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ACHIEVEMENT MOTIVE IN JAPANESE CHILDREN REVEALED BY PEER-AND SELF-RATING ON BEHAVIOR CHARACTERISTICS

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This paper attempts to introduce the concept of achievement motive in Japanese children as shown through their behavior characteristics rated by peers and also rated by themselves, and the focus is mainly on the relation between achievement and affiliation. Although the studies were conducted more than twenty years ago and the subjects ranged from children to college students, I shall report mostly the result's of the data on children found in our studies.

Concepts of Achievement Motive by McClelland and Atkinson

Japanese researchers started their work on achievement motive in the nineteen sixties. Among those, Hayashi (for example, Hayashi & Yamauchi, 1964), was one of the leading figures who had introduced the theories of achievement motive by McClelland et al.(1953) and Atkinson (1966). McClelland *et al.* defined achievement motive as the motive to attain "success in competition with some standard of excellence", to succeed in a "unique accomplishment", and to commit oneself to a "long-term involvement" (p.110-114). Atkinson on the other hand postulated the "expectancy-value model." It specified that the strength of achievement motivation, or the tendency to achieve, is determined by the sum of two tendencies: one is the "tendency to approach success (T-s)" and the other is the "tendency to avoid failure (T-f). The strength of each of these opposing tendencies is determined by three components: i. e. "Motive x Probability x Incentive."

Child-Rearing Practices and Achievement Motive

As for the development of achievement motive, one of the sources is child-rearing practices.

Wintembottom (1958) reported that the mothers of sons (eight-year-old) with high "n-Ach" (abbreviation for "need for achievement," namely, score of achievement motive) tended to expect "self-reliant mastery" at earlier ages than mothers of sons with low n-Ach. The former group of mothers also placed fewer restrictions on their sons than the latter, but the restrictions they did insist on were to be observed at an earlier age. Even so, the self-reliance training was expected still earlier by these mothers. It preceded the age at which the restrictions were imposed. The boys were

encouraged to master something.

The follow-up studies of the above research were conducted by some Japanese investigators (Hayashi *et al.*, 1964, Miyamoto *et al.*, 1967, Okuno, 1968). Some of their findings, however, are consistent, and some others contradictory. The Japanese mothers of children with high n-Ach also tend to expect "self-reliant mastery" at an earlier age than mother of children with low n-Ach, but they expect it at an earlier age than the mothers in the U. S. There were some differences in child-rearing practices depending on the child's gender, although the subjects of Winterbottom (1958) were only boys, and gender comparison was not possible for her study.

It is well known that Caudill *et al.* (1969) introduced the cultural differences in maternal care and infant behavior in Japan and America. They say that "... the expression of the infant's biological needs, and the mother's basic caretaking of these needs are the same in both cultures; but beyond this, the styles of the infant's behavior and the mother's care are different. It is as if the American mother wanted to have a vocal, active baby, and the Japanese mother wanted to have a quiet, contented baby. In terms of the styles of caretaking of the mothers in the two cultures, they seem to get what they apparently want" (p. 31). "... these patterns of behavior, so early learned by the infant, are in line with the differing expectations for later behavior in the two cultures as the child grows to be an adult" (p. 42).

In an interview report with Azuma and Gelman, Polman (1988) writes in *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, "... the typical American child is the product of a two-income family, and is being raised in a culture that respects 'independence, individuality and tolerance for being different.' None of those traits is heavily stressed in Japan. 'To be able to profit from the Japanese way,' he (Azuma) says, 'the willingness to work just as a member of a group is indispensable.' Unlike the United States, Japan is a homogeneous culture. 'Ours is a culture of heterogeneity,' says Gelman, 'In Japan, people are more alike than they aren't. Here, people are more different than they are alike.'

What we need to consider here is how to understand cultural differences and underlying motivation instead of arguing right or wrong of the cultures. The present author has been interested in finding out the actual state of achievement motive of Japanese children.

Behavior Characteristics of Japanese Children Shown by Peer Rating

As the first step to find out the actual state of achievement motive in Japanese children, the author asked nineteen college students in a psychology class to think of a target person whom they judged as highly motivated for achievement. They were then asked to write down as many behavior characteristics of the target as possible. There were 163 items written down. Some of them were the kinds which coincide with the notion of achievement motive defined by McClelland *et al.* and/or Atkinson; however, there were some other kinds which were not included in the definitions of the previous studies. Among those which were not included were "being thoughtful of others," "being reflective," "being sensitive," "having a sense of humor," "being calm and composed," "enjoying work and studies," and so forth. (The survey was done in 1978, and there is no printed material for the results, but it is briefly mentioned in Miyamoto,

1981, pp. 5-6).

