A COMPARISON STUDY OF MAORI AND PAKEHA

EMOTIONAL REACTIONS TO SOCIAL SITUATIONS

THAT INVOLVE WHAKAMAA.

A thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements

for the degree of Master of Arts in Psychology,

Massey University.

Clive Banks

1996

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

ABSTRACT

The impact that culture has on the experience and expression of emotion is a topic of great debate amongst emotion theorists. The present study investigated the relationship between culture and emotional reactions to social situations that involve whakamaa. More specifically, the study had four goals. The first was to investigate the patterns of Maori and Pakeha emotional reactions to a number of social situations. Second, the relationship between Maoritanga and the strength and/or type of emotional reaction to a number of social situations was investigated. Third, the levels of Maoritanga of rural and urban Maori was compared. Fourth, rural and urban Maori patterns of emotional reactions to a number of social situations were compared. A total of 48 Maori and 63 Pakeha randomly selected from the telephone directory for the East Cape/Gisborne region of New Zealand completed a self report questionnaire. The questionnaire gathered demographic information and required the participants to rate how strongly they would feel 9 specific emotions in reaction to four short stories. Maori participants were also asked to complete a Maoritanga measure. The findings indicated that: Maori and Pakeha participants responded with different patterns of emotion to some types of social situation but not others; urban and rural Maori participants had similar levels of Maoritanga; urban and rural Maori responded similarly to the social situations outlined in the present study; and Maoritanga, as measured, was not related to the strength of emotional reaction to the short stories. However, it was suggested that these conclusions be moderated by the limitations of the study. Future research recommendations and the practical implications of the findings are discussed.

LIST OF FIGURES AND TABLES

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

There are a number of obvious and commonly agreed upon cultural differences between Maori and Pakeha. For example, the way that funerals and tangihanga are conducted, the ways that families are organised, and the significance attached to the land, all vary between the two ethnic groups. The present study investigates the existence of another culturally based difference. A difference in the way that Maori and Pakeha perceive and react emotionally to particular types of social interactions.

There is a large body of research dealing with the development and expression of emotions. Theories of emotion cover the full spectrum, from those arguing that emotions are biologically hardwired processes for the maintenance and regulation of behaviour, to those that argue that emotions are shaped and developed through social and cultural processes (Kitayama and Markus, 1994). The present study is an attempt to quantitatively measure the emotions involved in a Maori construct called whakamaa. Whakamaa has some similarities to the Western constructs of shame, embarrassment, shyness, and social withdrawal but its interpretation often depends on the context in which it occurs (Metge, 1986).

Some authors have indicated that the construct of whakamaa has the potential to explain a number of differences in the way that Maori and Pakeha react to certain types of situations or interactions. Nightingale (1973) argues that differences in educational achievement between Maori and Pakeha may be at least partially explained by whakamaa. McKessar and Thomas (1978) studied differences in verbal and non-verbal help-seeking among urban Maori and Pakeha

children. They concluded that "... urban Maori children were less likely to show verbal and direct help-seeking behaviour and more likely to show non-verbal behaviours which could be interpreted as help-seeking signals, compared to Pakeha children." (p. 38). While McKessar and Thomas (1978) did not label the behaviours of the Maori children in their studies as whakamaa, the present author would argue that they are examples of whakamaa. McKessar and Thomas (1978) did argue that cultural factors and minority group status may be important factors in explaining the observed differences in the help-seeking behaviours of Maori and Pakeha children, and that teachers need to be able to recognise the differences in meaning that different cultural groups may attach to the same behaviours.

Medland (1988) discusses how Pakeha family therapists have to re-evaluate the way they work when confronted with rural Maori clients, and uses whakamaa to describe how Maori teenagers would often present at therapy sessions. Prigatano and Leathem (1993) proposed that some of the findings of their research, concerning client awareness of deficits after traumatic brain injury, may have been confounded by Maori subjects describing themselves in less favourable terms than Pakeha because of whakamaa. Thus, the construct of whakamaa has far reaching implications for psychologists and other mental health professionals that work with Maori in situations that may involve whakamaa in one way or another. It would seem to be prudent for such professionals to be familiar with the construct. Especially since there is some evidence that whakamaa can be misinterpreted as guilt, rudeness, stupidity, or rejection (Metge, 1986); or confused with psychiatric disorders such as schizophreniform illness and depression (Sachdev, 1990) by those seeing the behaviours from a Western, non-Maori frame of reference.

Whakamaa as a phenomenon in its own right has been studied previously using qualitative methods (Metge, 1986; Sachdev, 1990). The present study is the first known attempt at a quantitative study. If, as proposed by Metge (1986), Maori are likely to experience different patterns of emotions such as embarrassment, shyness, and shame in reaction to certain situations, and respond to these situations in a qualitatively different way than Pakeha, then it would seem to be possible to measure those differences in emotional reaction.

Thus, the present study attempts to explore two main questions related to whakamaa:

1. Do Maori and Pakeha experience different patterns of emotional reactions to certain situations?

2. Does a Maori individual's level of Maoritanga have any relationship to his or her emotional reactions to certain types of situation?

