

OJIBWA AND JEWISH CHILDREN:
A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF
N-ACHIEVEMENT

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For Carol

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CHAPTER I

THE SCOPE AND NATURE OF THE PROBLEM

I. THE PROBLEM

This thesis deals with Ojibwa¹ and Jewish children and the cultural, child rearing, and social mobility variables which are considered to be important in the psychosocial development of n-achievement.² In general, results of previous studies indicate that Jews have traditionally trained their children for a relatively high level of n-achievement and continue to do so in the contemporary setting (Zborowski 1955; Strodtbeck 1958; Veroff, Feld and Gurin 1962). Kerckhoff (1958), on the other hand, maintains that the Chippewa train their children for a relatively low level of n-achievement. In the light of these investigations, a key issue in the present study is whether there will be a statistically significant difference between the n-achievement levels of the two groups of children with the Jewish children obtaining the higher level. To resolve this issue a slightly

¹In this thesis the terms Chippewa and Saulteaux will be regarded as synonymous with Ojibwa.

²In this thesis the terms need achievement, need for achievement, and achievement motive will be regarded as synonymous with n-achievement.

modified version of Lowell's incomplete sentence test (McClelland et al. 1953:168-169) will be used to elicit fantasy responses from the two groups of children. These responses will be scored for n-achievement according to the McClelland scoring system (McClelland et al. 1953:107-138).

The significance of this study will be at least threefold. On the one hand, it will be valuable as a replicative study. In the second place, this data will serve to fill a void as there is a paucity of socio-psychological information dealing with the Ojibwa Indians and Jews of Manitoba. Finally, McClelland (1961) has proposed that a relatively high level of n-achievement is a psychological prerequisite for economic development--this is assuming the ecology is such that economic development is possible. If this argument is valid this study could be of considerable value in applied anthropology. It would mean that this study could possibly serve as an outline for future psychologically-oriented community development studies being carried out among Indian bands in Manitoba.

II. DEFINITION AND DISCUSSION OF BASIC CONCEPTS

Preceding a discussion of the historical development of the theory of achievement motivation, it is advisable to define and briefly discuss certain key concepts. It is in this way that later conceptual confusion may best be avoided.

The concepts to be considered are: n-achievement, cultural, socialization, projective test, Jewish, and Ojibwa.

N-achievement

N-achievement refers to a psychological motive state of the human organism from which, upon presentation of an appropriate cue, achievement behavior results. Achievement behavior is " . . . any behavior directed toward the attainment of approval or the avoidance of disapproval . . . for competence of performance . . . in situations where standards of excellence are applied . . . " (Crandall 1963:417-418).

Cultural

Cultural refers to institutionalized patterns of thought and action transmitted from one generation to another which are subject to modification and reinterpretation through time and space.

Socialization

Socialization refers to the transmission of cultural patterns. In other words, socialization is a learning process. This process is in no sense restrictive such that only the parental generation is conceptualized as being able to socialize the offspring generation. On the contrary, socialization usually takes place in terms of many different agents such as grandparents, peers, and schoolteachers to

mention a few (cf. Seidler and Ravitz 1955; Whiting et al. 1966).

Projective Test

A projective test refers to:

. . . an instrument that is considered especially sensitive to covert or unconscious aspects of behavior, it permits or encourages a wide variety of subject responses, is highly multidimensional, and it evokes unusually rich or profuse response data with a minimum of subject awareness concerning the purpose of the test. Further, it is very often true that the stimulus material presented by the projective test is ambiguous, interpreters of the test depend upon holistic analysis, the test evokes fantasy responses, and there are no correct or incorrect responses to the test (Lindzey 1961:45).

Three basic assumptions underly this type of test. First, it is assumed that the behavior of an individual is a function of his or her personality. Second, it is assumed that an unstructured test situation elicits fantasy responses. Finally, it is assumed that these fantasy responses are furnished in terms of personal experiences (Korner 1965:24-26).

Jewish

This term designates an adherent of the Jewish faith, or one who considers himself a member of the Jewish community.

Ojibwa

The Ojibwa are Algonkian Indians whose origin:

. . . can be traced to the eastern part of the United States . . . They belonged to a group of Indians who migrated northward to the Sault Ste. Marie area from

the eastern part of what is now the United States. After reaching that area they separated into three tribes, the Ojibwa, the Ottawa and the Potawatom. The Ojibwa turned westward following the north and south shores of Lake Superior . . . [and] gradually replaced the Assiniboine and the Sioux Indians in the Lake of the Woods and Bemidji Areas (Lagasse 1959:40).

III. THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE THEORY OF ACHIEVEMENT MOTIVATION

As the general topic of this thesis is achievement motivation, it is useful to examine the historical development of this theory. Due to the great volume of published material dealing with achievement motivation it is expedient to examine the theoretical and empirical work separately. It is also convenient to examine the empirical work in terms of laboratory work and field work. This is because laboratory work is carried out in what, for the most part, is supposed to be a sterile situation in which only one or two cultural, child rearing, or social mobility variables are studied in a single experiment. In the field situation, however, it is often more difficult to isolate and control the variables associated with the achievement motive.

During the past two decades three major theoretical works have been written on the topic of achievement motivation. The pioneer study offered the first explicit statement of the nature of motivation as an independent variable in the

determination of perception (Atkinson and McClelland 1948: 643-658). This particular line of reasoning led to the suggestion that a specific motivational state, such as achievement motivation, should be reflected in fantasy behavior when that fantasy behavior is stimulated by specific achievement cues.

This hypothesis was empirically verified in a second study (McClelland et al. 1953:139-274). This study was introduced with the following three propositions: (1) Achievement motivation is a universal psychological characteristic of the human personality. This means that the achievement motive can be examined cross-culturally. (2) Statistically significant differences in the n-achievement levels of two or more groups can be determined by projective tests. The implication is that the achievement motive may be quantified at least in terms of groups. (3) All motives are learned in terms of positive or negative affect. This implies that n-achievement is intimately associated with socialization for: (a) Children in all cultures must learn to accomplish certain basic tasks such as walking, talking, and so on. (b) While performing these tasks, the child experiences some primary unlearned affect--either pleasing or displeasing. This may be a result of intrinsic curiosity reinforcements or extrinsic reinforcements from socializing agents. (c) In this way the child develops a level of expectation about his

performance. As long as this level is moderately different from performance the child will get pleasure from performing these tasks. If expectation is very similar to performance the child will become bored, whereas if expectation is highly different from performance the child will become frustrated. This means that the development of achievement motivation will be enhanced in situations in which achievement behaviors are negatively reinforced or reinforced in an exaggerated fashion. (d) This discrepancy between expectation and performance is the immediate framework upon which achievement motivation develops in children, for if the child is led to believe that he can achieve basic tasks without becoming bored or frustrated, then he may generalize achievement responses to other situations which resemble the original learning situation. In other words, once a child is capable of independent action, achievement responses may be expressed through various culturally acceptable outlets. For example, among the Navaho Indians a young boy with a high level of n-achievement may aspire to be a good shepherd (McClelland et al. 1953:171), whereas in contemporary Canadian or American society a young boy with a high level of n-achievement may aspire to be a doctor or a lawyer.

Along with early learning experiences certain patterns of child rearing play an important role in the development of the achievement motive. McClelland et al. (1953:275-318)

have hypothesized that independence training, which encourages the child to take responsibility for his own action and decisions, is highly conducive to the development of a high level of n-achievement for it encourages the child to take moderate rather than extreme or no risks in competitive situations. In an experiment, Winterbottom (1958) has established empirical support for this hypothesis.

The most recent major theoretical work to deal with achievement motivation is McClelland's The Achieving Society (1961). In this volume McClelland reinterprets Max Weber's concept of "The Protestant Ethic" in terms of the achievement motive. He comes to the conclusion that economic growth and development is positively correlated with the general level of n-achievement in a particular group. This is followed by the suggestion that relatively high level of n-achievement is necessary for economic development in most of the underdeveloped regions of the world. These are the principal theoretical tenets upon which this thesis is based.

Laboratory studies have shown many cultural, child rearing, and social mobility variables to be associated with n-achievement. The cultural variables include: (1) long term goals as a cultural value orientation (McClelland et al. 1953:119); (2) competition with standards of excellence as a cultural value orientation (McClelland et al. 1953:111); and, (3) self-reliance as a cultural value orientation (McClelland

1961:129). The child rearing variables include: (1) independence training (McClelland et al. 1953:275-318; Rosen and D'Andrade 1959; Winterbottom 1958); (2) achievement training or setting high standards of performance and encouraging the child to compete and win (Rosen and D'Andrade 1959; Rosen 1962); (3) authoritarian child training practices (Nuttall 1964); and (4) identification with a like-achieving parent (Argyle and Robinson 1962). Upward occupational mobility has also been associated with achievement as an aspect of social mobility (Crockett 1962; Burnstein 1963; Morgan 1964; Littig and Yeracaris 1965). These are the variables which have received the most attention in laboratory investigations of the achievement motive.

Empirical research in the field has been invariably linked to cross-cultural studies. One of the first of these studies was carried out by Lowell (McClelland et al. 1953) with twenty-one ninth-grade Navaho males. He concluded that it was possible to elicit fantasy achievement responses with appropriate cues among a group of non-Western individuals. Since Lowell's early work a number of additional cross-cultural studies have been carried out. For example, achievement motivation has been studied among the Apache (Child and Bacon 1955); the Brazilians (Rosen 1962); the Chipewyan (Cohen and VanStone 1963; Cohen and Osterrich 1965); the East Indians (Fraser 1968); the Eskimo (Parker 1962); the

Japanese (Hayashi and Habu 1962); the Maori (Williams 1960); the Mexican-Americans (Barberio 1967); the Navaho (Revoussin and Goldstein 1966); the Nigerians (Levine 1966); and, the Sidamo (Hamer unpublished). This is by no means an exhaustive list, but it does indicate that n-achievement is a psychological characteristic which may be effectively examined in cross-cultural settings.

CHAPTER II

ETHNOHISTORIC AND ETHNOGRAPHIC CONSIDERATIONS

The purpose of this chapter is to present an account of the history and present day setting of the Ojibwa and Jewish communities being investigated in this study. In this way the scope of the study and the defining characteristics of the communities may be brought clearly into focus.

I. THE OJIBWA COMMUNITY

The definition of an Ojibwa unit for analysis has oftentimes resulted in confusion and argument. Witness, for example, Hickerson who " . . . believe[s] that the "atomistic" concept of the Chippewa discounts historical and ecological factors determining the course of the development or decay of collective institutions" (1962:90). He argues that it was common for Ojibwa families to act in terms of institutionalized village government and constabulary structures, and that personality development took place in a village oriented type of culture. This is in opposition to Barnouw (1950) who opts for an "atomistic" interpretation. He argues that Ojibwa families existed in relative isolation, lacked village government and constabulary structures, and that personality development took place in an individual oriented

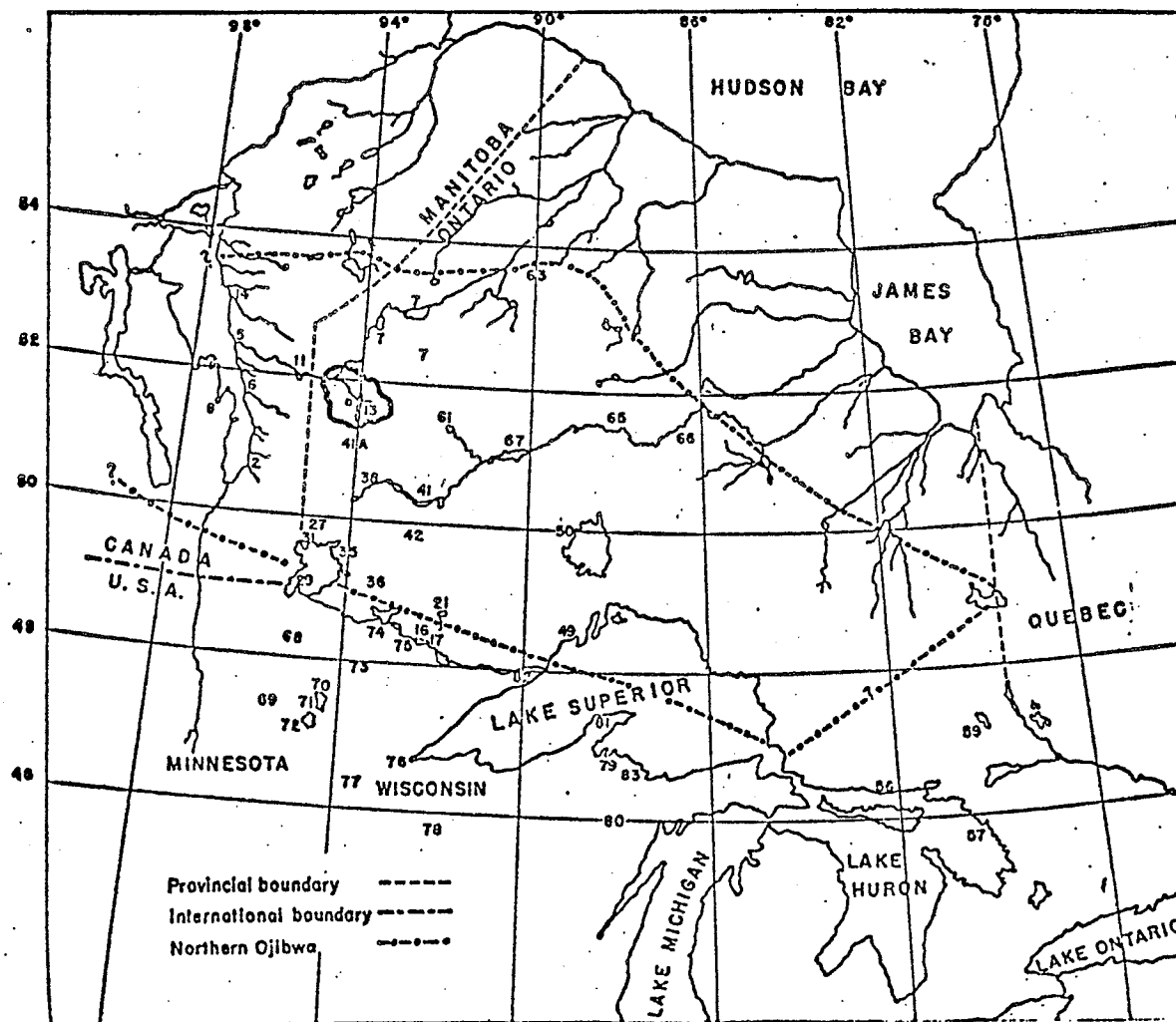
type of culture. It is not necessary to adopt one extreme in favour of the other for neither will be useful in defining an Ojibwa unit for analysis. It is sufficient to mention that the definition of an Ojibwa unit for analysis has caused considerable confusion in previous studies. This does not mean that ethnographic data pertaining to the Ojibwa is not available. On the contrary, data has been presented on a number of different levels ranging from the very general to the very specific. For example, on the most general level data has been synthesized which deals with all Ojibwa (Jenness 1963; Wissler 1940) (see Figure I). On a more specific level, vague boundaries set off four subdivisions of the Ojibwa. These are the Northern Ojibwa (Hallowell 1955; Dunning 1959) (see Figure II), the Southeastern Chippewa (Hickerson 1962), the Southwestern Chippewa (Hickerson 1962), and the Plains Ojibwa (Skinner 1914; Howard 1965) (see Figure I). On a still more refined level, research has been carried out in terms of village and Reserve units (Dunning 1959; Hilger 1951; Landes 1937; Kerckhoff 1958). Finally, on the least inclusive level, research has been carried out with individual Ojibwa families (Boggs 1956). The problem is not with the data these ethnographers have collected. The difficulty lies in the levels of generalization for research, since the units they have defined for study are occasionally far larger and consequently much more nebulous than the actual units with which they have

THE CHIPPEWA COUNTRY AND CONTIGUOUS REGIONS AT THE TIME OF
THEIR GREATEST EXPANSION IN THE MIDDLE OF THE 19th CENTURY^a



FIGURE II

THE TERRITORY OF THE NORTHERN OJIBWA^a



^aReproduced from Dunning (1959:6).

conducted ethnographic research. To remedy this problem it will be useful to discuss certain key characteristics of the Ojibwa unit chosen for analysis in the present study--the Gull Valley Indian Reserve.³ Prior to a discussion of these key characteristics it will be useful to know something of the ethnohistory of these people.

