Ko Tu Koe, Ko Rongo Koe? The Influence of Affective and Identity Priming on Implicit Cultural Attitudes of Māori Teens.

Masters' Thesis

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Abstract

The current study examined the effects of an affective prime that was negative culturally in context (Māori)on Māori teenagers 16-18 yrs (n=60), to assess whether it would activate Worldview Defence (WVD). The study primed participants with one of four scenarios (negative-Māori, positive-Māori, negative non-Māori, and positive non-Māori in theme) with the belief that a threat to one's cultural Worldview (via the prime) would increase negative feelings towards potentially threatening or unpleasant material. To assess in an indirect or implicit manner, whether this was the case, participants were asked to provide opinions on two (fictitious) potential immigrants to Aotearoa (New Zealand), where one had written an essay supporting the Treaty of Waitangi, and the other opposing it. It was hypothesised that primes (prior emotional material) that increased cultural WVD would result in a greater discrepancy between the judgments (attitudes) towards the pro-Treaty author, and away from anti-Treaty author, specifically if the context was both negative and Māori. A moderate effect was found for the hypothesis, however, a significant influence was found for the positive Māori prime, suggesting that being primed with positive aspects of one's culture can increase WVD. The findings and possible reasons for this are discussed.

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iii

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Contents

List of Figures

List of Tables

List of Appendices

Appendix

INTRODUCTION

"Kia mau ki to Māoritanga: Hold fast to your Māoritanga"

The world is filled with many uncertainties, however the one thing that has remained consistent throughout time, is the unavoidable fact that, one day, we will all die. Definitive as it may seem, humans have tried to shield themselves from this by creating psychological constructions that offer some protection from this undeniable fact. Throughout history, men have created legends depicting how significant individuals have tried to defy death through spiritual or supernatural powers. One such legend is that of Maui-tikitiki-a-taranga (demi-god in Māori mythology) who tried to conquer death by killing Hine-nui-te-po, the goddess of death. Hine-nui-te-po was the daughter of Tane-Mahuta, the god of the forests and the creator of man. According to Māori mythology, Tane, the son of Ranginui (the Sky Father) and Papatuanuku (Mother Earth), created the first woman Hineahuone, from the red clay of his mother. Once fashioned, he gave her the first breath life. Becoming Tane's wife, she bore him a daughter whom they named Hinetitama. As time passed, and not knowing the identity of her father, Hinetitama became Tane's second wife, bearing him children. Eventually, Hinetitama enquired about her father. When she realised that her husband and father were one in the same, she fled to the underworld in shame, denouncing her birth name, and taking up the new name of Hine-nui-te-Po (woman of the long night). As she departed, she turned to her father and told him that their children could stay with him in the world of light, however when the time was right; in death; they would return to her where she would be waiting with open arms.

According to legend, it was prophesised that Maui would defeat death by killing Hine-nui-te-Po with the magic jaw bone of his grandmother. In order to do so, Maui devised a plan to pass through her womb and out her mouth. If he could do this, death would no longer have the last word with regards to man (Alpers, 1964). As such, Maui went out looking for companions for the expedition. The birds were up when he left and he was successful in recruiting the tiwaiwaka (fantail), the miromiro (grey warbler), tataeko (the white head), and the pitoitoi (robin). After announcing his plan, they set off to where Hine-nui-te-Po lay. Once there and the preparations for the feat were done, Maui said to his companions:

> *"Now, my friends, when you see me crawl into her body, whatever you do, do*
>
> *not laugh. When I have passed right through her and am out of her mouth, then*
>
> *you can. But not until then".*

Fearing that he would be killed, his companions tried to prevent him from entering her, however, he assured them that he would not unless they spoilt it for him. As she was asleep, the noise of laughter would wake her and she would surely kill him. Resisting the urge as much as he could, the tiwaiwaka (fantail) began to laugh as he found Maui's efforts to be amusing. This caused Hine-nui-te-Po to wake from her slumber. Knowing that this was putting Maui in danger, the tiwaiwaka, tried to resist, however, his laughter grew louder. As such, Hine-nui-te-po awoke from her slumber and Maui was killed, thus resulting in man's inability to gain immortality.

Although this story maybe Māori and Pacific Island in origin, the universal aspect is that as humans, Māori, Samoan, French, or English, we have the unique ability to contemplate our own death. As a result, scholars like Greenberg, Pyszczysnki, Solomon, Rosenblatt, Veeder, Kirkland, and Lyon (1990) theorised that this ability gives rise to high levels of anxiety, that then leads to the experience of

extreme, or paralysing terror. As it intensifies, the terror becomes too unbearable for humans to deal with. This then leads to the extreme efforts on behalf of the individual to try and find ways through which they can protect or buffer themselves from it, while also keeping with practises or rituals that may symbolically grant them with a sense of immortality.

Terror Management Theory (TMT)

In order to explain how an individual makes sense of his own mortality, as well as how they strive to acquire it, Greenberg et al (1990) developed a theory called Terror Management Theory (TMT), which proposes that the main coping strategy humans have constructed to help deal with thoughts of morality, is the construct of culture. According to the theory, culture provides the individual, with meaning and rules about how to live, act and function in relation to other things and people, which they termed a WV (WV)(Greenberg et al., 1990). This WV provides the individual with values, morals, and standards. In addition, it may provide a buffer or sense of comfort and shelter that then provides them with the necessary psychological, spiritual, and physical tools needed to fend off any potential for experiencing the proposed paralysing fear. By living up to these constructs, one's position in the greater scheme of things is elevated, which may increase self-worth and self-esteem, thus validation to the WV. This in turn, causes the individual to increase their efforts of maintenance toward their belief in the WV. As such, if the individual efforts are significantly recognised; they may be remembered; thus providing them with a greater sense of value and worth, with a chance that this rememberance may lead to a sense of immorality.

