Hypothesis 8: In urban-urban and urban-non-adjacent suburban streams proprietors, managers, and officials will migrate more than the majority of occupational groups.

Proprietors, managers, and officials rank second among the six occupations in each of the specified streams.

Hypothesis 9: In urban-urban and suburban-non-adjacent urban streams, migration of craftsmen and foremen and operatives and kindred workers is less than migration of other occupational groups.

The category of craftsmen and foremen ranks 4.5 in urban-urban streams and the category of operatives ranks sixth in the same stream.

Craftsmen and foremen in suburban-non-adjacent urban streams rank sixth and operatives rank fifth among the six occupational groups.

Hypothesis 10: In rural-rural streams, the amount of migration among farm laborers will be much greater than the amount of migration among farmers and farm managers.

Farm laborers occupy the second position among eight occupational categories while farmers occupy the seventh position in rural-rural streams.

These results indicate the types of prediction we make from our conceptual scheme. Additional confirmation of these hypotheses can be found in the larger study along with a detailed discussion of the Bogue and Hagedorn results.

The process of deduction of these hypotheses has not yet been formalized, but considerable progress has been made in this direction. When the formalization is complete, then the theory can be employed to generate predictions for many other kinds of behavior—fertility, voting, etc. The verification of such predictions should increase our confidence in the value of the scheme for predicting the characteristics of internal migration.

In summary, a theory of internal migration has been stated, hypotheses have been derived, and a number of tests of these hypotheses have been presented. The relationship between environment, social structure, and the decision process is expressed in terms of the head of household as a decision maker constrained by occupational characteristics. If theories of this type are supported by the data, then considerable simplification of sociology can be achieved.

THE MAORI: A STUDY IN RESISTIVE ACCULTURATION*

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ABSTRACT

Catastrophically defeated a century ago by British colonists, the New Zealand Maori withdrew into isolated villages and thereby resisted acculturation. Although culture contact has increased markedly since World War II, Maori adolescents are currently handicapped in implementing their academic and vocational aspirations because their elders still cling to traditional nonachievement values.

MODERN Maori culture offers many opportunities for the investigation of various theoretical problems in acculturation. It is an excellent example of resistive acculturation, in which a vigorous Polynesian people and interpersonal determinants in the wider social community.

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were disastrously defeated but not annihilated by European (British) colonists, withdrew in reservation-like areas from effective contact with Europeans, practiced an attenuated version of their traditional culture for seventy years, and finally, about one generation ago, emerged from this withdrawal to enter the mainstream of a modern European culture. The historical parallelism with many American Indian cultures is striking, except for the fact that the Maori have emerged from withdrawal on a more permanent basis and on a much larger scale than any comparable American Indian group, and are participating in New Zealand national life in a much more complete and intimate fashion than is typical of the Indian in modern American culture.

Through what mechanisms was it possible to maintain relatively intact during the period of withdrawal many of the basic cultural values and features of the traditional Maori social system? What factors led eventually to the gradual breakdown of Maori village life and its associated patterns of social organization? What effects has the sudden entrance of the Maori into New Zealand national life had on intercultural and interracial relations, on Maori youth, and on relationships between the latter and their elders? What are the foreseeable consequences of this increased intercultural contact within the next few decades? And, most important of all, how and through what mechanisms of cultural transmission has this changing sequence of resistive acculturation altered traditional patterns of striving, status, and achievement in Maori society?

INITIAL MAORI-PAKEHA CONTACT AND CONFLICT

The initial stage of Maori-pakeha interaction, following the rediscovery of New Zealand in 1769 by Captain Cook, was characterized by the exchange of a limited number of specialized goods and services without any fundamental changes in Maori social or economic organization. The Maori were intensely eager to acquire all of the benefits of European technology without surrendering their social institutions, core values, or distinctive way of life. As intercultural contact became more highly regularized, the Maori quickly adopted European clothing, implements, agricultural commodities and technical processes, and even constructed timber mills and acquired coastal vessels to transport their produce to distant markets. They produced surpluses for barter and profit, and learned both the use of money as a medium of exchange and the technique of driving a hard bargain. The introduction of musket, ball and powder intensified the frequency and destructiveness of intertribal warfare and led to the large-scale migration and displacement of many tribes from their traditional lands. Newly introduced European diseases had no less deadly an impact on the Maori population. Later, as the influence of the missionaries grew and as British sovereignty was established, the institutions of intertribal sovereignty, cannibalism, slavery and polygamy were proscribed.

