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ACCULTURATIVE STRESS IN MODERN MAORI ADOLESCENCE [1]

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To anyone concerned with cross-cultural and dynamic aspects of adolescent personality development, modern Maori culture offers almost unlimited research opportunities. With the onset of adolescence in Western culture, children are expected to strive more for *primary status* based on their own efforts, competence, and performance ability and to strive less for *derived status* predicated on their personal qualities and on their dependent relationship to and intrinsic acceptance by parents, relatives, and peers. Concomitantly, in support of this shift in the relative importance and availability of primary and derived status, adolescents are expected to be less dependent than children on the approval of their elders, to play a more active role in formulating their own goals, and to relate more intimately to peers than to parents. They are also under greater pressure to persevere in goal striving despite serious setbacks, to postpone immediate hedonistic gratification in favor of achieving long range objectives, and to exercise more initiative, foresight, executive independence, responsibility, and self-discipline (2).

But what happens to adolescent development in cultures such as the Maori where the importance of derived status is not de-emphasized to the same extent during and after adolescence as is customary in Western civi-

CHILD DEVELOPMENT

lization, where youth and adults alike continue to obtain a substantial portion of their self-esteem from a broad-based system of mutual psychological support, emotional interdependence, and reciprocal obligations (4, 7)? What course does adolescent personality development take when the culture is less concerned than ours with personal ambition, self-enhancing achievement, and other self-aggrandizing features of primary status and places greater stress on task-oriented motivation, on kinship obligations, on the enhancement of group welfare and prestige, and on the social values of working cooperatively toward common objectives (4)? Do traits important for implementing achievement goals (e.g., persistence, self-denial) develop when the attainment of vocational success is considered a less important reason for living and criterion of status in the community (4)? Are personality outcomes markedly different when peers rather than parents are the principal socializing agents and sources of derived status prior to adolescence (7), when, instead of abrupt emancipation from the home and general alienation from the adult community during adolescence, rapprochement with parents and the adult world occurs (6, 7) and adolescents assume the role of junior adults instead of living in a separate world of peripheral status (school and peer group) as in our society (7)?

Adding further interest to the problem of modern Maori adolescence is the fact that the above description by the Beagleholes is more typical of an earlier period in the post-withdrawal phase[2] of Maori acculturation, whereas Ritchie's and Mulligan's accounts are more typical of the current adolescent scene in an isolated and relatively backward rural Maori community. The present-day Maori, both in more progressive rural areas and in urban centers, are generally much further along on the acculturation continuum; and the perpetuative device of semicomplete physical, social, and psychological withdrawal, whereby an attenuated version of traditional Maori culture was preserved in the face of external pressures to change, although still a factor to be reckoned with today, is a less vigorous social reality than even a decade ago. In the struggle for the value orientations and emotional identification of the coming generation of Maori adults, adolescence constitutes the major psychological battleground on which the conflicting claims of two contrasting cultures are being fought. The Maori

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[2] The Maori, a Polynesian people, migrated to New Zealand about 1350 A.D., probably from the Society Islands. Initial contact with Europeans, beginning in 1769, was largely characterized by the incorporation of selected aspects of European goods and technical processes into traditional Maori social and economic organization without any fundamental changes in the value system. Threatened, however, by massive European colonization and coercive alienation of their land, contrary to treaty guarantees, the Maori were forced into war with the British colonists. Catastrophically defeated but not annihilated after a dozen years of bitter conflict (1860-1872), they withdrew, resentful and disillusioned, into reservation-like areas and villages. Emergence from this withdrawal and entrance into the mainstream of New Zealand life first began in earnest with the onset of World War II and is still continuing, despite growing indications of color prejudice and discrimination.

DAVID P. AUSUBEL

adolescent is still caught midstream between two worlds, but in most dis-
tricts of New Zealand he is considerably closer to the *pakeha* (European)
shore than previous investigators have pictured him.

