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Third, the labour-saving strategy of using surveys of written values for assessing populations must be supplemented. Other multicultural approaches are possible, may provide access to less literate populations, and could yield different results worth exploring.

Fourth, in our rush to map the values world, we must not foreclose on indigenous contributions. Each culture has its unique storehouse of values, some of which are perceived as essential to a cultural group. These particular values may help social scientists contribute new dimensions of variation in values (see, for example, Chinese Culture Connection, 1987). They can be easily grafted onto existing value surveys and the relationship of a particular cultural heritage to existing concepts examined through correlation. Intellectual and cultural imperialism may thus be avoided.

Finally, longitudinal studies of value are needed. The important issues of modernization and convergence (see Yang, this volume) could thereby be assessed within and across Chinese societies. Personality approaches to this issue have been taken within Taiwanese culture (see Yang, 1986, pp. 148–60), but a multicultural approach would enable us to tease out societal trends.

## NOTES

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# Chapter 15

## Ultimate Life Concerns, Self, and Chinese Achievement Motivation

An-Bang Yu

While wealth, fame, and longevity have long been seen by the Chinese as collective representations of individual achievement and familial glorification, virtue has always been considered the highest goal to be achieved by an individual in his or her moral performance. Thus, self within a Chinese context has long connoted both family-self and moral-self. The merging of these two selves has been and still is the social and psychological basis underlying Chinese motivation for personal achievement. This chapter will elucidate the meaning of Chinese achievement motivation, and will clarify the differences between it and the concept of achievement motivation as constructed by Western researchers, especially D. C. McClelland and his followers.

Attempts to measure achievement motivation present several problems. The reliability and validity of projective measures, such as the Thematic Apperception Test (TAT), and self-report measures, such as the Edwards Personal Preference Scale (EPPS), have been questioned and criticized by many scholars (see, for example, Fineman, 1977; Ho, 1986; Murstein, 1963; Weinstein, 1969). McClelland (1980) has asserted that the use of self-report scales is couched in special instructional language which produces particular responses through directive stimuli. Self-report measures may also be called respondent measures of achievement attitudes or values, rather than tests of needs for achievement. On the other hand, projective tests such as the TAT obtain samples of an individual's actions or thinking under certain standard conditions; it is an operant measure that reflects desires or needs. According to McClelland, only projective tests can accurately measure an individual's need for achievement, but K. S. Yang (1986) argues that both can measure achievement need or motivation, albeit different kinds. Yang believes that self-report measures are better able to measure Chinese achievement motivation, while projective measures are better equipped for measuring Western achievement motivation.

McClelland, Koestner, and Weinberger (1989) have since modified their earlier position and asserted that traditional projective tests can, in fact, measure need for achievement (which they term *nACH*); they further state that the need for achievement is an implicit motive. On the other hand, they believe that self-report tests such as the Personality Research Form (PRF) (Jackson, 1974) measure self-attributed need for achievement (*sanACH*)—an explicit achievement motive existing on the conscious level. These two kinds of achievement motivation exercise different influences on achievement-related behaviour.

McClelland (1985) and Heckhausen and Hallisch (1986) believe that the need for achievement is related to the incentive value of a given task or project. Koestner, Weinberger, and McClelland (1988), however, argue that a self-attributed need for achievement is stimulated by external social incentives, including external encouragement, expectations, and requirements.

If we look at what McClelland calls *nach* and *snatch*, we find that he is generally in agreement with Yang on the usefulness of self-report measures in Chinese contexts. Nonetheless, most of the existing literature on the origins and consequences of achievement motivation is open to challenge. It is difficult to determine whether the cross-cultural inconsistencies that have been found are due to genuine cultural differences in the nature of achievement motivation or are merely due to problems with the validity and reliability of the instruments involved.

It does appear to be the case that self-report scales are useful in measuring an individual's *nach* in both individualist and collectivist societies, and one need not be restricted to using only projective measures to record these motivational constructs. What is critical is the type of theoretical conceptualization of achievement motivation used to develop a measurement tool. The achievement motivation theories and concepts developed by McClelland and his associates are the products of Western, middle-class society, and as such should not be used to measure the achievement motivation of people from collectivist, non-Western societies (A. B. Yu, 1990; A. B. Yu and Yang, 1994).

## RESEARCH ON ACHIEVEMENT MOTIVATION IN CHINESE SOCIETIES

Most Chinese researchers have borrowed or adapted Western achievement motivation measurement instruments, and their choices have not necessarily been based on any specific theoretical orientation. As a result, 40 years of Chinese research on achievement motivation has produced a disorganized body of findings; almost no proposals have been made for an indigenous theory or model of achievement motivation, nor has much work been done on empirically verifying Western models. As of yet, no one has proposed an indigenous 'experience-near' (Geertz, 1984) concept upon which measurement instruments for Chinese achievement motivation could be based. For example, researchers such as C. M. Chu (1981), Y. Y. Hung (1982), and S. Y. Kuo (1973) used independently developed scales and questionnaires, as well as instruments adapted from Western models, to measure self-concept, self-attitude, and individual achievement motivation; the validity of these tools remains open to question (Cronbach and Meehl, 1955; Messick, 1980, 1981).

With a certain amount of overlap, Chinese research on achievement motivation can be divided into two periods: 1950-70 and post-1970. The earlier research was primarily carried out in Taiwan, and an important research focus was the use of Murray's (1943) Thematic Apperception Test (TAT) to explore the relationship between individual achievement needs and life adjustment (Ni, 1962). Besides being used to delineate deviance in the nature of achievement (Han, 1965, 1967, 1968), TAT figures and testing procedures were modi-

fied to establish its reliability and validity for use with both Chinese adults and children (Chu, 1955, 1968).