This result and the previous studies on the relation between achievement motive and affiliation motive done by the author and her collaborators (Miyamoto *et al.* 1975, 1987) inspired the author to carry on the next studies (Miyamoto, 1989a, 1989b). Whereas in the study of 1989a the test subjects were college students, in the study of 1989b, the respondents are fifth and eighth graders. The results of the study of 1989a showed that for the Japanese college students, social abilities, such as cooperativeness and social responsibility, tend to work with achievement motive. The author wanted to know whether the above results obtained with Japanese college students held true in Japanese children. This was the purpose of the 1989b study. Since this paper refers to children, here I shall report briefly the results only for the fifth graders.

Each subject (78 boys and 87 girls) was asked to choose two class mates of the same sex as himself/herself as targets. One was judged to be highly motivated to achieve and the other to be low motivated. The author will refer to them as "high" targets and "low" targets, respectively. The children were then requested to classify their two friends according to forty behavior characteristics selected on the basis of the results of a preliminary survey mentioned above. The definition of "highly motivated to achieve" was not explained to the children by the author in order to leave the concept of achievement motive to the children themselves.

As for the items in the high rank order of mean scores, there were the items which were related to challenge seeking, such as "making every effort," "willingness to accept challenging or difficult tasks," and so on, which coincided with the definition of the achievement motive as studied previously in the U. S. Noteworthy, however, is the fact that the item "taking social responsibility in collaboration" appeared within the first five items in the high rank order both for boys and girls, and the item "trying to work cooperatively" appeared for girls, which was related to the affiliative sense and was not found in the previous U. S. studies.

By applying the factor analysis, we found four factors for the boy targets, i. e., Factor I: challenge seeking and creativity, Factor II: social abilities and reflective attitude, Factor III: humor and acting according to his opinions, Factor IV: no fear of failure (Table 1).

For the girl targets, the two factors found were as follows, i. e., Factor I: challenge seeking and social abilities, Factor II: self-assertion and self-confidence (Table 2).

The results indicated that the behavior characteristics of Japanese target children with high achievement motivation, who were rated by peers, showed challenge seeking as the Americans do; and at the same time, social abilities, such as social responsibilities, trying to work cooperatively, and being sympathetic, tend to work with achievement motive. For the girl targets, the factor of challenge seeking is combined with social responsibility, as shown by factor analysis.

Relation Between Achievement Motive and Affiliation Motive

Previous studies on achievement motive and affiliation motive, conducted primarily in the U. S., have reported that the two motives either negatively correlated or had

TABLE 1
Results of the factor analysis of achievement motivation (5th grade boys N=156)

Items	Factor I	Factor II	Factor III	Factor IV
7. carrying out	.77			
13. trying without fear	.74			
2. independence	.74			
8. persistence	.74			
32. self-assertion	.73			
17. expressing thoughts	.72			
25. intellectual curiosity	.71			
35. goal and plans	.67			
23. effort	.66			
34. trying new tasks	.65			
9. confidence	.64			
31. concentration	.64			
18. resourceful	.64			
10. creativity	.63			
39. efficient	.63			
15. challenge	.61			
22. leadership	.60			
3. examining references	.59			
30. listening to peers' opinions	.59			
1. good marks	.56			
21. without tension	.49			
▽ 5. fear of failure	.42			
16. not conceding	.38			
4. sympathetic		.69		
36. sensitive		.66		
14. social responsibility		.64		
38. seeking advice		.62		
6. cooperation		.61		
12. helpful		.61		
19. responsible for tasks		.59		
33. enjoying work		.59		
11. reflective		.58		
27. sound judgement		.57		
28. open-mind		.44		
20. humor			.69	
24. acting according to his opinions			.51	
26. pursuing interest			.42	
▽ 37. uneasy over trifles				.80
▽ 29. anxious when opinion differs				.56
Eigenvalue	18.34	1.66	1.33	0.99
Percentage of Variance	70.4	6.4	5.1	3.8
Cumulative Percentage of Variance	70.4	76.8	81.9	85.7

▽ Items scored in an opposite way.

