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"value of farm products consumed directly in farm households," which used to be called "the value of home consumption." This item represented 71½ percent of total Soviet GNP in 1955, down from 30 percent in 1928! By contrast, it was only 2 percent of 1928 GNP in the United States, and has since dropped to a quarter of 1 percent.

Four conclusions are worth mentioning:

(1) The Soviet rate of economic growth in the years under consideration has not been notably or even demonstrably higher than that of the United States in a comparable stage of economic development, namely, the last three decades of the 19th century; but (2) it has been definitely and substantially superior to the rate of economic growth in the United States during recent years; and (3) continued Soviet political control of the rate of saving and investment may prevent the tapering off in the growth rate that might otherwise be expected with greater economic maturity; but (4) even so, and despite Khrushchev's boast, the USSR is not likely to catch up with the USA in total output before 1975 at the earliest.

Such nuggets must be extracted from this mine of information by a process almost hydraulic in character, for lack of a summary is the book's major defect. President Kennedy has doubtless been briefed on comparative economic growth rates for the USA and the USSR. Bergson should have briefed his readers too.

Ernest W. Grove

The Achieving Society

By David C. McClelland. D. Van Nostrand Co., Inc., Princeton, N.J. 512 pages. 1961. \$7.95.

THIS BOOK brings together and evaluates massive research investigations of what psychological variables are causally related to economic development. Financed by the Ford Foundation, the project in its various phases was carried out by many workers during the 1950's.

Of the numerous motives investigated, the ones found to be universally important in economic development are called "the need for achievement" and "other directedness"—sensitivity to the sentiments of others as reflected in public opinion, often referred to in this book as the "generalized other"—a concept first made central to social psychology by George Herbert Mead. Of these two

motivations, the "need for achievement" is of overriding importance in economic development.

The nature of this need deserves a brief explanation. *What* is needed is assurance that one is increasingly the possessor of personal traits, such as initiative and courageous risk-taking, that make him a superior innovator type of personality, most prized for its own sake and as a valuable agent of the needs and aspirations of men for a greater abundance of want-satisfying goods. But one cannot become a consumer of personal traits, like self-reliant mastery or initiative, by eating these objects as a hungry hound eats meat. Needs for personal qualities can be gratified only through proficient expenditure of one's energies in specific ways of living and making a living that are *interpreted* (whether consciously or unconsciously makes no difference) as gilt-edged evidence of specific character traits. Such evidence may or may not be equated with excellent performance of all employments.

In these terms, what McClelland calls "the need for achievement" is the striving to prove one's personal worth or significance as a go-getting, innovating type of person. Individuals with a high degree of this need seldom get any rest; always they are on the move, even in their fantasies, to achieve concrete evidence of their personal value through increasing proficiency in all their employments, economic or otherwise. If they fail to remember their appointments, leave dust in the corners while sweeping the floor, plow crooked rows, or leave the pasture gate unlocked, they are unhappy. For they interpret such imperfections as *prima facie* evidence of personal delinquencies that add up to an irritating image of their personal worth or significance to themselves and others. Without this interpretation of proficiency in all employments as valid evidence of personal value or significance, what McClelland calls the "need for achievement" would fall apart like a rope of sand.

In recent years, psychologists have developed methods for obtaining numbers to represent the levels of the achievement motive among individuals and cultural groups. Such numbers are reached through techniques for identifying, coding, and counting achievement images in representative samples of imaginative materials such as individual stories, children's stories, folk tales, verse forms, and art forms, even doodling.

To see if there is a distinct causal relationship between change in the general level of the achievement motive and change in the level of economic development, McClelland and associates carried out measurements of psychological and economic variables in 40 contemporary nations from 1925 through 1950. They also carried out similar measurements in the Ancient Greek civilization from 900 to 100 B.C., in Medieval Spain from 1200 to 1730, and in the English economy from 1500 to 1830. All their findings converged to the same conclusion: A protracted rise in the general level of achievement need precedes a protracted period of economic progress, and a protracted period of economic decline or stagnation is foreshadowed by a persistent decline in the need for achievement. This finding is the first major contribution of the book.

Since the entrepreneur is the main translator of the general national level of achievement motivation into concrete economic performance, McClelland and his associates carefully identified the essential components of entrepreneurial behavior such as risk-taking and long-range goals. Then they found through many cross cultural studies that each of its components is tied into a relatively high level of achievement motivation. This is the second major contribution of the book.

For some years it has been known that many life-long motives are acquired in very early years through child-rearing practices of parents. Through many experimental studies as well as cross cultural studies, McClelland and associates identified what specific characteristics of such practices induce a high level of achievement motivation in the oncoming generation, and what characteristics do not. This is the third major contribution of the book.

From these findings emerge the fascinating hypothesis that external conditions, such as political and economic institutions, occupational status, family structure, climate and physical resources, do not directly and automatically generate the achievement motivation that is necessary to exploit them. Instead, they influence economic development only *indirectly* through their effects upon child-rearing practices of parents, which directly determine the level of achievement need in the oncoming generation, which in turn generates economic change. To verify this hypothesis, the author and his associates made many cross cultural

and historic investigations. The weight of their evidence strongly tends to confirm the hypothesis, and in so doing casts serious doubt on numerous long-standing explanations of the rise and fall of civilizations. This is the fourth major contribution of the book.

Now and then this reviewer finds himself taking exception to basic conceptualizations in the book, but this in no wise detracts from its outstanding contributions to the large and growing literature on economic development. This is not a book for bedside reading. But if one takes the time and pains to pick it to pieces, assimilate, digest and make its ideas his own, he will greatly enrich his perspectives of economic and cultural change in both present and past civilizations.

John M. Brewster

Land Economics Research

Edited by Joseph Ackerman, Marion Clawson, and Marshall Harris. The Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore. 270 pages. 1962. \$4.00.

WE OWE THE SYMPOSIUM to the Greeks. To them a symposium was literally a banquet at which there was brilliant and entertaining conversation, and free exchange of ideas.

This symposium on land economics comes closer than most contemporary ones to satisfying the ancient criteria as to brilliance, wit, and free discussion. The place was Lincoln, Nebraska; the time was June 1961; and the sponsors were the Farm Foundation and Resources for the Future, Inc. The participants were 16 economists representing a cross section of youth and age, enthusiasm and wisdom, experience and training in the field of land economics.

The high level of accomplishment was also due to the careful planning that resulted from a pre-symposium conference of the principal participants some months before the symposium proper.

The 15 chapters are arranged under four headings concerned with scope, theory, procedure, and programs in land economics research. Each chapter was developed by one of the participants and in two instances by two participants jointly.

The focus of the book is on research in land economics with an eye to the future. The evolution from rural to urban phases is traced by M. M. Kelso in his scholarly review of the content and orientation of research in land economics today.