Despite these far-reaching effects on Maori culture, however, goods were still produced by ordinary native methods, and the organization of activity was carried out on the usual lines. The family or hapu worked under the leadership of their head man, the iokunga or priestly expert had his place to fill, ... among themselves the former Maori system of exchange and distribution of goods, of ownership and acquisition of property remained practically unaffected.

The beginning of permanent colonization in 1840 inaugurated a new phase of Maori acculturation. Colonization represented a serious threat to the cultural autonomy of the Maori and to the integrity of their social and economic institutions. An element of coercion was added to their previously voluntary acceptance of certain selected aspects of pakeha culture. In acceding to colonization and British sovereignty, and in placing their trust in treaty guarantees the Maori failed to reckon realistically with the predatory designs of the colonists who were determined by any means, fair or foul, to obtain the most desirable land in New Zealand and to establish the supremacy of their own economic and political system. When the Maori responded to coercive and illegal alienation of their tribal lands by refusing in organized fashion to part with any more of their landed estate, the colonists finally resorted to force of arms and confiscation; and after a dozen years of both large-scale and guerrilla warfare (1860-1872), involving on one side or the other most of the major tribes of the North Island, they eventually gained their ends.


8 A Maori subtribe, i.e., a group of extended families, each tracing descent to a common ancestor. On the same basis several hapu constitute a tribe, the largest unit in Maori political organization.

9 Firth, op. cit., p. 455.
WITHDRAWAL

The war and the confiscations left the Maori bitter, resentful, and disillusioned. They lost confidence in themselves and in the pakeha. European motives, values, customs, education and religion became suspect. The Maori people withdrew from contact with the pakeha and surrendered to apathy, despondency, demoralization, and economic stagnation. They lived in isolated villages and reverted to a subsistence type of agricultural economy supplemented by land clearing and seasonal labor for pakeha farmers and for the railway and public works departments. Various messianic, superstitious, and nationalistic adjustment cults flourished during this period of withdrawal. Although the old communal system of common ownership of land, cooperative labor organized under the direction of chief and tohunga, and sharing of the harvest among the kinship group was largely abandoned, much of Maori social organization and ideology tended to remain intact. Mutual assistance, cooperative sharing of the economic burdens and vicissitudes of life, lavish hospitality, and scrupulous recognition of kinship responsibilities continued as cardinal values in Maori culture. The Maori village, as of old, was centered on the marae and carved meeting house; and traditional ceremonial occasions—anniversaries, the tāngi (mortuary rites), and the formal welcoming of visitors—were celebrated as before. The Maori retained their language and preserved many of their social customs (e.g., tapu, greeting by pressing of noses, tattooing, earth oven feasting), arts and crafts, songs, dances, legends, genealogies, and oral traditions. Even though the chiefly families largely relinquished their roles as economic organizers and entrepreneurs, they retained their hereditary social status and took the lead in village, tribal, and ceremonial matters.

PERPETUATIVE MECHANISMS

The results of acculturation are typically classified under three headings: (a) complete acceptance or assimilation; (b) adaptation (harmonious blending, coexistence of dichotomous alternatives, syncretism, emergent reformulation); and (c) reaction.

An open green space or courtyard in front of the meeting house, the ceremonial center of the Maori village.