Ethnohistory of the Gull Valley Ojibwa⁴

Preceding White exploration and immigration, Manitoba was inhabited by many different Indian cultures including, in order of appearance, the Crow, the Gros Ventre, the Blackfeet, the Hidatsa, the Assiniboine, and the Cree (Lagasse 1959:17). Following contact in 1600 (Rogers 1967:35) there was a significant movement of Ojibwa peoples to Manitoba, Ontario, Wisconsin, and Minnesota. The greatest number of Ojibwa immigrants came during the last half of the eighteenth century, and by 1850 they were the dominant Indian group in Manitoba (Lagasse 1959:17). Prior to this push westward these Ojibwa people were residents of what is now the Sault Ste. Marie area (Hickerson 1962:78-81) (see Figure I).

³All Ojibwa names and places are pseudonyms.

⁴The generalizations presented in this section are composites of general ethnographic and ethnohistoric accounts of the Ojibwa. Unfortunately I have no specific ethnohistoric data dealing with the Gull Valley Ojibwa.

Historical and ecological factors played an important part in this westward movement. Indeed, following contact, the Woodlands area in which the Ojibwa lived was no longer able to support hunting and gathering band populations ranging in size from approximately 24 to 150 individuals (Dunning 1959:84; Hickerson 1962:84). What happened was that the natural resources of the area were being destroyed by excessive trapping to meet the demands of the European fur markets. As a consequence, some Ojibwa moved northwest where they could reclaim a familiar woodlands habitat.⁵ As they moved into southern Manitoba the Woods and Swampy Cree were pushed to the north and west (Hallowell 1955:114-115).

Under the direction of Prime Minister Macdonald's government rapid settlement of the west became a top priority national policy, and by 1870 Manitoba had joined Confederation. Five years later, on August 21, 1875 Treaty Number Two was ratified in which the Ojibwa Indians of southwestern Manitoba agreed to cede 35,700 square miles of land to the Provincial government (Lagasse 1959:22) (see Figure III). It was at this time that the Gull Valley Indian Reserve, which is located in this general area, was set aside. To gain perspective, the culture of these early Ojibwa bears some consideration.

⁵Not all of these Ojibwa moved to the northwest. A considerable number also moved to the southwest (Hickerson 1962).

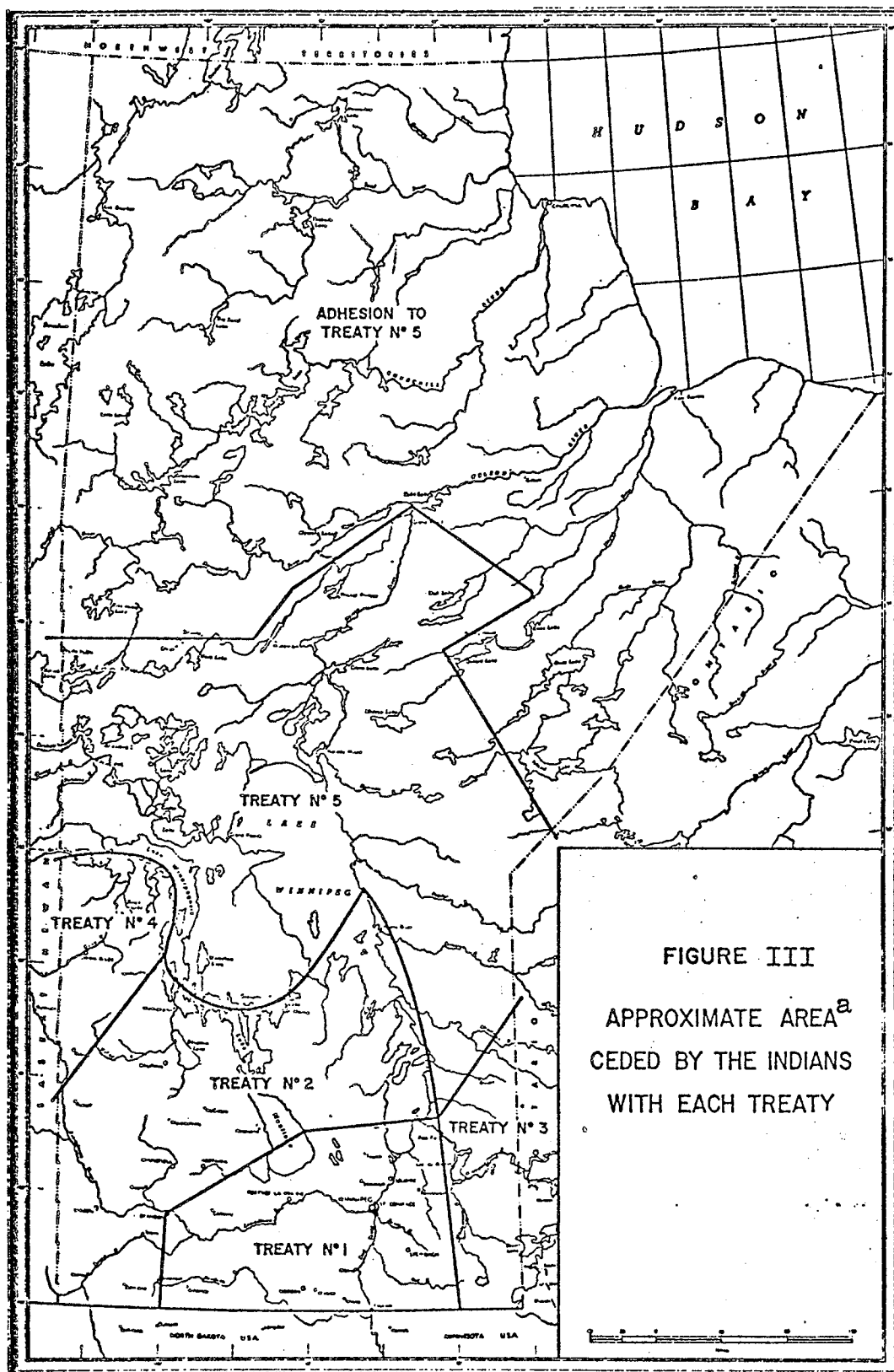


FIGURE III
APPROXIMATE AREA^a
CEDED BY THE INDIANS
WITH EACH TREATY

^aReproduced from Lagasse (1959:22).

The traditional value system of the Manitoba Ojibwa was based on individual responsibility and suppression of overt aggression in the face of a potentially hostile environment. This was reflected in the economic, political, and religious systems.

The economic activities of the Ojibwa were divided on a seasonal basis. In winter individual families consisting of a man, his wife, and their unmarried offspring would hunt and gather. The men would be responsible for bringing in the game including moose, elk, and other small animals, while the women would be responsible for collecting plant foods. Older parents and grandparents who were unable to care for themselves, or a married son or son-in-law could also be included in this family unit. In the spring and early summer village units formed and different types of economic undertakings such as fishing and wild ricing were carried out. Nevertheless, even in this summer camp it was the individual Ojibwa family that was the most important economic unit. This may have been a result of the long months of winter isolation when the family was usually the single unit of production and consumption.

The Ojibwa family was also the most important political unit. In fact, even though there were village chiefs they had little power and could be replaced on a whim of the villagers (Miller 1966:174). Marriage did not

provide an opportunity for political alliance since the value of such an alliance would be questionable when the individual families dispersed to the winter hunting grounds in the fall (Landes 1961:125). In the final analysis it was the father, as head of the household, who made the important decisions.

Shamanism and spirits played an important part in traditional Ojibwa culture. On the one hand, an individual who felt that he had been wronged could hire a conjuring shaman to place a spell on an unknowing victim. There were also the Mide or curing shamans of the Midiwewin (Grand Medicine Society) who could be hired to cure illness (Landes 1961:111). One of the greatest dangers mentioned in traditional Ojibwa folklore was the Windigo spirit, a cannibalistic monster with normal appearance who craved the taste of human flesh. An important protecting spirit, on the other hand, was the spirit helper which an Ojibwa acquired by fasting during a vision quest at the time of puberty. This spirit, usually in the form of an animal, would help in the food quest as long as the protected Ojibwa performed the proper ceremonies that were connected with his or her spirit helper. Hallowell (1955:2790281) suggests that a delicate balance was maintained between the Ojibwa and the environment because of the ecological uncertainties of game and rainfall, and that overt aggression could have easily upset this balance.

To keep this balance overt aggression was largely channeled into covert expressions of sorcery. Generosity and sharing were part and parcel of this whole scheme, for an individual could hardly risk incurring the wrath of a conjuring shaman or someone who might hire a conjuring shaman because of a personal affront. It appears that the traditional value system of the Ojibwa was based on individualistic efforts and inner controls in the face of interpersonal anxiety and an uncertain Woodlands habitat.

The Gull Valley Ojibwa Today

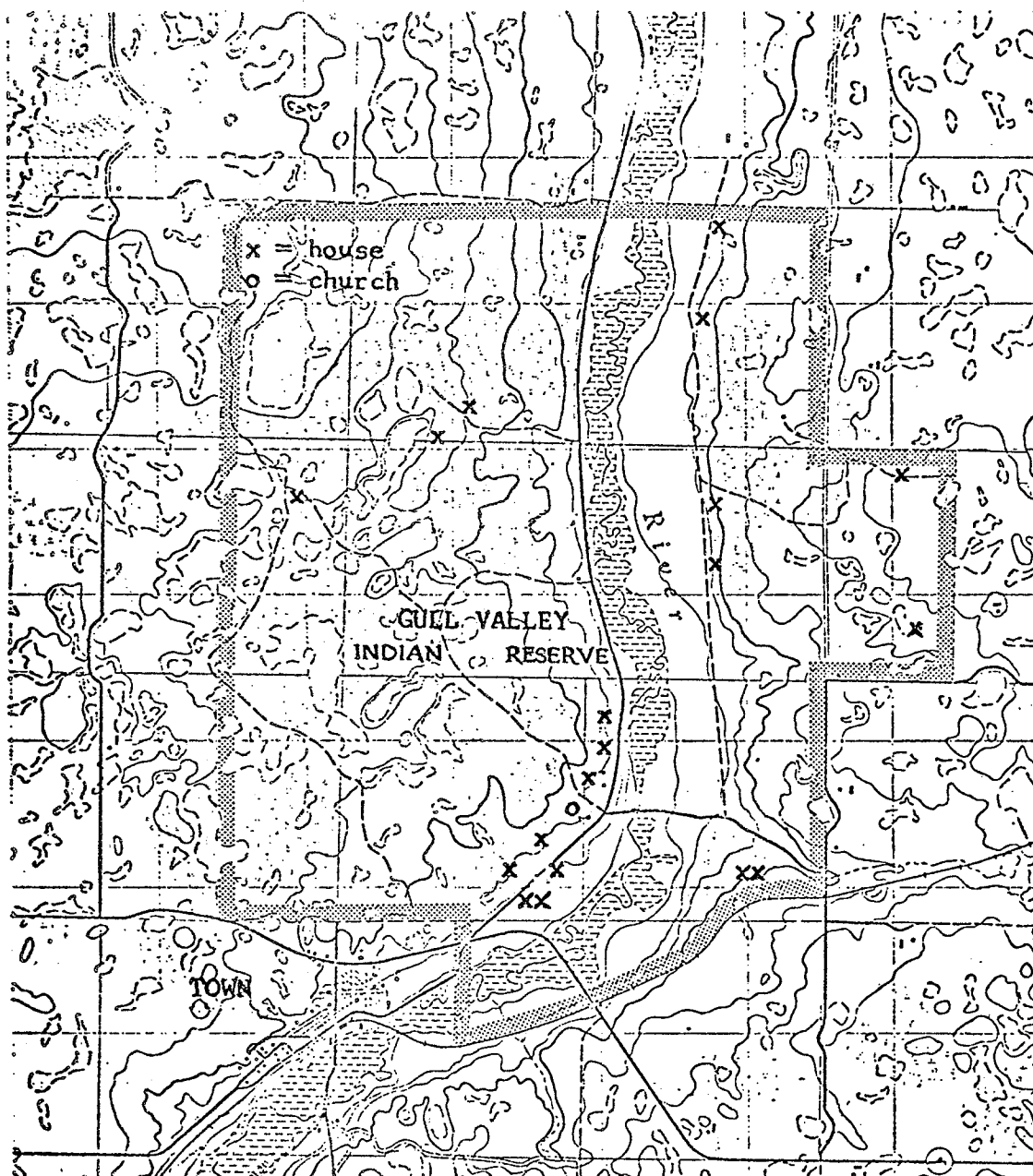
The present Chief of Gull Valley, a highly respected man in the community, explained to the ethnographer that there had been a steady history of economic interaction with the local White residents. The growth of Gull Valley has been accompanied by the growth of a prosperous agriculture-oriented community adjacent to the Reserve (see Figure IV). This town is inhabited for the most part by second and third generation Ukrainian-Canadians who migrated to Canada at the turn of the last century. The Chief pointed out that shortly after the Reserve was founded, a rancher maintained a large herd of sheep in the area employing people from Gull Valley as ranch hands. Although this ranch ceased operation following World War One the delapidated ranch buildings are still standing. The Chief also mentioned that the Gull Valley people had worked at a sawmill in the area. This sawmill

was operative through the early 1940's but had gone out of business early in the 1950's. As of the summer of 1968 the Chief estimated the population of the Reserve to be 285 registered Indians--235 living permanently on the Reserve (see Figure IV). At the present time many of the Gull Valley men work at odd jobs in the town or are hired by the local White farmers.

Although quantitative data are lacking, there are indications that religious homogeneity, community endogamy, and out-group/in-group stereotypes set off Gull Valley from the adjacent Ukrainian-Canadian community and other nearby Ojibwa communities. With regard to religious homogeneity, the local Presbyterian Minister reported that all of the Gull Valley Ojibwa are either nominal or practicing Presbyterians. The Ukrainian-Canadians, on the other hand, are predominantly Catholic. A local shaman also receives some support from the Ojibwa community, but the magnitude of this support could not be ascertained in the present study. Though there are these two religious divisions in the Ojibwa community, it is possible to conceptualize this groups as relatively homogeneous in comparison to most Euro-Canadian communities.

