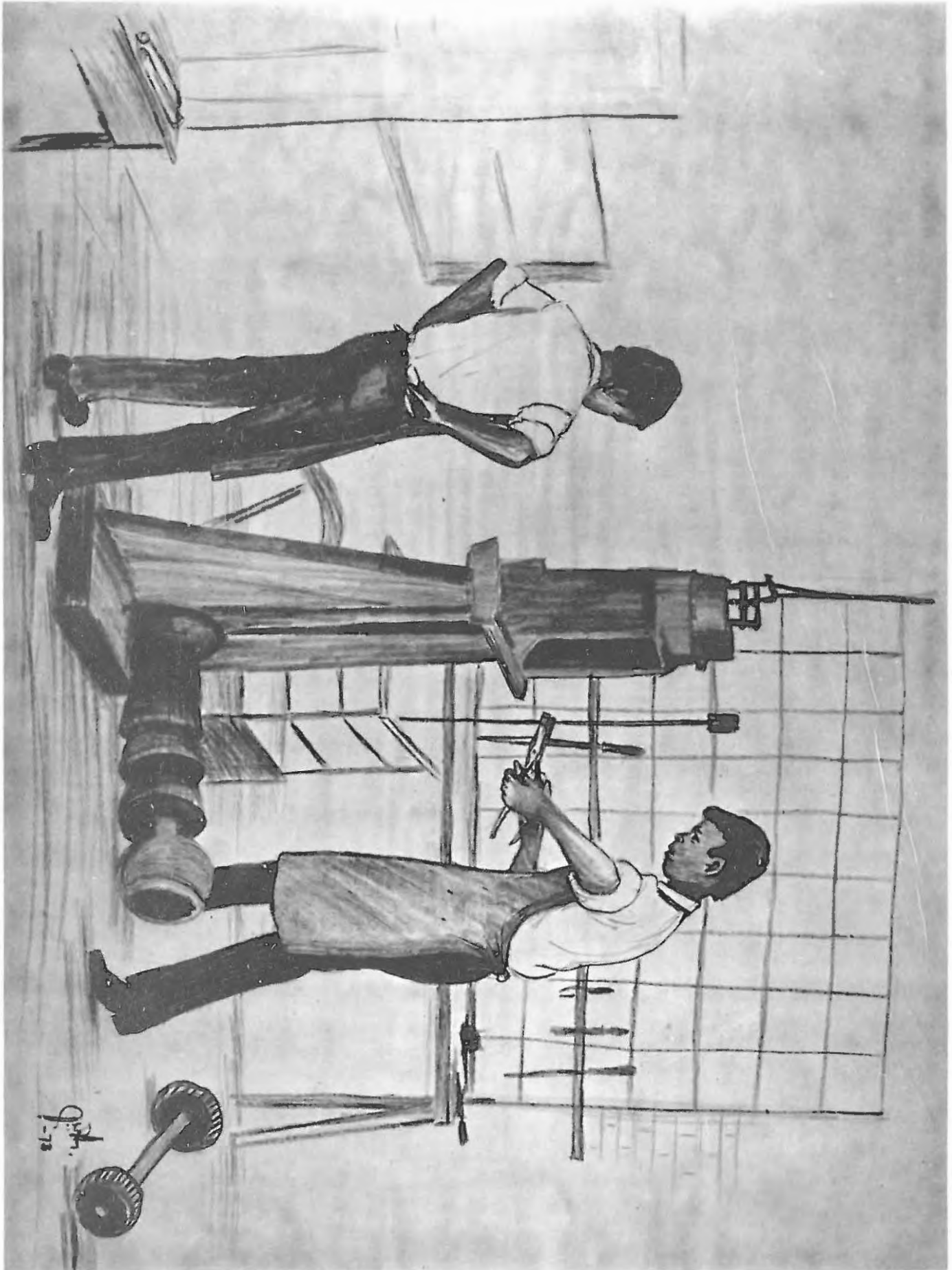
PICTURE A



PICTURE B



PICTURE C



APPENDIX III

HIERDIE VORM MOET SLEGS DEUR GEKWALIFISEERDE
VERPLEEGSTERS VOLTOOI WORD

NAAM: _____

DIE HOOGSTE VORM WAT U GESLAAG HET: _____

NAAM VAN DIE LAERSKOOI WAAR U STANDERD 6 GESLAAG HET:

NAAM VAN DIE DORP OF WYK WAAR U OUIERS SE HUIS IS:

WAT SE WERK DOEN U VADER: _____

WAT SE WERK DOEN U MOEDER: _____

WAT IS DIE HOOGSTE STANDERD OF VORM WAT U VADER GESLAAG HET:

WAT IS DIE HOOGSTE STANDERD OF VORM WAT U MOEDER GESLAAG HET:

VOLG ENIGE VAN U BROERS OF SUSTERS ENIGE VAN DIE VOLGENDE BEROEPE:
(Trek 'n kruisie agter die betrokke beroep)

Onderwyser	<input type="checkbox"/>
Onderwyseres	<input type="checkbox"/>
Predikant	<input type="checkbox"/>
Verpleegster	<input type="checkbox"/>
Suster	<input type="checkbox"/>
Besigheidsman	<input type="checkbox"/>
Enige ander (Spesifiseer)	<input type="checkbox"/>

APPENDIX IV

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ACCULTURATION AND
 N ACHIEVEMENT ON THE TIME DIMENSION

Legends		Stories from unacculturated Owambos	
n Ach.	No n Ach.	n Ach.	No n Ach.
22	48	28	42
Legends		Stories from acculturated Owambos	
n Ach.	No n Ach.	n Ach.	No n Ach.
22	48	33	37

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ACCULTURATION AND N ACHIEVEMENT
(GEOGRAPHICAL AND PARENTAL DIMENSIONS)

	Method of measure- ment	Method of accul- turation estimation	Accult. + n Ach. present	Accult. + No n Ach. present	Unaccult. + n Ach. present	Unaccult. + No n Ach. present
Std.6	Essay III	Area	93	31	29	115
Forms I & III	TAT	Area	45	30	45	51
Form III	Essay I	Area	20	14	14	23
Form III	Essay II	Area	20	11	14	26
Form III	Interview	Area	18	16	16	21
Forms I & III	TAT	Parents	44	31	44	52
Form III	Essay I	Parents	18	16	15	22
Form III	Essay II	Parents	19	15	14	23
Form III	Interview	Parents	14	20	19	18

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ACCULTURATION AND
N AFFILIATION ON THE TIME DIMENSION

Legends		Stories from unacculturated Owambos	
n Affil.	No n Affil.	n Affil.	No n Affil.
19	31	24	26
Legends		Stories from acculturated Owambos	
n Affil.	No n Affil.	n Affil.	No n Affil.
19	31	35	15

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ACCULTURATION AND N AFFILIATION
(GEOGRAPHICAL AND PARENTAL DIMENSIONS)

Subjects	Method of measurement	Method of acculturation	Accult. + n Affil. present	Accult. + No n Affil. present	Unaccult. + n Affil. present	Unaccult. + No n Affil. present
Std.6	Essay III	Area	85	39	64	80
Forms I & III	TAT	Area	50	34	40	47
Form III	Essay I	Area	18	15	16	22
Form III	Essay II	Area	20	16	14	21
Forms I & III	TAT	Parents	49	35	39	48
Form III	Essay I	Parents	21	12	12	26
Form III	Essay II	Parents	19	15	14	21

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN N ACHIEVEMENT AND
SCHOLASTIC ACHIEVEMENT

Subjects	Method of measuring n Achievement	n Achievement present			n Achievement NOT present		
		N	\bar{X}	S.D.	N	\bar{X}	S.D.
Form I, III & IV	TAT	113	51,58	7,97	87	47,12	7,73
Form III	Essay I	31	48,77	7,15	40	48,25	6,60
Form III	Essay II	38	50,45	6,73	33	47,64	5,77
Form III	Interview	33	49,48	8,19	38	49,18	6,60

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN N AFFILIATION AND
SCHOLASTIC ACHIEVEMENT

Subjects	Method of measuring n Affiliation	n Affiliation present			n Affiliation NOT present		
		N	\bar{X}	S.D.	N	\bar{X}	S.D.
Form I, III & IV	TAT	103	50,03	7,81	97	49,87	7,64
Form III	Essay I	41	47,88	7,91	30	51,01	8,01
Form III	Essay II	35	48,45	7,11	36	50,16	7,58

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ACCULTURATION AND
SCHOLASTIC ACHIEVEMENT

Subjects	Method of acculturation estimation	Acculturated subjects			Unacculturated subjects		
		N	\bar{X}	S.D.	N	\bar{X}	S.D.
Forms I, III & IV	Area	100	50,68	7,28	100	49,26	6,98
Forms I, III & IV	Parents	108	50,51	7,53	92	49,36	6,69

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ACCULTURATION AND
POST-SCHOLASTIC ACHIEVEMENT

	N
Teachers from an acculturated background	18
Teachers from an unacculturated background	6
Nurses from an acculturated background	26
Nurses from an unacculturated background	13

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