TMT is largely derived from the work of Becker (1962, 1973, and 1975). Becker attempted to bring to together the numerous social sciences in existence at the time into a general theory of human social behaviour. Becker was of the opinion that the sophisticated intellectual ability humans innately possessed, lead to the awareness that eventually they would die. This awareness created the potential for experiencing what he termed a 'paralysing terror'. This potential causes cultures to maintain and create new meaning for its' management, thus insuring its survival. Therefore, one of its main purposes is to provide them with a sense of calmness or composure, in the face of inevitable mortality (Greenberg et al., 1990). This inturn provides them with a buffer against anxiety that may result from living in a world that is highly unpredictable, and where the only certainty in life, is death.

Let's consider this buffer. TMT states that culture is a construct designed to protect individuals from negative outcomes, thus providing them, in the long run, with a sense of immortality. This sense then depends on how well an individual fills the requirements of the culture, which in turn provides them with value. If they have no value, they have no self-esteem, thus the WV is significantly weakened. To prevent this, individuals employ the protection of their cultural WV, thus providing them with a cultural buffer against the anxiety. In order for this buffer to work, the individual must manage their terror through maintaining their belief in the cultural WV, and by living up to its standards and values. As such, this buffer can be seen as consisting of two components: (a) faith in the validity of a cultural concept that provides meaning, standards of values, and the promise of immortality, and (b) the belief that one is meeting the standards set down by the culture. Because it can be seen as being a weak and vulnerable construct (Becker, 1962; Berger & Luckmann, 1967; Goffman, 1959), it is continually in need of reinforcement, which comes in the shape of

validation gained from participation in cultural practises and social gatherings (Festinger, 1954). When support is given for one's self-belief and image from similar others, confidence placed in the beliefs and evaluations of the WV is increased. When others do not agree or validate the beliefs and values held, the confidence in the world view is threatened.

Using Becker's early work, Greenberg et al (1993) turned to Bowlby's (1969/1982) attachment theory to understand where self-esteem came from. Bowlby's theorised that babies were born with an innate propensity to experience and express negative affect in response to circumstances that threaten their existence. This meant that the infant was extremely dependent on parental figures to fulfil basic needs, and protecting them from any significant threats. As they progressed through life, they learnt that when their needs were fully meet, it was because they were living up to the standards and values of their parents. If they failed, they were denied the love and protection they so badly needed. As such, ones sense of security was more reliant on living up to their parents' standards and values, as that ultimately reflected the internalised version of the prevailing WV. As such, Hart, Shaver and Goldenberg (2005) defined self-esteem as stemming from, an early interaction with significant caregivers, as they were those who were proactive in maintaining, and ensuring that all those under their influence, lived up to the standards of the cultural WV

Culture

Although the construct of culture is widely used, it is not easily defined. Cultural anthropologists have given it more than 100 definitions (Kroeber & Kluckhohn, 1952). Herskovits (1955) defined culture as a human-made part of the environment, therefore enabling it to be categorised into an objective (i.e., tools or

roads) and subjective culture (i.e., categorizations, beliefs, attitudes, norms, definitions, or values) (Triandis, 1972). Skinner (1981) defined it as complex schedules of reinforcement, while Goodenough (1970) proposed that it was about shared beliefs. Along the same lines, Geertz, (1973) and Schneider (1968) defined culture as being about symbolic systems, while Keesing (1981) was of the opinion it was about a system of abilities shared, by a group of people. In comparison, Kluckhohn (1954) defined culture as being to society what memory was to an individual, in that it provided the group with history and experiences that can either be repeated or learnt from. Using this as the primus, Triandis (1994) expanded the construct to include shared elements of his subjective culture and behavioural patterns that could be found in those who speak a particular language or dialect, in a particular geographic region, during a specific historic period. The underlining idea, however, was that culture provided the individuals with meaning about the world within which they exist, why they exist, how they should continue to exist, and how they should be defined.

In order to provide a clearer definition, Reedy (1997) proposed that cultures consisted of coherence, integrity, and internal logic. Within these constructs exists a web of values, attitudes, beliefs and norms, which then gave meaning and significance to the individual. As such, each culture has a right to exist; one is not better or worse of than any other; they are all equally valid because they are, in their purest forms, a variation of human existence. As such, Reedy (1997) was of the belief that "to some degree, all humans were culturally bound".

In an alternative explanation, Becker (1975) hypothesized that everything cultural was made up; and given meaning; by the mind. In essence, it was a construct that could be viewed as supernatural. It's end goal was to elevate man above nature,

ensuring that in some way or another, their lives counted for more than just time spent waiting for death. Along with this, it was suggetsed that it also provided an avenue where individuals could view themselves in relation to the world, thus giving them a sense of how they should feel, and when they should feel about themselves (Tsai, Ying, & Lee, 2001). Also, it was said to provide the individual with a sense of who they are, where they are from (i.e., Māori or Irish), whether they saw themselves as independent or separate, or whether they were undoubtedly linked to the wider group (Markus & Kitayama, 1991).