PROBLEM AND RESEARCH DESIGN

The present study was concerned with the psychological mechanisms
through which this cultural tug of war is carried on and influences the
outcome of Maori adolescence. It approached this problem by seeking to
identify culturally determined uniformities and differences in the person-
ality structure and development of Maori and pakeha adolescents and how
they are transmitted to the developing individual. More specifically, it
sought (a) to identify Maori-pakeha uniformities and differences in ex-
pressed and internalized levels of academic and vocational aspiration and
in the kinds of motivations underlying these aspirations; (b) to identify
Maori-pakeha uniformities and differences in supportive personality traits
important for the realization of achievement goals; and (c) to relate these
motivational and other personality differences to cultural and interpersonal
factors and mechanisms that account for their transmission from one genera-
tion to the next.

Another focus of research concern was on urban-rural differences in
aspirational pattern among Maori adolescents and on the relative magnitude
of Maori-pakeha differences in urban and rural areas. An attempt was also
made to assess the relative magnitude and significance of Maori-pakeha
differences by comparing them to urban-rural differences.

The general plan was to utilize a rural and an urban group of Maori
male adolescents and comparable groups of pakeha adolescents from the
same localities. Partly because of the advantage of ready accessibility to
subjects and partly because one focus of inquiry was on academic aspira-
tions, only young adolescents attending school were studied. Fifty Maori
and 50 pakeha subjects in each sample (urban and rural) were drawn from
the same secondary schools and were matched individually on the basis of
grade, course, ability group, and father's occupation. The purpose of using
matched groups of Maori and pakeha pupils and both urban and rural
samples was to distinguish between distinctively Maori personality traits,
on the one hand, and traits assimilated from pakeha culture, on the other,
and to isolate the effects of Maori culture on personality from the effects
induced by the unequal operation of such factors as occupation, social class
status, urban-rural residence, and academic aptitude on Maori and pakeha
populations. Because of generally higher pakeha than Maori IQs in the same
ability groupings and the unavailability of sufficient subjects, it was not
possible to match subjects on the basis of IQ. Separate matchings were
conducted for the Maori-pakeha and the urban-rural comparisons.

The procedures and instruments used in this study included: (a) struc-
tured academic and vocational interviews with pupils; (b) Test of Occupa-

619

CHILD DEVELOPMENT

tional Prestige Needs (3); (c) Achievement Imagery Test (5); (d) Vocational Tenacity Test (3); (e) Responsiveness to Prestige Incentives Test (1); (f) teachers' ratings of motivational and aspirational traits; and (g) participant observation at community functions (tribal committee and tribal executive meetings, *huis*,[3] *tangis*,[3] weddings, sports meetings, birthday parties, etc.), and informal interviews with parents, teachers, Vocational Guidance Officers, Maori Welfare Officers, community leaders, and clergymen.

Since there is no such thing as a "typical" Maori community and since no attempt was made in this study to use a stratified sample representative of the Maori population in New Zealand, the findings may be properly generalized only to Maori communities similar to those used in this research, i.e., to urban provincial centers and to relatively prosperous Maori rural districts with roughly equal numbers of Maori and pakeha inhabitants and better than average race relations. Implications from these findings for the educational and vocational achievement of Maori youth *as a whole* are only tentative and suggestive and would have to be confirmed by research on a more representative sample of Maori adolescents (i.e., drawn from the various main types of Maori districts) before they could be generalized more widely.

THE FINDINGS

Matched groups of Maori and pakeha secondary school pupils exhibited a striking measure of over-all similarity in educational and vocational aspirations, underlying motivations for achievement, supportive traits, and perceptions of both prevailing opportunities and family and peer group pressures for achievement. This finding supports the view that many (but by no means all) of the traits commonly regarded as typically Maori are largely reflective of low occupational and social class status, predominantly rural residence, and environmentally stunted verbal intelligence. Some Maori-pakeha differences may have been obscured in part either because of insufficient sensitivity of the measuring instruments or because of their transparency to the subjects. This possibility, however, is discounted both by the adequate range of variability obtained for the various instruments and by the substantial degree of intercultural uniformity found in relation to those measures where transparency was impossible. In fact, obtained Maori-pakeha differences are probably overestimates of true differences since the pakeha sample was favored by several factors that could not be controlled by matching.