Chapter 1 outlines the construct of whakamaa, describing the various behaviours and feelings associated with it and the types of situation that can result in whakamaa. Also discussed are the relationships between whakamaa and: mental illness, culture bound syndromes, and enculturation. Chapter 2 presents a review of research and theory that explores the interdependence between culture and emotion. This chapter emphasises that although different theories place a different emphasis on the importance of culture in the development and expression of emotion, all contemporary theories of emotion acknowledge that culture plays some role.

In summary, the present study investigates differences in the ways that Maori and Pakeha react emotionally to certain types of social interaction. It also assesses whether these differences are

related to the degree of enculturation of the Maori participants. Are more traditionally enculturated Maori more likely to experience whakamaa?

CHAPTER 2

WHAKAMAA: A MAORI EMOTION?

Previous research describing whakamaa

For some time, researchers such as Metge and Kinloch (1978), and Durie (1985) have recognised that cross-cultural communication, between Maori and Pakeha, can present problems and result in misunderstandings. Particularly when members of the different cultures misinterpret each others' words and actions. Ritchie (1963), briefly described the construct of whakamaa and related it to the development of individual Maori identity. Metge and Kinloch (1978) also briefly outlined the construct, but went further by describing specific patterns of whakamaa behaviour that they argued were vulnerable to misinterpretation by Pakeha. Metge (1986) went on to publish a book solely concerned with the concept of whakamaa in Maori people. Whakamaa is also a primary focus of this current research.

When pressed for a translation of the term whakamaa, Maori will commonly translate it as shame or embarrassment (Metge, 1986), indicating that it is a term that is used to describe an emotional state. However, it would appear that this is somewhat misleading and that whakamaa has no direct translation in English (Metge, 1986). While there is no evidence to suggest that all the behaviours and feelings associated with whakamaa are not experienced by Pakeha people, the concept itself suggests a way of thinking about interpersonal relationships that is different to the Pakeha way (Metge, 1986). Under the title of whakamaa much is subsumed, i.e. ideas which Pakeha people treat as separate and distinct are put together, not because of a lack of vocabulary, but because it involves a qualitatively different way of perceiving and understanding human experience (Metge, 1986).

Up to this point in time whakamaa has not been the subject of 'study' by Maori. It is possible that this is because, as with most culturally ingrained behaviours and emotions, it is taken for granted by Maori. Thus, what is there to study? It exists and we know what we mean when we use the term. It is also possible that there have been no Maori with the appropriate skills and interest in the topic to consider it a worthwhile subject. Regardless of the reasons for the lack of Maori initiated research, the result is that the major academic source of information about whakamaa comes from Metge (1986). Although Pakeha, Metge has been adopted into the tribe of Te Rarawa and has the tribe's support for her research and her findings. Her research is based largely on information gained from 128 interview/discussions investigating whakamaa with 109 different informants, predominantly Maori but including several Pakeha familiar with the effects of the concept. Most of these informants were people that had grown up and lived as adults in Maori speaking homes and communities. Her aim was to provide an accurate understanding of whakamaa as a cultural concept, and to ensure her accuracy a series of drafts were sent to fifteen of the contributors and to three kaumatua, not previously involved, for checking. According to those that participated in her research, and other Maori writers (Karetu, 1989; Tamihana, 1987), Metge (1986) has accurately captured the construct.

The Outward Manifestations of Whakamaa

The construct of whakamaa describes both observable behaviours and inward feelings (Natana, 1993). Thus, being whakamaa implies that the sufferer will behave in a certain way and feel a certain way. However, the specific behaviours and feelings that are described as whakamaa can vary according to the context in which they occur (Metge, 1986).

The outward signs, or behaviours, associated with whakamaa can fall into the following, sometimes overlapping, five groups (Metge, 1986).

1. Withdrawal from normal activity and interaction up to the point of not moving, not looking or listening, or not speaking or replying to queries. The individual may sit by themselves or lie alone in bed all day being unproductive and avoiding contact with others (Sachdev, 1990).

2. The physical cutting off of visual communication. This includes hiding behind someone or something, covering the face with the hands, looking or turning away. It may also include hiding behind sunglasses (Natana, 1993).

3. Small, nervous behavioural indicators such as restless movements (tapping, twiddling etc.), scratching, giggling and minimal responding to queries. These behaviours are often associated with relatively mild whakamaa.

4. Physical flight or running away from the source of the whakamaa. This is an indication that the whakamaa is very deep.

5. Behaviours that involve an increase in activity such as excessive talking, getting drunk, laughing inanely, or even aggression. These types of behaviour are contrary to the normal pattern of whakamaa behaviour but they do fulfil the same general function as the four groups of behaviours listed above, i.e. reducing communication or interaction with others.