Cultural WV

Although there are many explanations and definitions regarding culture, Greenberg et al, (1999) theorized that one of its major functions was to provide individuals with structure and understanding of the world, which they termed a "Cultural WV" (CWV). According to Pyszcznski, Greenberg, & Solomon (1999), the definition CWV was humanly constructed; a symbolic representation of reality that provided life with order, permanence, and stability. It is a set of standards that allows individuals to accomplish a sense of personal value and hope that one day they will be able to acquire immortality. Demonstrated through adhering to cultural practises in both the private and public domains, an individual is able to gain an important boost to their identity and self-esteem, which may result in the acquirement of symbolic sceen of morality.

Self Esteem

Like culture, self-esteem has been given numerous definitions. Rogers (1959) believed that it could be divided into two opposing concepts contingent vs. non-

contingent. Greenwald and Farnham (2000) theorised it consisted of an explicit self-esteem in conflict with an implicit one. Other theorists such as Deci and Ryan (1995) were of the opinion that it was divided into an authentic or false category, while Greenier, Kernis and Waschull (1995) were of the opinion that it was divided into entities that were either stable or unstable. As such, Greenberg et al (2003) drew all the hypotheses together and came to the conclusion that there was a common element; that self-esteem was a person's evaluation of them self. As such, this then leads to the individuals motivation of obtaining and maintaining high levels of self-esteem. These increased levels then lead the individual to defend their self-esteem when threatened, as a threat to one's self-esteem, is ultimately a threat to the CWV.

According to Becker (1962), self-esteem is truly a unique human concept. He proposed that self-esteem existed because of an individuals capacity to symbolically, temporally, and self-reflectively process their thoughts. Although seen as a great enhancement in the ability to survive in a number of environments, it also can produce a number of uniquely human problems. One such problem is the ability to dually think about one's own existence, coupled with the ability to contemplate how uncontrollable the universe is. As a result, individuals develop high levels of anxiety, which in turn, cause them to strive even harder to gain greater sense of self. This intern bolsters self-esteem, which then provides them with the belief that their perception of the world is a true and correct one. As such, efforts to increase the WV will result, hopefully, in the promise of immortality.

Throughout the literature, the individual maintenance of one's self-esteem has been made apparent. This, however, is not the only source from which reinforcement can be gained. TMT states that others also play an important role in its bolstering whereby the wider group sets out parameters that, if adhered to, will provide an

increase in self-esteem. This increase then provides the individual that both a sense of reality and evaluation of the self, that is seen as being correct (Festinger, 1954; Swann, 1987). Where there is lack of support for this perception, faith and confidence in the WV becomes threatened. As a result, the cultural WV is seriously undermined, thus presenting the individual with a dilemma to either conform to or abandon the current world view, for another, in the hope that a new one will fulfil their needs. One such cultural WV is that of the Māori culture.

Self-esteem is considered to be an individuals' affective evaluation of themselves (Rubie, Townsend & Moore, 2004). It is an emotional process of self-judgement and can range from feelings of self-efficacy and respect, to feelings that one is fatally flawed as a person (Brandon, 1983). It is a means by which one can gain self-respect, and self-worth, while also allowing them to recognize limitations and expectation that over time, they will grow and improve (Rosenberg, 1965). It can vary in intensity and quantity, and provide the individual or group with both positive and negative benefits. High self-esteem people are said to use denial defence, repressing or ignoring the negative information that is presented about them, while low self-esteem individuals are more flexible, able to admit to their weaknesses, and less reliant on personal facades (Ootim, 1998). As such these with high self-esteem may be seen as being well entrenched in their prescribed WV.

Māori

Prior to contact with the Europeans (pre-1800), there was no widespread existence of a Māori identity in regards to a cultural or national line of similarity (Durie, 1997). Instead, identification was defined through distinguishing features of Whanau (family), Hapu (sub-tribe), and Iwi (Tribe), geographical features (such as

mountains, rivers, the land from which their ancestors once resided) and waka (canoes or sea voyaging vessel). With the arrival of (Pakeha), it was decided that a general label of reference was needed. As such, the label Māori; meaning 'Normal'; was chosen, as a way of identifying them. With many practises and rituals defining the boundaries of a Māori CWV, subscribing to it can be either a positive or negative thing. The haka performed before each All Black game provides not only Māori, all New Zealanders with a sense of pride, self-worth, and self-esteem. On the negative side, a Māori identity can be seen as a hindrance, something to be a shamed of. Māori are seen as making up a high majority of the criminal population, with the latest Department of Corrections (2001) statistics highlighting showing Māori make up 53% of the total prison population, quite large considering they make up only 15 % of the total population. Never the less, those who continue to subscribe to the Māori WV, in the face of all this negativity, still gain a sense of heightened self-esteem and validation that in fact, their WV is a correct one.

When looking at a Māori cultural identity, Durie (1997) is of the opinion that it is a fusion of personal attitudes, cultural knowledge, and participation in specific society (i.e., Māori Society). For Māori, Durie states that the focus of attention is that paid to self-identification (tauparapara), knowledge of whakapapa (ancestry), participation in marae activities (customary social and cultural centres), involvement with whanau (extended family), access to whenua tipuna (ancestral land), contacts with other Māori people, and the use of Māori language. As such, if access to the Māori culture is denied, personal and collective group development cannot succeed. This success is imperative in order to provide a validated WV. If validation is not obtained, self-esteem cannot be gained. In order to prevent these, cultural concepts may be developed.

