

CONTENT ANALYSIS OF FICTION IN SECONDARY SCHOOL TEXTBOOKS

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The fiction contained in 36 textbooks, 16 Urdu and 20 English, prescribed by the four textbook boards of Pakistan for grades 6 to 10 were analyzed in terms of three major social motives: Achievement, Power and Affiliation. The total amount of fiction found in textbooks was low particularly in English textbooks.

The dominating imagery found in the Urdu textbooks was that of Affiliation followed by Power; in English textbooks it was Power followed by Affiliation. Achievement in both English and Urdu textbooks occupied the third place.

Education plays an extremely important role in the personality development of a child. When we say education it does not mean only the facts and information which he receives in the classroom, rather it encompasses the accumulated personality change which occurs as a result of the classroom teaching, socialization process and the leisure time activities.

The factual information which the child receives directly adds to his knowledge, whereas the fiction part has a psychological significance in his personality development. In a slow and gradual process, these contents engrain their marks on his personality. The fiction he reads provides a model for identification, which gives direction to his personality development.

It is very unfortunate that the significant role of fiction in the personality development and in process of education is being ignored by most of the educationists and parents. It is important to remember that the fiction which children apparently read leisurely has double role to play. It provides an opportunity to the child to identify with the main characters. The identification process gratifies the unfulfilled wishes. He can start participating, at imaginative level, in the events and situations in the fiction. This gives him psychological gratification and releases the stresses. When participating at imaginative level, he may come across frightening or traumatic experiences. Apparently it looks that it is an undesirable aspect. But in a way this has a therapeutic value. If in real life he comes across the same type of experience, it may have a lesser impact due to the repetition of the experience. At the same time involvement with the world of fiction provides an opportunity

to the child to explore his feelings and emotions in the same way as he explores the external world through his perceptions. Another important role which the fiction plays in the personality development and in the process of education, is that it provides an opportunity for modeling and imitation. The child tries to learn from the characters in the fiction. He unknowingly starts copying the characters from his favourite fiction. He perceives that his own behaviour and personality is exhibited through that character.

Analysis of imaginative literature is not a new idea for researchers. Most of the work in this field has grown directly out of investigation, initiated under the guidance of McClelland (1961, 1975). However, the pioneers of the technique are H. A. Murray and his colleagues (Murray, 1965) at the Harvard Psychological Clinic. In 1930's they invented the technique for assessing motivation and other personality dynamics. It concretized the rich insight of Freud that human motives are most clearly expressed in free associative thought. Murray's empirical work of more than a decade brought out numerous encouraging aspects of the usage of the technique of the analysis of imaginative contents. In 1947 when McClelland and his colleagues started research in area of human motivation there was hardly any firm factual evidence to justify the many intuitive inferences that were commonly being made from thematic apperception in clinical assessment of personality (Atkinson, 1958). They put their efforts to evolve a systematic and quantitative method for assessing human motivation. They finally evolved a detailed manual for content analysis of imaginative protocols to produce indices of the strength of three important social motives; Achievement, Affiliation and Power (Atkinson, 1958).

A wide range of studies done by McClelland and his followers (McClelland 1961, 1975) revealed that through the analysis of imaginative literature it is possible to know about the pattern of economic and social growth and also about the political behaviour of people in a society at a given time. He hypothesized that a concern for Achievement as expressed in imaginative literature, folk tales and children's stories is associated with a more rapid economic growth. This hypothesis was equally true both for the contemporary and preliterate nations. McClelland (1961) has summarized the findings of these research studies. He wanted to find out the generality of his hypothesis in various types of cultures and societies. For studying the achievement level in a preliterate society, he carried out the content analysis of folk tales prevailing in that culture. The folk tales are supposed to reveal the average level of motivation among those who recite and listen to them. Anthropologists were asked to carefully select 50 cultures and 12 typical folk tales from each of those cultures. The study concluded that the occupation of religious experts was more important or more highly developed in cultures with low Achievement. The study confirmed the hypothesis that

level of Achievement need of a society is a factor that is significantly related to entrepreneurial economic activity in a culture. Low achieving cultures are more concerned with preserving their traditions, specially in the religious sphere.