The major finding of this study was the much greater similarity between Maori and pakeha pupils with respect to their expressed educational and vocational aspirations than with respect to those factors necessary for the internalization and implementation of these aspirations, namely, underlying

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[3] *hui*—a large Maori gathering; *tangi*—ceremonial Maori mourning rites.

DAVID P. AUSUBEL

needs and motivations for achievement, supportive traits, and perceived pressures and opportunities for academic and occupational success. In terms of over-all magnitude and prestigefulness of academic and vocational aspirations, Maori and pakeha samples were not significantly different. But although the stated aspirations of Maori pupils are not later internalized and implemented to the same extent as are those of pakeha pupils—because of the absence of suitable cultural, family, and peer group pressures and supports—there was no reason to believe that they were insincere or did not correspond to genuine intentions at the time that they were reported. Maori aspirations were especially expansive in relation to more remote goals (i.e., School Certificate, university, hypothetical vocational ambitions) unconstrained by current reality considerations and were more restrained in relation to less distant goals, i.e., end of the year marks, improvement of scholastic standing in the class.

Assimilation of pakeha academic and vocational aspirations by Maori pupils—despite inadequate later internalization and implementation—is a datum of tremendous cultural and psychological significance. It constitutes an all-important first step in the taking over of pakeha achievement patterns and is indicative of a degree of acculturation that undoubtedly was not present 20 or even 10 years ago. Maori acculturation has evidently proceeded to the point where it can sustain the generation—if not the implementation —of European educational and occupational ambitions. The development of these aspirations during late childhood and early adolescence is facilitated by considerable contact with the school and with the wider pakeha culture and by relatively poor communication with parents and the Maori adult community. As this communication improves and as Maori adolescents begin to perceive more accurately the lack of strong cultural and family pressures for educational and vocational achievement, their ambitions not only fall far short of realization but are also drastically lowered.

Pakeha pupils had higher occupational prestige needs than Maori pupils and considered vocational achievement a more important life goal.[4] They also gave higher ratings to such factors as prestige, wealth, and advancement as reasons for seeking occupational and academic success. Maori pupils, on the other hand, were more highly motivated by task-oriented ("interest in studies," "liking job") and group welfare ("to help others") considerations. Urban pakeha pupils were more highly rated by teachers than their Maori counterparts on such supportive traits as persistence, attentiveness, conscientiousness, planfulness, and initiation of activity; and in the rural school pakeha pupils did more studying for examinations.

Because of poor parent-child communication in our Maori sample, obtained Maori-pakeha differences in *perceived* family pressures and opportunities for educational and vocational achievement were less striking than those actually prevailing and noted in the course of participant observation

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[4] All differences reported in this paper were significant at the .05 level of confidence or better.

621

CHILD DEVELOPMENT

and informal interviews. Nevertheless, pakeha parents were still perceived as demanding higher school marks than Maori parents and as prodding more about homework. Pakeha pupils were more optimistic than their Maori age-mates about the chances of achieving occupational success and saw fewer obstacles in their path. Another indication of defective parent-child communication was the fact that only about one quarter of the Maori pupils had any insight into the existence of blatant anti-Maori discriminatory practices in employment.

As predicted, Maori-pakeha differences were greater in the urban than in the rural environment. Despite being more highly acculturated than rural Maoris, urban Maoris have not yet assimilated the urban pakeha pattern as completely as rural Maoris have assimilated the rural pakeha pattern. This, of course, is largely a function of the recency of Maori migration to the cities. In addition to the fact that rural life is much closer than urban to his indigenous pre-pakeha culture, the Maori has had at least a hundred years more time in accustoming himself to it.

With progressive urbanization of the Maori population, urban-rural differences among Maori adolescent pupils are becoming increasingly more important, even though these differences in aspirational and motivational traits are currently less conspicuous than corresponding uniformities. Many factors undoubtedly contributed to the finding that Maori pupils in our urban sample were closer to pakeha norms in these traits than were rural Maori pupils. These factors include selective migration to the city of vocationally more ambitious youth, the greater acculturation of long-standing urban residents, the difficulty of practicing Maori cultural values in the city, and less exposure to traditional practices and to the influence of Maori elders and of the Maori peer group.