Since 1970, Chinese researchers have developed their own tools to measure Chinese achievement and achievement motivation. S. Y. Kuo's (1973) work, based on student achievement motivation questionnaires developed by Entwistle (1968), Hartley and Holt (1971), and Russell (1969), is the best known and most widely used. His questionnaire consists of 50 yes-no items measuring scholastic achievement motivation, and its split-half reliability is a satisfactory .86 (Cheng and Yang, 1977; S. Y. Kuo, 1973, 1982, 1984). In addition, Li (1981), and J. J. Wu, Lin, and Lai (1978) adapted and used Helmreich and Spence's (1978) Work and Family Orientation Questionnaire (WFOQ); W. C. Chang and Wong (1992) later used the WFOQ structure for use with Singapore Chinese. Wang (1993) independently developed a set of projective figures (similar to the TAT) to measure achievement motivation among university students in mainland China. It should be noted that the development of these instruments was not based on any particular conceptualization of achievement motivation; instead, they were simply determined by the researcher's preference. In addition, many Chinese researchers before and after 1970 developed self-report questionnaires and scales, but rarely did they design projective instruments.

For convenience, researchers have generally used group testing to collect data on a large scale, primarily for researching student achievement motivation (about 80 per cent of all research subjects have been students). Since the external validity of studies on students has its limitations, the conclusions drawn from these studies are also limited in scope.

## THEORIES AND MEASURES OF ACHIEVEMENT MOTIVATION IN THE WEST

### *The Nature of Western Achievement Motivation*

In combination with extensive cross-cultural research, the scoring system developed by McClelland and his associates (1953, 1958), which most Western scholars have adopted, suggests that achievement motivation involves the following three suppositions: personal success is individual achievement, so individuals determine their own achievement goals; subjective judgement determines the degree of incentive value for any particular achievement; and subjective judgement also defines standards of excellence. These suppositions reflect the cultural values of middle-class Western societies (Kornadt, Eckensberger, and Enninghaus, 1980; Maehr, 1974, 1978). We might call this kind of achievement motivation self-oriented, person-oriented, or individual-oriented achievement motivation (IOAM).

IOAM describes an individual's motivation in terms of an internally determined goal or standard of excellence achieved through acts which contain a degree of uncertainty as to the outcome (K. S. Yang and Yu, 1988). A list of its five aspects may help one to better understand its special nature: achievement goals and standards of excellence are largely determined by the individual, as

are the incentive values of the achievement goal and standard of excellence; each individual determines the behaviour needed to reach achievement goals; as well as the maintenance, continuation, and evaluation of such behaviour; the individual is the primary evaluator of his or her achievement performance; positive or negative reinforcement of achievement performance also comes from within the individual, including a sense of success or failure, self-satisfaction or self-contentment, and self-approval or self-criticism; and, finally, the overall characteristics of IOAM are strong self-instrumentality and functional autonomy (K. S. Yang and Yu, 1988).

### *A Critique of Western Achievement Motivation Theory*

Many scholars (including McClelland) believe that achievement motivation is culturally universal and varies across cultures or societies in degree only. However, McClelland's (1961, 1963) findings of lower levels of achievement motivation in Brazilian, Japanese, and traditional Chinese societies do not hold up under closer scrutiny. For example, Maehr (1974, 1978), Maehr and Nicholls (1980), Serpell (1976), and Weiner (1980) have all pointed out that McClelland's model of culture => child training => personality => achieving society overemphasizes the influences of personality and early social development on the formation of achievement motivation. Although McClelland (1965) pointed out the importance of social structure in his theoretical model, he did not conduct empirical studies on the relationship between social structure and achievement motivation. His assumption that achievement motivation is a stable personality factor, constant in different contexts and at different times, has also been criticized by Komradt et al. (1980) and Maehr and Nicholls (1980). As K. S. Yang and Yu (1988) wrote concerning McClelland's failure to take the cultural environment into consideration:

The most frequently leveled criticisms are that McClelland's framework neglects the importance of social and/or interpersonal factors as contextual conditions in defining the concept of achievement motivation, and that it does not do justice to achievement in culturally distinctive, non-Western societies, especially those with a collectivist orientation. ... McClelland's theory and method, because of their neglect of social-contextual factors, have obvious limitations even when applied intra-culturally. Their unsuitability is much more evident when they are adopted in cross-cultural research, especially in studies using subjects from Oriental societies such as China (including mainland China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan) and Japan. Previous research using people from the collectively oriented Chinese and Japanese societies has repeatedly attested to the fact that their achievement motivation patterns are strikingly different from those of Western peoples and cannot be adequately understood in terms of McClelland's highly individualistic concept of achievement motivation (pp. 2, 6).

De Vos (1968, 1973) claims that McClelland's theoretical limitations became obvious when his model was used to explain Japanese and Chinese achievement motivation. E. S. Yu (1974, 1980) was one of the first to observe that

McClelland's theory of individual achievement motivation was based on concepts of individualism. She concluded that achievement motivation scores derived from McClelland's TAT scoring system reflect an individual-oriented need and place emphasis on the pursuit of personal rather than collective-oriented achievement, since the TAT scores did not correlate significantly with filial piety or familism scales, both of which carry a collectivist orientation (see also Ho, 1986; Yu and Yang, 1994). Individual-oriented achievement motivation resembles what Veroff (1969, 1973, 1977) called 'autonomous achievement orientation', and what K. S. Yang (1982, 1986) and K. S. Yang and Liang (1973) defined as 'self-oriented achievement motivation', that is, achievement motivation based on internalized standards of excellence. This kind of achievement motivation is ability- and task-oriented (Maehr and Nicholls, 1980), and it resembles what Nicholls (1984) termed 'task-involvement achievement motive'. Jerath (1981) called this type 'intrinsic achievement motivation'.