Through the analysis of imaginative written material it is possible to study the motivational trends in different societies in a historical perspective (McClelland, 1975). It was found, for example, that high Power with low Affiliation has been associated among modern nations with dictatorship, ruthlessness, suppression of liberty, and domestic and international violence; whereas high Affiliation with low Power symbolizes an era of relative peace. If Achievement is also high with this combination the prosperity is also indicated.

There were two major religious revivals during the period from roughly 1500–1800 for which the above analysis was made. A rise in Affiliation motive was found, preceding each of these revolutions. It was also found that there is normally a negative correlation between Power and Affiliation motives. If a person wants to control the means of influence he can not afford to be friendly with others. In some analyses both the motives were found to be of equal strength. Religious devotion and concern is an expression of this type of motivational pattern.

The study being reported here is a part of a larger study of fiction being read by secondary school students (Pervez, 1985). The portion reported here analyzes the fiction in the textbooks of secondary schools. The contents are analyzed with reference to the level of Achievement, Power and Affiliation motives found in the fiction. The underlying assumption is that the motivational trends propagated by the fiction contribute to setting up the motivational pattern in the target population. At the same time the analysis of imaginative written material (fiction) makes it possible to understand the feelings, needs, desires and motivational concerns of the author. Since an author is supposed to be a true reflector of the society, it can be concluded that the feelings, needs, desires and motives expressed by the author are fairly shared by the society as well.

METHOD

Selection of Material

Textbooks of Urdu and English for grades VI to X prescribed by the four provincial textbook boards were included in the study. Thirty six such books, 16 in Urdu and 20 in English, were selected for analysis. Only fiction (stories) were included in the analysis. The 16 Urdu textbooks contained 79

stories while the 20 English books had only 49. In terms of pages allocated to fiction, Urdu books contained more than twice the fiction contained in English textbooks. English textbooks of grade 6 did not contain any fiction at all, probably because at this level knowledge of English is so limited that the child is not expected to be able to read fiction, even of the simplest nature.

Research Technique

Since we were dealing with the imaginative printed material and assessing the three vital social motives, content analysis was considered the best technique of analysis. This technique describes the various aspects of a communication most precisely. It is a technique for objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest contents of the communication. For developing the analysis schedule the following decisions about the selection of analysis categories, units of analysis and system of enumeration were made.

- (a) **Analysis Categories:** McClelland and Atkinson's methodology (Atkinson, 1958) was used with a little modification in the sub-categories of analysis. The method classifies many of the aspects of behaviour and experiences of characters in the imaginative stories. The different aspects of the behaviour and experiences are given the name of sub-categories.
- (b) **Units of Analysis:** Each short story included in the textbooks was taken as unit of analysis.
- (c) **System of Enumeration:** The present study has "appearance" as the system of enumeration, that is, to search for the presence or absence of a certain attribute in a given Unit of Analysis.

The above mentioned three decisions gave the final shape to the analysis schedule for the coding system. The analysis schedule attempted to see if the attribute covered by the specific category of analysis is present or not in a given unit of analysis. The first step for starting the coding for any motive was to identify the presence or absence of the imagery of that particular motive. The unit of analysis, which was coded positively for the imagery of any of the motives, was further coded for the subsequent sub-categories. If the story did not have the imagery of the particular motive there was no need for looking for the remaining sub-categories. A brief description of the analysis categories (motives) and the sub-categories used in the analysis schedule is given below:

1. **Achievement Motive:** Achievement motive was defined as an attempt to compete with a standard of excellence for achieving something. For

scoring Achievement motive the most essential criterion is that the main character should do something or express a desire or intention to attain a goal with a standard of excellence. This standard of excellence may not always involve a competition with others but can be one's self-imposed requirement for the good performance; or competition with one's own previous performance. Another important situation in which Achievement motive is supposed to be present is the one where the character in the story tries to accomplish a unique task; such as an artistic creation, invention or any other extra-ordinary accomplishment. Achievement motive is also scored if the character is involved in attainment of a long term achievement goal.