Factor I : challenge seeking and creativity

Factor II : social abilities and reflective attitude

Factor III : humor and acting according to his opinions

Factor IV : no fear of failure

TABLE 2
Results of the factor analysis of achievement motivation (5th grade girls N=171)

Items	Factor I	Factor II
2. independence	.83	
27. sound judgement	.83	
31. concentration	.83	
19. responsible for tasks	.81	
30. listening to peers' opinions	.81	
6. cooperation	.81	
14. social responsibility	.80	
3. examining references	.79	
23. effort	.78	
39. efficient	.78	
7. carrying out	.77	
8. persistence	.77	
35. goal and plans	.75	
11. reflective	.74	
22. leadership	.74	
36. sensitive	.74	
12. helpful	.73	
15. challenge	.73	
33. enjoying work	.72	
18. resourceful	.69	
38. seeking advice	.66	
17. expressing thoughts	.63	
34. trying new tasks	.60	
4. sympathetic	.59	
1. good marks	.58	
10. creativity	.57	
25. intellectual curiosity	.51	
28. open-minded	.35	
32. self-assertion		.66
9. confidence		.64
13. trying without fear		.61
16. not conceding		.50
24. acting according to his opinions		.42
20. humor		.36
▽ 29. anxious when opinion differs		.34
26. pursuing interest		.33
▽ 5. fear of failure		.32
21. without tension		.26
Eigenvalue	19.70	1.54
Percentage of Variance	77.5	6.1
Cumulative Percentage of Variance	77.5	83.6

▽ Items scored in an opposite way.

Factor I : challenge seeking and social abilities

Factor II : self-assertion and self-confidence

no relation to each other. The correlations of these studies were $-.06$ by means of projective technique by Atkinson *et al.* (1966), $-.33$ by means of questionnaire (EPPS) by Edwards (1954). Although Hidano (1970) got the negative correlation of $-.30$ for Japanese college students with the Japanese version of EPPS, other data by Miyamoto *et al.* (1975) in regard to Japanese junior high school students has shown a positive correlation between the two motives by means of projective technique (.39 for boys and .31 for girls). Doi (1982) has found that there are two dimensions of achievement motivation in the Japanese data; namely, affiliative and non-affiliative ones.

Here the present author reports her own study (Miyamoto *et al.*, 1987) on the relation between achievement motive and affiliation motive. The subjects were children and students from elementary school up to college level, numbering 413 in all; reference will, however, be made mainly to the brief results for children (48 boys and 47 girls).

In order to facilitate comparison with the results of previous studies, the definition of the achievement motive followed mainly after that of McClelland *et al.* (1953) mentioned earlier, with the exception of the notion of stressing competition. On the other hand, the definition of affiliation motive followed after that of Atkinson *et al.* (1954), i. e. the motive of concern over establishing, maintaining, or restoring a positive, affective relationship with other person(s).

As for the materials, the questionnaire and the projective technique were employed. For the questionnaire, by drawing on some previous studies, such as those of Edwards (1954), Mehrabian (1972), Kajita (1980), and others, a new questionnaire was developed with four subscales of ten items respectively. These subscales were: achievement motive (nAch), affiliation motive (nAff), self-concept of achievement behavior (cAch), and self-concept of affiliation behavior (cAff). Examples of the items are shown in Table 3. For the projective technique, the standard TAT measure was adopted, following after McClelland *et al.* (1953) for the achievement motive, and also following after Atkinson *et al.* (1954) for the affiliation motive.

TABLE 3
Examples of the questionnaire items

Questionnaire-Achievement motive (Q-nAch)					
If I could choose a task					
I'd prefer a significant one even one that I might fail in.	always	usually	usually	always	I'd prefer an easy one which might not be significant.
Questionnaire-Affiliation motive (Q-nAff)					
When I feel dejected					
I'd rather be with others.	always	usually	usually	always	I'd rather be alone.
Questionnaire-Self concept of Achievement behavior (Q-cAch)					
When I work with difficult tasks, somehow I can get over them by myself.				always usually seldom not-at-all	
Questionnaire-Self concept of Affiliation behavior (Q-cAff)					
I'm loved by the people around.				always usually seldom not-at-all	