Differences between urban and rural Maori pupils were most marked with respect to expressed educational and vocational aspirations, prestige motivation, desire for occupational success, and supportive traits. Urban pupils strove more for top marks and were more desirous of improving their class standing, had higher occupational prestige needs, made higher scores on the Achievement Imagery Test, and valued occupational achievement more highly. They also spent more time on homework and in studying for examinations. Although they perceived more obstacles in their path, they were more hopeful of eventually achieving vocational success. Consistent urban-rural differences were not found in relation to task-oriented and group welfare motivation and perceived family pressures for achievement. It seems, therefore, that urban surroundings may encourage pakeha aspirations, motivations, and supportive traits without immediately attenuating Maori motivations. Since Maori parents were only recent arrivals to the city, they apparently did not play an important role in transmitting pakeha achievement patterns to their children; they were not perceived by the latter as demanding higher educational and vocational achievement than were the parents of rural pupils. Urban parents, however, gave the impression

622

DAVID P. AUSUBEL

of being less authoritarian than their rural counterparts, seemed to have less contact with and control over their children, and generally played a less important role in determining their children's choice of career.

With the progressive advance of Maori acculturation and migration to urban centers, the increasing importance of urban-rural differences among the Maori people has been paralleled by a corresponding decrease in the magnitude of Maori-pakeha differences. A credible hypothesis supported by our data would be that Maori acculturation with respect to aspirational patterns has proceeded to the point where, in rural areas, Maori and pakeha pupils are more similar to each other than are urban and rural Maori adolescents. In the city, however, Maori youth are, *relatively speaking,* not quite as far along on the acculturation continuum: Maori and pakeha pupils are still more different from each other than are matched urban and rural pupils within the Maori population.

FACTORS AFFECTING VOCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT

Parental Influences

Maori parents are less sophisticated than their pakeha counterparts about vocational matters and are accordingly less capable of assisting their children with appropriate information, advice, and guidance. Even if they were more capable in these respects, however, they would still be handicapped in transmitting helpful insights from their own life experience because of the conspicuous estrangement and lack of adequate communication existing between them and their children, especially in urban centers. In view of their smaller incomes and larger families, Maori parents are also more reluctant to commit themselves to supporting plans requiring long-term vocational preparation. Many are greatly confused about the standards of behavior they should properly expect and demand from their adolescent children, and others are ambivalent about letting the latter leave home in search of better vocational opportunities.

Maori parents tend to adopt more permissive and laissez-faire attitudes than pakeha parents toward their children's vocational careers. Despite occasional and inconsistent displays of authoritarianism in this regard, they are usually content to let them drift. They apply fewer coercive pressures and extend less support and encouragement in relation to the long-term occupational ambitions of their children. Their own values concerning vocational achievement and the example they set their children also tend to encourage the adoption of a short-term view. In practice, they make few demands for the deferment of immediate hedonistic satisfactions and for the internalization of supportive traits consistent with high academic and occupational attainment. It is small wonder, therefore, that Maori adolescents are unable to resist the lure of immediate "big money" in unskilled laboring jobs. Although they tend in early adolescence to lack adequate insight into their parents' lack of genuine commitment to educational and vocational

623

CHILD DEVELOPMENT

achievement, Maori pupils in our sample perceived fewer family pressures regarding these matters than did pakeha pupils.

Peer Group Influences

Maori pupils also receive less encouragement from their peers than pakeha pupils do to strive for vocational achievement. Not only is occupational success less highly valued in the Maori than in the pakeha peer culture, but the greater availability of *derived status*—based solely on membership in and intrinsic acceptance by the group—also removes much of the incentive for seeking *primary status* based on individual competence and performance. In districts where community morale is low and juvenile delinquency flourishes, vocational achievement tends to be negatively sanctioned.