The Inward Feelings of Whakamaa

Metge (1986) grouped the feelings described by her participants as being associated with whakamaa, into nine groups: shyness, embarrassment, uncertainty, inadequacy, incapable/unable to cope, feeling afraid, feeling hurt/humiliated, feeling depressed, and feeling ashamed. From her own experience, she also argues that whakamaa often involves anger. As can be seen, the feelings associated with whakamaa are often negative. Metge (1986), acknowledges that the

boundaries between some of these categories are not clear cut, but the reality is that when someone experiences whakamaa, they do not experience these emotions discretely. Rather, there is a sense of experiencing several at once. Further problems arise when Maori are asked to give an English definition of the term. This is because as noted above, the pattern of emotions and associated behaviours vary with the context or social situation in which the whakamaa occurs. Thus, while all of the emotions listed above may also be experienced by Pakeha people, the implication seems to be that because of Maori cultural beliefs and practices, Maori are likely to experience these emotions, in different patterns, or combinations, than Pakeha will in certain situations. The logic of this argument is supported by emotion researchers such as Armon-Jones (1985), Izard (1983), and Yarrow (1979) who propose that emotions are an integral part of culture and socialisation. Thus, differences in the experiences and the world views of Maori and Pakeha can result in quite different perceptions of, and reactions to the same situation.

Situations Which Can Provoke Whakamaa

In order to gain an understanding of whakamaa it is necessary to understand the various situational factors that can provoke it. While Metge (1986) classifies the factors into six groups, she acknowledges that it is often the case that these factors can combine in a single situation to produce whakamaa. The six possible factors are:

1. *Perception of lower status.* When an individual sees him or herself as being of lower status than others, in general terms or in respect of some valued quality, whakamaa can be the outcome. These qualities can vary, e.g. age, senior descent, authority, knowledge, wealth or material possessions, and occupational status. In situations such as these where whakamaa is the result of the person's perception of lower status it might appear to be shame or embarrassment. However, it can also be seen as a traditionally endorsed way of showing

respect for those in superior positions. Thus, the whakamaa that can result from such interactions is dependent on the individuals perception of their status, regardless of the 'objective facts'.

2. *Uncertainty and confusion.* When Maori find themselves in situations that are confusing, or where the correct response or behaviour is unclear, whakamaa is often the response. Formal Pakeha settings are obvious contenders for the production of this type of whakamaa if they are unfamiliar or confusing settings for Maori participants.

3. *Recognition of fault.* Whakamaa can be an individual's response to anticipating, recognising, or being told that he or she has done something wrong. This can include: breaching socially, morally, or culturally prescribed conventions or standards of behaviour; breaking the law; or even failing to live up to his or her own standards in a particular area.

4. *Being 'put down' or insulted.* Being insulted or belittled will often result in whakamaa. This whakamaa becomes even more intense if the insult is repeated, the recipient is unable to retaliate, or there is an audience including strangers (e.g. on the marae). The insult or putdown itself does not need to be intentional and it can even be the result of overgenerosity. For example, whakamaa can result from a situation where an individual has hospitality lavished upon him or herself and he or she feels unable to reciprocate that hospitality.

5. *Being singled out.* Being singled out, whether for positive or negative reasons can result in whakamaa. Children are particularly vulnerable to this cause but it can also affect adults. The reasons often given for whakamaa in the face of praise are the uncertainty of how to respond and the fear that others will perceive the person being praised as *whakahihi*, or big headed.

6. *On behalf of others.* Maori can feel whakamaa on someone else's account. This is more likely in situations where the person is closely linked, e.g. whanau and/or friends. Thus, someone may feel whakamaa when others show signs of whakamaa, regardless of whether the others

are at fault or not. They may also feel whakamaa when someone else is in the wrong, even if the other person does not realise it or show whakamaa themselves.

As mentioned above, the common theme running through these causes is that they all involve the sufferer being at some disadvantage in relation to another or others, or empathising with someone who is disadvantaged. For Maori, this inevitably involves the individual's mana. Thus, whakamaa is first and foremost, an expression of lower or lowered mana (Metge, 1986; Sachdev, 1990). Individuals experience whakamaa when they perceive that they have less mana in relation to particular others, or lose mana through their own actions or the actions of others. It is also noteworthy that although the above information refers to individuals, groups can also experience whakamaa for the same reasons (Metge, 1986).

Mana and Whakamaa

According to Metge (1986) and her sources, mana is another significant concept in Maori culture that does not readily translate into English. It is related to the concepts of power, authority, prestige, self-esteem, and social standing but is often seen as having a spiritual base. Attempts at understanding the concept of mana are further complicated because there are several Maori understandings of mana which vary according to the individual's cultural experience, tribal practices, age, and whether they live in an urban or rural environment. Barlow (1991) also describes mana as having several meanings in contemporary times. The principle sources he outlines are: "...the power of the gods, the power of ancestors, the power of the land, and the power of the individual." (p. 61). Thus an individual's, or group's, store of mana can come from several sources.

Metge (1986), further clarifies the understanding of mana by explaining that mana is often used by Maori to mean personal and social power or social standing, i.e. the "...power to do and get things done in a social setting..." (p. 71), but it also has a meaning which is more spiritually based. Spiritually, mana refers to "...divine power made manifest in the world of human experience, not only in human beings but also in chosen members of other natural species, places, and things." (p. 63). Metge (1986) suggests that the social meaning is more often emphasised than the spiritual meaning in contemporary Maori society but that whenever the construct of mana is used it will have spiritual overtones. This is especially true in formal Maori situations or when the concept is being used by those who live with more traditional Maori beliefs and practices. However, interpretation of how the term is being used is up to the individual, with both interpretations being possible, and possibly being intended by those using the term, on most occasions.