### CULTURE, SELF, AND ACHIEVEMENT MOTIVATION

If IOAM is just one form of achievement motivation, then McClelland's assertion of its universality is false, and the assumption that it alone can be used to measure Chinese achievement motivation is unsupported. In order to understand Chinese achievement motivation, we must ask three questions: How does Chinese achievement motivation differ from IOAM? How does the Chinese self relate to Chinese achievement motivation? And what broader cultural significance does Chinese achievement motivation possess?

#### *Ultimate Life Concerns of the Chinese*

The unifying intellectual philosophy in the Chinese 'great tradition' is Confucianism. Confucianism already exercised considerable influence during the pre-Qin period (before 221 BC), and from the Han dynasty (206 BC-AD 220) on until recent decades, its legal status was assured. As a decisive force in Chinese intellectual tradition, Confucianism has always exerted a profound influence on ordinary people. Consequently, any path to understanding the Chinese concept of achievement must pass through a study of the Confucian version of ultimate life concerns and idealized life goals.

Confucianism's ultimate life concerns are based on the Wu Lun, the five cardinal relationships: the relations between ruler and minister, father and son, husband and wife, elder and younger brother, and older and younger friends. Confucianism is a humanistic philosophy centered around *ren* (the fundamental quality of being human, or benevolence), *yì* (righteousness), and *lǐ* (ritual propriety). An ideal, highly ordered, and harmonious Confucian society relies on a virtuous ruler to establish ritual order, plus individuals to cultivate themselves in a lifelong effort to reach the highest possible spiritual plane (*tianren heyì*, the unity of heaven and man), and therefore become a sage or a perfectly realized man (K. K. Hwang, 1988, 1992; Liou, 1992; Mou, 1985). In the

it. Confucianism stresses the remaking and reforming of the moral self in hope of realizing the ethical ideal of 'ultimate goodness' (*zhishan*) (S. H. Liu, 1987). Attaining these family- and clan-oriented achievement goals was the true measure of self-realization and the fulfillment of one's familial self. Ordinary Chinese people have pursued these social values with societal, clan, or familial characteristics, and these values have been (and still are) a great motivating force behind individual self-development. The formation, development, and completion of the moral and familial selves are the ultimate life concerns and life goals of Chinese; Chinese individuals are motivated to achieve not through a desire to externalize the kind of Western self upon which McClelland's IOAM is based, but through a desire to realize and merge their familial and moral selves.

### *Social-oriented Achievement Motivation*

After studying junior high school students, E. S. Yu (1974) found that the TAT did not measure Chinese achievement motivation, but instead measured a kind of achievement motivation based on concepts of individualism. Consequently, Yu's TAT scores did not correlate significantly with self-report filial piety and familism achievement scores which reflect values highly stressed by Chinese (see also Ho, 1986; Yu and Yang, 1994). After analyzing the content of mainland Chinese children's stories, Blumenthal (1977) found that reaching collective goals was the primary form of achievement presented. In addition, Pusey (1977) further described Chinese aspirations as fulfilling family, social, and other significant group expectations.

In his comparison of differences between Americans and Chinese, F. L. K. Hsu (1981) wrote that the motivating force behind Chinese success primarily came from a concern for family and clan. De Vos (1973) argued that dutiful service to one's family and clan constituted Chinese achievement goals, and that individuals would pay any price for familial benefits. In addition, Kornadt et al. (1980) asserted that Chinese are taught from an early age to pursue group-related goals, and Wilson and Pusey (1982) stated that from the time they begin school, Chinese children are encouraged to pursue individual and group achievement in the name of group success. These findings suggest that individual success must be shared by other members of a group if the individual is to receive acceptance and recognition.

As K. S. Yang and Yu (1988) wrote, the content and characteristics of Chinese achievement motivation include the dynamic tendency to reach an externally determined goal or standard of excellence in a socially approved way—with a certain amount of uncertainty in the outcome. One can call this type of achievement motivation social-oriented achievement motivation (SOAM). SOAM has five primary characteristics: achievement goals or standards of excellence are set by significant others, a group, or society; achievement behaviour is also selected and determined by significant others, a group, or society (who, in addition, supervise and judge the maintenance, continuation, adjustment, and self-evaluation of SOAM achievement behaviour); outcome evaluation is made by significant others, a group, or society; final consequences, including praise or condemnation, acceptance or rejection,

and promotion or demotion are determined by significant others, a group, or society; and the motivation dynamic reflects strong social instrumentality but weak functional autonomy, that is, SOAM's importance in social relations is much stronger than its functional use or practicality outside social groups (i.e. in job-related or economic activities). SOAM and IOAM concepts are summarized in Table 15.1.