TABLE 4
Correlation coefficients among variables

subjects	Q-nAch × Q-nAff	Q-nAch × Q-nAff	Q-nAch × Q-nAff	Q-nAch × Q-nAff	P-nAff × P-nAff	P-nAch × Q-nAch	P-nAch × Q-nAch	P-nAch × Q-nAch	P-nAch × Q-nAch
5th graders	.21*	.53***	.28**	.30**	.18*	.27**	.21*	-.06	-.03
8th graders	-.14	.61***	.51***	.44***	.25**	.08	.08	.14+	.04
senior highs	.02	.40***	.25*	.41***	.21*	.17+	.09	-.15	-.07
college	-.01	.49***	.34***	.25*	-.02	.12+	.11	.17*	-.02
total	.01	.52***	.38***	.34***	.16***	.15***	.15***	.05	-.01

+p<.10 *p<.05 **p<.01 ***p<0.01 Q=questionnaire P=projective technique
nAch = achievement motive, cAch = self-concept of achievement behavior
nAff = affiliation motive, cAff = self-concept of affiliation behavior

As Table 4 indicates, children showed significant positive correlations between achievement and affiliation, both for motive and for self-concept. The college group showed no relation between the two motives but showed significant correlation between the two self-concepts. The 8th graders' and senior high students' scores showed no relation between the two motives by questionnaire, however they showed significant correlation between the motives as assessed by the projective technique, and between the self-concepts, as assessed by questionnaire. From the above relation between the motives of achievement and affiliation, we see that the children obtained a significant positive correlation, and as for the data on the self-concept of the two traits as obtained by the questionnaire, all groups showed significant positive correlations.

Ausubel (1968) stated that achievement motivation has at least three components, namely: cognitive drive, ego-enhancement, and affiliative component. He said that affiliative drive is most prominent during early childhood, when children largely seek and enjoy a derived status based on dependent identification with their parents (pp.375-376). The results of the above study coincide with this notion. That is, Japanese children with high n-Ach scores also have high n-Aff scores, and they prefer working with others to working alone.

As was mentioned earlier, Doi's study (1982) found an affiliative achievement motive in the Japanese data, and the previous study by Miyamoto *et al.* (1975) indicated that the achievement motive and the affiliation motive were positively correlated in Japanese subjects.

According to Dweck's model in "Motivational processes affecting learning" (1986), the particular goals, "performance goals" or "learning goals," which children pursue in cognitive tasks, shape their reactions to their success or failure. Children who have "performance goals" seek to gain favorable judgments. If the goal is to obtain a favorable judgment of ability, the children need to be certain their ability is high before presenting it for judgment. And so, individuals with a high assessment of their ability may sacrifice learning opportunities that involve risk of error in preference for opportunities in which they can look smart. Thus, a performance goal appears to promote defensive strategies that can interfere with challenge seeking. If I apply this model to the above results, it may seem that the Japanese children who have both high n-Ach scores and high n-Aff scores may be anxious to gain favorable judgments in

order to establish favorable social relations. Unfortunately, this may be true for some children who are in the midst of preparing for the ill-reputed entrance examinations; however in general, to prefer working with others to working alone does not necessarily mean they seek to gain favorable judgment. For, though as previously thought in western societies where high n-Ach is not accompanied by high n-Aff, and though Dweck's model suggests high n-Aff may interfere with the learning goal, the above data showed the Japanese students had both high n-Ach and high n-Aff. For the Japanese children, the high n-Aff did not in fact interfere with the learning goal. The ability to seek challenge is therefore not inhibited by the group oriented approach.

In the lecture "Learning and adjustment: the importance of intrinsic motivation" given at the thirty-third annual convention of Japanese Association of Educational Psychology (1991), Deci presented the notion that intrinsic motivation is based in three fundamental, innate psychological needs. They are the need for competence, the need to feel related and the need for self-determination (or autonomy). He stated that "... when children feel secure with significant others, when they feel related and involved, they will be more adventuresome and initiating. It is also the case that through their relationships with parents and teachers, children learn to value what those adults, and society more generally, value. For example, there are many activities that children do not find interesting or fun but are important for effective functioning. If the children can learn to value these activities or outcomes by encountering them in optimally motivating conditions, they will be more willing to engage in the activities freely. Thus, relatedness (in addition to autonomy support and competence promotion) is a critical factor for children's internal motivation and positive feelings about school and about themselves."

At this point, it can be said that if the achievement motive is to work intrinsically, the affiliation motive or relatedness may be helpful. In that sense, a mother's loving attitude as well as her expectations of independence and mastery for children, especially for young children, will promote the achievement motive of children.

The illustration is speculative and immature, but the studies introduced in this paper confirm that, for Japanese children, social abilities as well as challenge seeking can work together.

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