2. Power Motive: Power Motive was considered present in a story if an attempt of controlling the means of influence has been found. The motive is also scored even if only the desire or intention of controlling the means of influence is expressed. Power motive was not to be scored if the utilization of physical power was meant for expressing hostility.

3. Affiliation Motive: Affiliation means a concern over establishing, maintaining or restoring a positive affective relationship with another person. Presence of Affiliation motive was inferred from some statements of how one feels about another person, how he reacts on the separation or disruption in an interpersonal relationship. An affiliative concern was inferred from the presence of generally accepted affiliative activities; parties, visits, reunions, etc. The relaxed small talks were scored for Affiliation motive if the conversation was not of problem solving nature. Presence of traditionally affiliative relations such as father-son, mother-son, lovers, etc., does not necessarily make the fiction scorable for Affiliative motive, unless a clear concern over maintaining or restoring the warm relationship is expressed.

Sub-Categories of Analysis

1. Imagery: Imagery for any motive was scored if the story contained any reference to the motive concerned. There has to be some reference of the thoughts, actions or feelings of main characters which indicates that he or she is motivated for the particular motive.

2. Instrumental Activity (I): This sub-category was scored if the main characters in the story were engaged in any overt or mental activity which leads towards attainment of the goal. The category is further divided into three parts; positive, negative and doubtful, depending upon the results. The desire, planning or intention of doing a thing does not make the story scorable for this sub-category.

3. Anticipatory Goal State (Ga): This sub-category was scored if the main characters in the story make any anticipation about the attainment of the

goal. It is further divided into two parts, namely, positive and negative. The Positive Goal Anticipation (Ga +) is scored if the character anticipates positive out-come and Negative Goal Anticipation (Ga -) is scored if the character anticipates a negative out-come or fears or doubts his success.

4. Personal Capabilities (PC): This sub-category was scored if there is a clear indication that the process of goal attainment is influenced by the personal capabilities of the main characters. This sub-category is further divided into two parts. If the process of goal attainment is accelerated due to the personal capabilities of the main characters then the Personal Capabilities Positive (PC +) was scored and if the process is felt blocked then Personal Capabilities Negative (PC-) is scored.

5. Environmental Press (P): It means the behaviour of the significant persons around the main characters who influence process of goal attainment. This is also divided into positive and negative. The Positive Press (P+) is scored if the significant persons around the main character aid, sympathize or encourage him for striving for the goal attainment. If the persons around him hinder or block the process of goal attainment, Negative Press (P-) is scored.

6. Affective State (G): It means the emotional expression or emotional reaction of the person to the success or failure of the out-come. It is divided into positive and negative sub-categories. Affective State Positive (G+) is scored if the main characters show a feeling of happiness or satisfaction over the goal attainment. The Negative Affective State (G-) is scored if he expresses frustration or sorrow over the failure. The Affective state category was scored only if the emotional expression is associated with the activity related to goal attainment.

7. Theme: Theme sub-category was scored for a motive only if the imagery of that motive is elaborated in such a way that it becomes the central plot of the story.

RESULTS

The contents of the material selected for the analysis were coded according to the analysis schedule, described above. This coding brings out the frequencies in various analysis categories.

Fiction in Urdu Textbooks

Table 1 shows that 47% fiction in Urdu textbooks contains the imagery of Achievement motive, whereas only in 19% stories the central theme revolves around Achievement motive. When we look into the sub-categories of analysis, we see that although there are 47% stories which contain the

Table 1
Percentages of the Stories containing the three
Motives in Urdu Textbooks

Sub-categories	Achievement	Power	Affiliation
Imagery	47	75	87
I+	23	29	56
I-	15	22	25
I?	0	1	1
Ga+	27	25	51
Ga-	0	5	9
Pc+	16	27	44
Pc-	13	10	23
P+	20	24	58
P-	20	25	28
G+	9	4	27
G-	10	6	14
Theme	19	27	54