**Table 15.1** Summary of Two Varieties of Achievement Motivation

Aspect	Social-oriented Achievement Motivation (SOAM)	Individual-oriented Achievement Motivation (IOAM)
A. Achievement Goal	Goal or standard of excellence mainly defined by others in membership groups. Incentive value of attainment of goal or standard of excellence mainly determined in terms of membership groups' evaluation or value judgement.	Goal or standard of excellence mainly defined by self. Incentive value of goal attainment or standard of excellence mainly determined in terms of one's own evaluation or value judgement.
B. Achievement Behaviour	Actions or means necessary for goal attainment mainly approved by others or membership groups. Outside supervision, surveillance, or encouragement usually expected or required to maintain achievement behaviour in the right direction. Appraisal and change in achievement behaviour usually made after consulting others for opinions, suggestions, or directions. Dependence on others' or membership groups' help in the pursuit of achievement. Achievement behaviour low in flexibility and responsiveness.	Actions or means necessary for goal attainment mainly determined by self. No outside supervision, surveillance, or encouragement expected or required to maintain achievement behaviour in the right direction. Appraisal and change in achievement behaviour usually made in accordance with one's own judgement. More reliance on one's own ability and effort in the pursuit of achievement. Achievement behaviour high in flexibility and responsiveness.

**Table 15.1** (*Cont'd*)

Aspect	Social-oriented Achievement Motivation (SOAM)	Individual-oriented Achievement Motivation (IOAM)
C. Outcome Evaluation	Evaluation criteria mainly defined by others or membership groups, and therefore difficult for the actor to fully comprehend. Accomplishment mainly evaluated by others or membership groups. Emphasis is on whether or not the outcome matches others' or membership groups' goal or standard.	Criteria of evaluation mainly defined by self, and therefore easy for the actor to determine. Accomplishment mainly evaluated by self.
D. Final Consequence	Positive or negative reinforcements usually given by others or membership groups as a result of outcome evaluation. Affects generated are other-oriented and able to influence one's social self positively or negatively.	Positive or negative reinforcements usually given by self as a result of outcome evaluation. Affects generated are self-oriented and able to influence one's personal self positively or negatively.
E. Overall Characteristics	Motivation high in social instrumentality. Motivation high in self-instrumentality.	Motivation low in functional autonomy. Motivation high in function autonomy.
Source	K. S. Yang and Yu, 1988	

### CONSTRUCT VALIDATION OF ACHIEVEMENT MOTIVATION IN CHINESE SOCIETIES

If it is true that IOAM is the dominant form of achievement motivation in individualist societies such as the United States, while SOAM is the predominant form in collectivist societies such as China, then IOAM and SOAM are conceptually independent but occasionally interactive psychological constructs. That is, individuals in any given society may react to both types of achievement motivation at the same time; what varies across peoples are the absolute and relative degrees of intensity for each type.

In addition, as collectivist societies modernize, the intensity and nature of individual achievement motivation may change. Chinese people in Taiwan have been exposed to a large-scale importation of Western knowledge, education, religion, and cultural values, and individualist Western concepts and values (such as independence, self-reliance, and individual achievement) have permeated Taiwanese society (see Yang, this volume). IOAM and SOAM are both present in Taiwan and mainland China. In order to measure their different levels, researchers have had to develop appropriate instruments of sufficient reliability and validity.

Within the past ten years, Yu and Yang have developed a scale for students and a scale for adults with a minimum junior high school education. Most preliminary scale items were constructed on the basis of 28 IOAM/SOAM characteristics (A. B. Yu, 1990; A. B. Yu and Yang, 1987). Secondary sources for items included the EPPS (Edwards, 1959), California Psychological Inventory (Gough, 1960), and Academic Achievement Motivation Questionnaires (J. H. Chang, 1981; S. Y. Kuo, 1973).

The final student scale was established from responses given by Taipei-area, male and female junior high school students. It encompasses a six-point Likert-type rating scale by which higher total scores reflect stronger SOAM or IOAM. After screening preliminary items in accordance with item selection principles (such as controlling for social desirability and test anxiety), 30 items each were selected from the IOAM and SOAM scales. Examples of SOAM scale items include, 'I try to reach the standards set by teachers when I am doing my homework' and 'if I don't do well in school, I can't face my family and relatives.' Examples of IOAM scale items include, 'I would try to figure out different ways of solving a problem rather than ask for help' and 'I enjoy making progress towards the goals that I've set for myself.'

The final adult scale was established from the responses of 400 adults in Taipei, 80 per cent of whom were between the ages of 21 and 40. Respondents had an average of 14.2 years of formal education. Testing was performed in each subject's home or workplace. After screening preliminary scales items via item selection principles, 29 items were selected from the SOAM scale and 28 items from the IOAM scale. Examples of SOAM scale items include, 'I try my best to meet my parents' expectations so as not to disappoint them' and 'I work hard to reach the standard that my parents have set for me.' Examples of IOAM scale items include, 'I try to do my best if I consider a task to be valuable for me' and 'I evaluate my performance based on my own expectations and standards.'

#### *Reliability and Validity*

Internal consistency, test-retest reliability, and construct validity tests were conducted for the SOAM and IOAM scales. For the sake of brevity, reliability indices for the student and adult SOAM/IOAM scales are summarized in Table 15.2; for more detailed information on the factor analysis performed for internal consistency and construct validity, see Chiu (1989), Yu (1990), and Yu and Yang (1987). The findings all support the assertion that SOAM and IOAM are independent motivation constructs.