Contact between the residents of Gull Valley and the Ukrainian-Canadian community is largely restricted to economic relationships. For example, at the time this investigation

FIGURE IV
GULL VALLEY INDIAN RESERVE^a



Scale $1\frac{1}{4}" = 1$ mile

^aReproduced from a Provisional Map compiled by the
Surveys and Mapping Branch, Department of Mines and Technical
Surveys.

was being carried out the mother of a well-known local merchant passed away. This merchant had maintained a very friendly relationship in his dealings with the many Ojibwa who were frequent customers in his store. Nevertheless, it was observed that while all of the White residents from the surrounding area attended the funeral not a single Ojibwa was present. This is all the more striking because several informants, both Ojibwa and White, indicated that this was the largest funeral in recent memory. It is unlikely that the Ojibwa were absent because the woman who died was a Catholic for it was noted that attendance cut across religious lines. With these facts in mind it is possible to suggest that this type of social isolation may generalize to other social considerations including marriage. This is supported by the following facts. On the one hand, the Ojibwa name for Gull Valley translates to the family surname Gull. The present Chief of Gull Valley is named Gull. In addition, he reported that Chiefs of Gull Valley have always been chosen from his family and that 27 of the 34 families now living on the Reserve are named Gull. Furthermore, in comparing the residents of Gull Valley and Bear Lake, an Ojibwa Reserve some 50 miles away the Chief argued that "there are more fullbloods here than at Bear Lake." One possible interpretation of this data is that it may be unusual for a non-Ojibwa male, or even an Ojibwa male from another area to

marry into and participate in the local government of the Reserve. The Chief also explained to the ethnographer that both Ojibwa and non-Ojibwa women did not generally marry into or out of the Gull Valley community.

There are also indications of out-group/in-group stereotypes in Gull Valley. One such distinction was maintained historically on the basis of hostility and warfare between band populations. Landes (1961:102) points out that next to intertribal hostility (e.g. Ojibwa-Sioux) intervillage hostility was greatest among the Ojibwa. It has also been noted that: " . . . warfare between two geographically separated [Ojibwa] groups was not unknown" (Coatsworth 1957:5). Today, the Chief of Gull Valley emphasizes the superior intellect of the members of his own community as compared to the residents of Bear Lake. He said:

In the first place, Bear Lake is probably one of the richest Reserves in Manitoba since they have so much rich agricultural land to lease. This means that Bear Lake can operate on a budget of \$40,000.00 per year while the budget for Gull Valley is only \$16,000.00 per year. In the second place, there are about 700 people living at Bear Lake and only about 285 at Gull Valley. In spite of these two big differences, the people living here [Gull Valley] are better off than the people living at Bear Lake.

Thus the data in this section provide some support for the hypothesis that religious homogeneity, community endogamy, and out-group/in-group stereotypes set Gull Valley apart as a separate community.

II. THE JEWISH COMMUNITY

The definition of a Jewish unit for analysis has caused fewer difficulties than its Ojibwa counterpart. In fact, Jewish community studies have been exceedingly popular (cf. Baltzell 1958; Fauman 1958; Gans 1958; Seligman 1958; Sutker 1958). The criteria for separateness used in defining the Ojibwa unit are followed in setting the limits of the Winnipeg Jewish community. Preceding a discussion of these key characteristics in the present day urban setting it will be useful to present a brief ethnohistorical sketch of the Jews of Winnipeg.

Ethnohistory of the Winnipeg Jews

Prior to 1882 there were very few Jews in Manitoba. Indeed, Herstein (1964:5) reports that in 1881 there were only 21 Jews living in Winnipeg. In 1882, however, there was a great influx of Russian Jews to Winnipeg which was followed in 1904-1905 by a similar exodus from Russia.⁶ These movements to Winnipeg were largely a result of the political atmosphere in both Eastern Europe and Canada at that time. Historians have drawn attention to the fact that there were devastating 'pogroms' directed against the Jews

⁶Winnipeg was only one of the centers in a much larger migration to North America (Sachar 1965:306-308).

in Eastern Europe (Prinz 1962; Herstein 1964; Sachar 1965).

An older informant recalled a pogrom:

This happened in Rumania in 1904 while Rumania was still a province of Russia. It seemed that a little boy had been lost and the Jews were immediately accused, for it was said that the boy's blood was needed for the Passover matso [unleavened bread]. The Russian 'goyim' [a derogatory term used for non-Jews] beat up any Jew that they could lay their hands on and if a man had a beard or peyos [earlocks] they pulled them out. They quartered a few men and wrecked and plundered all of the stores. As many Jews as possible escaped, but when they returned the Ghetto was destroyed.

Not as commonly recognized was the fact that the Russian Jews though largely a merchant group because of the restrictions in agriculture, were forbidden access to the larger Russian cities and were consequently operating on a very tenuous economic base (Wagley and Harris 1958:208-209). It was precisely at this time that the Canadian government adopted a vigorous immigration policy. Clifford Sifton, as Minister of Immigration, wanted "the stalwart peasant in the sheepskin coat" to settle and develop western Canada and these were the people who were recruited as immigrants. Many of the grandparents and parents of present day Winnipeg Jews were dispersed among these European immigrants. With the arrival of these two groups of East European Jews⁷ the

⁷One additional group of Jewish immigrants came to Winnipeg, but this group came following World War Two and they were quickly assimilated into the existing community.

Winnipeg Jewish community began to establish itself. At this time it is important to mention the culture these people brought with them.

These Jewish immigrants brought with them the "shtetl culture"⁸ of the East European Jew. By and large the immigrants were Conservative Jews and this led to a clash with a few of the pre-1882 residents who were Reform Jews⁹ (Herstein 1964:10-11). Other cultural traits included emphases placed on learning, intellectual achievement, and recognition of individual talent and responsibility (Strodtbeck (1958: 149). Also of importance was adult male egalitarianism, reflected in a belief that all adult males had the same potential for achievement (Mandelbaum 1958:511-512). This is not meant to imply that "shtetl culture" was not stratified, but that stratification was based for the most part on achieved rather than on ascribed criteria. For example, a scholar was evaluated on the basis of his knowledge rather than on the basis of family connections. Finally, next to kinsmen it was "shtetl mates" who formed the strongest social bonds (Strodtbeck 1958:151). If a man

⁸A "shtetl" is a small town or village.

⁹It is important to point out that many Jewish communities are not as idyllic as has occasionally been suggested. In fact there is quite often disagreement and occasionally strife in the community. Those who see a Jewish community as an example of a perfectly integrated group are deluding themselves.

needed help there would be provisions made for him in his own or a neighbouring "shtetl." There are indications that this pattern was prominent among American Jewish immigrants from the "shtetl" since many philanthropies were established by these people to provide for other Jewish immigrants to America from the "shtetl." In Winnipeg there was the establishment of the Jewish Relief in 1882 and the Montefiore Hebrew Benevolent Society in 1884 to aid the victims of the 'pogroms' (Herstein 1964:17-18). Thus "shtetl culture" was a lifelong involvement for the East European Jew who migrated to Winnipeg from the "shtetl."¹⁰ In summary, the emphases in "shtetl culture" were intellectual achievement, egalitarianism for all adult Jewish males, and complete cultural involvement and affiliation.

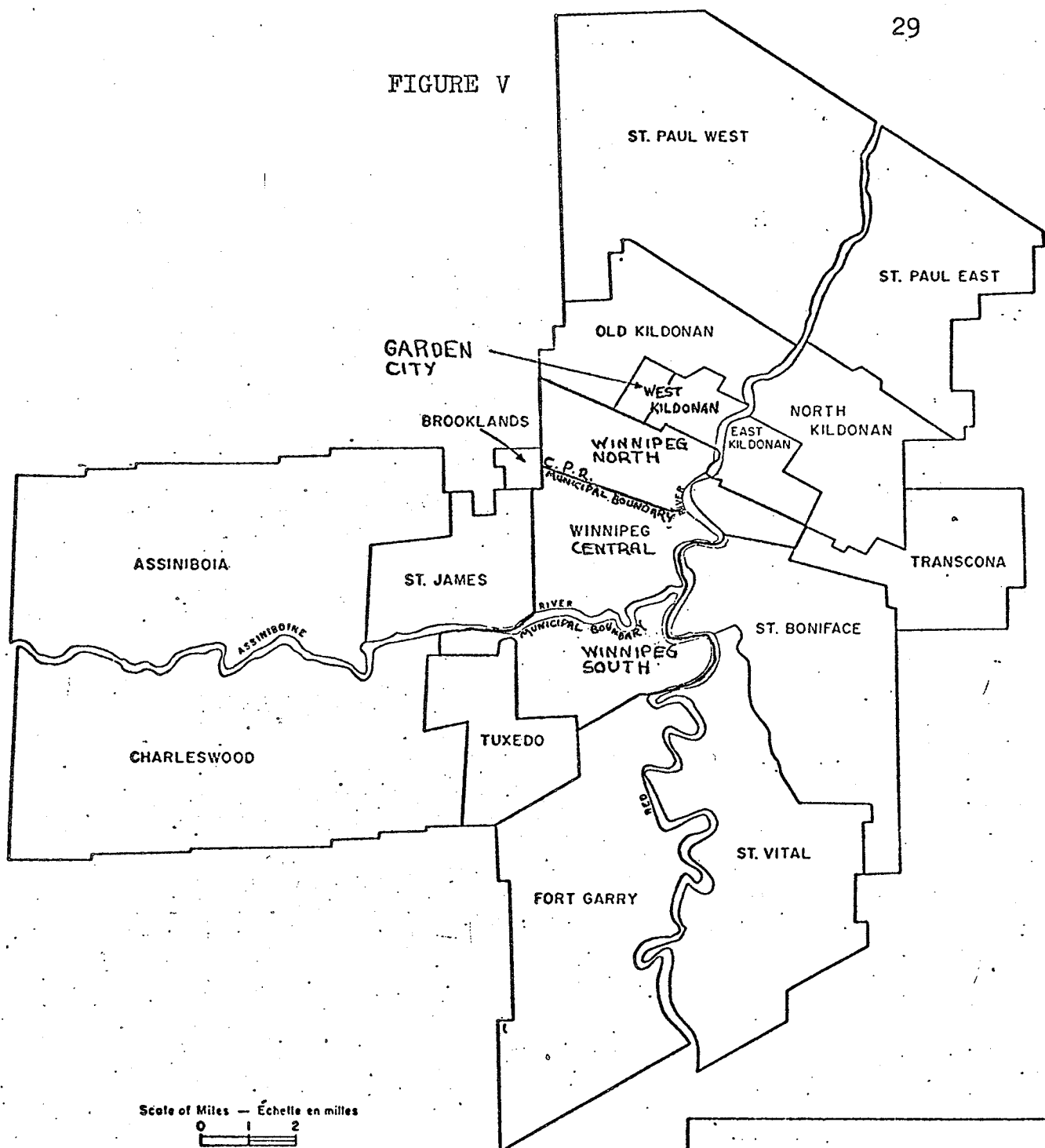
The Jews of Winnipeg Today¹¹

Most of the post-1882 Jewish immigrants settled in Winnipeg North (see Figure V). The population reached its peak in this area in the early 1930's (see Table I). After this time a number of Jews began to move across the Assiniboine River to Winnipeg South (see Figure V) (see Table I). Since 1950 there has been a steady decline in the Jewish

¹⁰This does not mean that an individual could not leave the "shtetl;" of course he could, but those who lived in the "shtetl" acted in this manner.

¹¹This section is based heavily on Driben (1969).

FIGURE V



Scale of Miles — Échelle en milles



CENSUS METROPOLITAN AREA OF WINNIPEG	RÉGION MÉTROPOLITAINE DE RECENSEMENT DE WINNIPEG
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TABLE I
NUMERICAL DISTRIBUTION OF JEWISH POPULATION
OF GREATER WINNIPEG: 1881-1961^a

	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961
Winnipeg North		506	1,023			15,283	14,718	12,758	6,693
Winnipeg Central		135	133			828	825	547	395
Winnipeg South		4	-			1,125	1,484	2,654	5,484
City of Winnipeg	21	645	1,156	9,023	14,449	17,236	17,027	15,959	12,582
West Kildonan			19	300	165	114	100	2,141	6,133
Old Kildonan						50	21	10	16
East Kildonan					25	29	57	147	184
North Kildonan						12	14	5	9
St. James				10	52	35	22	24	131
St. Boniface				53	95	65	94	93	88
St. Vital				22	1	31	27	64	55
Transcona					46	48	46	37	36
Fort Garry					4	9	14	22	45
Assiniboia						6	4	1	13
Charleswood						6	9	6	4
St. Paul East							5	1	4
St. Paul West								3	1
Tuxedo						8	1	1	65
Greater Winnipeg	21	645	1,175	9,408	14,837	17,672	17,453	18,518	19,376

^aCompiled from Rosenberg 1946:10-14; and Rosenberg n.d.:7 (Reproduced from Herstein 1964:186)

population of Winnipeg North (see Table I). By and large the Jews in this area have been moving to the West Kildonan area (see Figure V) which has more than doubled its Jewish population in the ten year period 1951-1961 (see Table I). This is all the more striking when one realizes that during the same period the Jewish population of Greater Winnipeg increased by less than 1,000 (see Table I). As of 1961 the Jewish population of Greater Winnipeg numbered 19,376 (see Table I).

A number of characteristics of the Winnipeg Jewish community have been examined in a sample of Jewish adolescents from the Greater Winnipeg area.¹² These adolescents (14 females and 13 males) with a mean age of 16.9 years (range 15 to 20) were members of Habonim--a Jewish youth group. Officially Habonim is a Zionist¹³ youth organization which holds its meetings Saturday nights. It is a loosely constituted body and although it is officially Zionist most of its activities are social rather than political. The adolescents agreed to discuss their personal beliefs and what they thought their parents believed about religious

¹²It is to be noted that these adolescents were not the group who were tested for n-achievement and compared with the Ojibwa children. The purpose of inserting this material at this time is to provide some information about the present day Winnipeg Jewish community.

¹³Zionism is " . . . a movement for colonization in Palestine and formation of a national Jewish home there (Herstein 1964:11).

homogeneity, community endogamy, and out-group/in-group stereotypes. Although this sample is small and select it provides at least some indication of the thinking of Jewish adolescents living in various areas of Greater Winnipeg. In residential terms almost all of the adolescents were distributed fairly evenly in the three most densely populated Jewish areas of Greater Winnipeg--Winnipeg North, Winnipeg South, and West Kildonan (see Table II). This means that the sample did not simply reflect the views of a single residential area in Greater Winnipeg.

TABLE II

RESIDENTIAL DISTRIBUTION OF ADOLESCENT RESPONDENTS

Area	Number	Percentage
Winnipeg North	8	33.3%
Winnipeg South	6	25.0
Winnipeg Central	2	8.3
City of Winnipeg	16	66.6%
West Kildonan		
Old Kildonan		
East Kildonan		
North Kildonan		
St. James		
St. Boniface		
St. Vital	1	4.2
Transcona		
Fort Garry		
Assiniboia		
Charleswood		
St. Paul East		
St. Paul West		
Tuxedo	1	4.2
Greater Winnipeg	24	100.0%

Although there were no Orthodox adolescents in the sample there was a definite range of variation in religion with the extremes being religious and non-religious (see Table III). The range of variation in religion among the

TABLE III
RELIGIOUS SELF-PERCEPTION BY JEWISH ADOLESCENTS

	Consider self to be religious		Consider self not to be religious	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Jewish males (13)	7/13	54%	6/13	46%
Jewish females (14)	4/14	29%	10/14	71%
Sample total (27)	11/27	42%	16/27	58%

Jews of Winnipeg runs the full gamut from Orthodox¹⁴ to Conservative to Reform to non-religious. Nevertheless, within this variation there is cultural homogeneity in the sense that to many Winnipeg Jews religion is part of a historic tradition rather than a concern with the supernatural world. This historic tradition unites the group so that even Jews who are not concerned with the supernatural world are regarded

¹⁴There are fewer Orthodox Jews in Winnipeg today than in the past.

as members of the community. In other words, it is generally held in the community that any Jew be he Orthodox, Conservative, Reform, or even non-religious is much closer in cultural terms than any non-Jew. "After all" one adolescent remarked, "blood is thicker than water."