Achievement imagery, only 38% show some practical efforts for the attainment of the goal; 23% activities are directed towards the successful attainment of the goal whereas there are 15% stories in which these activities are not successfully completed. It is interesting to note that in 27% stories the attainment of goal was positively anticipated but in none of the stories it was negatively anticipated; however, only in 16% stories the attainment of goal is a result of personal capabilities. The role of significant others in the attainment of goal is almost balanced, i.e., they are helpful in attaining the goal and at the same time they create hindrances. Another significant finding revealed through the table is that it rarely happens that the main character gives a bold

emotional expression on the success or failure of the attainment of the goal. Only 9% stories have positive emotional expression and 10% stories have negative emotional expression by the main character.

There is 75% fiction which contains the imagery of Power motive whereas in 27% of the fiction this motive is found as a central theme of the stories. In 29% stories the main character has been shown actively doing something resulting in positive outcome for the attainment of the goal; whereas in 22% stories the activity carried out for the goal attainment brings negative results. It is interesting to note that in 25% stories the main character positively anticipates his goal attainment and only in 5% cases he anticipates negatively. Most of the time the goal is achieved due to personal capabilities (27%); only in 10% cases the failure is considered a result of personal limitations. The significant people around the main character show a mixed sort of role. They are almost equally facilitating and hindering the process of goal attainment. In a small number of stories some emotional expression is shown on the success or failure of the outcome.

Affiliation imagery appears in 87% stories, and there are 54% stories which have Affiliation motive as the main theme, 56% stories show the main character doing some activity for attainment of the Affiliation goal, resulting in a successful outcome, whereas in 25% stories the activity ends in a failure. A very small proportion anticipates the attainment of goal negatively. In 51% stories attainment of goal is anticipated positively. In 44% stories the success in the attainment of goal, i.e., establishing the affiliative relationship, is attributed to the personal capabilities whereas in 23% cases the failure is considered a result of personal limitations.

The table shows that the environmental press is generally playing a positive role in the attainment of goal, there are only 20% stories in which the significant people around the main character tried to block the process of attainment of the goal. The data show that there is a tendency in the main characters to avoid any type of affective reaction on the success or failure of the goal attainment. 27% stories have incidence of positive affective reaction while 14% stories show a negative affective reaction by the main character on the success or failure in the goal attainment.

Fiction in English Textbooks

Table 2 shows that in 51% units of analysis (stories) the imagery of Achievement motive was found, but in only 27% stories the motive served as the central theme. An equal number of stories show the active efforts by the central character resulting in the positive outcome of attainment of the goal. There are only 10% stories which show that the activity for the attainment of the goal resulted in a failure. It is revealed from the table that in only 31%

Table 2
 Percentages of the Stories containing the three
 Motives in English Textbooks

Sub-categories	Achievement	Power	Affiliation
Imagery	51	78	65
I+	27	41	49
I-	10	6	6
I?	0	0	0
Ga+	31	22	24
Ga-	0	2	4
Pc+	16	43	37
Pc-	10	22	6
P+	25	35	39
P-	8	27	29
G+	16	2	8
G-	4	2	2
Theme	27	39	35

cases the attainment of goal was anticipated positively. There are only 16% stories in which the success in the attainment was attributed to the personal capabilities, while in 10% cases the failure was regarded a result of personal incapacibilities. In English textbooks it is found that the significant people around the main character play a fairly positive role in the attainment of the goal (25%) and the number of people blocking the process of attainment is quite low (8%). It is very rare that a negative emotional expression is given on the failure. Positive affective expressions are also quite rare on the successful attainment of the goal.

There are 78% stories which contain the imagery of Power motive; but there are only 39% stories in which it is treated as the central theme. In 41% stories the main character has been shown as doing some activity with a successful outcome for the attainment of the goal. In 6% stories the outcome of the activity was a failure. There is only one story in which the outcome was negatively anticipated while in 22% of the stories it was positively anticipated. In fairly good number of stories (43%) the success was attributed to the personal capabilities whereas in 22% stories the failure was taken as a result of personal incapacities. The role of environmental press is somewhat balanced. In 35% stories the significant people are accelerating the process of goal achievement while in 27% cases they are blocking the way. Any type of emotional expression on the failure or success in goal attainment is not shown.