**Table 15.2** Reliability Indices for SOAM and IOAM Scales

Subject	Scale	Total # of items	Sample	Cronbach's alpha	Test-retest correlation	Author(s)
Student	SOAM (IOAM)	30 (30)	Senior high school students (N=784)	.91 (.87)		Yu & Yang (1987)
			Senior high school students (N=263)	.88 (.86)		Yu & Yang (1987)
			College students (N=299)	.92 (.92)		Chu (1989)
			High school and college students (N=827)	.88 (.89)		Yu (1991)
			College students (N=185)		.86 (.80)	Yu & Yang (1987)
			Senior high school students (N=207)		.84 (.79)	Yu & Yang (1987)
Adult	SOAM (IOAM)	29 (28)	Employees (N=462)	.89 (.91)		Yang & Cheng (1987)
			Adults (N=462)	.89 (.89)		Yu (1990)
			Elementary school teachers (N=152)	.91 (.91)		Yu (1990)
			Elementary school teachers (N=152)		.73 (.68)	Yu (1990)

Note (a) total number of items is 28 on the SOAM scale; (b) authors used only 10 items each from A. B. Yu's (1990) original SOAM and IOAM scales; consequently, the Cronbach's alpha values were corrected with the Spearman-Brown formula.

In addition, Yu and Yang (1987) calculated the relationships between the final SOAM and IOAM scales used in their study, as well as the achievement motivation scales developed by Western researchers, including the EPPS *14ch* subscale (Edwards, 1959) and the Sentence Completion Test (SCT)(Rohde, 1957). Their results provide evidence on two points: positively significant correlation coefficients were found between the SOAM and IOAM scales on the one hand, and the EPPS *14ch* subscale on the other, but the difference between these two correlation coefficients revealed statistical significance (the former: .16, the latter: .53); and a positively significant correlation was found between scores on the SOAM scale and achievement statements from the SCT, but no significant correlation was found between those same SCT statements and the IOAM scale—apparently a reflection of the SOAM and IOAM scales' convergent and discriminant validity.

In a paper discussing the relationship between the Chinese needs for achievement and for 'maintaining face', R. L. Chu (1989) argued that the need to maintain face correlated positively with SOAM but did not correlate significantly with IOAM. In addition, she found that social skills correlated positively with SOAM but negatively with IOAM. Chu therefore asserted that authentic Chinese achievement motivation (SOAM) entails the question of how to act ethically in public, particularly when an individual presents his or her success to an in-group. The close relationship between the need for face, social skills, and SOAM reveals the unique character of Chinese achievement motivation.

Finally, further evidence of the two scales' validity can be found in research conducted by K. S. Yang and Cheng (1987). In the their study, they used two simplified versions of the adult SOAM and IOAM scales to explore relationships between individual achievement motivation, job preference, and organizational behaviour. They found the following: people with strong SOAM consider family interests and welfare first when choosing jobs; job choices that strongly correlate with IOAM help people to improve and develop their personal potential and special skills, and people with strong IOAM prefer these kinds of jobs because they want to work in a harmonious, cooperative environment which emphasizes consideration, equality, and respect; and there is no substantive evidence linking SOAM with organizational commitment or work effectiveness, but IOAM correlates strongly and positively with these two variables. Moreover, the relationship between achievement motivation and intent to leave a job also indicates that IOAM has a higher predictive value than SOAM.

## THE SOCIALIZATION OF ACHIEVEMENT MOTIVATION

Previous research on the formation and development of achievement motivation has primarily focused on familial and societal factors, with an emphasis on independence training and achievement (or mastery) training. Several Western researchers in the 1950s found that the more parents emphasized independence training, the higher a child's level of achievement motivation (McClelland and Friedman, 1952; Winterbottom, 1953, 1958). McClelland

(1961) also observed that parental emphasis on achievement or mastery training exerted a positive influence on a child's achievement motivation. In the same work, McClelland argued that in Brazil, Germany, and Japan the relationship between achievement training and a child's achievement motivation is determined by the age at which such training begins. However, other research findings from Germany (Heckhausen and Kemmler, 1957) and the United States (Bartlett and Smith, 1966; Chance, 1961; Smith, 1969) contradict McClelland's assertion.

Olsen (1971) found that when Taiwanese mothers in farming villages discouraged dependence, their sons (but not their daughters) displayed higher levels of achievement motivation. A. K. F. Li's (1974) study of Hong Kong Chinese children revealed that low parental dominance, open communication, and the encouragement of independence led to an increased need for achievement in boys, while parental dominance and limited communication resulted in an increased need for achievement in girls. Ho (1986) also observed that the parents of Hong Kong and Taiwanese girls with high levels of achievement motivation often displayed hostility, sternness, and a lack of affection in child training, and that for boys with high levels of achievement motivation, parents not only expressed caring and forgiveness, but also emphasized independence training. These findings strongly contradict the arguments of several Western researchers who have argued that low achievement motivation in Chinese individuals comes from Chinese parents' inability to promote independence in their children, as well as from their penchant for restricting their children's freedom to explore (see, for example, Kriger and Kroes, 1972; McClelland, 1961, 1963; Scofield and Sun, 1960).

In 1991, Yu attempted to ascertain the relationships between independence, dependence, achievement training, and children's achievement motivation. In undertaking the study, the researcher assumed that achievement training would enhance both the SOAM and IOAM of an individual. Using students from junior high school through college, the research found evidence on three points: the stronger the independence training by parents, the higher the IOAM in a child (with the exception of the effect of maternal independence training on sons), and that parental emphasis on independence training had no effect on SOAM; maternal emphasis on achievement training is one of the key factors in fostering the development of both SOAM and IOAM, but paternal emphasis on achievement training has no effect on either; and paternal dependence training has a direct, positive effect on SOAM, but a negative effect on IOAM in girls and no effect on IOAM in boys (A. B. Yu, 1991).