It is thus argued (Metge, 1986), that because whakamaa inevitably involves an individual's mana, it must, by definition have a spiritual dimension as well as the physical and psychological dimensions outlined above. Furthermore, because much of an individual's mana is derived from ancestors and the membership of descent groups, whakamaa is more than just an individual matter. It involves the individual's ancestors and family. Metge (1986) proposes that all who live with the concept of mana can be vulnerable to whakamaa. This raises the question of whether contemporary Maori, not brought up in a traditional Maori environment, will be familiar with the concepts of mana and whakamaa? Metge (1986) argues that most Maori brought up with at least some contact with traditional values and practices will have a greater awareness of the concept of mana than they realise and thus be vulnerable to whakamaa. However, she also acknowledges that this would be a difficult proposition to test or measure.

The involvement of mana in whakamaa further helps to provide an explanation of why the construct is difficult to define from a Western perspective. When someone is described as whakamaa, the primary information being given is about their relative mana, the specific emotions and behaviours involved will be dependent upon the situation itself. Thus, the term whakamaa describes more than just an emotion or a behaviour.

The Variability of Whakamaa

Whakamaa can vary in its expression, intensity, and duration (Metge, 1986; Sachdev, 1990). These variations are related to differences in immediate cause, individual factors, and the social context. If the cause of whakamaa is minor, if the individual is relatively secure in his or her mana, and has supportive whanaunga and friends, the person will usually get over it quickly and with little help. However if the cause involves a deliberate or conscious infringement of the moral code and occurs in public, or becomes public knowledge, the whakamaa may be more intense and protracted. In these situations the sufferer of such severe whakamaa will need help from others who can recognise the condition for what it is, and act appropriately to aid recovery. If whakamaa is not treated, or is experienced repeatedly it can become permanently ingrained and chronic. Natana (1993) suggests that if whakamaa is very intense, it can lead to whakamomori, or suicidal behaviour.

Functions of Whakamaa

From the information given above, it would seem that the consequences of whakamaa are largely negative. However, Metge (1986) argues that if it is handled correctly it can have the following positive functions for both the individual and the community in general.

Reinforcement of the social order.

Whakamaa behaviour acknowledges differences in moral status, social status, and power. That is, it can be a way of showing respect and an acknowledgment of mana. This may earn the favour of those with greater mana, if the behaviour is correctly interpreted. Whakamaa is also an emotion that individuals will endeavour to avoid, thus it encourages culturally sanctioned ways of behaving.

Payment of penance.

In situations where whakamaa is the result of committing an offence, the endurance of the pain of whakamaa by the offender is seen as an admission of guilt and part of the punishment. It prepares the community for forgiveness and opens the way for the acceptance of the offender back into full participation in the community. This does of course also depend on the seriousness of the offence, i.e. further punishment, such as restitution may be required. In cases where the offence may have been so heinous as to be difficult to forgive, the individual's, or families, whakamaa may see them voluntarily leaving the community.

Time out.

Whakamaa can be seen as providing a culturally acceptable and legitimate break from stress and stressors. It also gives the sufferer time to consider what has happened, and his or her options for dealing with it.

Resistance.

The presentation of whakamaa can, in special cases, be seen as a form of passive resistance. Whether or not this function of whakamaa fits in with the outline provided above is debatable as it would seem to have a contrived quality.

Whakamaa and Mental Illness

Metge (1986) maintains that all Maori experience whakamaa at some stage. Normally the experience is episodic and the sufferer emerges from it in the course of time with or without the assistance of others. However, she also argues that in situations where the offence cannot be atoned for, when others fail to provide the appropriate help, or when the person is in an environment that is placing them in one whakamaa situation after another, whakamaa can become chronic, leading to a breakdown in that person's mental health.

Maori see such ingrained whakamaa as mate Maori while doctors are likely to diagnose it as a psychiatric disorder. The main point that Metge (1986) makes here is that "Regardless of the objective validity of the Maori explanation, diagnosis of cases involving chronic whakamaa in psychiatric terms can result in treatment which is inappropriate and counter-productive." (p. 121). Sachdev (1990) argues that while aspects of whakamaa behaviour can be confused with psychiatric disorders such as "schizophreniform illness and depression" (p. 437) the course of the 'syndrome' differentiates it from these disorders.

Sachdev (1990) further explores the construct of whakamaa, with an emphasis on its clinical relevance to psychiatry. He argues that whakamaa is an important construct to understand as it may have an influence on the clinical presentations of some Maori psychiatric patients. Both

Sachdev (1990) and Natana (1993) note that many of these presenting behaviours are not considered abnormal by the Maori community, i.e. whakamaa is not considered to be a mental illness but the sufferer is considered to be in a weak and vulnerable state. The argument is that the behaviours which would normally be seen as symptoms of a psychiatric illness can be seen as normal in the appropriate context.

Natana (1993) and Sachdev (1990) argue that certain presentations of whakamaa are open to misinterpretation by culturally unaware mental health workers. It is conceivable that this could result in the inappropriate application of a psychiatric diagnosis. To support this argument, Sachdev (1990) provides four case studies of whakamaa behaviour, three with particular relevance to the clinical situation. In each case, the fortunate involvement of a Maori person with a knowledge of whakamaa resulted in an appropriate treatment and successful outcomes without the need for a psychiatric intervention.