A large number of stories (65%) contain the imagery of Affiliation motive and more than half of these, i.e., 35% of the total stories have the motive as the central theme. There are 49% stories which show some activity by the central character resulting in the positive outcome for the attainment of Affiliative motive; while there are only 6% stories in which the activity resulted in the negative outcome. A positive goal attainment is anticipated in 24% stories while in 4% a failure in the goal attainment was apprehended. In 37% stories the success in goal attainment was attributed to the personal capabilities whereas in only 6% stories the failure was considered a result of personal incapacities. The attitude of significant people around the main character is more positive than negative. There are 39% stories in which significant people accelerated the process of goal attainment; whereas in 29% stories attempts were made to block the process of goal attainment. As it was found for other motives also, the emotional expression on the success or failure in goal attainment is very rare. In 8% stories a positive affective expression is found whereas negative emotional expression is found only in one story.

Comparison of Urdu and English Textbooks

Table 3 shows that there is not much difference in the percentages of the stories containing imagery of Achievement and Power motives in Urdu and English textbooks. Urdu books have Achievement imagery in 47% stories whereas in English textbooks it is found in 51% stories. The Power motive is also found almost in equal number of stories in Urdu and English textbooks. In Urdu textbooks it is in 75% stories whereas 78% stories in English textbooks contain imagery for the motive. One of the significant results which the data reveals is that Urdu textbooks are promoting Affiliation motive much more than the English textbooks. In Urdu textbooks there are 87% stories which contain Affiliation motive. This percentage makes the motive strongest in Urdu textbook fiction. The English fiction assigns the middle

Table 3

Percentages of the Stories containing the three
Motives in Urdu and English Textbooks

Sub-Categories	Urdu Textbooks			English Textbooks		
	Ach.	Pow.	Aff.	Ach.	Pow.	Aff.
Imagery	47	75	87	51	78	65
I+	23	29	56	27	41	45
I-	15	22	25	10	6	6
I?	0	0	1	0	0	0
Ga+	24	15	51	31	22	24
Ga-	0	5	9	0	2	4
Pc+	16	27	44	16	43	37
Pc-	13	10	23	10	22	6
P+	20	24	58	25	35	35
P-	20	25	28	8	24	29
G+	9	4	27	16	2	8
G-	11	6	14	4	2	2
Theme	19	24	54	27	39	35

position to Affiliation motive. The similar type of hierarchy is found in the central themes.

The highest percentage of themes in Urdu textbooks have Affiliation motive, whereas English textbooks contain a majority of themes with Power motive. It is interesting to note that Affiliation motive is the one which has recorded greatest proportion of stories for the activity categories. It shows that the central characters have been shown more actively striving for at-

taining the affiliative goal rather than other goals. Further, it can be concluded that the fiction in the textbooks promotes strong efforts for establishing and maintaining the affiliative relationship.

DISCUSSION

Pakistan is a new country which came into being as a result of a long and dedicated struggle of the Muslims of the sub-continent against the socio-economic and political suppression by the rulers. The Muslims demanded and succeeded in getting their share of land having people from different social and ethnic sub-cultures, various levels of economic growth and also with different shades of political thinking. The one factor which tied them together was their religious beliefs. This was the 'force' which organized these bits into one big entity, and this was named Pakistan.

The geographical regions which Pakistan was comprised of were economically among the most backward parts of the British India. They lacked any industrial base and literacy rate was very low. Per capita income and GNP was also very low in the newly formed Pakistan. This backwardness was one of the important reasons for the demand of an independent country. It was hoped that once freedom is achieved, Muslims of the sub-continent will be able to accelerate the process of development in social and economic fields. However, last 38 years' history shows that this expectation was not fulfilled. Economists, Sociologists and Politicians have tried to give their own explanations of the phenomena. As Psychologists we feel that lack of motivation to achieve the prosperity was one of the significant reasons which has retarded the process of development in our country.