Cultural Influences

Greater emphasis on derived than on primary status and on the task-oriented and group welfare features of primary status (rather than on its self-aggrandizing aspects) is generally characteristic of Maori culture. Less concerned with achieving occupational prestige, the Maori is less willing than the pakeha to internalize traits important for implementing achievement goals, i.e., to practice self-denial and self-discipline and to persevere in the face of adversity. Valuing personal relationships, derived status, and kinship ties above material possessions and occupational prestige, helpfulness, generosity, hospitality, and sociability count for more in his eyes than punctuality, thrift, and methodicalness.

Many Maori attitudes toward work, stemming both from his indigenous and current value system as well as from his pre-pakeha organization of economic life, impede his vocational adjustment. In the first place, he is less accustomed than the pakeha to regular and steady employment. Second, he finds dull, monotonous labor less congenial than the pakeha does. Third, the concept of thrift for vocational or economic purposes is more foreign to him. Fourth, he has greater ties of kinship and sentiment to the locality of his birth and is less eager to migrate to other districts. Fifth, he does not value work as an end in itself, as a badge of respectability, or as a means of getting on in the world. Last, he is more dependent than the pakeha on the psychological support of an intimate group in his work environment.

Another factor limiting the vocational achievement of Maori youth is the relatively low occupational status and morale of Maori adults. Young people lack the encouragement of a tradition and a high current standard of vocational accomplishment in the ethnic group. They are also denied the practical benefits of guidance and financial backing that would follow from the existence of such a standard and tradition. On the other hand, they are discouraged by the marginal economic position of their elders, by social demoralization (i.e., wretched housing and sanitation, alcoholism, apathy,

624

DAVID P. AUSUBEL

neglect of children) in many communities, and by the institutionalization of a period of occupational drifting during late adolescent and early adult life. Compounding this situation is the overly casual, "She'll be right" attitude that is generally rampant in New Zealand and the absence of sufficient incentive for a young person to acquire a trade or profession. This is largely a function of an undifferentiated national wage scale which places a tremendous premium on unskilled manual labor.

Racial Prejudice

Finally, discriminatory employment practices deriving from color prejudice and from the popular stereotype of the Maori as lazy, undependable, and capable of only rough, manual labor tend to bar Maoris from many higher status occupations in banks, commercial establishments, private offices, shops, and skilled trades. Maori boys desiring apprenticeships are usually required to migrate to the principal centers where they face further discrimination in obtaining suitable board and lodging. The denial of equal occupational opportunity to Maori youth constitutes the most serious and prognostically least hopeful factor impeding Maori vocational achievement, since color prejudice is not only deeply ingrained and increasing in the pakeha population, but its existence is also categorically denied by both the people and Government of New Zealand.

FACTORS AFFECTING MAORI EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT

Home Influences

Despite their high educational aspirations, incomparably fewer Maori than pakeha pupils take or pass the School Certificate Examination, enter the upper grades of post-primary school, attend the university, or obtain a university degree. Home factors are largely responsible for this situation. Many Maori parents have had little schooling themselves and hence are unable to appreciate its value or see much point in it. Although they accept the necessity for post-primary education, they do not provide active, whole-hearted support for high level academic performance by demanding conscientious study and regular attendance from their children.

Maori pupils tend to lead two distinct lives—one at school and one at home in the pa.[5] There is little carry-over from school to home, but probably much more in the reverse direction. Conflict between home and school standards exists until middle adolescence and is resolved by the dichotomization of behavior: each standard prevails in its own setting. Thereafter, parental values, reinforced by increased contact with the Maori adult community, tend to predominate over the influence exerted by the school and the wider pakeha culture.

In addition to the fact that Maori parents are less vitally concerned with their children's educational achievement than are pakeha parents, they are

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[5] pa—a nucleated Maori settlement or village.

625

CHILD DEVELOPMENT

less capable of helping them with their lessons. Because of their larger families, they also have less time to do so. Living more frequently in outlying rural areas, they are less able than pakeha parents to consult with headmaster and teachers. Divided responsibility for children, because of the common Maori practice of adoption and the greater informality and irregularity of marital arrangements, further compounds this situation.

