

CHAPTER ONE

ACHIEVEMENT MOTIVATION AND THE TRIBALS

Why is it that one child works hard in school while another does not? Why do some children continue in school while others do not? Why does an individual select one college instead of another or one vocational goal instead of another?

These questions can only be answered by studying the motives of individuals. When an organism makes appropriate responses to obtain the goal object or reward which satisfies its needs, the organism is said to be motivated. Motivation, according to Hall (1961), is concerned with why individuals behave as they do. Since individuals began to live together, the significance of motivation has been realised by individuals working either as individuals or as members of a larger social order.

McClelland and his associates (1953) have defined motive as a learned determination to act in relation to a goal. They stated that affective arousals play a fundamental role in the growth of motives. "A motive is the learned result of pairing cues with affect or the conditions which produce affect." "A motive is the redintegration by a cue of a

change in an affective situation."

Hebb (1949) observed, "..... the chief problem that the psychologist is concerned with when he speaks of motivation, is not arousal of activity but its patterning and direction." In other words, motivation refers to the existence of an organised phase sequence, to its direction or content as well as to its persistence in a given direction or the stability of its content. This patterning and direction of activity is related to the goals. In any task, the goal refers to the standard of performance the individual intends to attain. Experimental studies initiated by Lewin (Lewin et al., 1944) were directly related to this aspect which he referred to as 'level of aspiration'. Performance below the aspired level was generally perceived as a failure, irrespective of objective attainment. Level of aspiration was affected by group and cultural norms, individual differences, defensive reactions to failure and several other factors (Lewin et al., 1944). This theoretical analysis of level of aspiration guided Atkinson's (1964) conception of motivation which was primarily concentrated upon achievement related behaviour: behaviour in which there is competition with a standard of excellence. Atkinson conceives achievement oriented behaviour as a

resultant of an approach-avoidance conflict. The relevance dominance of the approach or the avoidance tendency is determined by individual differences. Achievement oriented behaviour is nothing but the individual's attempt to satisfy a need.

In fact, all behaviour can be said to be motivated and behaviour serves the organism's needs. According to Cofer and Appley (1964) there would be no behaviour on the part of an organism without motivation. Propelled into action by a need, the organism will engage in actions motivated by that need which continue till the need is satisfied.

#### WHAT IS ACHIEVEMENT MOTIVATION?

When the desire for achievement becomes of paramount concern for a person it is expressed in "restless driving energy arrived at attaining excellence, getting ahead, improving on past records, beating competitors, doing things better, faster, more efficiently, and finding unique solutions to different problems." McClelland (1961) has stated that the 'urge for achievement' is a major factor in human motivation and behaviour. This factor he has termed 'achievement motivation' or  $n_{Ach}$ . However, motivation to achieve in a man is always combined, modified and tempered by other motives. He further found that achieve-

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ment motivation affected the performance of an individual to a large extent. This need for achievement (n Ach) is a result of the reinforcement of successful performances in infant activities that are achievement related (McClelland et al., 1953). Therefore, motivation theory with a well established research base and which correlates with achievement oriented decision-making is McClelland's need for achievement (n Ach) model (McClelland et al., 1953).

With increased understanding of the concept of achievement motivation, disparities in economic growth of nations reflecting varying levels of achievement attracted the attention of researchers.

#### ACHIEVEMENT MOTIVATION AND ECONOMIC GROWTH

Why is it that some nations take off into rapid economic and social growth while others lag behind or even stay where they are? Psychologists have attempted to isolate a certain 'mental virus', that is, a certain way of thinking, relatively rare, but which, when it occurs in an individual, tends to make him behave in a particularly energetic way. This can be stated to underlie the impulse to modernisation. This 'mental virus' was named n Ach (need for achievement) since it was identified in a sample of persons' thoughts which were concerned with "doing some-

thing well" or "doing something better" than had been done before.

So as to be able to investigate the earliest origins of achievement motivation in individuals and nations scientifically, McClelland developed methods for counting the frequency of thoughts, actions and feelings in an individual that are focused on attaining excellence, that is, measures of the strength of achievement motivation.