The present organizational pattern of our society is a result of the inheritance of this socio-political background. The specific characteristics of our society are very clearly indicated by the motivational trends revealed through the analysis of the fiction in children's textbooks.

It is difficult to decide whether the economic growth is at lower level in our society because the fiction has set up the Achievement motive at a lower level, or the Achievement motive has become lower because of the lower level of economic growth. However, the positive relationship of the Achievement motive and economic growth can not be ignored. There may be a circular relationship between these two factors; it is a chain reaction. If we want to accelerate the rate of economic growth in the country we should try to break this circular relationship.

An interesting aspect of Achievement motive is that only in one-third of the Achievement oriented stories the personal capabilities are considered helpful in the process of goal attainment. In majority of the fiction the goal

is attained by the outside help or by chance. This type of fiction is setting up an atmosphere conducive to fatalistic attitude which consequently may further lower down the achievement level. In our daily life it is observed that the significance of affiliative relationship is over-emphasized. As a part of socialization the child is trained to respect and value the affiliative relationship. The result of our study shows that Affiliation is the strongest motive in the stories in the textbooks. In the early years of socialization the Affiliative motive is emphasized by the parents and the family. At the later stage of childhood this role is taken over by the textbooks. The stories contained by the textbooks emphasize what the society demands.

A slightly alarming aspect of this motive becomes evident when we find that there is very little difference between the strength of Power and Affiliation motives. The research studies have shown that usually Power and Affiliation motives have a negative correlation. These two motives are usually in conflict with each other. Because the person with high Affiliative motive wants to be friendly, he wants to love and to be loved, whereas Power motive is high in a person who wants to control others, guide others or dominate others. It creates a state of conflict in personal goals. But if he becomes a committed religious leader, as suggested by Boyatzis (1972) he can satisfy both the goals. Through a commitment towards religion, dedicated love and affiliation with God, he satisfies his Affiliative motive, whereas through preaching or motivating others for following religion or for adopting religious practices, he can satisfy his need of controlling and influencing others, i.e., the Power motive.

When we see the findings of our study in the present social perspective, it seems reasonable to advise that the children should be encouraged to develop a love and devotion towards religion. Affiliation and Power motives are almost equally high in the textbooks. The children who are exposed to these textbooks, it is apprehended, may develop a conflict between their personal goals. If they identify with the fiction in the text and introject the motives propagated by the contents, they may develop a dissonance. The dissonance being psychologically uncomfortable, the person is moved to try to reduce the dissonance and to achieve consonance. The best way of resolving the dissonance at this stage is that these children should be guided to devote themselves towards religion. But it should be watched properly that they should not involve themselves so much in religion that they become fanatic. McClelland (1975), while describing the religious revival of the mid-seventeenth century in England concluded that religious revival while satisfying certain human needs, also promotes a reformist zeal in the public against the oppression by the power elites and it even leads to ruthlessness. It is possible that on the name of God they may start fighting each other. This may happen if the Power motive becomes stronger than the Affiliative motive. An extra care should be taken if this type of pattern emerges in any society.

Another significant aspect of the results is that an explicit expression of emotions on the success or the failure is very rare. If we interpret this aspect in the light of the socialization practices in our society, its significance and validity is enhanced. From the very beginning we are trained not to show off or to be proud on the things we achieve. Modesty and humbleness is always appreciated. Similarly, we are expected to accept the failure calmly. Most of the time the failure or success is considered a result of fate or luck. This fatalistic approach towards goal attainment is also indicated from the fact that only in a small percentage of stories the goal attainment or the failure in goal attainment was considered a result of personal capabilities or incapacibilities.

A somewhat healthier aspect of this fiction is that an optimistic attitude is being promoted through it. The attainment of goal is more often anticipated positively than negatively. Similarly, the role of significant people is usually perceived positive rather than negative.

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