Keeping a large family of children in secondary school constitutes a heavy economic burden on Maori parents in view of their low per capita income and the substantial hidden costs of "free" education. Maori pupils have more onerous household, dairying, and gardening chores to perform than their pakeha classmates and seldom have a quiet place in which to do their homework. Their parents may also remove them to another district during the shearing season. They are further handicapped by inadequate lighting and late hour social activities in the home, and frequently by serious malnutrition.

Cultural Influences

Maori cultural values regarding achievement have had a less adverse effect on the educational than on the vocational accomplishments of Maori youth. In the first place, acculturative progress has been greater in the educational than in the vocational sphere. Second, since motivations for educational achievement are referable to the less remote future, they are influenced less by the values of the peer group and of the adult Maori community. But, although Maori intellectual traditions and traditional respect for learning have been seriously eroded, the loss has not been adequately compensated for by a corresponding acquisition of European intellectual values and pursuits. The modern Maori tends to be distrustful of book learning, intellectuals, and higher education. This attitude is in part a reflection of residual disenchantment with pakeha education stemming from the Maori Wars and subsequent withdrawal.

Other limiting factors in the current cultural situation of the Maori include the relatively low educational attainment of most Maori adults, the absence of a strong academic tradition, residence in remote areas where there are only district high schools or no post-primary facilities whatsoever, and serious staffing problems in most Maori district high schools. But, since the percentage of Maoris attending secondary schools is progressively increasing, many of these problems will gradually disappear.

Adjustive Difficulties

Coming as they frequently do from small rural schools where they are in the majority, know all of their fellow-pupils, and enjoy intimate personal relationships with their teachers, Maori pupils experience more difficulties than their pakeha classmates in adjusting to the new secondary school environment. Less well prepared academically for post-primary studies·and less accustomed to impersonal and authoritarian teacher attitudes, they often

626

DAVID P. AUSUBEL

tend to develop serious feelings of personal inadequacy. In many secondary schools, also, teachers adopt covertly antagonistic and overtly patronizing attitudes toward Maori pupils. They accept them on sufferance only, feeling that it is a waste of time, effort, and money to educate Maoris since they "only go back to the mat." Hence, they offer the latter little encouragement to remain in school beyond the minimal leaving age.

Stunting of Verbal Intelligence

Maori pupils are undoubtedly handicapped in academic achievement by a lower average level of intellectual functioning than is characteristic of comparable pakeha pupils. In both our urban and rural samples, particularly the latter, Maori pupils had significantly lower Otis IQs than their pakeha classmates. They were also retarded in arithmetic, English usage, and ability to handle abstract concepts. This retardation is attributable to two main factors: (a) the status of the Maori people as a generally underprivileged lower-class minority group with unusually large families and (b) special disabilities associated with problems of acculturation. Pointing to the environmental rather than to the genic origin of these differences is the fact that urban IQs were higher than rural IQs in both Maori and pakeha samples and that the Maori-pakeha difference was significantly lower in the urban than in the rural sample. The extreme intellectual impoverishment of the Maori home *over and above* its rural or lower social class status reflects the poor standard of both Maori and English spoken in the home and the general lack of books, magazines, and stimulating conversation.

The low average level of intellectual functioning among Maori pupils cannot be dismissed simply as a function of test bias or of "language difficulty." The inability to handle verbal concepts that leads to low intelligence test scores is undoubtedly of environmental origin; nevertheless, it renders individuals no more competent. to handle analogous verbal materials in educational and vocational situations than if it were hereditary in origin.

Bilingualism

The widely held view that the bilingualism of the Maori child is responsible for his educational retardation is not adequately supported by research data. Competent observers have failed to note any negative relationship between bilingualism, on the one hand, and school marks or passes on School Certificate English, on the other. Cook Islanders, Fijians, and Samoans tend to be more bilingual than Maoris and yet are academically more successful in New Zealand secondary schools and universities. Although rigorous research is urgently needed in this area, it may be tentatively concluded that the language retardation of Maori secondary school pupils is attributable to the poor standard of English spoken in the home and to the generally impoverished intellectual environment in Maori rural districts rather than to bilingualism per se. When Maori children grow up in the intellectually more stimulating urban environment, mental and language retardation is markedly reduced.