D. J. Kuo, Zhang, and Yang (1993) used the same parental training scale with the SOAM and IOAM scales to study fourth-, fifth-, and sixth-grade Beijing elementary school students (both sexes analysed together). Using partial correlation analysis, they found the following: paternal and maternal emphasis on independence training correlated significantly with IOAM, but not with SOAM; paternal emphasis on achievement training correlated significantly with both SOAM and IOAM, as did maternal emphasis; and parental emphasis on dependence training did not correlate significantly with either SOAM or IOAM. The researchers used a multiple regression analysis and found that paternal achievement training had the greatest influence on a child's SOAM level

(explaining 36.0 per cent of the total variance). They also found that maternal emphasis on independence training was the most important factor for a child's IOAM development, with the second most important factor being maternal emphasis on achievement training. Together, these factors explained 31.4 per cent of the total variance. Most of the findings of the Kuo et al. study are consistent with those of Yu's work, except for the measurement of the effect of parental emphasis on dependence training on children's SOAM. This inconsistency may be due to the fact that certain confounding variables (such as parental emphasis on achievement training) were not controlled in the Kuo et al. study.

Recently, D. Liu (1994) studied junior high school students in northern China and found that parental emphasis on independence training had a direct positive effect on children's IOAM but no effect on children's SOAM, that parental emphasis on dependence training had a positive effect on SOAM but no effect on IOAM, and parental emphasis on achievement training had a direct positive effect on SOAM but no effect on IOAM. Liu's findings are highly consistent with those from Yu's study. However, in the case of the effect of maternal emphasis on achievement training on children's IOAM, results of these two studies are inconsistent.

In a later study explicating the relationships among parental achievement motivation, parental training practice, and a child's achievement motivation, D. Liu (1994) found evidence indicating that the stronger the parental SOAM, the higher the parental emphasis on dependence training and achievement training, whereas the stronger the parental IOAM, the higher the parental emphasis on independence training and achievement training (with the exception of a non-significant correlation between maternal IOAM and maternal emphasis on achievement training). The same study found that the stronger the paternal SOAM, the higher the SOAM of a female child but not a male child, and the stronger the maternal SOAM, the higher the SOAM of both male and female children. The study found that there is no significant relationship between parental IOAM and children's IOAM.

In summary, the results of these three studies presented above mostly show that parental emphasis on independence training and achievement training are critical facilitating factors in the development of children's IOAM. This evidence partially confirms the findings of the Western socialization theories of achievement motivation discussed earlier in this chapter. Additionally, most results of these studies also show that parental emphasis on dependence training and achievement training has a direct positive effect on children's SOAM. According to this evidence, we can confidently assert that the strength and enhancement of children's SOAM and IOAM are positively influenced by different socializing factors in the Chinese family (for the former, parental emphasis on dependence training is the key factor; for the latter, parental emphasis on independence training is the critical variable). However, parental emphasis on achievement training has the same positive effect on children's SOAM and IOAM. Independence and dependence are two opposites in logic and semantics. Yet in terms of psychological and behavioural aspects of individuals, the independence and dependence training emphasized by Chinese parents are orthogonal. Furthermore, Liu's findings provide detailed information for



understanding the familial socialization mechanisms of Chinese achievement motivation. These three empirical studies serve as a stepping-stone for constructing a socialization theory of Chinese achievement motivation.

### *The Sociocultural Context of SOAM Socialization*

From the point of view of cultural ecology, the traditional Chinese personality was cultivated through a socialization process determined by the needs of an agricultural society. According to K. S. Yang (1981) and M. C. Yang (1972), people in traditional collectivist and familistic Chinese agrarian society were forced to develop family dependence in order for society to operate smoothly; therefore, traditional Chinese child training placed great emphasis on dependence training (see also Ho, 1981, 1986; F. L. K. Hsu, 1963; Solomon, 1971; Tzeng, 1972; Wolf, 1970, 1972; D. Y. H. Wu, 1966; K. S. Yang, 1965). As a result of this emphasis, pre-industrial society Chinese relied on the assistance, supervision, and encouragement of parents and significant others in their pursuit of achievement. Regarding choice, persistence, extension, and correction of achievement behaviours, such individuals had a greater need for approbation and support from outside, and would not consider lightly actions of which parents or significant others disapproved (C. Hsu, 1972; Scofield and Sun, 1960; D. Y. H. Wu, 1966). Because parents and other family members remain the most significant evaluators of an individual's achievement (Sung, 1989), of primary concern is whether or not a child's achievement performance conforms with the expectations of a family or clan. Simply stated, the goal of parental dependence training is to facilitate and reinforce the development of SOAM in their children (see Ho, this volume; Yang, this volume).

### ACHIEVEMENT MOTIVATION AND ACHIEVEMENT-RELATED BEHAVIOUR

Most studies on the relationship between achievement motivation and achievement-related behaviour have either attempted to understand the nature of achievement motivation and its predictive power *vis-à-vis* behaviour, or have tried to establish the predictive or construct validity of achievement motivation measurement instruments. For this reason, before exploring the nature of achievement motivation and its relation to achievement behaviour, one must first determine the motivating force behind the behaviour of people in a particular society. If one accepts IOAM as being but one model of achievement motivation, and one developed by Western-oriented researchers, it follows that previously described relationships between achievement motivation and achievement-related behaviour may well differ from observed relationships between SOAM and achievement-related behaviour.