8 Ernest Beaglehole, Some Modern Hawaiians (Honolulu, Hawaii: University of Hawaii, 1937; Research Publication, No. 19).


problems of food, clothing, and shelter in a rigorous temperate climate inappropriate for cultivating many of their common plant foods, and in a land where terrestrial animals were virtually nonexistent and bark cloth was unobtainable. In the process of adapting to a new physical environment they not only enhanced their resistance to cultural extinction but also evolved new techniques of warfare and elaborated distinctive forms of art, technology, religion, and social organization. Furthermore, they found these cultural forms efficient, congenial, and psychologically satisfying, and hence were understandably reluctant to scrap them for a strange and untried set of values and customs. Second, the aggressive encroachment of land-hungry British colonists followed by war and confiscation engendered bitterness, resentment, and disillusionment with pakeha culture. These feelings in turn sustained strong needs arbitrarily to reject pakeha ways of life and organized efforts to preserve as far as possible the central values and institutions of pre-pakeha culture. In many instances resistance took the outward form of unadaptive but adjustable messianic and magical cults, emphasis on moribund and ceremonial features of the ancient culture, and indiscriminate rejection of progressive aspects of European culture.

Hence, before perpetuative or revivalistic movements can be sustained, adequate cultural motivation is necessary—on the basis of either the satisfying and adaptive properties of the indigenous culture or the traumatic consequences of violent contact, or both. Then, once sufficient motivation exists, suitable perpetuative mechanisms are essential. As Freed11 points out, the existence of such “boundary maintaining” mechanisms as language and ritual is not enough; all cultures have such mechanisms. “If their presence alone were sufficient to preserve a group’s key values there would be fewer disintegrating cultures today than there are.”

The most obvious type of perpetuative mechanism, especially under circumstances of catastrophic defeat following bitter conflict, is complete or semi-complete physical, social, and psychological withdrawal into reservation-like areas, and the practicing of an attenuated form of the indigenous culture combined with the partial adoption of European material accessories and techniques and a subsistence economy. Withdrawal implements the determination of a native people to preserve their cultural identity and to resist assimilation, by providing a protected socioeconomic environment in which the principal themes and values of the indigenous culture can be practiced and transmitted to the younger generation without much possibility of exposure to and “contamination” by European influences. It represents an extreme instance of Spicer’s generalization that “the nature of the social relations through which contact is maintained... [has] a determinable influence on the character of the... cultural change that goes on when two societies with different cultures come into contact.”12 The particular social relations of withdrawal, by guaranteeing virtual absence of contact, insure the perpetuation of traditional social structure, and hence of the cultural values and practices it supports.

Thus, over the course of several generations a tradition and a modus operandi of resistive acculturation are evolved, consisting of (a) a hard core of indigenous values, customs, and forms of social organization, (b) affectively charged repudiation of European values, and (c) such modifications of the original culture as are conditioned or necessitated by apathy and demoralization, by the breakdown of traditional social institutions and modes of leadership and economic organization, and by the adoption of some European cultural forms.

In adaptive acculturation settings, ample motivation exists for perpetuating the existing culture on the basis of its positive attractions, but not for emphasizing traditional cultural elements (and arbitrarily rejecting corresponding European elements) as ends in themselves apart from their inherent merits in particular circumstances. European cultural forms are voluntarily incorporated with more or less modification into the prevailing cultural pattern on the basis of their inherent compatibility with the “sum total of custom, belief, technique, and material apparatus by which the people regulate their lives.”13 The structure of traditional social and economic institutions remains essentially intact without any demoralization or breakdown in leadership. Physical, social, and psychological withdrawal are unnecessary for the preservation of traditional social structure, and

13 Firth, op. cit., p. 444.
the people have no disposition to withdraw on the basis of their acculturative experience. But the danger of gradual erosion of traditional values and social organization—simply by virtue of continuous contact with or envelopment by a dominant European culture—still exists. Mechanisms for preserving the integrity of the basic social structure are therefore necessary, for should disintegration occur the problem of maintaining the key values of the culture is rendered incomparably more complicated and difficult.