Mana/Tapu/Noa

Cultural concepts such as Mana (prestige, honour), Tapu (sacred, forbidden, confidential), and Noa (common, free from tapu) are considered to play a major part in the development, and maintenance, of a Māori identity. They provide consensual validation, by living up to the expectations of others in a favourable light (Mana), safety, through adhering to standards, rules and values outlined by the cultural WV that may otherwise cause significant harm both spiritually or physically (Noa), and restriction to events, areas, or people as they may cause sickness, mental ill-health, or other experiences detrimental the well-being of the person. (Tapu)

Ryan (2001) defines *Mana* as meaning prestige, honour, power, and authority. Firstly given by the gods (*Mana Atua*), *Mana* is an entity that all are born with. Although limited in the amount each individual possess, Mana can be increased or decreased, through individual or collective pursuits. Although Mana is used to represent authority, Durie (2001) states that it was more likely defined in this manner, when recognition of one's exploits or ambitions, are considered in isolation from their group of origin. Instead, Durie is of the opinion that it was not so much vested in the deeds of the individual as in the well-being of the collective. Thus, the general agreement that any Mana one possessed was closely related to the Mana and hapu of the iwi. Also, the amount of Mana one has, is determined by their position of birth, and gender (male being bestowed with more). It can be gained from ones ownership of land, however, the amount possessed by an individual, is usually determined by an assessment of them by those around them (Sachdev, 1989). Without this assessment, the individual cannot be said to have Mana (Metge, 1986, p. 70).

One concept of great significance in *Te Ao Māori* (World of the Māori), is *Tapu*. Defined by Marsden,(1981, p. 145-6) as a sense of sacredness, that can encumber an individual, a place, possession, or action (Sachdev, 1989), it provides the individual with rules and restrictions that at all times should be adhered to. Its intensity varies according to nature and context witnessed. As tapu is an indication of direct influence from the gods, those seen as being in direct contact with them (i.e., *Rangatira=leaders, and Tohunga=spiritual leaders*) are considered to be in a state *Tapu*. Cultural processes such as *Tangihanga* (funerals), birth, illness, healing practises, building of new whare (houses), carving, and burial grounds to name but a few, are also seen as existing in varying states of tapu. This, however, is not permanent. *Tapu* can be withdrawn, or removed, through a serious of practises and karakia (prayer), thus removing the state of Tapu into a state of *Noa*.

Noa is a state of existence most experience everyday. Literally meaning to be free of tapu, or any other restrictions, indefinite, ordinary, or within ones power (Williams, 1975), it allows the possession, activity, action, or individual, to exist without restriction. Using water, the latrine, female genitalia, and cooked food, *Noa* transforms the previous existing state of tapu, thereby removing the direct influence of the gods (*Ngā Atua*). As such, these cultural concepts (Mana, tapu and noa) exist in harmony, providing the world with rules and morals as well as meaning and understanding, or a cultural WV.

Cultural Differences

Although some of the support given for the CWV is gained from others, it can also lead to consistent hostile feelings towards others who are different (Greenberg et al, 1990). Literature pertaining to prejudice (i.e., Tajfel, 1982), reactions to deviance

12

(e.g., Miller & Anderson, 1979; Schachter, 1951), and concerns of similarity-attraction (Bryne, 1971), clearly highlight the extent of the problem. According to Kelly (1955), establishing impressions of others is a constructive process that is unavoidable. These impressions allow us to gage who might support our WV and who might not. If they seem to be supportive; they are more likely to provide us with self-esteem; this is seen as more favourable. As such, Bryne (1971), Festinger, 1954), and Tajfel (1982) offered the notion that people were more likely to prefer those who were similar over those who weren't as they provided consensual validation (general support) of one's beliefs and attitudes. This was seen as a progression where one's experience, and expectations about others, significantly influenced the way they made judgements about others (Schneider, 1973).

Following on from this Zajone (1980) argued that affect was an important factor in determining social behaviour. Also, that way in which one reacted as a result of others was a product of that person's cognitive assumptions and elaborations. This point then leads to an interesting question: Why do people act and behaviour in certain ways to those who appear different?

One of the most common beliefs that may provide insight into this question is the notion of favouritism. Favouritism allows one to gain general support for their own beliefs and attitudes. This support allows the individual to see themselves as being significant in the eyes of others. In essence, it provides a pool from which to draw positive feeling about one's self, that then leads to a bolstering of self-image, that then leads to the individual gaining more faith in their prescribed cultural WV (Pyszczynski, Greenberg, Solomon, 1999).

In order to make sense of how the WV is constituted, it is important to understand how people see themselves, and their relationships, in regards to others.

13

In some cultures, the core of one's self-concept is based on the person's internal attributes (e.g., traits, abilities, motives, and values). The intensity of these attributes provides the individual (alone) with a culturally appropriate image. It is the individual that is seen as important, not the group. With others, the concept of the self is determined by the values, well-being, and abilities of the wider group. Some value the attainment of individual achievement (e.g., job & money) as living up to the accepted WV, while others prefer the greater good of the group. Although different, one is not necessarily better than the other. Each has its own costs or benefits. According to TMT, the choice one makes regarding what their WV will be, ultimately, provides them with self-esteem, thus defining what one's relationship is to the world.