Whakamaa as a Culture-Bound Syndrome?

There is much debate about how culture-bound syndromes (CBS) should be defined and whether or not all illnesses are in fact culture bound (Prins, 1990; Sachdev, 1990). Vandereycken & Hoek, (1992) define a CBS as "...a constellation of signs or symptoms, categorised as a dysfunction or disease, that is restricted to certain cultures primarily by reason of distinctive psychosocial features of those cultures" (p. 20). At present there would not appear to be any widely agreed upon definition for CBS (Simons, 1993), however, the definition given above is similar to that used by a number of researchers (e.g. Banks, 1992; Hill & Fortenberry, 1992; Sachdev, 1990).

Sachdev (1990) argues that based upon such a definition, whakamaa does not qualify as a CBS. Firstly, because it has a large repertoire of behaviours; it is not "...a collection of signs and symptoms in the form of a syndrome" (p. 440). Secondly, it is not labelled as an illness within Maori culture. Any diagnosis that is applied is the result of a clinician from another culture applying an inappropriate label because of a lack of familiarity with the construct of whakamaa. Sachdev (1990) also proposes that behaviour similar to whakamaa may also occur in other Pacific Island cultures. This obviously indicates that whakamaa behaviour may not be specifically 'bound' to Maori culture.

In conclusion, Sachdev (1990) proposes that it is more appropriate to see whakamaa as "...a culturally determined behavioural repertoire with well developed notions of causality, consequences, and ways of management. It is also an important psychological construct to explain such behaviours." (p. 441). This would indeed seem to be an appropriate way to view whakamaa.

The Relationship Between Maori Culture and Whakamaa

If, as Sachdev (1990) asserts, whakamaa is a culturally determined behavioural repertoire, do acculturated Maori still experience it? This is a question that the present study hopes to address. It would appear possible to suggest that the concentrated effort by the British colonisers to assimilate the Maori (Barrington & Beaglehole, 1990) may have weakened Maori culture to the point that only enculturated Maori will still experience whakamaa. Metge (1986) states that rural Maori, or Maori brought up in Maori speaking homes and communities are more likely than 'city-bred' Maori to understand the meaning of, and use, the word 'whakamaa'. However, she also suggests that young Maori may have an unconscious understanding of whakamaa which has

developed through contact with other Maori as they have grown up. Metge's informants, on the other hand, are equivocal about whether younger, acculturated Maori experience whakamaa.

A number of researchers have linked Maoritanga to other variables. Thomas (1988) found that Maori from rural locations had a significantly stronger grasp of Maori knowledge and language than Maori from urban environments. This supports Metge's (1986) claim that there may be differences in the cultural identities, and the associated behaviours, of rural and urban Maori. In two studies that investigated differences in health behaviours between enculturated and acculturated Maori, Mitchell (1983a; 1983b) linked cultural identity with cigarette smoking and alcohol intake. It was found that a larger proportion of participants with a 'high cultural identity' were smokers and drinkers. Recent research (Rowsell, 1993) using an abbreviated version of Thomas' (1988) Maori Knowledge Test and a cultural identity scale failed to find a significant difference between the scores of rural and urban Maori. It was argued that this lack of difference reflected the recent impact of the Maori cultural renaissance on urban Maori. Interestingly, the same study by Rowsell found significant differences between urban and rural Maori attitudes toward disability. The implication being that the measures of Maori knowledge and identity failed to measure the base values of Maori culture, or at least the values that were related to how Maori perceive disability.

Thus, although previous research has had variable success relating culture to behaviour or attitudes, it is possible that the experience of whakamaa is linked to the individual's level of enculturation. Furthermore, it is also possible that rural and urban Maori differ in their levels of acculturation and that these differences may be reflected in differences in behaviour.

Criticisms of Metge's (1986) Work on Whakamaa

It has been suggested (Webster, 1990) that the sample of respondents used by Metge (1986) is not representative of Maori as a whole was disproportionately older and contained more middle class people than the Maori population in general. The argument that follows from this claim is that the information thus gained may not be generalisable to the Maori population in general which is younger, urban centred, and perhaps less familiar with aspects of *nga tikanga Maori*. Metge (1986) argues that her goal was to "understand whakamaa as a cultural concept" i.e. to increase understanding and communication between Maori and Pakeha and to give a concrete example of how Maori can place different interpretations on aspects of interpersonal relationships. As previously mentioned, she acknowledges that the younger, urbanised, more acculturated Maori may not know or use the word themselves, but she also argues that the cultural pattern of behaviour that is whakamaa may be unconsciously learned by this group of alienated Maori. This claim would seem to be supported by some of Metge's informants and in examples given by others (Karetu, 1989; Natana, 1993; Sachdev, 1990; Tamihana, 1987).

Another potential problem with Metge's (1986) research is that it has not addressed the issue of whether or not there are any tribal variations in the feelings and behaviours associated with whakamaa. The diverse tribal affiliations of her informants would seem to suggest that there are more similarities between tribes than differences. However, the possibility is worth consideration.