In one study, Yu (1994) found that high-SOAM individuals who are given social incentives will assertively demand that others give them assistance in order to achieve goals and complete tasks, in contrast to individuals with low levels of SOAM. In addition, the study found no marked change in the tendency of individuals with various levels of IOAM to ask for assistance even when

they are given increased social incentives. Furthermore, when examining behaviour persistence, the research failed to find a strong relationship between high IOAM and high levels of persistence—once again attesting to the importance of external social incentives in nurturing SOAM. Finally, Yu noted a higher rate of task completion for high-SOAM individuals when external social incentives were presented, but found no significant variance in task completion rates for individuals with different IOAM levels who were presented with similar incentives. These findings only partially support conclusions reached by Atkinson (1957, 1958), Atkinson and Litwin (1960), Feather (1961, 1962), and Winterbottom (1953, 1958)—all Western researchers working with Western-based models.

### AN ATTRIBUTIONAL ANALYSIS OF ACHIEVEMENT MOTIVATION

Using a conceptual scheme resembling Weiner's (1985, 1986) attributional theory of motivation and emotion, K. S. Yang and Yu (1989) and A. B. Yu and Yang (1991) performed attributional analyses of the cognitive, affective, motivational, and behavioural consequences of success or failure according to both SOAM and IOAM.

#### *Consequences of Success*

In the case of SOAM, it has been established that success leads to causal attributions that are socially oriented; a successful individual will tend to ascribe his or her success to the intervention of a significant other, the maintenance of good social relations, collective efforts, favourable personal affinity with another person (*guan*) (K. S. Yang and Ho, 1988), or socially valued personal qualities.

Distinctive dominant attributions elicit distinctive dominant cognitive and affective reactions. Cognitive reactions include an expectancy of future social-oriented success, which may be defined in terms of attaining similar socially defined goals or demonstrating similar socially desirable personal qualities. Affective reactions include positive emotions resulting from socially oriented attributions, including feelings of face-enhancement (social-oriented self-esteem), a sense of shared collective glory (collective pride), gratitude to others, or relaxation (freedom from punishment and shame anxieties). These affects seem to interact with changes in expectations of future success, with future success being seen as the result of different causal attributions or high parental, familial, or other types of social pressure and support, in generating subsequent SOAM and achievement-related behaviour (K. S. Yang and Yu, 1989).

In the case of IOAM, dominant causal attributions are highly individual-oriented; they may emphasize personal ability, effort, luck, ease of task or project, or individually desirable personal qualities or states. Cognitive reactions include increased expectancy of future individual-oriented success and a future demonstration of similar individually desirable personal qualities. This

finding is highly significant, since personal pride and individual-oriented self-esteem are positive, affective consequences of individual-oriented success attributions. This type of affect is believed to interact with differential changes in expectations of future success, success as the result of differential causal attributions and low parental, familial, or other types of pressure, and support for better performance in generating subsequent IOAM and achievement-related behaviour.

### *Consequences of Failure*

Unlike success, failure results in feelings of unhappiness as an outcome-dependent, attribution-independent affect, regardless of whether a behavioural outcome is evaluated socially or individually. Following an immediate negative affective reaction, the actor will seek an explanation for his or her failure which may differ greatly depending on what type of achievement motivation characterizes the person who has failed.

In the case of SOAM, the dominant subsequent attributions are social-oriented, and they include a lack of necessary social connections, poor supernatural preconditions such as a bad *ming* (fate), bad *yun* (luck), and bad *yunan* (predefined interpersonal affinity) (K. S. Yang and Ho, 1988), the interference of powerful others, and socially undesirable personal qualities, including lack of modesty, lack of perseverance, or lack of popularity. The researchers believe that people with high SOAM tend to attribute their failure to one or more of these social-oriented causes when making a *post hoc* causal search. Furthermore, social-oriented ascriptions of failure lead to decreased expectations of future success in attaining similar socially defined goals and in demonstrating similar socially desirable qualities. They elicit such social-oriented affects as a sense of shame (equal to a loss of face), social-oriented self-blame, social-oriented guilt, depression, or anxiety (such as punishment and shame anxieties), and anger directed toward others.

The next step in the post-attribution process entails the combined influence of expectancy and affect on achievement motivation. It is assumed here that expectancy and affect interact in a multiplicative rather than additive way to influence achievement motivation. Specifically, decreased expectancy of future social-oriented success interacts with a social-oriented affect or affects to produce a weakened SOAM, which in turn interacts with social pressure for achievement from parents, family, or other membership groups, and which leads to persistent achievement-related behaviour in similar situations. This tendency means that in a collectivist society, weakened SOAM may not result in weakened achievement-related behaviour, since social pressure and subsequent achievement-related behaviour do not accurately reflect SOAM. This last finding would explain why Chinese children usually persist in manifesting considerable levels of achievement-related behaviour even when their achievement motivation (that is, SOAM) is relatively low, especially in the socially privileged realm of academic achievement.

On the other hand, the findings indicate that high levels of IOAM should lead to different effects regarding the content of the causal ascription or ascrip-

tions that an actor uses to explain his or her failure—whether it be low personal ability, insufficient personal effort, job or task difficulty, bad luck, or individually undesirable personal qualities or states such as bad mood, lack of interest, or lack of self-confidence. Individual-oriented ascriptions of failure cause a decreased expectancy of future success in attaining similar socially defined goals and in demonstrating similar socially desirable qualities; they may also induce individual-oriented affects such as lowered individual-oriented self-esteem, self-blame, guilt, depression, anxiety, self-directed anger, and a sense of helplessness. Specifically, the decreased expectancy of success interacts with these affects to produce weakened individual-oriented achievement motivation—an outcome which in turn leads to weakened achievement-related behaviour in similar situations.