Using the Old Order Amish of Pennsylvania and the former shetl society of Eastern European Jews as examples, Freed attempts a typology of native cultures that are successful in resisting assimilation in adaptive acculturation settings:

The shetl and the Amish represent different types of solution to the problem of preserving traditional cultural values in the face of external pressures to change. The shetl-type features a class system with the upper classes being most concerned with the cultural focus. Correlated with this is a rather wide range of permitted social behavior and the infrequent use of extreme forms of social control. Characteristic of the Amish-type is the lack of a class system, and this is correlated with strong mechanisms of social control which are readily invoked and which result in the frequent expulsion of deviant individuals. . . . Both societies readily accept innovation in peripheral areas of culture.¹⁴

Both types of mechanisms are operative in contemporary Maori society which is in a post-withdrawal phase of acculturation. The burden of perpetuating the traditional aspects of Maori culture (e.g., knowledge of tribal genealogy and history, leadership in ceremonial matters, formal oratory) still falls primarily on the older generation of males in the tribe, particularly on those elders (kaumatua) descended from chiefly families. The Amish-type mechanism is exemplified by older adolescent peer groups, particularly in demoralized Maori communities, which impose severe sanctions for any expression of achievement motivation among their members. Both mechanisms, however, have only assumed real significance as perpetuative devices after the major mechanism of withdrawal was rendered nonfunctional. And since perpetuative mechanisms are largely effective in so far as they help strengthen the social organization of the native culture, they are much less efficient in post-withdrawal phases of resistive acculturation, when traditional social structure in decaying, than in adaptive acculturation situations.

THE POST-WITHDRAWAL PHASE

Emergence from withdrawal was facilitated by the convergence of several factors—the gradual weakening of bitterness, resentment, and suspicion of the pakeha, the paternalistic policies of the New Zealand Government, the desire of the better educated younger generation to obtain pakeha-type jobs, the overseas experience of Maori servicemen during World War II, and the effect of new highways, schools, automobiles, and the radio and cinema in reducing the isolation of the Maori village. The phenomenally rapid growth of the Maori population and the shrinking of Maori land resources had also created a serious problem of unemployment in rural areas. Thus, when attractive new jobs opened up in the cities during World War II, young Maoris were ready to enter the mainstream of New Zealand life.

The disintegration of the withdrawal mechanism, however, did not mean that the Maori people were suddenly placed in the same acculturative position as those native peoples who had never practiced withdrawal in adaptive acculturation settings. First, from the very beginning traditional social structure tends to be more disorganized in resistive than in adaptive situations; and with the large-scale urban migration and disruption of village life characteristic of the post-withdrawal phase, this discrepancy becomes even greater. The significance of this difference lies in the fact that perpetuative and boundary maintaining mechanisms are always less effective whenever social structure is no longer intact. Second, the abrupt resumption of contact in the post-withdrawal period makes for a more traumatic, conflictful, and anxiety producing adjustment process than in settings where the contact occurs gradually and is continuous over a long period of time. Finally, neither the emergence-from-withdrawal process nor the reversal of seventy years of experience in actively resisting pakeha culture are phenomena that can be accomplished overnight. A strong residuum of traditional values, of ingrained mechanisms of resistance to acculturation, and of deepseated tendencies indiscriminately to reject European values still remains among the older generation. Thus, even though young Maori adolescents are currently able to assimilate the pakeha

pattern of educational and vocational aspiration, they still fail to internalize and implement it adequately, largely because of insufficient support and pressure from their parents, older siblings and peers, and the adult Maori community.

Maori village life has undergone gradual disintegration as a result of the erosion of those physical, social, and psychological mechanisms of withdrawal that had previously isolated it from the mainstream of New Zealand society and given it a semi-autonomous cultural status not unlike that of an American Indian reservation. The major psychological orientation of youth has been deflected from the tribe and village toward the wider pakeha world both in New Zealand and overseas. As the young people migrated to the towns and cities leaving the old people at home, the population balance between the generations was upset and the authority of the tribal elders was undermined. Hereditary status counted for little when there was no one to guide, instruct, advise, and lead; when youth looked elsewhere for direction, status, and approbation; when the power of the chief to influence the lives of his people diminished; and when his prestige and authority were largely restricted to ceremonial functions and occasions.