The adolescents were also questioned about their own and their parents' opinions about marriage preferences. There was an almost unanimous preference among the adolescents for their children to marry Jews (see Table IV). This

TABLE IV
FUTURE JEWISH PARENTS MARRIAGE PREFERENCES

	Prefer child to marry a Jew		No preference		Prefer child not to marry a Jew	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Future fathers (13)	11/13	85%	2/13	15%	0/13	0%
Future mothers (14)	14/14	100%	0/14	0%	0/14	0%
Future parents (27)	25/27	93%	2/27	7%	0/27	0%

data is striking in its similarity to data pertaining to the preferences of the fathers and mothers of these adolescents

TABLE V
CONTEMPORARY AND FUTURE JEWISH FATHER
MARRIAGE PREFERENCES

	Prefer the son to marry a Jewess		No preference for the son		Prefer the son not to marry a Jewess		Prefer the daughter to marry a Jew		No preference for the daughter		Prefer the daughter not to marry a Jew	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Contemporary fathers (27)	12/13	92	1/13	8	0/13	0	12/14	86	2/14	14	0/14	0
Future fathers (13)	11/13	85	2/13	15	0/13	0	11/13	85	2/13	15	0/13	0

TABLE VI
CONTEMPORARY AND FUTURE JEWISH MOTHER
MARRIAGE PREFERENCES

	Prefer the son to marry a Jewess		No preference for the son		Prefer the son not to marry a Jewess		Prefer the daughter to marry a Jew		No preference for the daughter		Prefer the daughter not to marry a Jew	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Contemporary mothers (27)	13/13	100	0/13	0	0/13	0	14/14	100	0/14	0	0/14	0
Future mothers (14)	14/14	100	0/14	0	0/14	0	14/14	100	0/14	0	0/14	0

(see Tables V and VI). Seidler and Ravitz (1955:14) suggest that the rate of intermarriage for American Jews does not exceed five per cent. The data collected from this sample suggests that the same general pattern may prevail in Winnipeg.

Out-group/in-group stereotypes were examined among the adolescents in terms of perceived physical and occupational stereotypes of Jews. It is apparent that the Jewish adolescents do not perceive Jews as differing physically from non-Jews (see Table VII). They did, however, indicate

TABLE VII

OUT-GROUP/IN-GROUP DISTINCTION IN TERMS OF PHYSICAL
DIFFERENCES AS PERCEIVED BY JEWS

	Belief that Jews differ physically from non-Jews		Belief that Jews do not differ physically from non-Jews	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Jewish males (13)	0/13	0%	13/13	100%
Jewish females (14)	3/14	22%	11/14	78%
Sample total (27)	3/27	11%	24/27	89%

that they felt non-Jews perceived Jews as being physically different (see Table VIII). As to occupational capability the Jewish adolescents felt that Jews were more capable of

TABLE VIII

OUT-GROUP/IN-GROUP DISTINCTION IN TERMS OF PHYSICAL
DIFFERENCES AS JEWS PERCEIVE NON-JEWS OF PERCEIVING

	Belief that Jews differ physically from non-Jews		Belief that Jews do not differ physically from non-Jews	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Jewish males (13)	6/13	46%	7/13	54%
Jewish females (14)	8/14	57%	6/14	43%
Sample total (27)	14/27	52%	13/27	48%

becoming professionals, businessmen, agricultural workers, and factory workers respectively than non-Jews (see Table IX). They also felt that non-Jews stereotyped Jews as more capable of participating in these occupational categories than non-Jews (see Table X). According to this data it may be suggested that out-group/in-group stereotypes are probably most intense in terms of Jewish beliefs about non-Jewish perceptions. On the basis of the data presented in this section it appears that religious homogeneity in the sense of a common history and background, community endogamy, and out-group/in-group stereotypes distinguish the Jews of Winnipeg as a separate community.

TABLE IX

OUT-GROUP/IN-GROUP DISTINCTION IN TERMS OF OCCUPATIONAL
DIFFERENCES AS PERCEIVED BY JEWS

	Belief that Jews are more capable of becoming professionals		Belief that Jews are more capable of becoming businessmen		Belief that Jews are more capable of becoming factory workers		Belief that Jews are more capable of becoming agricultural workers	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Jewish males (13)	6/13	46%	5/13	38%	4/13	41%	5/13	38%
Jewish females (14)	7/14	50%	6/14	43%	3/14	29%	4/14	21%
Sample total (27)	13/27	48%	11/27	40%	7/27	26%	9/27	33%

TABLE X

OUT-GROUP/IN-GROUP DISTINCTION IN TERMS OF OCCUPATIONAL
DIFFERENCES AS JEWS PERCEIVE NON-JEWS OF PERCEIVING

	Belief that Jews are more capable of becoming professionals		Belief that Jews are more capable of becoming businessmen		Belief that Jews are more capable of becoming factory workers		Belief that Jews are more capable of becoming agricultural workers	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Jewish males (13)	8/13	62%	10/13	77%	4/13	31%	4/13	31%
Jewish females (14)	7/14	50%	10/14	71%	2/14	14%	3/14	21%
Sample total (27)	15/27	56%	20/27	74%	6/27	22%	7/27	26%

CHAPTER III

METHOD AND RESULTS

I. METHOD

Fieldwork

Fieldwork in Gull Valley was undertaken in July and August 1968. Previous arrangements had been made with the Chief so that the residents knew I was to arrive in early July and conduct anthropological research throughout the summer. Gull Valley was not chosen for study on a random basis, but because personal contacts made it convenient to do so. Fieldwork in the Winnipeg Jewish community has been in the form of a lifelong socialization since I am a member of this community, and on the basis of sampling a small group of adolescents and parochial school children.

Informants

Informants in this study were adult members of the Winnipeg Jewish community and Gull Valley community. Informants were not chosen for study on a random basis, but because they expressed interest in this research project when told of it and were willing to supply the ethnographer with information in informal as well as formal interview situations. The Chief of Gull Valley, who was generally respected by both Ojibwa and Whites in the surrounding area, acted as a key

informant. A counsellor on the Reserve also provided valuable information. This person was less respected than the Chief in the surrounding area.

Sampling

This thesis reports findings on 27 Jewish boys (N=9) and girls (N=18), with a mean age of 9.5 years (range 8 to 10) and 20 Ojibwa boys (N=14) and girls (N=6) with a mean age of 10.4 years (range 8 to 14). The 27 Jewish children were selected from a grade four classroom in the I.L. Peretz Folk School in Winnipeg North. This is a private Jewish school with a total enrolment of 410 children from kindergarten through grade six as of 1963 (Herstein 1964:193). The curriculum includes half day instruction in an English program of studies and half day instruction in Jewish history, Jewish culture, and the Yiddish language. This is a secular rather than a religious school and is to be distinguished from Hebrew shcools largely on the basis of language. Since transportation, fee schedules, and curriculum in Jewish history and culture are very similar in both the Jewish and Hebrew schools in Winnipeg, parents usually choose one of these two types of schools on the basis of whether they wish their children to learn the Yiddish or Hebrew language.¹⁵

¹⁵Herstein (1964:48-95) comments in depth on the difference between Jewish and Hebrew schools in Winnipeg.

The 20 Ojibwa children were selected from a Presbyterian summer school run annually by the local Presbyterian minister at Gull Valley. This school had an enrolment of approximately 40 students and lasted for one week during the latter part of the summer. Instruction was given in religion and other subjects including arts and crafts. All residents of Gull Valley with whom the ethnographer had contact spoke highly of this summer school. Both samples were selected with the practical considerations of availability and cooperativeness in mind and therefore are not random. It was convenient to test both groups of children in the school setting as it was one of the only occasions when many of the children from either community gathered together. It also afforded the investigator the opportunity to administer the sentence completion test to the children under similar conditions.

Materials

Projective tests have been validated and used successfully in cross-cultural studies of achievement (cf. Hayashi and Habu 1962; Tedeschi and Kian 1962). The sentence completion test has met with considerable success since it presents stimuli to the subject which are not culture bound. For example, a picture of a boy and his pet dog sitting on the porch presented to a subject who lives in a culture in which pet dogs and porches are not part of the cultural milieu, is liable to elicit no fantasy response in terms of

personal experiences from that subject. The advantage of a verbal stimuli such as "A mother and her son--they look frightened." is that it presents a situation that can be found in any culture (McClelland et al. 1953:171-172). A slightly modified version of Lowell's Incomplete Sentence Test (McClelland et al. 1953:169) was used to elicit fantasy responses from the samples of Jewish and Ojibwa children.¹⁶ The test consists of the following eight incomplete sentences: (1) "A mother and her son--he looks frightened." (2) "Two men looking at something--one is older." (3) "A boy has just left his home." (4) "A husband and wife alone together." (5) "A father and his son are talking--the father is angry." (6) "Brothers and sisters playing--one is unhappy." (7) "A man alone at night." (8) "A boy with his head resting on his hands." Following the presentation of each sentence four questions were asked: (1) "What is happening?" (2) "What happened before?" (3) "What is being thought or wanted?" (4) "What will happen?"

¹⁶The original incomplete sentences read: "A mother and her son--they look frightened." "Two men looking at something--one is older." "A boy has just left his home." "A wife with her head on her husband's shoulder." "A father and his son are talking seriously." "Brothers and sisters playing--one is a little ahead of the others." "A man alone at night." "A boy with his head resting on his hands." (McClelland et al. 1953:169).

Administration

Each child responded to the test with only the ethnographer present. Preceding the test each child was given the following instructions:

What I have for you today is a sort of game. I'm interested in storytelling and I'd like you to tell some stories. It would be hard to make up stories about just anything, so I'm going to tell you what to make up a story about. I'll give you an idea and you tell me a story about it. Make up a real story with a beginning and an end just like the ones you read. Tell me as much about your story as you can, and I'll write down what you say. [Do you want to ask me any questions? OK! Let's start.] (Winterbottom 1958:459-460).

Content Analysis for n-Achievement

The gross result of administering the sentence completion test to each child is eight fantasy response stories, that is, one story per incomplete sentence. Taken together these eight stories comprise one protocol. Therefore, each child has a single protocol consisting of eight fantasy response stories. To refine these gross results a scoring technique for the achievement motive has been developed for the content analysis of these fantasy response stories (McClelland et al. 1953:107-138). The following considerations are taken into account: (1) A story is judged to contain achievement imagery (AI) if there is an indication of: (a) competition with a standard of excellence; (b) a unique accomplishment; or, (c) long term involvement. (2) If a story contains achievement imagery (AI) it is then scored

for the following subcategories: (a) an indication of need in goal-seeking behavior scored (N); (b) an indication of anticipating success or failure in goal-seeking behavior scored (Ga+) and (Ga-) respectively; (c) an indication of instrumental goal-seeking behavior scored (I) leading to attainment of the goal or the non-attainment of the goal scored (I+) and (I-) respectively; (d) an indication of obstacles blocking goal-seeking behavior scored (Bp) if they are a result of personal defects and (Bw) if they are a result of defects in the world at large; (e) an indication of help or sympathy in goal-seeking behavior scored (Nup); (f) an indication of positive or negative affect in goal attainment scored (G+) and (G-) respectively; and, (g) an indication that achievement is the central theme in the story scored (Ach Th) (McClelland et al. 1953:107-138).

(3) Each supporting subcategory may be scored only once in a single story that contains achievement imagery (AI). (4) If a story contains doubtful imagery (TI) or unrelated imagery (UI) then it is not scored for any of the supporting subcategories. By way of validating and evaluating this technique, independent analysts have realized correlations of agreement ranging from .80 to .84 (Feld and Smith 1958:239). One male and one female judge were trained in this scoring technique and analyzed the children's fantasy responses in the present study. Their percentage of agreement based on the total number of stories in both groups (N=376) was 69 per

cent. A story was counted as containing achievement imagery (AI) only if there was agreement between both judges.

Content Analysis for n-Affiliation

A scoring technique for the affiliation motive, which is defined as a " . . . concern . . . over establishing, maintaining, or restoring a positive affective relationship with another person" (Heyns, Veroff and Atkinson 1958:205) has also been developed for the content analysis of fantasy response stories (Heyns, Veroff and Atkinson 1958:205-218). The following considerations are taken into account: (1) A story is judged to contain affiliation imagery (Aff Im) if there is an indication of: (a) a relationship of friendship; (b) an emotional reaction to the breakup of an interpersonal relationship; or, (c) a non-obligatory concern over companionate activities. (2) If a story contains affiliation imagery (Aff Im) it is then scored for the following sub-categories: (a) an indication of a need for a friendly or accepting relationship with others scored (N); (b) an indication of anticipation of success or failure in an affiliative relationship or activity scored (Ga+) and (Ga-) respectively; (c) an indication of instrumental activity directed towards establishing, maintaining, or restoring an affiliative relationship scored (I+) if successful, (I-) if unsuccessful, and (I?) if success cannot be determined from the information available; (d) an indication of obstacles blocking

affiliative relationships scored (Bp) if they are a result of personal defects and (Bw) if they are a result of defects in the world at large; (e) an indication of positive or negative affect resulting from affiliation scored (G+) and (G-) respectively; and (f) an indication that affiliation is the central theme in the story scored (Aff Th) (Heyns, Veroff and Atkinson 1958:205-218). (3) Each supporting subcategory may be scored only once in a single story that contains affiliation imagery (Aff Im). (4) If a story contains doubtful imagery (TI) or unrelated imagery (UI) then it is not scored for any of the supporting subcategories. The author and his wife were trained in this scoring technique and analyzed the children's fantasy responses in the present study. Their percentage of agreement based on the total number of stories in both groups (N=376) was 86 per cent. A story was counted as containing affiliation imagery (Aff Im) only if there was agreement between both judges.

II. RESULTS

The content analysis for n-achievement indicates that there is no statistically significant difference ($.50 > P > .30$) in the frequency of protocols containing stories scored for n-achievement for the two groups of children (see Table XI). It appears that the sample of Jewish children does not display a significantly higher level of n-achievement than its Ojibwa counterpart. However, these results

TABLE XI

FREQUENCY OF PROTOCOLS CONTAINING STORIES SCORED FOR
N-ACHIEVEMENT FOR JEWISH AND OJIBWA CHILDREN

N	Jewish 27	Ojibwa 20
Total protocols	27	20
Frequency of protocols ^a containing stories scored for n-achievement	5	1
$\chi^2 = .86186$		
(.50 > P > .30)		

^aA chi-square distribution with a Yates correction factor was used to test for significance.

must be qualified. On the one hand, the samples in this study are quite small--27 Jewish children and 20 Ojibwa children--and in this respect the test of significance is of limited value. In addition, the test of significance is restricted as there is a very low frequency of protocols containing stories scored for n-achievement in both samples--5 Jewish protocols and 1 Ojibwa protocol. Finally, the test of significance does not take the supporting subcategories for n-achievement into account. In the single Ojibwa protocol containing a story scored for n-achievement the supporting subcategory (N) was scored (see Appendix I). In three of the

five Jewish protocols containing stories scored for n-achievement the supporting subcategory (N) was scored as well (see Appendix I).