Using these methods, McClelland and his associates (1953) found that mothers of young boys with high n Ach were more affectionate using hugging and kissing more often to show their approval for independence and mastery. The mothers tended to set higher standards for their children and expected self-reliance at an earlier age than did mothers of children with lower achievement motivation. Consequently, researchers concluded that cultural values also shape children's motivation. To ascertain this conclusion, folk tales were collected from several countries since they are said to convey the cultural traditions and values.

While coding samples of popular literature over long periods of time, for the presence of n Ach, the relation of this mental virus or n Ach to economic growth began to be evident. The n Ach content in folk tales, sea captains'

letters, and popular plays in England were coded roughly every twenty-five years from 1400 to 1800, from the Tudor kings to the Industrial Revolution. Alongside, a rough index of rate of economic growth was computed from coal imports to England. Twice, a rise in n Ach in popular thoughts was followed, about fifty years later, by a rapid increase in the rate of economic growth, once around 1525 and again around 1725 to 1750; twice falls in n Ach were followed by periods of relative economic stagnation. The estimate of a nation's n Ach level was revealed to be significantly correlated with subsequent economic growth, taking 1929 or 1950 as the base line years. In other words, a country with high n Ach in children's literature around 1925 was more likely to develop rapidly from 1929 to 1950 than one that was low in n Ach in 1925. Similar findings were evident when n Ach levels of 1950 were related to rate of economic development in the late 50s for some forty countries; countries that were higher in n Ach had developed faster.

Here, in India, a minor economic revolution is in the offing in Kakinada where McClelland (McClelland et al., 1969) and his workers conducted an achievement motivation development programme for businessmen where, if the n Ach 'virus' remains, it will in time produce a take off into

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rapid economic growth. That which was brought from outside was not material or technical aid but the idea, the motive, the 'impulse' so essential to set the process in motion.

All wish to achieve something; the ultimate goal may be economic security, wealth, health, fame, recognition or something else. Whatever the goal may be, achievement is relative to that goal. In 'The Achieving Society' McClelland (1964) has theorised that in a country with a comparatively large number of high n Ach individuals, the economic growth tends to be more rapid.

#### ACHIEVEMENT MOTIVATION AND THE SCHOOL

The widespread underachievement and wastage in Indian education, particularly at the primary and secondary stage, has attracted the attention of social scientists. One of the crucial reasons contributing to this underachievement is low motivation to achieve (Burgess, 1956; Garrett, 1949; Sinha, 1966). One of the few researches conducted in this area was by the National Institute of Education on Achievement motive in high schools boys. The findings revealed a significant positive relationship between n Ach and school performance (Mehta, 1967).

Besides, educators are collaborating with psychologists to find out what schools can do about prejudice, violence,

lack of motivation and incurious, uncreative young people, in other words, 'turned off' students. Unrest is now spreading from colleges to high schools the world over merely clarifying the fact that the educational system is failing in its responsibility to prepare students, vocationally as well as psychologically, for life after high school, thus increasing the number of unemployed.

Besides the problem of providing vocational training, educators are also faced with the problem of encouraging student attitudes that are conducive to learning and to continued psychological growth. A recent study by the American Institutes for Research, on high school students in the United States of America, revealed that schools fail to help students develop a sense of personal responsibility for their own educational, personal and social development.

The above discussions clearly indicate the role of n Ach in the economic and educational growth of any society. This is even more relevant as regards the betterment of the underprivileged sections of any society. The tribals, in any nation, represent a disadvantaged section of the community. In India, the tribals form 6.23 per cent of the total population. Although several developmental plans have been undertaken, research in the West has indicated



that providing a variety of educational facilities is not sufficient. It is essential to raise the aspirational as well as the n Ach level of pupils so that they strive towards the economic development of the society.

#### THE TRIBALS

The largest concentration of tribal people anywhere in the world, except Africa, is in India. According to the 1951 census, the population of Scheduled Tribes was 19,147,054, 5.3 per cent of the total population. After the Scheduled Tribes Lists (Modification) Order, 1956, the number rose to 22,511,854 or 6.23 per cent; the increase of 34 lakhs was due to the addition of certain groups that were left out earlier.