All of these factors plus the influence of pakeha egalitarianism have altered the traditional pattern of village leadership. Hereditary rank and knowledge of tribal lore have become less important criteria for exercising leadership, and executive competence and sophistication in the economic and political aspects of European life have correspondingly gained in importance. Autocratic techniques and authoritarian methods have decreased in favor; and women have assumed an increasingly more active and influential role in community affairs, partly as a consequence of pakeha example, and partly because their role in home and community (like that of American Negro women) is generally a more cohesive and responsible one than that of men.

The past generation has witnessed the remarkably rapid growth of a young Maori working class in the urban centers. In the city, especially among psychologically more flexible and impressionable young people, the pace of acculturation obviously quickens. For lack of opportunity and proper atmosphere and because of pakeha amusement or derision, many traditional practices are either abandoned or greatly attenuated. Children and youth are more exposed to pakeha ways of life, have less chance to absorb traditional Maori values, and are largely released from the control of parents, elders, and community opinion. And as our data show, in their educational and vocational aspirations and in their desires for occupational prestige and success, they approximate the urban pakeha pattern much more closely than their rural cousins do.

One outstanding symptom of urban acculturative stress is the unusually high rates of Maori crime and juvenile delinquency which are three to four times as high as the corresponding pakeha rates. Compounding the acculturative tensions stemming from the abruptiveness of exposure to pakeha ways are such factors as inexperience in coping with the temptations of urban life, feelings of loneliness and homesickness in the city, the earlier Maori age of leaving school, segregation in urban slum areas, and racial prejudice and discrimination. Other probable contributory causes include intense "generation conflict," the loss of parental control, excessive permissiveness and neglect on the part of many Maori parents, lack of explicit and consistent ethical training in the home because of parental confusion regarding reasonable standards of discipline, and release from the restraining influence of village elders and community opinion.

Race Relations and Maori Nationalism

The British colonists who settled in New Zealand shared the generally held contemporary view about white supremacy and the inherent inferiority of colored races. Their feelings toward the Maori people were also hardly rendered more favorable by the bitter conflict over land that culminated in the so-called Maori Wars. After the wars and the confiscations, however, when the greater bulk of the Maori landed estate passed into his hands, and the Maori became a small and rapidly diminishing minority safely withdrawn in their villages, the pakeha's sentiments toward them gradually mollowed. From a respectful distance he perceived the Maori as a truly "noble, brave and intelligent native race of whom New Zealand might well be proud." Race relations were excellent as they certainly should have been, since interracial contact was virtually nonexistent; and the pakeha congratulated himself profusely on his tolerance and humanity and proudly proclaimed to the world that no color bar existed in New Zealand.

When the Maori emerged from his withdrawal,
however, race relations consistently took a turn for the worse. All of the strong color prejudices of the pakeha that had remained latent during the phase of withdrawal and self-congratulation gradually rose to the surface. Racial tolerance was quite a different matter now that the Maori was no longer a sentimentalized abstraction in a remote village but a fellow-townsmen and employee. Hence, increased Maori-pakeha contact during the post-withdrawal phase of acculturation has led to anti-Maori racial prejudice and extra-legal discriminatory practices in employment, housing, hotel accommodation, bars, credit, etc., not unlike those directed against Negroes in northern areas of the United States.

Concomitantly with their emergence from withdrawal, the weakening of their tribal loyalties, and the attenuation of traditional Maori practices, the Maori people have increasingly developed a supra-tribal or national self-consciousness based on racial rather than on cultural identification. The Maori today expresses his Maoritanga ("Maorihood") more as pride of race and feeling of brotherhood with all other Maoris (on the basis of common ancestral origins) than as positive interest in or practice of traditional cultural traits. Much of this racial nationalism, of course is also a reaction against pakeha racial prejudice and discrimination.