The content analysis for n-affiliation indicates that there is no statistically significant different ($.50 > P > .30$) in the frequency of protocols containing stories scored for n-affiliation for the two groups of children (see Table XII). As in the case of n-achievement the Jewish

TABLE XII

FREQUENCY OF PROTOCOLS CONTAINING STORIES SCORED FOR
N-AFFILIATION FOR JEWISH AND OJIBWA CHILDREN

N	Jewish 27	Ojibwa 20
Total protocols	27	20
Frequency of protocols ^a containing stories scored for n-affiliation	12	6
$\chi^2 = .49525$ ($.50 > P > .30$)		

^aA chi-square distribution with a Yates correction factor was used to test for significance.

sample does not display a significantly higher level of n-affiliation than the Ojibwa sample. Nevertheless, these results may also be qualified on the basis of small samples

and not taking the supporting subcategories for n-affiliation into account in the scoring.¹⁷

¹⁷Please see Appendix II for the supporting subcategories scored for the affiliation motive in the Jewish and Ojibwa samples.

CHAPTER IV

N-ACHIEVEMENT AND THE ASSOCIATED VARIABLES

It has already been mentioned that certain beliefs and values, patterns of child rearing, and social mobility are associated with the achievement motive. An important issue which must be considered at this time is the relationship of these observed and deduced variables to the test results.

I. THE CULTURAL VARIABLES

The first class of variables to be considered are the cultural variables including: (a) a cultural value orientation emphasizing long term goals; (b) a cultural value orientation emphasizing competition with standards of excellence; and (c) a cultural value orientation emphasizing self-reliance. It is partly in terms of different patterns of thought and action that different personality development takes place. Consequently, these variables play an important part in the development of the achievement motive in children and the initiation of achieving patterns of behavior in children and adults. It follows that the consistency of the test results with these variables is an important issue in this thesis.

Long Term Goals

McClelland et al. (1953:113) have defined a cultural value orientation emphasizing long term goals as an integral part of a high level of n-achievement. The rationale is that a culture which emphasizes long term goals will be most likely to encourage the individual to postpone immediate gratifications, and believe that he can manipulate the social and physical environment to his own advantage (Rosen 1958: 501-502; Mischel 1961). For example, certain occupational roles such as becoming a doctor, a lawyer, or a shaman necessarily involve long term goals because of the length of time that must be spent in training. Therefore, it has been proposed that the encouragement of long term goals is usually indicative of a high level of n-achievement in a culture. Persistent performance, which has been positively correlated with a high level of n-achievement (Weiner 1967), is usually a necessary part of achieving long term goals and was consequently regarded as an indicator of this cultural value orientation in Gull Valley.

At the time this investigation was being carried out there were two crews of Gull Valley workers building houses on the Reserve. This setting offered an especially good opportunity to assess work performance among some of the residents. In general, both crews worked on the houses in an irregular fashion. There was only one leader in each crew

who worked in a fairly steady manner. Other workers, including women and children, attached themselves to the crews in a haphazard fashion coming and going as the spirit moved them. Sporadic performance characterized the working patterns of other residents of Gull Valley as well. It was noted that most of the Ojibwa men who worked for the local White farmers in the summer did so for only a few days at a time, preferring alternatively to work intensively and then relax.

Sporadic performance was not an uncommon pattern in the traditional culture of the Ojibwa. Honigmann (1961:124) points out that in the world-view of hunting peoples there was no real conceptualization of an individual as being able to control either the physical or the social environment. Interaction with the environment was believed to be mediated by the spirit world for most hunters, and this may have lead to uncertainty and indecisiveness rather than to an emphasis on individual achievement. Fridel (1956) contends that uncertainty was a key aspect of traditional Ojibwa culture. She suggests that the unpredictable environment, the relative isolation of the family in winter, and the dependence on the spirit world all contributed to the "non-creative" Ojibwa personality. This Ojibwa personality generally opted for immediate action and short term goals (Fridel 1956:817) and is not in keeping with a cultural value orientation emphasizing

long term goals. This data on sporadic performance supports the test results indicating a low level of n-achievement for the Ojibwa sample. Long term goals were not traditionally, and are not presently a cultural value orientation of the Gull Valley Ojibwa.

A keen interest in education has been positively correlated with a relatively high level of n-achievement (Weiner 1967). This type of interest usually implies long term goals such as graduating from university or high school, and was regarded as an indicator of long term goals in both Gull Valley and the Winnipeg Jewish community. In Gull Valley there was a genuine concern on the part of a few adults that the non-adult members of the community secure enough formal education to compete with non-Ojibwa individuals in the larger Canadian society. In spite of these few exceptions, the overwhelming majority of the Ojibwa adults in Gull Valley cared little about educational matters. This attitude was reflected in the behavior of the students from Gull Valley who attended the integrated school¹⁸ in the nearby town. The principal of this school offered the following observation on Ojibwa educational interest:

At first, the Saulteaux children are just as interested in school as the rest of the children.

¹⁸This school has been integrated since the early 1950's.

Some of these children are quite intelligent, but their interest drops off in drastic fashion around grade ten. We try to council these children, but have had no success so far.

In fact, only one of the 285 residents of Gull Valley had any real plans to go to college. He was a married man in his mid-twenties who had grown to maturity on the Reserve, but has been living in Winnipeg for the last three years. He registered as a part-time student at the University of Manitoba in the fall of the academic year 1968-1969. These data lend further support to the test results and to the notion that long term goals are not a cultural value orientation of the Gull Valley Ojibwa.

In the Winnipeg Jewish community, on the other hand, a major emphasis is placed on learning and intellectual achievement. Books are commonplace in Jewish homes and informal discussions often center on who is taking what course of studies at which institution, and who has won scholarships and fellowships. Bragging by parents often takes the form of how well a child is doing in school. Informants were reluctant to stress one academic field as being more important than others for Jewish students, but they did indicate that a Jewish student should continue on in school as long as possible. A fairly good indicator of this strong educational interest is the number of private Jewish schools being financially supported by the Jewish population of Winnipeg. As of 1963 no less than five private Jewish schools were being

supported by a population of approximately 20,000 (Herstein 1964:203) (see Table XIII).

This emphasis on learning and intellectual achievement is consistent with the East European "shtetl culture" background of most Winnipeg Jews. In the "shtetl" a man was encouraged to learn for the sake of being able to master the environment (Zborowski and Herzog 1952:88-104). The learned man was the most respected man in the "shtetl" while the man without learning was the most despised (Zborowski and Herzog 1952:80-81). Both traditionally and in the contemporary setting these data point to long term goals as an important cultural value orientation of the Jews of Winnipeg.

Competition with Standards of Excellence

A cultural value orientation emphasizing competition with standards of excellence has also been defined as an integral part of a high level of achievement (McClelland et al. 1953:112). The rationale is that a culture which emphasizes competition with standards of excellence will be most likely to encourage the individual to believe that a moderate amount of risk-taking in competitive activities is rewarding, while a high degree of certainty or uncertainty in competitive activities is unrewarding. For example, business activity in Western culture necessarily involves a moderate amount of risk-taking in competitive activities in accord with the laws of supply and demand (McClelland 1965a).

TABLE 1
DATA ON EDUCATION IN THE WINNIPEG
JEWISH COMMUNITY IN 1963^a

School	Enrolment			Number of Teachers			
	Total	Day School		English		Jewish	
		Number	Per Cent	Full time	Part time	Full time	Part time
Talmud Torah	600	430	71%	6	10	10	6
Peretz School	400	260	65%	3	7	8	5
Rosh Pina	225	20	10%	1		4	
Shaary Zedek	800	125	15%	3	8	13	17
Herzlia	200	82	41% ^b				
Total	2,225	917	42%	13	25	35	28

^aReproduced from Herstein (1964:203).

^bTotals for the Ramah School--Shaary Zedek and Herzlia schools combined.

Therefore, it has been proposed that a cultural value orientation emphasizing competition with standards of excellence is usually indicative of a high level of n-achievement in a culture.

A number of investigations (McClelland 1955c; 1961; 1965a; Morgan 1964) have established a positive correlation between entrepreneurial activity and a relatively high level of n-achievement. Therefore, a moderate amount of risk-taking involved in entrepreneurial activity was regarded as an indicator of competition with standards of excellence in both Gull Valley and the Winnipeg Jewish community.

As far as the present study was able to determine, there was an extremely low level of moderate risk-taking in business activity in Gull Valley. The outward trappings of entrepreneurial activity such as automobiles, television sets, electrical appliances, and other material attributes were pointed to with considerable pride by members of the community. These items, however, were acquired for the most part by means of a fixed annual income in the form of a land rental fee, rather than by entrepreneurial activity. It was not that the opportunity for entrepreneurial activity was lacking, for every family living on the Reserve owned rich farmland. Nevertheless, no member of Gull Valley worked his own land which was, without exception, rented at a fixed annual rate rather than on the basis of a crop yield per year which,

because it fluctuates has elements of moderate risk-taking.

This pattern is in keeping with traditional Ojibwa culture in which, because of the uncertainties of survival, sharing and cooperation were emphasized at the expense of competition (Landes 1961:125-125; Fridel 1956:819). After all, highly competitive activities could easily evoke the wrath of an individual who might enlist the services of a sorcerer to punish the offender. These data support the test results as competition with standards of excellence was not traditionally and is not presently, as indicated by entrepreneurial activity, a cultural value orientation of the Gull Valley Ojibwa.

One of the more common stereotypes of the Jew is as an entrepreneur. This stereotype may be empirically tenable. According to Porter (1961:493), more Jews are involved in entrepreneurial activity on a per capita basis than any other ethnic or religious group in Canada--excluding English-speaking Canadians of British birth. Using 1951 census data Chiel (1967:67) shows an occupational distribution with most Manitoba Jews classed as businessmen, then factory workers and owners, then clerks, managers, secretaries, and bookkeepers, then professionals, and finally those individuals involved in service occupations and construction. Today, informants emphasize that a young man should follow a business or professional career if he wishes to be successful. Recalling

that Jews from the "shtetl" were more or less limited to entrepreneurial activity because of restrictions in agriculture (Wagley and Harris 1958:208-209), it is possible that this occupational pattern has persisted to the present day. This pattern is not in keeping with the test results indicating a relatively low level of n-achievement for the Jewish sample despite historical and contemporary entrepreneurial cultural values.

Self-reliance

McClelland (1961:129) has proposed that self-reliance is a cultural value orientation which promotes the development of a high level of n-achievement. Self-indulgence on the other hand, inhibits the development of a high level of n-achievement. The rationale is that a culture which emphasizes self-reliance is most likely to encourage the individual to believe that he can achieve goals on the basis of his own qualifications, whereas a culture which emphasizes self-indulgence is most likely to encourage the individual to believe that he is dependent on others to help him achieve goals.

Excessive consumption of alcohol has been suggested as an indicator of self-indulgence (Hamer 1965), and was consequently regarded as an indicator of this cultural value orientation in both Gull Valley and the Winnipeg Jewish community. It was reported by a number of informants, and in

many cases verified by observation, that almost all adult male and female residents of Gull Valley drank regularly--in many cases daily. It was noted that teenagers would occasionally indulge themselves as well. The local liquor vendor explained that the people of Gull Valley usually bought two "mickies" (a 13 oz. bottle) or four "six-packs" (6 bottles of beer) rather than a "26" (a 26 oz. bottle) or a "24" (24 bottles of beer). On a few occasions it was noted that drinking would begin when an individual opened up a "mickey." The bottle would then be passed around from person to person and each would have a drink. While this single bottle was being consumed no other bottle would be brought out and opened, but when the first was finished another would be opened. At first it appeared that only a certain amount would be shared, but in the long run drinking would continue until the individuals were incapacitated or until the total supply of money or alcohol ran out.¹⁹

Although the evidence is mixed self-indulgence may have been a traditional pattern among the Ojibwa.²⁰ It is

¹⁹The consumption of beer in the beverage rooms followed Euro-American norms.

²⁰For the counter argument that the Ojibwa were traditionally self-reliant please see Barry, Bacon, and Child (1959) and Cohen and VanStone (1963).

possible that self-reliance was extremely difficult in the face of uncertain survival in an atmosphere of threats of sorcery and environmental difficulties. Sharing and spirit helpers, as mechanisms of self-indulgence, may have been very important in protecting the individual from these cultural pressures and uncertainties. It may be concluded that at least the contemporary data pertaining to self-indulgence support the test results indicating a low level of n-achievement for the Ojibwa sample. As indicated by the consumption of alcohol, self-indulgence is presently a cultural value orientation of the Gull Valley Ojibwa.

Unfortunately direct interview and observational data pertaining to the consumption of alcohol among the Jews of Winnipeg is limited. This pattern, however, has been studied among Jews in other North American centers (Snyder 1958; Glazer 1952). The results of these studies indicate that there are many false opinions about drinking in Jewish communities. Snyder (1958:85) explains that contrary to popular stereotypes of Jews as abstainers or superhumans who are impervious to the effects of alcohol, there is a definite range of variation in drinking patterns and intoxication among American Jews. In contrast to Gull Valley, though, heavy drinking is not a characteristic norm in these communities. Wine is used a great deal in ceremonies, but Jews generally associate drunkenness with Gentiles and sobriety

with Jews. This was true in the "shtetl" as well (Snyder 1962:223). These data are not conclusive, but as they stand they are not in keeping with the test results indicating a relatively low level of n-achievement for the Jewish sample.

Using religion as an indicator of self-reliance, it is to be noted that the relationship of a Jew to God is tempered by self-reliance. According to Zborowski and Herzog (1952:212) a Jew " . . . has the right to expect and to request the rewards promised in return for living up to the conditions of the bargain [accepting the commandments]." In other words, the relationship of a Jew to God is largely on a contractual basis with obligations and duties prescribed for both parties with the individual being held responsible for his own actions. This is in sharp contrast to the traditional Ojibwa practise of seeking favor from the God(s) through intermediaries such as the shaman or spirit helpers. It appears that religious self-indulgence is not characteristic of Jews.

Aside from alcohol consumption and religion as indicators of self-reliance it should be noted that children of Jewish parents who have reached the top rungs of the occupational ladder are indulged to a certain extent. These children are often given toys and spending money by parents who missed out on such indulgences when they were children because their parents could not afford it. These data support

the Jewish sample test results.

II. THE CHILD REARING VARIABLES

The second class of variables to be considered are the child rearing variables including: (a) independence training; (b) achievement training; (c) authoritarian child training practices; and (d) identification with a like-sexed achieving parent. It is partly in terms of different learning experiences that different personality development takes place. Consequently, these variables play an important part in the development of the achievement motive in children and the initiation of achieving patterns of behavior in children and adults. It follows that the consistency of the test results with these variables is an important issue in this thesis.

Independence Training

Winterbottom (1958) has found that independence training, which means encouraging a child to take responsibility for his own decisions and actions, fosters the development of a high level of achievement. She reasons that if a child is encouraged to seek help and nurturance in problem solving then he will most likely feel incapable of solving problems on his own and remain dependent.

Independence training may have been intended as a child rearing norm in traditional Ojibwa culture. Great

demands were placed on the Ojibwa child at an early age. From birth children were encouraged to act as adults and accept adult responsibility. Little boys and girls were encouraged to imitate their fathers and mothers respectively (Landes 1961:117). Considerable trauma was associated with early child training, however, for children were taught to suppress aggressive and competitive impulses among others. This early trauma may have made for dependence rather than independence as these impulses were never properly sublimated in an acceptable form (Parker 1960:620; Wallace 1952:103).

As far as it was possible to ascertain in this study independence training was quite limited in the Gull Valley community. It was noted that very few demands were placed on the child at any age save caretaking of younger brothers and sisters on a rare occasion. In the majority of cases children were left to play amongst themselves at whatever amused them. Casual observation indicated that interaction between parents and children decreased proportionally with the increasing maturity of the latter. Boggs (1965) has established a similar pattern for another Ojibwa community.

