

# SOCI 423: THEORIES OF SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

## SESSION 3: MODERNIZATION THEORY: M.J. LEVY; N. SMELSER AND D. McCLELLAND

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# SESSION OVERVIEW

- In this session, we examine the contributions from Sociology and Psychology to modernization theory.
- **Goals/ Objectives:** by the end of the session, the student will be able to:
- Understand and explain the contribution of M. J. Levy to sociological modernization theory,
- Identify the core contribution of Neil Smelser to sociological modernization theory
- Explain the core ideas of David McClelland' contribution to modernization theory from psychology



# SESSION OUTLINE

- Marion J. Levy: Relatively Modernized Societies
- Neil Smelser: Structural Differentiation
- David McClelland: Achievement Motivation
- Activity
- References



# MARION J. LEVY: RELATIVELY MODERNIZED SOCIETIES

- There are certain central questions that runs through Levy's (1967) work:
- First, how is modernization define? For Levy, modernization is defined by the extent to which tools and inanimate sources of power are utilized
- Levy distinguishes relatively modernized societies and relatively nonmodernized societies as two locations at the opposite ends of a continuum.
- Levy considers Great Britain, modern Japan, and United States to represent relatively modernized societies, and china, India, and the Trobriand Islands to be examples of relatively nonmodernized societies.



# MARION J. LEVY: RELATIVELY MODERNIZED SOCIETIES

- Second, why does modernization occur? One factor that Levy points out is contact between relatively modernized societies and relatively nonmodernized societies
- Levy treats modernization as a universal social solvent:

The patterns of the relatively modernized societies, once developed, have shown a universal tendency to penetrate any social context whose participants have come in contact with them...The patterns always penetrate; once the penetration has begun, the previous indigenous patterns always change; and they always change in the direction of some of the patterns of the relatively modernized society (1967, p. 190)



# MARION J. LEVY: RELATIVELY MODERNIZED SOCIETIES

- Third, how do relatively modernized societies differ from relatively nonmodernized societies?
- According to levy, relatively nonmodernized societies are characterized by the following (see Table 2.1)
- Finally, what are the prospects for the Third World latecomers in the modernization efforts?



**Table 2.1 Levy's Foci of Differences Between Relatively Modernized and Relatively Nonmodernized Societies**

	<i>Relatively Nonmodernized Societies</i>	<i>Relatively Modernized Societies</i>
<b>Specialization of organization</b>	low compartmentalization of life	high
<b>Interdependency of organization</b>	low (high level of self-sufficiency)	high
<b>Relationship emphasis</b>	tradition, particularism, functional diffuseness	rationality, universalism, functional specificity
<b>Degree of centralization</b>	low	high
<b>Generalized media of exchange and market</b>	less emphasis	more emphasis
<b>Bureaucracy and family consideration</b>	precedence of family norm (nepotism as a virtue)	insulate bureaucracy from other contacts
<b>Town-village interdependence</b>	one-way flow of goods and services from rural to urban contexts	mutual flow of goods and services between towns and villages

SOURCE: Levy (1967, pp. 196-201).

# MARION J. LEVY: RELATIVELY MODERNIZED SOCIETIES

- Levy points out that there are both advantages and disadvantages for these countries
- They possess the advantages of knowing where they are going; of being able to borrow initial expertise in planning capital accumulation etc.
- The latecomers face the problem of scale; problems of conversion of resources, materials etc.
- Levy points out that many people always get hurt in the process of a society's movement toward relatively modernized patterns.





# NEIL SMELSER:STRUCTURAL DIFFERENTIATION

- Another Sociological approach is that of Smelser (1964), who applies the concept of structural differentiation to the study of Third World countries.
- For Smelser, modernization generally involves structural differentiation because, through the modernization process, a complicated structure that performed multiple functions is divided into many specialized structures that perform just one function each.
- The new collection of specialized structures, as a whole, performs the same functions as the original structure, but the functions are performed more efficiently in the new context than they were in the old.



# NEIL SMELSER:STRUCTURAL DIFFERENTIATION

- The classic example of structural differentiation is the family institution. In the past, the traditional family had a complicated structure—it was large and multigenerational, with relatives living together under one roof. In addition, it was multifunctional.
- It was responsible not only for reproduction and emotional support, but for production (the family farm), for education (informal parental socialization), for welfare (care of the elderly), and for religion (ancestral worship). In the modern society, the family institution has undergone structural differentiation.
- It now has a much simpler structure—it is small and nuclear. The modern family has lost a lot of its old functions as well.



# NEIL SMELSER:STRUCTURAL DIFFERENTIATION

- The corporate institution has taken over the employment function, the formal education institution now provides schooling for the young, the government has taken over the welfare responsibilities, and so on.
- Each institution specializes in just one function, and the new institutions collectively perform better than did the old family structure.
- Modern society is more productive, children are better educated, and the needy receive more welfare than before.



# NEIL SMELSER:STRUCTURAL DIFFERENTIATION

- Smelser's analysis, however, goes beyond the concept of structural differentiation. Smelser has raised an important follow-up question:
  - What happens after a complicated institution has differentiated into many simpler ones? Smelser argues that although structural differentiation has increased the functional capacity of institutions, it has also created the problem of integration, that is, of coordinating the activities of the various new institutions.
  - The traditional family institution, for instance, was largely spared the problem of integration.
  - Many functions, such as economic production and protection, were carried out within the family.