Mortality Salience

Based on Becker's (1962) work, Rosenblatt, Greenberg, Solomon, Pyszczynski, & Lyon (1989) conducted 6 experiments to see whether Mortality Salience (MS) (one's own death being made salient) would cause participants to respond more positively toward those who upheld cultural accepted values, and respond more negatively towards those who violated them. As one of the most widely researched TMT hypotheses, MS states that if psychological processes provide protection from the potential for death-related anxiety, then reminders of death should intensify efforts to uphold them. Experiments exploring this theory have provided it with support by showing that thoughts of one's own death, can influence a number of human activities like pro-social behaviour, aggression, nationalism, prejudice, self-esteem seeking, sexual attitudes, risk taking, and relationships (Goldenberg, Pyszczynski, Greenberg, & Solomon, 2000; Greenberg et al., 1997; Mikulincer, Florian, & Hirschberg, 2003).

14

As such, the purpose of the first experiment was to access participants' reactions to a moral transgressor, in the form of a prostitute, after mortality was made salient. Using municipal court judges as the participants (n=22), they were asked to set bond for an alleged prostitute. Prior to receiving any information about the case, half of the judges had their mortality made salient. This manipulation was made presented through having them fill out brief questionnaires concerned with their thoughts and feelings about the prospect of their own death. What was found was that judges recommended especially hard bonds for the transgressor when mortality was made salient.

Following on from this, Rosenblatt et al., (1989) predicted that the same effect would occur primarily among participants who were relatively negative in their attitudes towards prostitution. This time, college students were exposed to the same scenario, however, due to their lack of knowledge regarding bond (i.e., setting bond), information was provided relating to what steps to take, and how to set it. The study replicated the findings of the first.

Using the prediction that MS would increase participants desire to punish a moral transgressor, as well as their desire to reward someone who upholds the same cultural values as themselves, Rosenblatt and associates (1989) asked participants to again set bond for the prostitute. Participants were then asked to read a story about a heroic woman who had helped the police apprehend a criminal, responsible for a number of brutal muggings, and recommend a reward. What they found was that MS caused participants to recommend a harsher punishment for the prostitute than those who were not exposed to MS, as well as provoke them to recommend a larger reward when compared to the control group. These findings were attributed to the heroic

woman being seen as upholding the cultural WV, thereby worthy of recognition and reward.

Throughout the previous studies, evidence that MS manipulation altered mood could not be found. As such, mood was considered as an unlikely basis for an alternative explanation of the results. In order to support this, the authors made reference to the points that 1): only those who were negative in attitude towards prostitution recommended a higher bond in the mortality salience condition, 2): mortality salience did not lead to negative evaluations of the experimenter; and 3): mortality salience led to positive treatment of the hero, which would considered to be an unlikely result of a negative mood. One explanation offered was that of self-awareness where the individual behaves in a manner that is consistent with their attitudes and standards.

In order to see if this was in fact the case, Rosenblatt et al., (1989) asked participants to set bond for the prostitute under conditions where there were high, and low levels, of both self-awareness and MS. It was predicted that if the effects of MS were mediated by self-awareness, then participants in a high self-awareness condition (in the form of looking at self in a mirror) would set a higher bond than participants in a low self-esteem condition. Also, if specifically designed questionnaires elicited arousal, which under some conditions had been shown to intensify reactions to both positive and negative stimuli, then this effect would also take place. Rosenblatt et al., (1989) predicted that MS would intensify responses to any negative and positive stimuli. Therefore, along with having to set the bond for the prostitute, participants were asked to rate how much they liked five generally pleasant events and five generally unpleasant events. What they found was that MS did not result from heightened self-awareness or physical arousal, as self-awareness did not encourage

harsher bond recommendations. Rather, that those with heightened self-awareness reduced harsh treatment of the prostitute among individuals with positive attitudes towards prostitution. This finding was replicated in a following experiment.

Following on from the previous findings, Rosenblatt et al., (1989) wanted to see if whether another salient treatment, other than the open-ended questions, would replicate the findings of the bond setting experiments. Using an alternative method, those in the MS condition were asked to complete a Fear of Death scale, while the control participants filled out the A trait form of the State-trait anxiety Inventory. What was found was that although the manipulation was different, the findings were the same as those in the original experiment.

Affective Priming

Early evidence for mood having an effect on social judgements was interpreted in terms of both psychoanalytic and conditioning principles (Forgas, 1992). Authors such as Feshbach & Singer (1957) were of the view that those who were fearful saw others as more fearful than they because of a tendency to project fear onto others.

Following on, affective priming theories assumes that social perception is a constructive cognitive processing, whereby the individual moves from the general to the specific due to an increase in the availability of mood related memories, constructs and associates resulting in them having more influence on their judgements (Bower, 1981, 1991; Isen, 1984). According to Bower (1981), the priming of affective information should facilitate the learning of mood suitable material; help focus attention on mood-congruent details; improve the recall of mood consistent information or material first encountered in a matching mode; and should help with the suitable mood interpretations of vague information. Other theorists such as Clore

and Parrott (1991), along with Schwartz and Clore (1988), have suggested a more direct, informational role for affect that states that people may consult their mood through a "how do I feel about it" trial and error method, which then influence the way we interpret and experience the world.

Carrying on from this, Forgas (1992) examined whether good or bad moods had a different influence on people's awareness of typical and atypical people. The participants received a mood inducing video that was described as being a part of a separate study to validate films for another experiment. Once they were watched, the participants were then asked to recall and form impressions about people that were consistent or inconsistent with familiar examples within their social scene. What was found was that judgements were significantly higher for non-familiar examples than for familiar ones, thus providing support for the notion that, we are more likely to be drawn to those who are more similar than dissimilar.