It seems that there has been a certain degree of change in independence training among the Ojibwa. Whereas independence training was at least intended in the traditional culture, because of infrequent parent-child interaction this is no longer the case. The test results indicating a low

level of n-achievement for the Ojibwa sample are in keeping with present day independence training practices in Gull Valley.

Independence training was a characteristic pattern of child rearing in the traditional "shtetl culture" of the East European Jew (Zborowski 1955). Little boys and girls were expected and encouraged to imitate the activities of like-sexed adults. Children were even dressed to look like tiny replicas of adults (Zborowski and Herzog 1952:50).

Independence training continues to be carried out effectively among the present day Jews of Winnipeg. Mothers generally encourage children to do things for themselves rather than to wait and have things done for them. For example children are encouraged to learn things such as a new game on their own with only essential instruction. This historical and contemporary emphasis on independence training is not in keeping with the relatively low level of n-achievement obtained for the Jewish sample.

Achievement Training

Rosen and D'Andrade (1959) have found that achievement training which involves setting high standards of excellence for the child and allowing the child to compete and win, fosters the development of a high level of n-achievement. They reason that if the child is encouraged to believe that achievement behaviors fall within the behavioral

norms of his culture and are rewarded, then he will learn them as culturally preferred patterns of action.

According to Boggs (1956), standards of excellence and competition were not encouraged by traditional Ojibwa child rearing practices. Instead of setting high standards and allowing children to compete and win, children were taught that they were not to interfere with one another in face to face interaction because of possible reprisals from sorcerers (Boggs 1956:193). Casual observation in Gull Valley indicated that there has been little change over the years. It was noted that cooperation rather than competition was encouraged by parents and caretakers when the children were playing--especially when they were imitating adults in their play. Thus the test results indicating a low level of achievement are in keeping with the traditional and present day achievement training practices of the Gull Valley Ojibwa.

Socialization of standards of excellence and competitiveness were the norm for male children in the "shtetl culture" of the East European Jew. The young boy was sent off to school and was pitted against his peers. Standards of excellence were established by scholarly performances which were rewarded by community respect for the educated achiever (Zborowski and Herzog 1952:80-81). The Winnipeg Jewish community is not as isolated as the "shtetl" was in

Eastern Europe, and there is a considerable emphasis on association. This means that Jewish children are encouraged to associate with other Jewish children before they are encouraged to compete with each other. Nevertheless, the fact remains that they are encouraged to compete with each other. Although it may not be admitted by many members of the community, comparisons between children's achievements are the rule rather than the exception. Children's achievements in concerts, school competitions, and athletics are richly rewarded. Rewards usually take a more tangible form than the traditional respect of the "shtetl" such as toys or money, but respect is still an important part of reward. Therefore, the test results indicating a relatively low level of n-achievement for the Jewish sample are not in keeping with the traditional and present day achievement training practices of the Jews of Winnipeg.

Authoritarian Child Training

In an experiment, Nuttall (1964) demonstrated that authoritarian child training practices, including harsh treatment by parents, inhibit the development of a high level of n-achievement. This is because children who have authoritarian parents may, through yielding to parental demands, adopt yielding as a general pattern in life (McCandless 1961:388). Yielding is not consistent with achievement-oriented individuals who seek to compete rather

than to conform. Since fantasy responses to the sentence completion test are assumed to be a projection of personal experiences, it was felt that a fairly good index of authoritarian child training practices would be the frequency of protocols containing stories mentioning coercive parent-child interactions. These data indicate that there is a statistically significant difference ($.01 > P > .001$) in the frequency of these responses for the two groups with the Ojibwa sample obtaining the higher frequency (see Table XIV).

TABLE XIV

FREQUENCY OF PROTOCOLS CONTAINING STORIES MENTIONING
COERCIVE PARENT-CHILD INTERACTIONS FOR JEWISH AND
OJIBWA CHILDREN

N	Jewish 27	Ojibwa 20
Total protocols	27	20
Frequency of protocols ^a containing stories mentioning coercive parent-child interaction	3	12
$\chi^2 = 10.4880$		
$(.01 > P > .001)$		

^aA chi-square distribution with a Yates correction factor was used to test for significance.

The results are consistent with the low level of n-achievement for the Ojibwa sample, but are not consistent with the re-

latively low level of n-achievement for the Jewish sample

Identification with a Like-sexed Achieving Parent

Argyle and Robinson (1962) have demonstrated that a high level of n-achievement will develop in a situation wherein children are able to identify with a like-sexed achieving parent. This is because the like-sexed parent acts as a model which the child will try to emulate. It may be worthwhile to assume that Argyle and Robinson's findings may be generalized so that it could be expected a child would develop a high level of n-achievement in a situation wherein he could identify with any like-sexed achieving figure from the same community.²¹ It then becomes apparent that there are few, if any, such figures of identification for Ojibwa children from Gull Valley. In other words, there are no Ojibwa doctors, lawyers, teachers, or other prestige occupational types living in or near Gull Valley. Just the opposite is true for Jewish children from Winnipeg who can identify with a number of like-sexed Jewish achieving figures. In other words, there are many Jews in high prestige occupations living in Winnipeg. In the light of this data it is possible to suggest that a Jewish child from Winnipeg may well imagine himself or herself in a great

²¹Due to the relatively small size and internal consistency of both communities this assumption seems warranted especially for adult males who are quite visible, oftentimes kinsmen, or known to the children through personal contact or reputation.

number of achieving roles, but it may be well beyond the realm of imagination for an Ojibwa youngster from Gull Valley to do the same. Naturally this hypothesis requires much further examination before even tentative conclusions are advanced.

III. SOCIAL MOBILITY

N-achievement is closely associated with social mobility which provides a culturally acceptable outlet for achievement-oriented behaviors in Western culture. Questions of social mobility pose certain problems, however, for if they are to be asked they are best answered in terms of longitudinal studies. This means that the children who participated in the present study must be established in some permanent social roles before social mobility can be properly assessed. In spite of this difficulty, social mobility may be examined among the parents and grandparents of these children to gain some perspective in this matter.

A positive correlation has been established between a high level of n-achievement and upward occupational mobility (Crockett 1962; Burnstein 1963; Morgan 1964; Littig and Yeracaris 1965). For purposes of this thesis occupational mobility has been defined as a general measure of social mobility in Canada. Blishen's Socio-Economic Index (see

Appendix III) was chosen as a general measure of social mobility in this thesis for the following reasons. On the one hand, it is not a rigidly arranged scale for the ten classes are explicitly recognized as arbitrary distinctions within a range of occupational stratification. Furthermore, this scale is based on data incorporating important aspects of social mobility such as educational level, income level, and occupational level. Finally, it is an index developed from a Canadian Census (1961) specifically for Canadian use.

Occupational mobility among Canadian Indians has generally been very limited. Blishen points out that: " . . . the social mobility of individuals in this group [Canadian Indians and Eskimos] within the context of Canadian society is less than that of any other group" (1961: 480). The data from Gull Valley reflect the larger Canadian scene as the fathers of the Ojibwa children who participated in this study were ranked very low according to Blishen's occupational categories or were unemployed (see Table XV).

Aside from the methodological consideration of longitudinal studies, the question of upward occupational mobility in Gull Valley is complicated by the important issue of rank within the community. This means that although an Ojibwa father may be assigned to a very low occupational category on Blishen's index, he may be a high ranking individual within his own community. This has made a difference

TABLE XV

OCCUPATIONAL CLASS SCALE RANKING FOR THE FATHERS OF THE
OJIBWA CHILDREN WHO PARTICIPATED IN THIS STUDY

Subject number	Father's occupation	Blishen's class rank ^a	Subjects who score for n-achievement
1	farm labourer	6	yes
2	farm labourer	6	
3	farm labourer	6	
4	farm labourer	6	
5	farm labourer	6	
6	farm labourer	6	
7	unemployed		
8	farm labourer	6	
9	unemployed		
10	farm labourer	6	
11	unemployed		
12	farm labourer	6	
13	unemployed		
14	farm labourer	6	
15	farm labourer	6	
16	unemployed		
17	farm labourer	6	
18	farm labourer	6	
19	farm labourer	6	
20	farm labourer	6	

^aBlishen (1967:52) has arbitrarily distributed the Canadian labour force into six classes. He also points out that this is only one way to set up classes for the Canadian labour force; they can just as easily be divided into ten classes (Blishen 1967:51).

in other studies of achievement motivation wherein it was found that sons of high ranking fathers scored higher on tests for n-achievement than sons of low ranking fathers from the same community (Hamer, personal communication). Unfortunately, the only datum that can be presented on this point is that none of the fathers of the Ojibwa children who participated in this study were in positions of political, economic, or religious power in their community.

According to Blishen's index it would seem that there is limited upward occupational mobility for Canadian Indians as a group, and more specifically for the Gull Valley Ojibwa. This pattern of limited occupational mobility is consistent with the test results indicating a low level of n-achievement for the Ojibwa sample.

Upward occupational mobility is characteristic of Manitoba Jews. Chiel (1961:66-67) indicates that since 1882 when Jews began to settle in Manitoba, there has been a steady history of upward occupational mobility. The first Jewish immigrants to Winnipeg were semi-skilled workmen and artisans. Peddlers, tailors, and shopkeepers set up small stores and factories and became small merchants and manufacturers. In the following generation shops were enlarged and the small merchants became entrepreneurs in larger establishments. Children of the first generation of Jewish immigrants to Winnipeg gravitated toward white collar occupations such as

teaching, managing, and other professional positions. The third generation were in a position to choose their own careers as the University of Manitoba eliminated quotas in its professional schools preceding World War Two (Chiel 1961: 66). Following the War, more and more Jewish boys were attracted to such professions as medicine, dentistry, law, accountancy, and education.

The fathers of the Jewish children who participated in this study present a considerable occupational contrast to their Ojibwa counterparts. The Jewish fathers occupy positions on Blishen's index ranging from class one to class five (see Table XVI), while the Ojibwa fathers are assigned to the lowest class or are unemployed (see Table XV). According to Blishen's index it would seem that Manitoba Jews are a highly mobile group in occupational terms. This pattern of upward occupational mobility is not in keeping with the test results indicating a relatively low level of n-achievement for the Jewish sample.

IV. DISCUSSION

The test results indicating a low level of n-achievement for the sample of Ojibwa children were as expected. Their failure to score is generally in keeping with both traditional and contemporary cultural, child rearing, and social mobility variables which inhibit the development of

TABLE XVI

OCCUPATIONAL CLASS SCALE RANKING FOR THE FATHERS OF THE
JEWISH CHILDREN WHO PARTICIPATED IN THIS STUDY

Subject number	Father's occupation	Blishen's class rank	Subjects who score for n-achievement
1	Clerk	5	
2	Clerk	5	
3	Doctor	1	
4	Salesman	3	
5	Grocer (owner)	3	
6	Social worker	3	
7	Customs officer	4	
8	Jobber (owner)	4	yes
9	Taxi driver	5	yes
10	Insurance Agent	3	
11	Insurance Agent	3	
12	Express Agent	4	
13	Salesman	3	
14	Salesman	3	
15	Taxi driver	5	
16	Butcher	5	
17	Manager	2	
18	Manager	2	
19	Butcher	5	
20	Machine operator	5	
21	Photographer (owner)	4	yes
22	Grocer (owner)	3	
23	Salesman	3	
24	Manager	2	
25	Clerk	5	yes
26	Clerk	5	yes
27	Printer	4	

n-achievement. The test results are also similar to Kerckhoff's (1958) results indicating a low level of n-achievement for Chippewa youngsters. The test results indicating a relatively low level of n-achievement for the Jewish sample were not as expected. Their low scores are not in keeping with either the traditional or contemporary cultural, child rearing, or social mobility variables which have been recorded as dominant patterns in this community, and which are known to enhance the development of n-achievement. The test results are also not similar to results of other studies which have previously recorded a relatively high level of n-achievement for Jewish samples (Zborowski 1955; Rosen 1959; Strodtbeck 1958; Veroff, Feld and Gurin 1962). Therefore, one remaining problem which must be explored is why this sample of Jewish youngsters scored so low on the test in a sociocultural atmosphere which would appear to be highly conducive to the development of n-achievement. A number of hypotheses may be advanced in a preliminary attempt to solve this problem.

The Sex Ratio Hypothesis

It is possible that the large number of females (N=18) in the Jewish sample distorted the test results. French and Lesser (1964) utilizing an experimental situation were able to demonstrate that American males scored significantly higher on a test for n-achievement than American females. They explain these results by suggesting that American females

do not generally have the same potential for achievement roles as American males, that is, they do not generally aspire to become doctors, lawyers, or to join other professions. Furthermore, the achievement motive may develop in different ways in males and females for each child is subject to sex-specific training. This means that in a culture in which males are trained to be competitive and achievement-oriented, it may not necessarily follow that females will be trained in a similar manner. This is true of the traditional culture of the Winnipeg Jews. Although women could conduct business in the marketplace of the "shtetl," their main duty was to care for the home and family (Zborowski and Herzog 1952:132-134). In Winnipeg young Jewish girls are still encouraged to be good housekeepers rather than to compete and achieve in the larger Canadian society. This hypothesis could help to explain the relatively low level of n-achievement for the Jewish sample if there was a statistically significant difference in the levels of n-achievement of the Ojibwa boys (N=14) and the Jewish boys (N=9) who participated in this study. The reasoning behind the hypothesis is that Jewish boys rather than Jewish girls are trained to be achievers in the Winnipeg Jewish community. As it turns out there is no basis for a test of significance since none of the Jewish boys responded to the verbal stimuli with a story that was scored for n-achievement. Thus it would seem that

sex ratio has little to do with the test results.

The Birth Order Hypothesis

It is possible that birth order plays an important part in the development of n-achievement. This argument stems from Alfred Adler's school of Individual Psychology. Adler reasoned that birth order played an extremely important role in the development of motives and values in the child. According to his theory, the first born child could be expected to develop feelings of insecurity when the second child was born, because at that time the parents would suddenly switch their attention to the new baby (Hall and Lindzey 1957:125). If the switch in attention was quite sudden these feelings of insecurity could persist throughout the lifetime of the first born. Adler predicted that the second born child would be ambitious because of a desire to surpass the achievements of the first born (Hall and Lindzey 1957:125). Adler went on to say that the last born would be a non-achiever because he would be spoiled by the parents as the "baby" and encouraged to remain dependent (Hall and Lindzey 1957:126).

This theory may account for the relatively low level of n-achievement in the Jewish sample if the children who score for n-achievement are predominantly second born. No clearcut conclusions may be deduced from these birth order data. On the one hand, there are data which indicate that

of the five Jewish subjects who score for n-achievement four were second born and only one was first born (see Table XVII). We would need to know a great deal about how the parents of these second born children who are also last born in their families (see Table XVII) train their children before even tentative conclusions may be reached. Unfortunately no such data is available. Furthermore, Hamer (personal communication) has found that Sidamo boys with older brothers in school score significantly higher on n-achievement than Sidamo boys who do not have older brothers in school. He reasons that the older sibling acts as an achievement model for the younger child. Unfortunately this type of data is lacking from the present study. A breakdown of the birth order data on the basis of sex is no more revealing as four of the nine Jewish males, none of whom scored for n-achievement, were second born (see Table XVII). Despite the fact that it might partially account for the relatively low level of n-achievement for the Jewish sample, the small sample size and highly tenuous nature of the limited data indicate that the birth order hypothesis must remain untested in the present thesis.