Despite the frequently heard claim of a so-called renaissance in traditional features of Maori life (meeting houses, carving, language, arts and crafts), the over-all, long-range trend in this aspect of culture has been one of general decline. Maori youth are generally not only ignorant of but also do not identify themselves emotionally with Maori cultural history and products. Members of Maori youth clubs, for example, have very little intrinsic interest in traditional Maori practices; the importance of these practices largely inheres in the fact that they have become significant overt symbols of racial and supra-tribal nationalism. Thus, accompanying the heightened pace of assimilative acculturation in the post-withdrawal phase, we have the somewhat paradoxical but quite understandable phenomenon of a perpetuative cultural movement that in reality is basically symbolic of racial nationalism; the latter in turn is primarily instigated by the growth in color prejudice following increased intercultural contact under unfavorable circumstances.

**Outlook for the Future**

Regarding the future, only two alternatives seem credible: gradual assimilation of the Maori to the pakeha way of life without appreciable racial mixture, or the constitution of the Maori people as a highly and progressively more acculturated ethnic community within the larger framework of New Zealand social, political, and economic life, but enjoying a certain measure of cultural autonomy and separateness as well as the status of underprivileged second-class citizens. To the writer the latter alternative seems the more likely possibility in view of the residual vigor of various Maori psychological traits, the growing problem of color prejudice, and the development of Maori supra-tribal nationalism. Perpetuation of the indigenous value system hardly seems likely now that village life is decaying and withdrawal is no longer possible, that rapid urbanization is taking place, and that youth is becoming disinvolved from traditional practices.

**Sources of Maori 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 through 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., initiative, foresight, self-denial, perseverance, self-discipline). But the self-aggrandizing features of primary status (i.e., personal ambition, 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 socio-economic importance, on pride of craftsmanship, and on the personal satisfactions of meritorious accomplishment; on kinship obligations, on the enhancement of group welfare and prestige, on the personal-social values of cooperative effort toward a common goal, and on intertribal competition; and on the satisfactions associated with working together in an intimate, personal context of reciprocal psychological support. These characteristics of pri-

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*a Derived status is wholly a function of the individual's dependent relationship to, membership in, and intrinsic acceptance by the group; it is independent of his actual functional competence, power or performance ability (primary status).*
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. The greater availability of derived status also made the attainment of primary status a less compelling necessity.

This cultural orientation toward status and self-esteem was modified by the Maori's subsequent acculturational 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. Secondly, 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. Thirdly, 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. Lastly, 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 Maori people in the first three decades following the civil wars. Hence, the most attractive 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.

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 observation 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 through the operation of the following mechanisms: primacy and exclusiveness of exposure; prerational identification on the basis of personal and group loyalties; implicit and explicit indoctrination; the development of particular needs and the experience of particular satisfactions (canalization); incidental learning; prestige suggestion; the pressure of group expectations and demands; and the application of internal and external sanctions (reward and punishment, shame and guilt, disapproval, threat of exclusion, induced anxiety).

The major empirical 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 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 are not significantly different.

This 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 twenty or even ten 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.

Pakeha pupils had higher occupational prestige needs than Maori pupils and considered vocational achievement a more important life goal. 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") considera-
tions. Urban pakeha pupils were more highly
rated by teachers than their Maori counterparts
on such supportive traits as persistence, attentive-
ness, 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 differ-
ences in perceived family pressures and opportuni-
ties for educational and vocational achievement
were less striking than those actually prevailing
and noted in the course of participant observation
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.