Conclusion

In conclusion, it has been argued that because of different cultural beliefs and practices, Maori may experience different patterns of emotions and exhibit different behaviours than Pakeha in reaction to certain types of social interaction. It is also possible that enculturated Maori are more

likely than acculturated Maori to experience whakamaa. The variety of behaviours and feelings that can fall under the banner of whakamaa have been outlined to show that it really does not have an exact equivalent or translation in English. Although the individual components of the construct will be recognisable and experienced by Pakeha, whakamaa combines them in a unique way.

The factors that can provoke whakamaa have also been outlined with particular reference to the important role that mana plays. Mana is another construct that has no exact equivalent in Western or Pakeha culture. This further reinforces the cultural uniqueness of whakamaa and suggests that whakamaa describes more than just an emotion.

A major point raised was the possibility that the presenting behaviours associated with whakamaa may be misinterpreted by mental health professionals and seen as the symptoms of a psychiatric disorder, resulting in the application of an inappropriate diagnosis and treatment programme. Hence the importance for mental health professionals to be familiar with the construct of whakamaa, including the many possible causes, presentations, and treatments.

Thus, given the argument that the construct of whakamaa describes a culturally determined behavioural repertoire which includes certain patterns of emotions, it becomes necessary to explain how culture influences the development of emotions in individuals. The following chapter reviews several current theories regarding the role of culture in emotional development.

CHAPTER 3

CULTURAL VARIATIONS IN EMOTIONS:

A REVIEW OF CURRENT THEORIES

The Debate

The study of cultural variations in emotions is theoretically split between two schools of thought. On the one hand are theorists that argue for the primacy of certain universal, biologically based emotions (e.g., Ekman, 1982), and on the other hand are theorists such as Harre (1986), who argue for the central role of culture in the shaping and defining of our emotional experiences. If these two extremes are to be seen as the end points on a continuum, it can also be seen that most theories of emotion will fall between these two extremes. Thus, the debate over the universal versus cultural nature of emotions largely focuses on the differences in degree of influence of biology and culture. Both sides of the debate agree that both factors must play a role, although to differing degrees.

> We (Ekman & Friesen, 1969) have always maintained that facial expressions of emotion are both universal (in the evolved muscular displays for each emotion) and culturally variable (in the display rules, some of the antecedents, coping, memories, etc.). (Ekman et al. 1987, p. 717).

> There can be little doubt that, even if there are some universal emotions, the bulk of mankind live within systems of thought and feeling that bear little but superficial resemblances to one another. (Harre, 1986, p. 12).

Mesquita and Frijda (1992) argue that these differing views on the nature of emotion have led to research on different aspects of emotion with the result that there is data available supporting both perspective's. Many current theories attempt to take into account both pan-cultural/universal factors and cultural influences on the development and expression of emotions.

An Overview of Various Theories

The importance of self-construal

Markus and Kitayama, (1991) propose that a large part of the observed differences in the ways that cultural groups experience and express emotions is due to "...strikingly different construals of the self, of others, and of the interdependence of the 2." (p. 224). The basic logic of their argument is that if a psychological process (e.g. cognition, emotion, and motivation) uses the individual's construal of self as a target, or a referral point, then the nature and result of the process will be influenced by the nature of the construal of self that the individual has. Thus, for example, the typical Western cultural (i.e. independent) view of the individual as an autonomous, self-contained and independent being makes the expression and experience of ego-focussed emotions (such as anger, frustration and pride) more likely and more acceptable than in a culture where an interdependent construal of self is more predominant.

Markus and Kitayama, (1991) propose that some African, Latin-American, Southern European, Japanese, and other Asian cultures are examples of cultures that have an interdependent construal of self. The present author would also add Maori culture to this list, based on the experience of growing up with Maori values that emphasised the importance of the needs of the whanau over my own. Durie (1984), also explains how interdependence is considered desirable in Maori society, to the point where to be completely independent is, in Maori culture,

considered unhealthy. Within such cultures, the individual sees oneself as part of a larger social relationship, where how one behaves is primarily dependent on, and possibly organised by, the thoughts, feelings and actions of others in the relationship. In such interdependent cultures, the expression of other-focussed emotions (such as sympathy, feelings of interpersonal communion and shame) is more likely and more acceptable than in a primarily independent culture.

Markus and Kitayama (1991) acknowledge that the distinctions between independent and interdependent cultures need to be treated as arguments for general tendencies within cultures and that there are bound to be variations both between individuals, and various sub-groups within any culture. There may also be cultures and sub-cultures that defy classification as either independent or interdependent. Also acknowledged, is the argument that some emotions may not involve one's view of the self and may in fact be universal or instinctive, e.g. some types of fear. In spite of these qualifications, they still see construal of self as being able to explain a great deal of the observed cultural variation in emotion and worthy of further research.