Cultural Priming

Cultural priming has had very few literature produced. Until recently, the effect of priming on behavioural tendencies was unclear. Past and recent studies have shown some support for cultural priming. Bargh, Chen, & Burrows (1996) primed participants with the construct "rude" in a scrambled sentence. It was found that those primed with it were more likely to interrupt conversations, than those who hadn't. Bargh, Chen, & Burrows (1996) also found that participants primed with stereotypes of the elderly, were more likely to walk slower than those who weren't. In additional studies Bargh, Gollwitzer, Lee-Chai, Barndollar, & Trotschel, (2001) found that participants primed to cooperate on tasks with others, cooperated to the same amount as those who were instructed to.

In order to find evidence for cultural priming and its affect on behaviour, Wong & Hong (2005) explored the notion of whether priming of cultural symbols activated cultural behavioural, and that as result, their corresponding behaviours would be readily identifiable in a context that was specific to the behaviour. As such, participants with Chinese-bicultural background were exposed to primes that were Chinese, American, or neutral in theme. Once exposed, the participants were asked to play the Prisoner's Dilemma game with both friends and strangers. With the premise limiting the amount of jail time you and your partner experience by coming to a mutual agreement without discussing it, the game requires you both to strategically estimate what your partner will do when provided with three choices. Using the dynamic-constructivist approach that assumes accessibility of cultural knowledge sets up a necessary, but not sufficient, condition to effect subsequent judgements and behaviours, Wong and Hong proposed that following cultural primes, individual's would experience a heighten accessibility to cultural norms and theories (preference to cooperate, expectation towards friend vs. stranger) that would inevitably influence the way in which they behaved when the immediate context (interacting with friends) was experienced. What was found was that participants were more likely to show cooperation towards friends when a Chinese cultural icon was presented compared an American cultural icon. In contrast, participants showed a similarly low level of cooperation toward strangers after both Chinese and American cultural priming. These findings not only supported previous evidence on cultural priming of social judgement and self-understanding, but also provided evidence for the effects of culture priming behaviour and highlighted the boundaries of condition that related to it.

Gollwitzer, Earle, & Stephan, (1982) and Zanna & Cooper, (1974) have well documented that psychological defences, such as self-serving biases and dissonance reduction, are triggered by negative affective responses to threats. Traditional concepts of defensive changes in attitudes, attributions, or beliefs typically assume that such cognitive shifts were a response to negative affect. Conversely, research has shown that thoughts of death activate psychological defences without any activation of such affective mechanisms. TMT assumes that accessibility to death related thoughts generate a potential for experiencing anxiety, and it is this potential that triggers defensive responses.

PANAS

Recently, studies looking at the structure of affect have constantly shown positive and negative affect to be the two dominant and relatively independent dimensions (Watson, Clark, & Tellegen, 1988). To address this issue, a number of mood scales were developed to measure these factors however many of them were found to be inadequate, showing low reliability or poor convergent validity. To address these issues Watson, Clark, & Tellegen (1988) developed the scale the Positive Affect, Negative Affect Scale (PANAS) that consisted of 20 items, 10 positive, 10 negative, and subjected it to psychometric testing. What they found that when compared to other measures, the PANAS had higher validity and reliability, capturing the affective state of the individual to a greater scale. TMT theorists used this scale in explore whether affect indeed played a part in their findings.

TMT Findings

TMT states that the more available death related thoughts are, the more likely an individual's potential is for experiencing anxiety, which then leads to the triggering of defensive responses (Greenberg, Solomon, & Pyszczynski, 1997). These responses take the form of high self-esteem and a strong cultural WV, thus providing protection from the potential to experience anxiety (the anxiety-buffer hypothesis). TMT also states that people who are low in self-esteem (who regard themselves as not meeting the standards set by the cultural world view) are more likely to experience existential threats. In order prevent this from occurring, they are strongly encouraged to engage more in their world defence. Evidence provided by Harmon-Jones et al (1997) and Simon et al (1996), showed that higher levels of self-esteem reduced defensive reactions to reminders of death and anxious responses to graphic depictions of death or painful shocks.

Based on the knowledge that humans have a built in desire to survive, whereby they are more likely to experience fear whenever survival is threaten, TMT proposes that our explicit awareness of death being inevitable, creates an ever-present potential for anxiety. In order to cope, we manage the anxiety through our cultural WVs. These cultural WVs thus provide a sense of importance and value while also contributing to a meaningful, orderly, and permanent reality (Greenberg, Martens, Jonas, Eisenstadt, Pyszczynski, & Solomon, 2003).

TMT theorists have repeatedly noted that the very possibility of experiencing death-related anxiety, as opposed to actually experiencing it, creates WV defence (Pyszczynski, Greenberg, & Solomon, 1999; Solomon, Greenberg, & Pyszczynski, 1991). Along with this, reminders of mortality also heightened people's pursuits to increase self-esteem, through participating in relevant self-esteem behaviours

(Truman, Ben Ari, Florian, & Mikulincer, 1999), focusing on aspects of the self from which esteem is derived (Goldenberg, McCoy, Pyszczynski, Greenberg, & Solomon, 2002), and changing attributions of success and failure in self-serving directions (Mikulincer & Florian, 2002). Also, when self-esteem is heightened, it is likely that people will display, and report, less anxiety in response to physical threats and death related stimuli (Greenberg, Solomon, et al., 1992)

Following on from Rosenblatt and colleagues (1989) work, Greenberg, Pyszczynski, Solomon, Rosenblatt, Veeder, Kirkland, and Lyon (1990) conducted three studies to explore whether reminding people of their mortality increased their attraction to those who supported and validated their WV and decreased their attraction to those who did not support it. The first study set out to assess the effects of mortality salience on reactions to those of similar and dissimilar religious backgrounds. They predicted that the mere existence of others with similar beliefs would be enough to validate their faith, while the existence of other's with dissimilar beliefs would be enough to threaten it.