According to the 1961 census, of the total population of 439,072,582 in the country, as many as 29,879,249 belong to the category of Scheduled Tribes. They constitute 6.87 per cent of the population of the country.

The tribal communities living in different regions of the country may be divided into five territorial groupings, taking into account their historical, ethnic and socio-cultural relations. They are (i) North East India comprising Assam, NEFA, Nagaland, Manipur and Tripura,

(ii) the sub Himalayan region of North and North-West India comprising the northern sub-montane districts of Uttar Pradesh and Himachal Pradesh as a whole including the areas transferred from Punjab, (iii) Central and East India comprising West Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh and Andhra Pradesh, (iv) South India comprising Madras, Kerala and Mysore and (v) Western India comprising Rajasthan, Gujarat and Maharashtra. The state-wise percentage of the scheduled tribe population of the total population is given in table 1.1.

Except for Nagaland, Laccadive, Minicoy and Amindivi Islands, Dadra and Nagar Haveli, Manipur and Tripura, the Scheduled Tribes do not constitute more than 25 per cent of the population. This data gives the impression that the tribal people constitute only a small proportion of the population of India. Another side of the picture can be seen when the data is examined upto the level of 'Taluka' (sub-division) or equivalent administrative unit; there are altogether 285 'taluks' or equivalent administrative units in India where the Scheduled Tribes constitute 50 per cent or more of the total population.

The Indian tribal population constitutes 450 and odd tribes and sub-tribes. Apart from a few sophisticated

TABLE 1.1. DISTRIBUTION OF SCHEDULED TRIBE POPULATION\*

States/Union Territories	% of Scheduled Tribe Population to the Total Population*
Andhra Pradesh	4
Assam	17
Bihar	9
Gujarat	13
Jammu and Kashmir	--
Kerala	1
Madhya Pradesh	21
Madras	1
Maharashtra	6
Mysore	1
Orissa	24
Punjab	--
Rajasthan	12
Uttar Pradesh	--
West Bengal	6
Andaman and Nicobar Islands	22
Delhi	--
Himachal Pradesh	8
Laccadive, Minicoy and Amindivi Islands (LMA)	97
Manipur	32
Tripura	32
Dadra and Nagar Haveli	88
Goa, Daman and Diu	--
Pondicherry	--
North-East Frontier Agency	89
Nagaland	93

\* Source: Census of India, 1961.

sections, the tribals are the most backward, the rate of literacy is low and their economy primitive.

Among the scheduled tribes, the most numerical are the Gonds of Madhya Pradesh, Maharashtra and Andhra Pradesh; the Bhils of Rajasthan, Gujarat, Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh; and the Santals of Bihar, Orissa and West Bengal. The first two tribes have a strength of 4 million, each. The Bhils were active members of various military campaigns in Rajputana. Till recently, the Mewar Bhil Corps was in existence; the Bhils served in the armed forces and also the state constabulary.

The tribal economy shows endless variations from shifting cultivation to settled agriculture. The tribal economy is no longer selfsufficient; agriculture, the main source of livelihood, has remained primitive. Barring a few of the sophisticated tribal groups, the tribes are steeped in poverty and indebtedness. Their communitarian agrarian system has collapsed and alienation of land of the tribals has assumed alarming proportions. Large numbers who do not have land have migrated to nearby towns and increased the number of landless labour. Tribal uprisings have occurred on a large scale but the level of politicization (except in Chotanagpur) is relatively low. The confrontation between tribals and aliens has, however,

taken on a new turn.

Rapid industrialisation poses the problem of integration which is the "meeting together of divergent cultures without loss of cultural identity and individuality" (Doshi, 1972) in an urban industrial society. The tribes have formed the fringe communities in terms of their participation in economic, political and ritual structure.

The tribal situation in India cannot be viewed in isolation from the wider contexts of the themes and the strategies operating in national life. But, emphasis on the necessity of relating tribal problems to the national context and on linking trends in the tribal population to trends pervading the entire society, does not even remotely suggest that there are no problems which are uniquely tribal.