From our data, therefore, 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 as-
piration. These aspirations reflected both the pre-
vailing pakeha achievement ideology to which
they were exposed in school and in the wider
culture as well as the expressed but superficial de-
sires of their parents. The latter, however, basically
identified with the Maori orientation toward pri-
mary 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 de-
mands, dispensing suitable rewards and punish-
ments, 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 sec-
ondary school pupils. Thus, during early adoles-
cence, although they frequently revert to parental
standards in the home environment, the influence
of the school and of pakeha culture generally tends
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 com-
munication with parents and the adult community
improved, 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
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 de-
moralization 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 achieve-
ment orientation may be reasonably anticipated
for at least another generation. As foreshadowed
by the direction of urban-rural differences in our
Maori sample, however, they will be gradually
obliterated 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. The
next generation of Maori parents will probably be
able to sustain the internalization and imple-
mentation as well as the instigation of pakeha as-
pirations for achievement.

SUMMARY

Modern Maori culture offers an excellent ex-
ample of resistive acculturation. The Maori, a vig-
orous Polynesian people who had adapted success-
fully to the physical demands of an unfamiliar
temperate climate in New Zealand, were suddenly
confronted four centuries later with European con-
tact. At first they attempted to incorporate
selected features of European material apparatus
and technology into their own social and economic
organization without making any fundamental
changes in their value system and distinctive way
of life. Threatened, however, by massive European
colonization and coercive alienation of their landed
estate, contrary to their treaty rights, they were forced into war with British colonists. Cataclysmically defeated but not annihilated after a dozen years of bitter conflict, they withdrew into reservation-like areas and villages and practiced an attenuated version of their traditional culture for seventy years, and finally, beginning with World War II, emerged from this withdrawal to enter the mainstream of a modern European culture.

During the period of withdrawal the perpetuation of much of Maori social organization and cultural values was motivated both by strong needs to preserve a stable and psychologically satisfying way of life and by feelings of resentment and disillusionment with European culture. These latter feelings in turn engendered potent needs arbitrarily to reject European cultural forms and to preserve as far as possible the key values and social institutions of pre-European Maori culture. The determination of the Maori people to preserve their cultural identity was implemented by the perpetuative mechanism of almost complete physical, social, and psychological withdrawal from erosive contact with European culture. Over the course of several generations a tradition and a modus operandi of resistive acculturation were evolved.

Emergence from withdrawal was facilitated by the gradual weakening of resentment and suspicion of the European, by Government paternalism, and by the effects of new highways, schools, radio and cinema in reducing the isolation of the Maori village. Insufficient land resources, the pressure of a rapidly expanding population, and rural unemployment also motivated Maori young people to seek attractive industrial jobs in the urban centers. No longer protected by isolation and disrupted by urban migration and by the deflection of youth's psychological orientation to the European world, Maori village life and social organization have been gradually disintegrating. The rapid pace of acculturation in the cities has led to marked "generation conflict" between parents and children and to high rates of crime and delinquency. Suddenly increased intercultural contact under unfavorable conditions has also resulted in the revival of latent color prejudice and discrimination; and partly in reaction to the latter development, Maori racial nationalism has grown more militant.

Maori culture has traditionally placed greater stress than European culture on the value of derived status and on the importance of task- and group-oriented aspects as opposed to self-aggrandizing aspects of primary status. During the period of withdrawal, as a result of widespread demoralization, the disintegration of their own channels, and their rejection of European channels of attaining primary status, the Maori people have tended to de-emphasize the value of all kinds of primary status and achievement motivation and to make exaggerated use of the psychological support of self-esteem obtainable from derived status. Now, during the post-withdrawal phase, although Maori youth have assimilated European educational and vocational aspirations, they are unable to internalize and implement them adequately because their parents, older peers, and the adult community lack genuine commitments to European achievement goals and primary status, and thus fail to provide the appropriate expectations, supports, pressures, rewards and punishments. During early adolescence, because of poor communication between Maori parents and children, Maori youth do not clearly perceive this latter situation and are primarily influenced by the school and the wider European culture in setting their educational and vocational aspirations. Later on, however, as communication with parents and the adult community improves, the influence of Maori culture values regarding achievement begins to prevail and to interfere with the internalization of the motivational and supportive traits necessary for the implementation of these aspirations.