Using Christian introductory psychology students, half of the participants were exposed to the mortality salience in the form of a questionnaire. Two filler questionnaires were handed out with one of them asking participants to respond to 10 "Who am I questions." After completion, participants were exposed to MS where they were asked to think and write about what will happen when they physically die as well as record the emotions that the thought of their own death aroused. Those in the control group did not receive this. Once all the material was collected up, the experimenter handed out two questionnaires of the Who am I of two supposed male participants, one appearing to be filled out by a Jew and the other by a Christian. They were then asked to form impressions of the two participants. What they found

22

was that MS led to the Christian participants tending to have more positive evaluations of the in-group member (Christian) and more negative evaluations of the out-group member (Jew).

Working following on from this by Greenberg et al (1990) tested the prediction that mortality should intensify the similarity-attraction relationship (Bryne, 1971) by exposing high authoritarians to an existential threat on the premise that they would be derogative to dissimilar others and react positive to those of who were similar. Also, it was predicted that the difference between those high and low in authoritarianism would be greater when mortality was made salient. What they found was that those high in authoritarianism where more derogative to those who were dissimilar and when MS manipulated, this group differed from low authoritarians.

In an extension of the previous, Greenberg et al, (1990) hypothesized that positive reactions to in-groupers and similar others, and negative reactions to out-groupers and dissimilar due to, in some small part, their implications for one's cultural WV. Therefore, if implicit validation and threat motivates these reactions, it was predicted that MS would have a stronger effect on reactions to those who supported or threaten the participant's WV. By manipulating MS in the same way as the previous studies, the participants were asked to 8 questions relating to an interview sheet they had received of which there were three versions (one pro-USA, one was a mixed version, and the other anti-USA), relating to a person evaluating the American political system. What they found was that MS encouraged positive reactions to someone who praised the culture and negative to those who criticized it.

Following on form the studies earlier studies, Greenberg and associates (1994) conducted another four studies to find if in fact this was the case. The first study was designed to look at whether relatively subtle inductions of mortality salience would

23

produce a vigorous WV defence than a more blatant mortality salience induction. Participants were encouraged to think deeply about their feelings of death and then write down their deepest fears about death. From here, they were then required to read a positive and negative essay about the United States, as previous study had shown that mortality salience lead participants to more positive evaluations of the author pro-U.S while also leading them to more negative evaluations of the author that was anti-US (Greenberg, Simon, et al., 1992; Harmon-Jones, Simon, Greenberg, Solomon, & Pyszczynski, 1994). A secondary purpose of the study was to evaluate and compare the effects of one's own thoughts of death to that of thoughts of death of a loved one as the theory does not predict that thoughts about another would increase one's WV defence.

Indeed, the study replicated the findings of previous research (preference for a pro-US author than the anti-us author) while also finding weak support for the theory that thoughts of death about a loved ones death would not increase their own WV defences. This is important in that TMT hypothesized that self-esteem serves as an anxiety buffer, based on five studies that have showed that when it is increased or significantly high, individuals are more likely to exhibit less self-reported anxiety, physiological arousal, and anxiety related defensiveness when exposed to threatening stimuli (Greenberg, et al., 1990).

The follow up study found that the effects in the first study were not the result of thoughts of aversive events that were non-death-related. It also found that these only occurred when the participant was distracted from MS prior to assessing its effects. Other studies following on showed that although the accessibility of death related thoughts did not increase immediately after MS, it did show an increase after a

distraction. These findings suggest that MS effects are unique to thoughts of death; and that they occur primarily when these thoughts are highly accessible.

In more recent work by Greenberg, Martens, Jonas, Eisenstadt, Pyszczynski, and Solomon (2003), participants were asked to consume a placebo that was alleged to block anxiety or that enhanced memory. Once MS was manipulated (by asking the participants to think of their own death and what would happen to them), participants were asked to evaluate two essays, one pro-America which supported the views of Americans and held their way of life in high esteem, and one anti-America, that was degrading to the way of life in America and everything that it stands for, which was used to measure the participants' WV defence. This lead to findings that although mortality salience intensified WV defence (support for the way in which they view the world), there was no effect found on the anxiety blocker condition. This suggested that psychological defences served to avert the experience of anxiety, rather than the actual experiencing of it.

The experiment asked psychology students to take part in a study looking at the efficacy of herbal medicines, one an anxiety blocker, the other a memory enhancer. Participants were then instructed to take the placebo and fill out a questionnaire while they waited for the affects of the drug happen. MS was then manipulate by asking the participants to answer two open ended questions that were; Please briefly describe the emotions the thought of your own death arouses in you, and jot down as specifically as you can, what you think will happen as you physically die and as you are physically die. Participants in the control condition were asked similar questions in relation to dental pain. Once completed, the participants were asked to perform a memory task (that required the participants to list as many car brand names as they could) and an impression-formation task (which was the WV defence assessment)

where they were asked to read and evaluate two essays, one anti the USA, while the other was pro-the USA, supposedly written by two foreign students, via five questions about the authors (i.e., how much they liked the authors, how intelligent they felt the authors were, how valid the arguments were, and how much they agreed with the essay)

Participants then filled out two measures assessing their calmness throughout the, how relaxed compare to how stress they felt at the moment, and how sharp they felt their memory was throughout the entire study. The participants were then asked to describe how they felt the drug had affected, that then followed by the debriefing.