The Fourth Generation Hypothesis

As Chiel (1961) has noted, the Jews of Winnipeg have been highly mobile in occupational terms. The parents of preceding generations of Jewish children could always encourage

TABLE XVII

BIRTH ORDER, SEX, AND SCORE FOR N-ACHIEVEMENT
IN THE JEWISH SAMPLE

Subject number	Sex	Birth order	Score for n-achievement
1	F	7 of 7	no
2	M	3 of 4	no
3	F	2 of 3	no
4	M	1 of 3	no
5	F	3 of 4	no
6	M	2 of 3	no
7	F	1 of 3	no
8	F	3 of 4	yes
9	F	2 of 2	yes
10	M	2 of 3	no
11	F	1 of 2	no
12	M	2 of 2	no
13	F	3 of 3	no
14	F	3 of 4	no
15	M	2 of 2	no
16	F	3 of 3	no
17	F	1 of 2	no
18	F	1 of 3	no
19	M	1 of 1	no
20	F	4 of 5	no
21	F	1 of 1	yes
22	F	3 of 3	no
23	M	3 of 3	no
24	F	2 of 3	no
25	F	2 of 2	yes
26	F	3 of 4	yes
27	M	1 of 1	no

their children to aspire to higher occupational levels than they themselves held. However, the children who participated in this study are of the fourth generation of Jews in Winnipeg. They live in Garden City²² a suburb of the City of West Kildonan²³ (see Figure V). Garden City is a prosperous suburb complete with split level houses and high property taxes. Most of the Jewish residents of this area are well-off financially having usually reached the top rungs of the occupational ladder. This is reflected in the occupational distribution of the fathers of the sample of Jewish children, 52 per cent of whom fall within Blishen's three highest occupational class categories (see Table XVI). This could mean that even though the parents of the children who partici-

²²For all practical purposes Garden City is the same type of residential area as Winnipeg South (see Figure V). According to the Jewish historian Herstein (personal communication), the Jews of Winnipeg South have essentially the same type of background as the Jews of Garden City--the "shtetl" of Eastern Europe. In fact, Jews did not begin to move across the Assiniboine River until the 1930's (see Table I). There has been a strong emphasis on a single community concept since the move took place. Indeed, the Jews of Winnipeg South have maintained strong ties with the Jews of Winnipeg North--most of whom have now moved to Garden City (see Table I). These ties have been maintained to a considerable extent through common membership in all forms of Jewish communal organizations and friendship groups. These facts tend to negate the argument that there is some sort of specific cultural difference, due to geographical separation of the sample of children from Garden City, which would account for the relatively low level of achievement in this sample.

²³West Kildonan is a suburb of Greater Winnipeg.

pated in this study are training their children to be achievers, the children can see no real point in aspiring to long term goals because they have already "arrived" so to speak. Because their parents are wealthy they have the opportunity to indulge themselves and this contradicts child rearing practices emphasizing self-denial and competitiveness. If this were the case, the Jewish children who would be expected to be achievers would be those whose parents have not yet "arrived," and who can encourage their children to aspire to higher unattained goals--especially occupational goals. This argument is partly supported by the fact that the Jewish fathers whose children score for n-achievement are not assigned to Blishen's three highest occupational class categories (see Table XVI). There is no basis for a test of significance in the levels of n-achievement of high ranking (class 103) and low ranking (class 4-6) fathers since none of the children of high ranking Jewish fathers scored for n-achievement. This hypothesis must be regarded as highly tentative due to the small size of the sample, and because a few of the fathers of the Jewish children who do not score for n-achievement are also not assigned to Blishen's three highest occupational class categories (see Table XVI).

The Mosaic Hypothesis

Porter (1965) argues effectively for a mosaic pattern for Canadian social structure as opposed to a melting pot

pattern for American social structure. By this he means that whereas immigrants to the United States are encouraged to abandon their cultural heritage and ethnic identity in return for a sense of nationalistic pride, immigrants to Canada are encouraged to maintain their cultural heritage and ethnic identity in return for a sense of nationalistic pride. The significance of Porter's findings for this thesis is that in the context of maintaining an ethnic identity, community solidarity through affiliation may be emphasized to as great or an even greater extent than achievement. This may even be true in a sociocultural atmosphere which is highly conducive to the development of n-achievement. This type of reasoning may account for the low level of n-achievement obtained by the Jewish sample if affiliation, rather than achievement, is the first concern of the adult members of the Winnipeg Jewish community. This pattern would be consistent with the "shtetl" where community solidarity through affiliation was emphasized as an extremely important part of "shtetl" life (Strodtbeck 1958:151). This is not an emergency type of affiliation such as who you turn to in times of trouble, but who are your permanent friends. In a recent study of Jewish adolescents from Greater Winnipeg, the author (1969) found that great emphasis was being placed on affiliation by the members of this community. As of July 1967 there were at least 65 official Jewish communal organizations in

operation in Greater Winnipeg. There were also countless other unofficial, and usually unrecognized, Jewish communal organizations such as bowling leagues, card groups, and so on. Many of these communal organizations can trace their origin to the "shtetl." They were organized by landsleit who were individuals who migrated to Winnipeg as a block from the same general area, district, or town in Eastern Europe (Herstein 1964:25). In the sample of twenty-seven Jewish adolescents it was found that both the adolescents and their parents were on the average members of at least one official Jewish communal organization (see Table XVIII).

TABLE XVIII

MEMBERSHIP HELD IN OFFICIAL JEWISH COMMUNAL
ORGANIZATIONS THROUGH THREE GENERATIONS

	\bar{x}^a of memberships held by subjects	\bar{x} of memberships held by subjects' fathers	\bar{x} of memberships held by subjects' mothers
Jewish males (13)	1.3	1.6	1.8
Jewish females (14)	1.2	.8	1.2
Sample total (27)	1.1	1.0	1.3

^aThe mean value (\bar{x}) of official membership in Jewish communal organizations was calculated by dividing the sum of the organizations by the total number of adolescent responses (27) for each group.

It was also found that these adolescents preferred to associate with other Jewish adolescents (see Table XIX). This hypothesis could help to explain the relatively low level of

TABLE XIX
FRIENDSHIP AMONG JEWISH ADOLESCENTS

	Best friend Jewish		2nd best friend Jewish		3rd best friend Jewish	
	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent	Number	Per Cent
Jewish males (13)	11/13	85%	10/13	77%	8/13	62%
Jewish females (14)	13/14	93%	10/14	71%	8/14	57%
Sample total (27)	24/27	91%	20/27	74%	16/27	59%

n-achievement if there was a statistically significant difference in the levels of n-affiliation of the Jewish and Ojibwa samples with the Jewish sample obtaining the higher level. The reasoning behind this hypothesis is that the Jewish children are trained to try to be accepted and liked by others at the expense of achievement. The results indicate that there is no statistically significant difference ($.50 > P > .30$) in the levels of n-affiliation for the two samples (see Table XII). Both groups, however, have more children who

score for n-affiliation than n-achievement. Although there is no significant difference within either group for n-achievement and n-affiliation scores there is a trend in this direction (see Tables XX and XXI). Naturally this hypothesis also remains highly tentative pending further research being carried out in American and Canadian Jewish communities. In this way community solidarity through affiliation may be compared for Jews living in both countries to see if there is a positive or negative association between n-achievement and n-affiliation.

TABLE XX

FREQUENCY OF N-ACHIEVEMENT AND N-AFFILIATION
SCORES FOR THE JEWISH SAMPLE

N	Frequency of protocols scored for n-achievement	Frequency of protocols scored for n-affiliation
Total protocols ^a scored	5	12
Number of Jewish protocols	27	27
$\chi^2 = 3.091$ (.10 > P > .05)		

^aA chi-square distribution with a Yates correction factor was used to test for significance.

TABLE XXI

FREQUENCY OF N-ACHIEVEMENT AND N-AFFILIATION
SCORES FOR THE OJIBWA SAMPLE

N	Frequency of protocols scored for n-achievement	Frequency of protocols scored for n-affiliation
Total protocols ^a scored	1	6
Number of Ojibwa protocols	20	20
$\chi^2 = 2.771$ (.10 > P > .05)		

^aA chi-square distribution with a Yates correction factor was used to test for significance.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

This thesis has only begun to inquire into the nature of achievement motivation in different communities. It has also only outlined some preliminary explanations as to why the test results indicate such a relatively low level of n-achievement for the sample of Jewish children from Winnipeg. With these facts in mind, it may be of some value to outline a few possible plans for future research.

I. FUTURE RESEARCH

In order to answer more precisely the question of why the Jewish sample scored relatively low on the test for n-achievement the following hypotheses could be investigated.

(1) If Jewish boys from Winnipeg are trained to be achievers, as the traditional and present day sociocultural systems would lead us to believe, then a moderate size random sample of these boys should score relatively high on a test for n-achievement. If girls were included in this sample in any appreciable numbers, it is possible that their n-achievement scores would significantly lower the sample score since they are not necessarily trained to be achievers. The investigation of this hypothesis will help to clear up the relationship between sex and n-achievement among the Jews of Winnipeg.

(2) If Alfred Adler's notion of birth order and child training is valid, then it could be expected that second born Jewish children would score significantly higher on a test for n-achievement than Jewish children who were first born or last born. This is providing that the second born child who was also last born acted according to Adler's ideals of trying to surpass the achievements of the first born. This would involve a comprehensive study of child rearing, birth order, and n-achievement in a longitudinal study. The investigation of this hypothesis will help to clear up the relationship between birth order and n-achievement among the Jews of Winnipeg.

(3) If children of wealthy suburban Winnipeg Jews can see no real point in aspiring to long term goals because of contradictions in socializing self-indulgence and competitiveness, then a moderate size random sample of parents who do not face these contradictions should have significantly higher levels of n-achievement than the former. These will be the children from relatively less wealthy homes. One reason for this is that children whose parents cannot afford to indulge them can be trained to aspire to be residents of the relatively affluent suburbs. To accomplish this the children must at least have long term goals and be willing to postpone gratifications and be self-reliant for they must be capable of supporting themselves and their future families

in the suburbs. In other words it is possible that the achievement challenge is a much more realistic proposition to children whose parents have not yet "arrived" than it is to children who want for little. A comprehensive study of self-reliance, as indicated by general cultural values and child rearing in different families with different incomes, would help to clear up the relationship between social stratification and n-achievement in the Winnipeg Jewish community.

(4) If Porter's (1965) arguments pertaining to the vertical mosaic pattern of Canadian social structure are valid, then it is possible that Canadian Jews emphasize community solidarity through affiliation rather than achievement. If this is the case then it might be expected that a moderate size random sample of Canadian Jews will display a significantly higher level of n-affiliation than a moderate size random sample of American Jews. American Jews who live in the melting pot of American social structure may display a significantly higher level of n-achievement than Canadian Jews. A comprehensive study of actual Canadian and American immigration policy and practice would help to clean up the relationship between Canadian and American social structure and n-achievement.

There are also a number of other interesting cross-cultural community studies dealing mainly with n-achievement that could be carried out in the future. For example, additional studies could examine the relationship between

n-achievement and: self concept (Martire 1956); academic achievement (Littig and Yeracaris 1963); anxiety (Atkinson and Litwin 1960); father dominance (Bradburn 1963); father absence (Nuttal 1964); family size (Rosen 1961); aspirational level (Burnstein 1963); problem solving (French and Thomas 1958); and learning (Karolchuck and Worell 1956). In short, it is obvious that there is still a great deal of information to be gathered.

II. AN APPLIED CONSIDERATION

At the outset of this thesis it was suggested that the results could be of value in applied anthropology. McClelland (1961) has proposed that a relatively high level of n-achievement is a psychological prerequisite for economic development. He argues that various types of motivation develop in children in different sociocultural surroundings. From the point of view of economic growth and development, if achievement motivation in a community is strong, then the underdeveloped aspects of the economy become a challenge to be overcome if appropriate entrepreneurial roles are available (Berkowitz 1964:29-30). If achievement motivation in a community is weak, then the underdeveloped aspects of the economy loom large as a barrier (Berkowitz 1964:29-30). This is the rationale underlying the proposed association between economic growth and development and the achievement motive.

This theory has been tested empirically with promising results. What McClelland (1961) has done is to show an important relationship between the general level of n-achievement and economic growth in a number of countries around the world. Using electrical power output as an index of economic growth, and scoring a random sample of children's school stories for n-achievement, he found that a period of economic growth was usually preceded by significant increase in the general level of n-achievement. McClelland (1965a) has also found that individuals in the United States who scored high on a test for n-achievement were more likely to be engaged in entrepreneurial activity a number of years after testing than individuals from the same sample who scored low for n-achievement. Both of these findings support McClelland's theory.

With these preliminary verifications of the theory, it may prove worthwhile to investigate the possibilities of raising the general level of n-achievement in communities characterized by economic underdevelopment. This approach may be of some value on Indian Reserves such as Gull Valley in which the members display such a low level of n-achievement. Naturally the first question is whether or not the community members wish to increase the general level of n-achievement. If this is the case then a number of practical considerations follow.

A top priority consideration is the ecological characteristics of the community. This is extremely important for the area must have the potential for economic development before growth can take place. For example, McClelland (1961:430) reports that a high level of n-achievement characterized the traditional Yoruba of Nigeria. However, these people were prevented from economic growth by harsh environmental factors. As Lloyd (1965:549-550) explains: "most of Yoruba country lies on a denuded penoplane of ancient crystalline rocks," and is characterized by unnavigable rivers blocked by boulders. Therefore, if applications of this and similar studies are to be undertaken a complete ecological inventory is a necessary first step.

If the ecological features meet the criteria for economic growth then the next priority becomes the mechanics for raising the level of n-achievement. In this regard McClelland (1965a) has offered a number of propositions which are designed to direct attempts at raising the general level of n-achievement in a community. On a general level he suggests that: (1) The individual should believe that he can raise his level of n-achievement to his own advantage. This will make him expend honest effort in trying to increase his level of n-achievement. (2) The individual should realize that economic growth and n-achievement are positively correlated. This will make him realize the practical value of

increasing his level of n-achievement. (3) The individual should perceive himself and his community in a more positive fashion as his level of n-achievement increases. This will also make him realize the value of increasing his level of n-achievement. It has since been demonstrated in India by Fraser (1968) that a practical application of these propositions is well within reason.

Although future studies remain to be carried out, these psychological considerations of the achievement motive may establish some useful guidelines for applied projects.