# NEIL SMELSER:STRUCTURAL DIFFERENTIATION

- The children worked on the family farm and were dependent upon the family for protection. However, after the family underwent structural differentiation, integration problems arose in the modern society.
- Now there is the problem of coordinating the family institution and the economic institution, for the children need to go outside the family to find jobs.
- There is also the problem of coordinating the family institution and the protection institution, for the family can no longer protect family members from injustice in the workplace.
- In these respects, structural differentiation has created problems of integration.



# NEIL SMELSER:STRUCTURAL DIFFERENTIATION

- According to Smelser, new institutions and roles have to be created to coordinate the newly differentiated structures. For instance, to facilitate job hunting, new institutions such as college placement offices and newspaper advertisements needed to be created to bring the family institution and the economic institution together.
- And in order to protect employees from the abuse of employers, new organizations such as labor unions and the Department of Labor have been created to perform the protection function.
- Nevertheless, the problem of integration may still not have been solved satisfactorily.
- First, there is the issue of values conflict. A new Structure may have a set of values that are different from and in conflict with those of the old structure.



# NEIL SMELSER:STRUCTURAL DIFFERENTIATION

- New agencies such as the college job placement office, for example, stress affective-neutral social relationships, while the family emphasizes affective relationships. Children raised in the family context may find it difficult to adjust to the different values systems of the placement office and the workplace.
- Second, there is the issue of uneven development. Since institutions develop at different rates, there may be some that are not yet available although they are badly needed. For example, even though there is employer abuse, there may not be a trade union available to protect the interests of employees.
- According to Smelser, social disturbances are the result of lack of integration among differentiated Structures. These disturbances can take the form of peaceful agitation, political violence, nationalism, revolution, or guerrilla warfare.



# NEIL SMELSER:STRUCTURAL DIFFERENTIATION

- Those who are displaced by structural differentiation are most likely to participate in these social disturbances.
  - For example, in the rural areas of the Third World, production for the world market tends to create groups of poverty-stricken peasants, displaced from their local communities.
  - These groups often provide ready recruits for the Communist party.
- Using this framework of structural differentiation, problems of integration, and social disturbances, Smelser shows that modernization is not necessarily a smooth and harmonious process.
  - This framework serves to draw attention to the examination of the problems of integration and social disturbances that are so common in Third World countries.





# McCLELLAND'S ACHIEVEMENT MOTIVATION

- Which group is ultimately responsible for the economic modernization of the Third World Countries?
- According to McClelland (1964), domestic entrepreneurs, not politicians or Western advisers, play critical role.
- McClelland argues that researchers need to go beyond the study of economic indicators to the study of entrepreneurs.
- He also argues that policymakers need to invest in human beings, not just in economic infrastructures



# DAVID McCLELLAND'S ACHIEVEMENT MOTIVATION

- McClelland asserts that the goal of entrepreneurial activities is not the pursuit of profit
- What entrepreneurs really possess is a strong desire for achievement, for doing a good job, for thinking of a new way to improve present performance—a desire that McClelland calls “achievement motivation”, or the need for achievement.
- How can achievement orientation be measured? Questionnaires do not represent a good method on achievement at the individual level
- McClelland adopted the projection method to measure individual achievement motivation.



# DAVID McCLELLAND'S ACHIEVEMENT MOTIVATION

- How can national achievement motivation be measured?
- McClelland used the innovative method to measure achievement motivation at the national level. He collected popular literature and coded the degree of achievement displayed in each of them.
- To what extent is achievement orientation related to national economic development (as measured by consumption of electricity)?
- His research revealed that countries with high scores have high economic development
- It takes about 50 years for a nation's economic development to match its trend of rising achievement motivation



# DAVID McCLELLAND'S ACHIEVEMENT MOTIVATION

- Finally, what are the sources of achievement motivation? Where does it come from?
- McClelland tends to locate it in the family, especially the process of parental socialization.
- First, parents need to set high standards for achievement for their children
- Second, parents need to use the methods of encouragement and warmth in socialization
- Third, parents should not be authoritarian



# DAVID McCLELLAND'S ACHIEVEMENT MOTIVATION

- In addition, Western style education and cultural diffusion are helpful for Western-style education helpful in injecting achievement motivation into Third World countries
- The policy implication of this research is as follows:
- Promote achievement motivation among Third world entrepreneurs



# DAVID McCLELLAND'S ACHIEVEMENT MOTIVATION

- It is not sufficient for US to provide financial aid, technology and advice to Third World countries
- The Third World must have a group of high-achieving entrepreneurs who know how to turn foreign aid into productive investment
- McClelland further assumes that the more contacts Third World countries have with western countries the easier it will be for Third World people to adopt the traits of high achievement motivation.



# Activity

- What are the main contributions of Marion J. Levy to the sociological approach to modernization theory?
- What are the main contributions of Neil Smelser to the sociological approach to modernization theory?
- What are the main contributions of David McClelland to the psychological approach to modernization theory?



# References

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