The integration of functional theory with principles of skill development
In order to explain how the process of emotional development occurs, and in turn, influences development itself, Fischer, Shaver, and Carnochan (1990), integrate a functionalist approach with the principles of skill development. Their functionalist view sees emotions as "...organised, meaningful, generally adaptive action systems." (p. 84.). That is, emotions guide individuals towards behaviours that help fulfil needs and motivate the development of effective action. A skill is defined as the ability to carry out a set of actions in a particular context. Thus, as children grow, they learn to construct and control the hierarchically structured skills that are emotions. For example, individuals "...can be skilled not only at doing long division or writing effective

prose, but also at expressing love, controlling fear, or helping others to experience their (suppressed) anger." (Fischer et. al., 1990, p.98).

Skill theory is seen as providing a theoretical bridge between the universalist and relativist perspective's concerning the cross-cultural comparison of emotions and their development. Essentially, the argument is that all human beings are born with a set of basic, universal, emotions. As the individual develops, so does the ability to feel and express the more complex emotions that will often involve increasingly complex cognitive appraisals. Such complex emotions can differ depending on the context, i.e. the culture or historical period.

This type of analysis of the elicitation of emotion was also briefly touched on by Izard (1983), but without the specific reference to skill theory. Izard argued that at the experiential (i.e. at the level of basic feelings) level, emotions are universal. Cultural differences occur because emotion involves cognitive processes and cognitive processes are influenced by culture. Fischer et al. (1990) also have a conception of emotion that takes cognitive processes into account. They propose that a conception of emotions must have the following three components if it is to cope with the complexities of some emotions such as those that are more culturally specific.

1. It must take into account the processes that go into generating emotions. This involves the appraisal of change. A notable change in the individual's environment is the cue for an appraisal of its personal significance and of the individual's ability to cope with , or react to, the change. Thus, after each appraisal the individual begins to experience and exhibit the appropriate emotional action tendency and physiological action tendency. This means that "...for each emotion, a distinct pattern of actions and bodily events is evoked. For joy, the

action tendency includes feeling good, opening one's perceptual and associative pathways (Isen, 1984), and allowing or encouraging the event to continue." (Fischer et al., 1990, p.86).

2. Secondly, it must have a model of emotion categories that takes into account developmental processes. Fischer et al. (1990) propose an emotion hierarchy consisting of three levels. The top of the hierarchy consists of a simple division into positive and negative, i.e. changes are first appraised as being either positive or negative. This is called the superordinate layer. The second level, or layer consists of the basic emotion categories that are argued to be shared across cultures, e.g. anger, sadness, fear, joy and love. It is a characteristic of these basic categories that they define the categories in the third and final (subordinate) level. This level consists of the more complex, socially constructed emotions.
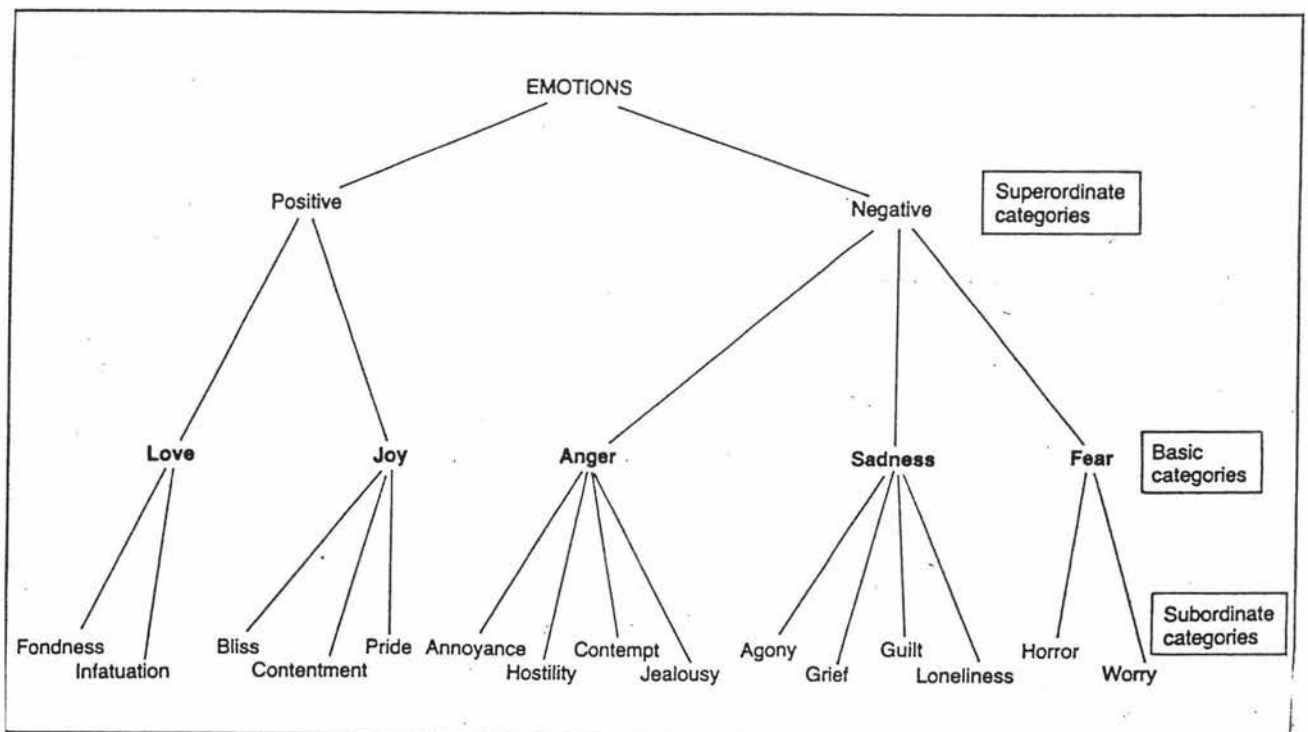
Figure 1 A simplified version of the emotion hierarchy proposed by Fischer et al. (1990).