APPENDIX I

RAW DATA ACHIEVEMENT SCORES

TABLE XXII

RAW DATA ACHIEVEMENT SCORES FOR JEWISH CHILDREN

Subject	Frequency of UI agreements	Frequency of TI agreements	Frequency of AI agreements	Supporting subcategories scored
1	7	0	0	
2	5	1	0	
3	4	0	0	
4	6	0	0	
5	4	1	0	
6	8	0	0	
7	5	0	0	
8	4	0	1	
9	5	0	1	
10	8	0	0	
11	6	1	0	
12	8	0	0	
13	7	0	0	
14	8	0	0	
15	8	0	0	
16	6	1	0	
17	8	0	0	
18	7	0	0	
19	8	0	0	
20	8	0	0	
21	3	0	1	N
22	8	0	0	
23	8	0	0	
24	6	0	0	
25	3	0	1	N
26	1	0	1	N
27	5	0	0	

TABLE XXIII

RAW DATA ACHIEVEMENT SCORES FOR OJIBWA CHILDREN

Subject matter	Frequency of UI agreements	Frequency of TI agreements	Frequency of AI agreements	Supporting subcategories scored
1	3	0	0	N
2	2	0	0	
3	2	0	0	
4	4	0	0	
5	7	0	0	
6	6	0	0	
7	8	0	0	
8	5	0	0	
9	1	2	1	
10	7	0	0	
11	3	0	0	
12	5	0	0	
13	3	0	0	
14	1	0	0	
15	1	0	0	
16	8	0	0	
17	4	1	0	
18	6	0	0	
19	8	0	0	
20	8	0	0	

APPENDIX II

RAW DATA AFFILIATION SCORES

RAW DATA AFFILIATION SCORES FOR JEWISH CHILDREN

[illegible]

TABLE XXIV--Continued

15	4	1	1				1						1	1	
16	8	0	0												
17	6	0	1								1			1	
18	6	0	0												
19	4	0	3				2						1	3	
20	8	0	0												
21	5	0	1				1				1		1	1	
22	6	0	2		1		1				1			2	
23	5	1	0												
24	8	0	0												
25	8	0	0												
26	6	0	0												
27	6	0	1							1				1	

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[illegible]

TABLE XXV--Continued

16	7	0	0												
17	5	0	0												
18	6	1	0												
19	8	0	0												
20	6	0	0												

APPENDIX III

BLISHEN'S SOCIO-ECONOMIC INDEX

Table **Socio-Economic Index for 320 Occupations**
in 1961 Census of Canada

Occupation	Socio- Economic Index
Chemical Engineers	76.69
Dentists	76.44
Professors and College Principals	76.01
Physicians and Surgeons	75.57
Geologists	75.49
Mining Engineers	75.42
Lawyers and Notaries	75.41
Civil Engineers	75.16
Architects	74.52
Veterinarians	74.46
Electrical Engineers	74.34
Professional Engineers, n.e.s.	74.27
Physicists	73.81
Optometrists	73.77
Biological Scientists	73.22
Physical Scientists, n.e.s.	72.94
Pharmacists	72.87
Mechanical Engineers	72.78
Judges and Magistrates	72.24
Economists	71.90
Chemists	70.94
Industrial Engineers	70.43
Osteopaths and Chiropractors	70.25
School Teachers	70.14
Accountants and Auditors	68.80
Owners and Managers, Education and Related Services	68.32
Actuaries and Statisticians	67.78
Computer Programmers	67.50
Owners and Managers, Services to Business Management	67.28
Agricultural Professionals, n.e.s.	66.96
Owners and Managers, Chemical and Chemical Products Industries	66.79
Advertising Managers	66.05
Air Pilots, Navigators and Flight Engineers	66.04
Owners and Managers, Electrical Products Industries	65.78
Owners and Managers, Primary Metal Industries	65.29
Owners and Managers, Paper and Allied Industries	64.78
Owners and Managers, Finance, Insurance, Real Estate	64.52
Authors, Editors, Journalists	64.23
Owners and Managers, Rubber Industries	64.09
Owners and Managers, Machinery Industries	63.76
Librarians	63.75

(continued)

Occupation	Socio- Economic Index
Owners and Managers, Petroleum and Coal Products Industries	63.02
Sales Managers	62.04
Owners and Managers, Mines, Quarries, and Oil Wells	61.99
Owners and Managers, Textile Industries	61.96
Owners and Managers, Transportation Equipment Industries	61.75
Professional Occupations, n.e.s.	60.93
Credit Managers	60.81
Office Managers	60.42
Owners and Managers, Health and Welfare Services	60.07
Security Salesmen and Brokers	59.91
Radio and Television Announcers	59.81
Owners and Managers, Printing, Publishing and Allied Industries	59.69
Owners and Managers, Federal Administration	59.60
Owners and Managers, Knitting Mills	59.28
Clergymen and Priests	59.20
Owners and Managers, Miscellaneous Manufacturing Industries	58.29
Other Health Professionals	58.27
Artists (except commercial), Art Teachers	58.21
Inspectors and Foremen, Communication Draughtsmen	58.17
Owners and Managers, Metal Fabricating Industries	57.82
Owners and Managers, Leather Industries	57.60
Social Welfare Workers	57.23
Owners and Managers, Non-metallic Mineral Product Industries	55.62
Advertising Salesmen and Agents	55.41
Purchasing Agents and Buyers	55.37
Insurance Salesmen and Agents	55.22
Owners and Managers, Clothing Industries	55.19
Science and Engineering Technicians, n.e.s.	54.77
Brokers, Agents and Appraisers	54.75
Owners and Managers, Provincial Administration	54.74
Artists, Commercial	54.54
Owners and Managers, Transportation, Communication, and other Utilities	54.06
Owners and Managers, Wholesale Trade	53.85
Owners and Managers, Local Administration	53.80
Surveyors	53.29
Commercial Travellers	53.25
Owners and Managers, Furniture and Fixtures Industries	52.68
Teachers and Instructors, n.e.s.	52.11
Stenographers	52.07
Owners and Managers, Food and Beverage Industries	51.96
Radio and Television Equipment Operators	51.70
Physical and Occupational Therapists	51.51
Athletes and Sports Officials	51.11
Musicians and Music Teachers	51.11
Nurses-in-training	50.93
Bookkeepers and Cashiers	49.91
	49.55

(continued)

Occupation	Socio- Economic Index
Funeral Directors and Embalmers	49.47
Foremen, Transportation Equipment Industries	49.21
Foremen, Primary Metals Industries	49.11
Real Estate Salesmen and Agents	48.74
Medical and Dental Technicians	48.56
Photoengravers	48.26
Photographers	48.07
Engravers, except Photoengravers	47.95
Ticket, Station and Express Agents, Transport	47.61
Batch and Continuous Still Operators	47.60
Office Appliance Operators	47.12
Owners and Managers, Construction Industries	46.95
Foremen, Electric Power, Gas and Water Utilities	46.75
Power Station Operators	46.20
Locomotive Engineers	45.99
Conductors, Railroad	45.68
Owners and Managers, Wood Industries	45.52
Owners and Managers, Miscellaneous Services	45.48
Foremen, Paper and Allied Industries	45.36
Owners and Managers, Motion Picture and Re- creational Services	45.19
Linemen and Servicemen — Telephone, Telegraph and Power	45.05
Foremen, Other Manufacturing Industries	45.01
Lithographic and Photo-offset Occupations	45.00
Toolmakers, Diemakers	44.82
Inspectors, Construction	44.76
Interior Decorators and Window Dressers	44.37
Foremen, Trade	44.32
Foremen, Mine, Quarry, Petroleum Well	44.27
Telephone Operators	44.20
Owners and Managers, Forestry, Logging	44.00
Actors, Entertainers, and Showmen	43.85
Owners and Managers, Retail Trade	43.69
Mechanics and Repairmen, Office Machines	43.05
Clerical Occupations, n.e.s.	42.98
Mechanics and Repairmen, Aircraft	42.76
Nurses, Graduate	42.57
Compositors and Type-Setters	42.30
Deck Officers, Ship	42.13
Religious Workers	41.84
Members of Armed Forces*	41.43
Locomotive Firemen	40.92
Electricians, Wiremen, and Electrical Repairmen	40.68
Auctioneers	40.48
Canvassers and Other Door-to-Door Salesmen	40.23
Brakemen, Railroad	40.22
Paper Makers	40.17
Owners and Managers, Personal Services	40.14
Printing Workers, n.e.s.	40.13
Mechanics and Repairmen, Radio and T.V. Receivers	40.12
Photographic Processing Occupations	40.05
Engineering Officers, Ship	39.86
Millwrights	39.83
Inspectors, Graders and Samplers, n.e.s.	39.82
Inspectors, Examiners, Gaugers—Metal	39.76
Patternmakers (except paper)	39.75

-(continued)

Occupation	Socio- Economic Index
Typists and clerk typists	39.66
Postmasters	39.65
Well-Drillers and Related Workers	39.55
Foremen, All Other Industries	39.54
Pressmen, Printing	39.49
Telegraph Operators	39.37
Inspectors and Foremen, Transport	39.21
Projectionists, Motion Picture	39.15
Foremen, Textile and Clothing Industries	39.03
Lens Grinders and Polishers; Opticians	38.82
Bookbinders	38.54
Foremen, Food and Beverage Industries	38.21
General Foremen, Construction	37.90
Operators, Electric Street Railway	37.80
Stationary Enginemen	37.79
Rolling Mill Operators	37.76
Chemical and Related Process Workers	37.75
Prospectors	37.73
Foremen, Wood and Furniture Industries	37.63
Sales Clerks	37.14
Machinists and Machine Tool Setters	36.90
Jewellers and Watchmakers	36.55
Civilian Protective Service Occupations**	35.80
Stewards	35.32
Farm Managers and Foremen	35.05
Other Occupations in Bookbinding	34.97
Baggagemen and Expressmen, Transport	34.85
Metal Treating Occupations, n.e.s.	34.79
Mechanics and Repairmen, n.e.s.	34.77
Riggers and Cable Splicers, except Telephone and Telegraph and Power	34.77
Furnacemen and Heaters—Metal	34.75
Cellulose Pulp Preparers	34.69
Stock Clerks and Storekeepers	34.63
Logging Foremen	34.61
Beverage Processors	34.44
Plumbers and Pipefitters	34.38
Heat Treaters, Annealers, Temperers	34.09
Paper Making Occupations, n.e.s.	34.07
Holstmen, Cranemen, Derrickmen	34.06
Inspectors, Graders, Scalers—Log and Lumber	33.80
Electrical and Electronics Workers, n.e.s.	33.80
Switchmen and Signalmen	33.76
Fitters and Assemblers—Electrical and Electronics Equipment	33.57
Sheet Metal Workers	33.49
Metal Drawers and Extruders	33.40
Miners	33.38
Partenders	33.29
Insulation Appliers	33.22
Roasters, Cookers and Other Heat Treaters, Chemical	33.14
Turners	33.03
Boilermakers, Platers and Structural Metal Workers	32.93
Welders and Flame Cutters	32.79
Timbermen	32.61
Tire and Tube Builders	32.34
Flers, Grinders, Sharpeners	32.18

(continued)	
Occupation	Socio- Economic Index
Service Workers, n.e.s.	32.17
Nursing Assistants and Aides	32.14
Shipping and Receiving Clerks	32.14
Millmen	32.13
Bus Drivers	31.86
Forest Rangers and Cruisers	31.85
Metal Working Machine Operators	31.67
Quarriers and Related Workers	31.61
Moulders	31.32
Porters, Baggage and Pullman	31.30
Mechanics and Repairmen, Motor Vehicle	31.30
Mechanics and Repairmen, Railroad Equipment	31.29
Fitters and Assemblers — Metal	31.28
Crushers, Millers, Calenderers — Chemical	31.12
Electroplaters, Dip Platers and Related Workers	31.07
Cutters, Markers — Textiles; Garment and Glove Leather	31.06
Production Process and Related Workers, n.e.s.	31.00
Lodging and Boarding Housekeepers	30.94
Barbers, Hairdressers, and Manicurists	30.94
Cabinet and Furniture Makers, Wood	30.88
Driver — Salesmen	30.74
Labourers, Primary Metal Industries	30.68
Metalworking Occupations, n.e.s.	30.60
Deck Ratings (ship), Barge Crews and Boatmen	30.56
Paper Products Makers	30.53
Postmen and Mail Carriers	30.52
Service Station Attendants	30.48
Butchers and Meat-cutters	30.48
Meat Canners, Curers, Packers	30.48
Motormen (vehicle) (except railway)	30.48
Walters	30.47
Hawkers and Peddlars	30.43
Oilers and Greasers—Machinery and Vehicles (ex- cept ship)	30.43
Tobacco Preparers and Products Makers	30.39
Upholsterers	30.27
Tailors	30.26
Labourers, Trade	30.19
Bleachers and Dyers — Textiles	30.18
Painters (Construction and Maintenance), Paperhangers and Glaziers	30.08
Taxi Drivers and Chauffeurs	30.07
Operators of Earth-Moving and Other Construction Machinery	30.03
Painters (except Construction and Maintenance)	30.00
Coremakers	30.00
Baby Sitters	29.99
Labourers, Mine	29.96
Blacksmiths, Hammermen, Forgemen	29.93
Bricklayers, Stonemasons, Tilesetters	29.93
Attendants, Recreation and Amusement	29.92
Plasterers and Lathers	29.90
Other Food Processing Occupations	29.89
Bottlers, Wrappers, Labellers	29.80
Clay, Glass and Stone Workers, n.e.s.	29.77
Materials — Handling Equipment Operators	29.76

(continued)

Occupation	Socio- Economic Index
Labourers, Paper and Allied Industries	29.73
Carpenters	29.71
Vulcanizers	29.62
Fruit and Vegetable Cannery and Packers	29.60
Other Rubber Workers	29.51
Labourers, Communication and Storage	29.51
Milk Processors	29.49
Cooks	29.43
Construction Workers, n.e.s.	29.43
Longshoremen and Stevedores	29.41
Truck Drivers	29.31
Gardeners (except farm) and Groundskeepers	29.27
Bakers	29.26
Labourers, Electric Power, Gas and Water Utilities	29.26
Messengers	29.23
Warehousemen and Freight Handlers	29.18
Polishers and Buffers — Metal	29.12
Boller Firemen (except ship)	29.10
Labourers, All Other Industries	28.96
Launderers and Dry Cleaners	28.93
Other Agricultural Occupations	28.93
Dressmakers and Seamstresses	28.77
Riveters and Rivet-Heaters	28.76
Millers of Flour and Grain	28.75
Furnacemen and Kilnmen, Ceramics and Glass	28.69
Knitters	28.68
Transport Occupations, n.e.s.	28.63
Labourers, Other Public Administration and Defence	28.61
Woodworking Occupations, n.e.s.	28.56
Stone Cutters and Dressers	28.52
Apparel and Related Products Makers	28.44
Tanners and Tannery Operatives	28.42
Sawyers	28.29
Woodworking Machine Operators	28.29
Labourers, Other Manufacturing Industries	28.22
Janitors and Cleaners, Building	28.22
Labourers, Food and Beverage Industries	28.12
Kitchen Helpers and Related Service Workers	28.11
Engine-room Ratings, Firemen and Oilers, Ship	28.11
Newsvendors	28.08
Labourers, Railway Transport	28.06
Finishers and Calenderers	27.97
Elevator Tenders, Building	27.96
Shoemakers and Repairers, Not in Factory	27.87
Sewers and Sewing Machine Operators	27.87
Cement and Concrete Finishers	27.86
Guides	27.79
Farm Labourers	27.77
Labourers, Transportation, except Railway	27.72
Labourers, Wood Industries	27.57
Labourers, Transportation Equipment Industries	27.49
Other Textile Occupations	27.44
Carders, Combers and Other Fibre Preparers	27.37
Labourers, Construction	27.25
Other Leather Products Makers	27.19
Fishermen	27.17
Leather Cutters	27.10
Loom Fixers and Loom Preparers	27.09

(continued)

Occupation	Socio- Economic Index
Lumbermen, including Labourers in Logging	27.01
Spinners and Twisters	26.94
Weavers	26.77
Teamsters	26.71
Labourers, Local Administration	26.71
Winders and Reelers	26.63
Sectionmen and Trackmen	26.57
Labourers, Textile and Clothing Industries	26.56
Shoemakers and Repairers — In Factory	26.56
Fish Canners, Curers, and Packers	26.09
Trappers and Hunters	25.36

*Includes Commissioned Officers, Armed Forces; and Other Ranks Armed Forces.

**Includes Firemen, Fire Protection; Policemen and Detectives; and Guards, Watchmen, n.e.s.
(Blishen 1967:44-50).

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