R. L. Chu's (1989) study of Taiwanese college students reported that the higher an individual's SOAM, the greater the tendency for the person to make causal ascriptions based on good fortune or luck. In contrast, the higher an individual's IOAM, the greater the tendency to make causal ascriptions to one's ability to concentrate on the project at hand. It appears that, in summary, high-SOAM individuals often ascribe their success or failure to external, unstable, and uncontrollable factors such as fortune or luck, while high-IOAM individuals will more often ascribe success or failure to internal, stable, and controllable factors such as industriousness.

Recently, Shih (1992) adapted Yu and K. S. Yang's (1991) attributional model to look at Beijing University students' causal attributions. The study found that these students' dominant success and failure causal attributions could be divided into three categories: social-oriented ascriptions such as expectations, praise, support, help from significant others, and good or bad learning environment; individual-oriented ascriptions such as psychological properties, adaptability, task difficulty, ability, and effort; and chance ascriptions such as good or bad *ming*. Additionally, Shih reported a positive correlation between social-oriented ascriptions for past success and social-oriented ascriptions for future potential success, and that causal attributional styles were not significantly different between males and females.

Furthermore, when a high IOAM student's performance success is self-evaluated, the degree of individual-oriented, social-oriented, and chance ascriptions for the present is close to that of individual-oriented, social-oriented, and chance ascriptions in the past. However, when a high-IOAM student's performance success is evaluated by others, the degree of individual-oriented ascriptions for the present is significantly lower than that of individual-oriented ascriptions in the past. Meanwhile, the degree of social-oriented ascriptions for the present is also significantly lower than that of social-oriented ascriptions for the past. However, there is no significant difference between the degrees of past and present chance ascriptions. This reflects the finding that high-IOAM persons tend to ignore the information of others' evaluations, and suggests that they should be more humble when their performance success is evaluated by others. These two factors are probably associated with lower individual-oriented and social-oriented ascriptions for high-IOAM persons. It is disappointing that Shih did not investigate the change of degrees of these present and past

causal ascriptions by high-SOAM students. We are unable to judge if there is any substantial similarity or difference in any causal ascription strength between high-SOAM and high-IOAM individuals.

## CONCLUSION

In this chapter we have primarily addressed two areas of concern. First, we have attempted to elucidate the nature and meaning of Chinese achievement motivation from an indigenous perspective. Through this approach, which takes Chinese culture and history into account, we have presented a sympathetic understanding of the nature of Chinese achievement motivation.

Second, from this indigenous perspective, we have proposed that the dominant achievement motivation of the Chinese can be termed social-oriented achievement motivation (SOAM). An alternative model of achievement motivation, especially as constructed by such Western researchers, as D. C. McClelland and his associates, may be termed individual-oriented achievement motivation (IOAM). Taking into account the characteristics and content of SOAM and IOAM, researchers have designed two kinds of measures for these two motivations, and the reliability and validity of these tools have been validated by empirical research. The findings available thus far indicate that SOAM and IOAM are different motivational constructs, and that most hypotheses that link SOAM and IOAM to individual familial socialization factors, attributional styles and processes, and achievement-related behaviours are supportable.

Chinese achievement motivation aims at complete self-realization (the perfection of the moral self and the familial self), with the Chinese view of self being a social construction which exists between individuals or between an individual and his or her family, clan, society, or state. The true nature of the Chinese self is only revealed when it is placed in the context of affective relationships between an individual, significant others, and the in-groups to which one belongs (A. B. Yu, 1994). From this point of view, Chinese achievement motivation and the Chinese concept of achievement are epistemological ideas that are not only being continuously revised, but also are best understood when placed in the context of the developmental processes of an individual's life history and experience. Future research on ultimate Chinese life concerns, self, and achievement motivation must take place in a hermeneutic, sociocultural context which addresses the meaning of Chinese social life and interaction (Gergen, 1989; C. F. Yang, 1991).

# Chapter 16

## The Role of Beliefs in Chinese Culture

Kwok Leung

Over the years, a large number of studies has examined the psychological characteristics of the Chinese people. Most of these studies, however, have employed a theory of values as their explanatory framework (see Bond, this volume, for a review). Research on beliefs, in contrast, has been haphazard, and a coherent analysis of the beliefs of the Chinese people has yet to be completed. This omission needs to be rectified, as evidence mounts implicating beliefs as major determinants of a variety of social behaviours (see, for example, Jussim, 1990). The primary goal of this chapter is to provide a comprehensive review of the studies that have examined beliefs as they function in Chinese societies. It should be noted that many instruments measuring personality traits, such as the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI), may contain some items that explore belief. However, because these scales also contain a variety of other items, and it is not possible to discuss the belief items in isolation, they are excluded from this review. Interested readers are referred to the chapters by Cheung and Diriguns in this volume for such materials.

### A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In theorizing about the structure of values, Schwartz (1992) has argued that values represent an attempt to meet three universal requirements of human existence: needs of individual, needs for coordinated social interaction, and needs for the survival and well-being of the group. Leung and Bond (1992) have proposed that this functional framework should be applicable to beliefs, since beliefs also function to help individuals to meet these three requirements of existence. If one follows this framework, then beliefs can be classified into three major types. The first, psychological beliefs, are concerned with characteristics of the individual, which are related to the person's functioning and well-being in society. The second, social beliefs, are concerned with principles that guide individuals in effective interactions with others. The third, environmental beliefs, are concerned with guides that assist individuals in functioning effectively in their physical environment. Following Katz (1960) and Bar-Tal (1990), beliefs can be defined as a proposition about an object or a relation between objects. The proposition can be of any content, and it can be judged with regard to its likelihood of being correct. In the following review, salient beliefs in Chinese societies are organized by reference to these three major types.