627

CHILD DEVELOPMENT

Sources of Maori-Pakeha Differences in Motivational Traits

The ultimate source of Maori-pakeha differences in adolescent personality development may be attributed to two core aspects of traditional Maori value structure dealing with the basis of self-esteem: (a) greater emphasis on *derived status* throughout the entire life cycle of the individual and (b) less emphasis on the self-aggrandizing aspects and greater emphasis on task- and group-oriented aspects of *primary status*. The Maori of old highly valued primary status as a proper source of self-esteem and fostered achievement motivation in youth by encouraging appropriate supportive traits (e.g., persistence, enterprise, organizational ability). But the self-aggrandizing features of primary status (i.e., personal ambition, individualism, competitiveness, compulsive need to work, relentless anxiety-driven drives to succeed), although not unknown, were not as highly emphasized as in pakeha society. Greater stress was laid on mastery of skills for its socioeconomic importance, on pride of craftsmanship, and on the personal satisfactions of meritorious accomplishment; on kinship obligations and on *intertribal* competition; and on the satisfactions associated with working together in an intimate, personal context of reciprocal psychological support. These characteristics of primary status and the continued importance of derived status engendered and made valuable in turn traits of mutual helpfulness and cooperative effort in bearing economic burdens, generosity, hospitality, and concern for the welfare of kinsmen. Because of the greater availability of derived status, the attainment of primary status was a less compelling necessity for the maintenance of self-esteem.

This cultural orientation toward status and self-esteem was modified by the Maori's subsequent acculturative history. Several factors militated against acceptance of the pakeha achievement pattern. In the first place, lingering resentment toward the pakeha and disillusionment in pakeha values, motives, and practices fostered an attitude of rejecting pakeha ways simply because they were pakeha. Second, it was difficult for the task- and group-oriented Maori to accept the self-aggrandizing aspects of pakeha primary status and the supportive traits that went with it and to grow accustomed to pakeha working conditions. Third, he was handicapped in utilizing pakeha channels to primary status by lack of education and training for pakeha jobs, by lack of familial indoctrination in pakeha values, by general unfamiliarity with pakeha vocational opportunities, and by discriminatory attitudes on the part of many pakehas. Last, the residual vitality of the traditional value system created basic needs and provided basic satisfactions for those needs which the pakeha pattern could not easily gratify. On the other hand, traditional channels for implementing the Maori pattern of primary status, and the associated social organization and leadership devices, were no longer functional; and any type of constructive achievement was greatly hampered by the widespread demoralization, lassitude, and feelings of hopelessness and impending cultural obliteration that gripped the

628

DAVID P. AUSUBEL

Maori people in the first three decades following the civil wars. Hence, the most acceptable solution for most individuals seemed to lie in de-emphasizing the importance of *all kinds* of primary status and achievement motivation and in making exaggerated use of the psychological support offered by derived status.

Distinctive cultural expectations with respect to primary and derived status also influenced indirectly the nature of adolescent aspirational patterns by determining along parallel lines the kinds of childhood and adolescent role and status experience made available to children. Relevant to the Maori situation were such factors as habituation to procurement of the major portion of derived status from group rather than from parental sources, and hence greater dependence on and conformity to the group; the role of peers and siblings as the major socializing agents during childhood, with a resulting tradition of more equalitarian relationships and reciprocal obligations; no necessity for emancipation from parents and transference of primary loyalties to peers during adolescence, since early dependent relationships to parents were weak or nonexistent; less pressure to repudiate derived status and strive for a great amount and self-aggrandizing form of primary status; and less discontinuity in general between childhood and adolescence. Hence, reinforcing the direct influence of the cultural ideology on the types of aspirations adolescents internalized was actual experience with particular kinds of status satisfactions and equalitarian relationships in the peer group —experience that was consonant with the cultural value system and therefore sanctioned by it.