The Scheduled Tribes, spread all over the country, differ from one another, among other factors in social traits, language, social organisation and cultural pattern. The dominant racial type, except for those living in the sub-Himalayan Belt, is the proto-Austroloid. In the Himalayan belt the mongoloid racial type is dominant. Everywhere there has been inter-mixture with other racial types, particularly the Mediterranean type.

Of the total tribal population, 47.3 per cent speak tribal languages. The rest of the tribals speak the mother tongue of their non-tribal neighbours. Persons speaking one or more subsidiary languages, in addition to their mother tongue constitute 15.73 per cent of the total tribal population.

According to demographers, distribution of population by age groups is an index of the quality of the population in terms of whether it is progressive, balanced or decaying. Below is a comparative statement, giving the age and sex distribution of the general population, scheduled castes and scheduled tribes, however, it does not indicate the changes in birth rate, death rate, in-migration and out-migration.

TABLE 1.2. POPULATION DISTRIBUTION ACCORDING TO AGE AND SEX.

Category of Population	Age Group in Years								
	0-14			15-44			45 +		
	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
General	41.03	40.92	41.14	43.05	42.89	43.21	15.92	16.19	15.65
Scheduled Caste	40.86	41.38	40.32	43.22	42.56	43.91	15.92	16.06	15.77
Scheduled Tribe	42.18	42.49	41.86	43.32	42.85	43.80	14.50	14.66	14.34

The 1961 census indicates that the average percentage of literacy among Scheduled Tribes of India is 9 per cent as against 24 per cent of the general population and 10 per cent among the Scheduled Castes. Among the tribal communities, however, there is a wide range of variation in the level of literacy. At one end there are communities with hardly any literate person among them and at the other end are communities with about 50 per cent literacy. State-wise, the level of literacy varies from 4 per cent in Andhra Pradesh to 27 per cent in Manipur.

A comparative study of the litterateurs, with reference to educational level, brings out the backwardness of the tribals into sharper focus.

TABLE 1.3. POPULATION DISTRIBUTION ACCORDING TO EDUCATIONAL LEVEL.

Category of Population	Total Literature (%)	Literate (without level)	Primary or Junior Basic	Matric and above
General	100.00	62.96	29.25	7.79
Scheduled Caste	100.00	72.80	24.53	2.67
Scheduled Tribe	100.00	73.67	25.21	1.12

Another indication of continued educational backwardness are the activities of the non-working population. Among the general population, 16.55 per cent of the non-workers were fulltime students; corresponding figures for the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes are 9.17 per cent and 3.46 per cent, respectively.

As regards economic activity, the national average was 43 per cent; 57 per cent of the tribals and 47 per cent of the scheduled castes were economically active. This is a measure of the comparatively low dependency ratio among the tribals; it also seems to indicate the comparatively low capacity of the scheduled tribe workers to support large numbers of students.

As against the national average of 73 per cent, 91 per cent of the scheduled tribe workers are engaged in the primary sector — the sector related to exploitation of the national resources. The secondary sector related to manufacturing accounted for 11 per cent of the total workers, and 3 per cent of the tribal workers. The tertiary sector — the servicing sector — accounted for 16 per cent of total workers and 5 per cent of tribal workers.

Until recently, tribal education did not attract the attention of educationists, anthropologists and welfare



workers in India. Gradually its importance was realised and attention began to be paid to it by the state government and voluntary agencies engaged in the field. There is general agreement that the tribals are backward, underdeveloped and illiterate and that concerted effort is needed to bring them to the level of development and understanding achieved by their neighbouring non-tribal communities. Though devoted workers, with the best of intentions, have tried to see that the tribal people get as many educational facilities as possible, the result achieved is not very encouraging. Unanimity in educational programmes for them have been practically absent; the various programmes launched by various agencies have not catered to the needs of the tribals.