Greenberg and associates (2003) calculated the WV defence by subtracting the mean evaluations of the anti-American from the pro-American essays. What they found was that although the memory enhancer condition MS participants showed more WV defence than the dental pain control participants, this effect was totally eliminated in the anxiety-blocker condition, Also, within the MS condition, memory enhancer participants showed more WV defence than the anxiety blocker participants.

To assess whether MS or drug affected mood, a 2x2 ANOVA was performed on the various PANAS-X scales. MS was not found to have an effect on self-reported affect. No effect for initial mood assessment or number of cars recalled was found, and the placebo had no effect on reports of how calm or relaxed participants felt or how heightened they believed their memory had become. On the open-ended questions of how the drug affected them, the majority (71%) of participants felt they had been affected. These findings lead Greenberg and associates to the conclusion that psychological defences served to avert the experience of anxiety, rather than the actual experiencing of it.

In a similar study, Jonas and Greenberg (2003) looked at how reminders of mortality intensified the desire to maintain faith in one's own cultural WV. This was investigated by exploring the attitudes of Germans toward an important political event, the fall of the Berlin wall and the reunification of Germany. Using the same procedure of manipulating MS, the results revealed that overall, the prediction that interaction between mortality salience and general attitude towards German reunification was found. Also, the study found that following mortality salience, participants supportive in their attitude toward the German unification liked the positive compared to the negative essay more than participants in the control condition. Those with a more neutral attitude toward the reunification on the other hand showed no reliable effect of mortality salience.

Throughout the literature, TMT has shown that if an individual's MS is manipulated, and then they are asked to read and rate their opinions of similar and dissimilar others, the person is more likely to show favouritism towards those who validate their culture, than those who do not. An interesting factor of the research is the prominent role mortality plays in influencing decisions. As such, if mortality is not made salient, would the same effect be witnessed? Would a threat to ones cultural WV be enough to provoke the same reactions outlined in Greenberg and associates work or is manipulation of mortality salience the only way to observe this reaction.

Taking into consideration the findings of previous studies, this study will attempt to affective prime participants with one of four scenarios. The primes developed related to themes that are either positive (such as getting a job promotion and being able to buy the car they have away wanted, or taking part in a competition and winning) or negative (see their baby sister knocked of her bike and being unable to get her because the traffic is too busy while she cries for you) in nature. Their

primus is to elicit positive or negative feelings. Also, two of these primes will relate to either Māori society (i.e., cultural competitions and being called useless Māori) or more general societal events (such as a job promotion, or observing a bike accident). It is believed that once primed, the positive or negative feelings aroused will impact on the way in which participants respond to future events or decisions.

Taking the influence of the prime into consideration, it is the belief of this study that participants who received the prime that is both negative and Māori in context (useless Māori), will have higher levels of hostility and anger that will remain for a period of time, as opposed to the other three groups. As such, when the participant is exposed to a task that lessens this impact, their levels of hostility and anger will only slightly decrease, making the feelings more accessible in times of hostility or anger, than if primed with one of the three other affective primes.

Greenberg and associates (2003) have showed that when an individuals' mortality was salient, who were then required to read extracts that were either hostile and anti towards their culture (Anti-USA), or supportive of it (Pro-USA), individuals were more likely to demonstrate positive feelings towards the author that was supportive of the culture than the one who was in opposition. This difference between the ratings was a way in which they decided whether individuals WV Defence had been activated. The greater the difference, the greater the activation. As such, this study will endeavour to present similar findings, as a result of the negative-Māori prime, without manipulating of MS. It is proposed that by using a WV Defence measure similar to that presented above, that is specific to Māori (Pro-Treaty of Waitangi, and Anti-Treaty of Waitangi essays), similar results will be observed (greater difference in ratings of the two authors), because of the earlier presentation of the negative-Māori prime. Although the other primes are of importance, they are

28

predicted to have a minor impact on the activation of the WV Defence. As such, the propose of this study will be to show that a negative Māori affective prime will influence the way individuals respond to threats towards the Māori WV, shown through more favourable opinions towards individuals who support it, and less favourable or hostile opinions towards those who don't.

Hypotheses

As such it is predicted that:

H1: That by exposing Māori teens to an affective prime, their response to future events and situations will be influenced by the type of prime they received.

H2: That as cultural attitude moves from positive to negative, as a result of the prime, feelings of hostility, resentment, and anger will increase.

H3: It is hypothesised that these increased levels will be measurable in the same manner outlined by Greenberg, Simon, et al. (1992); Harmon-Jones, Simon, Greenberg, Solomon, & Pyszczynski (1994), Greenberg and associates (2003), via the WV Defence.

H4: It is hypothesized that the group who received the negative-Māori affective prime, will indicated more positive opinions towards the author of the Pro-Treaty essay, and more negative opinions towards the Anti-treaty essay writer.

H5: That this increase indicates activation of the World-view Defence.

H6: It is hypothesised that there will be a greater difference in ratings for the Pro-Treaty, Anti-Treaty writers for the negative-Māori prime group than the difference of the other three groups.

H7: It is hypothesised that this increase will be observable in both the positive and negative scales of the PANAS.

H8: That if positively primed, cultural attitudes will remain either at the same level or slightly higher, and that this will be observable in that the WVD will not have significantly increased.

H9: That WVD can be determined without manipulating Mortality Salience.