The aspirational and motivational traits of Maori adolescents are undoubtedly influenced by the fact that Maoris are predominantly members of lower social class groups. By using matching procedures that controlled for social class, however, it was possible to eliminate the effects of relative social class status on our Maori-pakeha differences. Intelligence is another variable that is significantly related to educational and occupational aspirations, but the small Maori enrollment in our two schools precluded the possibility of matching pupils on this basis. It is extremely unlikely, however, that our Maori-pakeha differences in aspirational traits would have been materially reduced if it had been possible to adopt this procedure.

CONCLUSION: THE TRANSMISSION OF MAORI ASPIRATIONAL AND MOTIVATIONAL TRAITS

In accounting for the transmission of the distinctive Maori pattern of aspirational, motivational, and supportive traits from one generation to the next, our logical point of departure must lie with the heritage of pervasive and interlocking cultural values regarding primary and derived status that functioned in the pre-pakeha Maori culture and was subsequently modified by the historical experience of acculturation. As a result of the cumulative effects of (a) recurrent exposure to these achievement values and observa-

629

CHILD DEVELOPMENT

tion of culturally stereotyped role models and (b) actual participation during childhood and adolescence in analogous types of role and status experience, this ideology is gradually internalized by the developing individual.

From our data it was clear that young Maori adolescents in our urban and rural samples had for the most part successfully assimilated the pakeha pattern of educational and vocational aspiration. These aspirations reflected both the prevailing pakeha achievement ideology to which they were exposed in school and in the wider culture, as well as the expressed but superficial desires of their parents. The latter, however, basically identified with the Maori orientation toward primary and derived status and generally had no deep emotional commitment to pakeha achievement values. Hence, they did not *really* encourage the implementation of these aspirations by voicing appropriate expectations, making unequivocal demands, dispensing suitable rewards and punishments, and insisting on the development of the necessary supportive traits. But, because of poor communication between parents and children, this situation was not clearly perceived by Maori secondary school pupils. Thus, during early adolescence, although they frequently reverted to parental standards in the home environment, the influence of the school and of pakeha culture generally tended to predominate in the development of educational and vocational aspirations and in the matter of conforming to pakeha work standards.

Later on, however, as relationships and communication with parents and the adult community improve, the influence of Maori cultural values, as mediated through parents and peers, begins to prevail. Educational and vocational aspirations, achievement motivation, and essential supportive traits fail to become adequately internalized; and eventually, as the possibility of implementation progressively recedes, the aspirations are either lowered or abandoned. Concomitantly, Maori adolescents also become progressively more aware of the actual obstacles standing in the way of their vocational success because of pakeha prejudice and discrimination. This perception of the relative unavailability of the promised rewards of self-denial and striving similarly disposes them to abandon or modify their earlier aspirations. Other important factors that contribute to the lack of internalization and implementation of educational and occupational aspirations include traditional Maori attitudes toward work, acute social demoralization in some Maori communities, and the absence of adequate guidance and of traditions of high scholastic and vocational accomplishment in most Maori families.

On the basis of our data it appears likely that significant Maori-pakeha differences in achievement orientation may be reasonably anticipated for at least another generation. They will be gradually obliterated, however, by the increasing urbanization of the Maori people and by progressive improvement both in the cultural level of the Maori home and in the concern of Maori parents for their children's educational and vocational advancement.

630

DAVID P. AUSUBEL

The next generation of Maori parents will probably be able to sustain the internalization and implementation as well as the instigation of pakeha aspirations for achievement. Racial discrimination will undoubtedly make it more difficult for Maoris to implement their aspirations; but, depending on the magnitude of the handicap imposed, this situation may either stimulate greater striving, as in the case of the Jews and Greeks in the United States (8), or may promote an attitude of apathy and hopelessness, as is partly true in the case of the American Negro, who often perceives the cards as so overwhelmingly stacked against him that striving seems futile (8). In any event, the achievement ideology of the Maori will certainly reflect his predominantly lower social class status, becoming in time more and more similar to that of the lower-class pakeha.

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