India, being a welfare state, cannot afford to leave behind a particular section of its population in the field of education. Article 46 of the Constitution lays down that, "The state shall promote, with special care, the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people and in particular, of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and shall protect them from social injustice and all forms of exploitation" (Srivastava, 1971).

Some primary and secondary schools have been opened in the tribal areas but the number of school-going tribal

children is also great. Many of them are denied education because either there are no schools in their villages or they do not get any facility to attend them. Each child is considered an economic asset, according to Sachchidananda (1965), and if it is taken away to school, the family is deprived of the income brought in by him and instead has to feed him out of the family income, thus straining the family economy even further. This, to some extent, explains the apathy of the tribals towards education. This also contributes to absenteeism and stagnation at schools. Facilities for providing education to the tribals have been extended by providing school buildings, teachers, free-studentships, free textbooks and, at selected places, free board and lodging facilities and mid-day meals.

Since the early sixties, a new type of institution called 'Ashram School' has been organised for tribal children. It is a kind of residential school which tries to develop and impart a type of education which is more suited to tribal life than that offered in ordinary schools. It is, in fact, a kind of residential basic school.

#### Tribals of Gujarat

The 1961 census indicates the general population of Gujarat as 20,633,350. The Scheduled Tribes comprise

2,754,446, forming 13.35 per cent of the state's entire population. The Scheduled Tribes of Gujarat account for 9.22 per cent of the total tribal population of India. The decennial growth of Scheduled Tribes over the 1951 Census was 33.42 per cent. Gujarat ranks fourth as regards the numerical strength of Scheduled Tribes.

Of all the districts in Gujarat, in only Surendranagar, Kutch, Sabarkantha, Ahmedabad, Panchmahals, Baroda, Broach, Surat and the Dangs the distribution of Scheduled Tribes was studied in the Census as they have a considerably large scheduled tribe population. The six districts of Dangs, Surat, Broach, Baroda, Panchmahals and Sabarkantha, each with more than 10 per cent of its population belonging to scheduled tribes, together contain as much as 95.17 per cent of the tribals of the state.

The Table 1.4 presents the population figures of the Scheduled Tribes of the four districts selected in this investigation.

TABLE 1.4. DISTRICTWISE DISTRIBUTION OF SCHEDULED TRIBE.\*

District	Total Population	Scheduled Tribe Population	% of Total Population	% of Total Scheduled Tribe
Dangs	71,567	66,233	92.55	2.40
Breach	891,969	370,971	41.59	13.47
Bulsar	1,428,742	N A	54.33	N A
Surat	2,451,624	1,224,959	49.97	44.47

\*Source: 1961 Census.

As regards the scheduled tribe population, Surat ranks first among all the districts.

Table 1.5 shows the percentage distribution of tribals by age, according to the 1961 Census.

TABLE 1.5. PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION BY AGE GROUPS

Category of Population	Age Group in Years			Age not stated
	0 - 14	15 - 44	45 +	
General	42.87	42.62	14.48	0.03
Scheduled Tribes	45.02	41.44	13.51	0.03

Figures in table 1.5 indicate that approximately half the Scheduled Tribes population of Gujarat is below 14 years in age, that is, of the school-going age.

A sexwise distribution of tribals by educational level is given in table 1.6.

TABLE 1.6. DISTRIBUTION OF 1,000 SCHEDULED TRIBE MALES AND FEMALES BY EDUCATIONAL LEVEL.\*

Educational Level	Rural		Urban	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Illiterate	815	961	714	922
Literate (without educational level)	66	12	81	21
Primary or Junior basic	119	27	201	57
Matric and above	N**	N	-	-
Matric or Higher Secondary	-	-	4	N
Technical Diploma not equal to Degree	-	-	N	-
University Degree	-	-	N	-
Technical Degree	-	-	-	-

\* Source: 1961 Census.

\*\* Negligible.

Researches in the area of achievement motivation of tribal students will help gain insight into their n Ach level. Besides, the relationship of personality, demographic and environmental variables and n Ach will help economic and social planners to chalk out development programmes.

The present investigation deals with the n Ach of pupils of several scheduled tribes of South Gujarat.