Not all of the subordinate category emotions are included.[1]

---

[1] Reproduced from Fischer et al. (1990, p.90).

3. Each basic emotion can be described by a prototypical script which also describes the culturally typical antecedents and responses. This script takes into account the behavioural, expressive, experiential, and cognitive components of emotion.

Therefore, the theory proposes that emotions result from detectable changes in an individual's situation. These changes are appraised according to their significance for the individual's concerns and his or her ability to cope with them. The appraisal of the situation arouses the appropriate emotion (action tendency) then the prototypical script outlines the range of appropriate behavioural, expressive, experiential, and cognitive responses. Skill theory is used to explain how the second level (basic) emotions are expanded and developed into the emotions found in the third (subordinate) level of the emotion hierarchy.

Fischer et al. (1990) acknowledge that their theory of emotions requires extensive testing and research, but it is a theory that has support from other researchers. Boucher (1979) proposed a very similar hierarchy system but it did not explicitly rely on skill theory to explain the development of more complex, culturally specific emotions.

Theories such as these account for some aspects of cultural differences in emotions. However, there is some evidence that some of the basic-level categories of emotions, that are the building blocks of the theory outlined by Fischer et al. (1990), may not be universal in all cultures. Wierzbicka (1986) makes the point that if emotions such as joy, anger, sadness and fear are supposed to identify universal and basic human emotions, why can they sometimes only be clearly identified with the use of English words? Some languages do not have equivalent translations of some of these emotions nor are the emotions they describe recognised by some

cultural groups. For example, Levy (1984) argues that the Tahitians have no word for sadness. Russell (1991) reviews a number of ethnographies and provides further examples of other languages that do not have equivalent words for supposedly universal emotions. Of course, it is possible that in cultures lacking words to describe these emotions, these emotions may be implicit. The difficulty with this possibility is, that if these basic level categories of emotion are indeed so innate and basic to our humanity, why would a language fail to provide an equivalent translation? Furthermore, whether researchers from other cultures would identify the same categories of emotion as being basic, is questionable. The evidence seems to indicate the possibility that different cultures would identify different emotions as being basic (that is assuming that the culture in question uses an equivalent of the construct of emotion), and even within Western culture there is debate amongst the universalists about the precise number and nature of the basic emotions (Russell, 1991). Thus, as long as theories such as those proposed by Fischer et al. (1990) rely on the existence of universal and basic categories of emotions, and as long as these basic categories defy identification, the validity of the theories based on them will be debatable.

The social construction of emotion

The social constructionist position argues that emotions are characterised by attitudes such as beliefs, judgements, and desires. These attitudes (i.e. emotions) are not 'natural', they are culturally determined and learned along with the other attitudes, beliefs, values, norms, and expectations of our particular cultures (Armon-Jones, 1986). Thus, "...emotions should be understood as elicited as a result of the agent's having acquired a culturally appropriate construal of the situation in which the situation is presented, and understood in terms of those values, etc., of his/her community." (Armon-Jones, 1986, p. 33).

Furthermore, the appropriate emotions are not only prescribed by the cultural construal of the situation, they are also seen by the others of the community as a demonstration of the individual's commitment to the group's cultural values. The nature of this relationship between emotions and the values that they reflect, plays a vital role in the acquisition of culturally appropriate emotions and their regulation. Thus, constructionalists see emotions as functional, i.e. culturally appropriate emotions act to channel attitudes, values, and behaviours in culturally endorsed directions. It follows from this argument, that individuals have some responsibility for their emotions and the expression of them. This is in contrast to the naturalist approach which argues that emotions are natural (i.e. passive) responses to the natural features of a given situation (Armon-Jones, 1986).

Harre (1986) and Armon-Jones (1986) do not argue that all emotions are socially constructed. They concede that a limited range of natural emotional responses exist and acknowledge that certain types of situations are universally recognisable. For example, it is difficult to imagine a culture that does not regard a threat to survival, such as a charging bull, as a situation where fear would be the normal response. They also acknowledge the roles that cognition and appraisal play in the elicitation of emotion and propose that they provide a basis for the argument that emotions are socioculturally acquired responses.

Harre (1986), further claims that the personal experience of emotion is greatly influenced by two, essentially social, factors, i.e. the local language and the local moral order. He proposes that this increases the possibility that different cultures can have different emotion systems and related behavioural repertoires.

The cognitive-process model of emotions

Mesquita and Frijda (1992) join attempts by other theorists to integrate universal and cultural theories of emotion into an overall framework. The framework they select is the cognitive model of emotions which is to a large part derived from the work of previous theorists (e.g. Arnold, 1960; Lazarus, 1966; Scherer, 1984; Ortony, Clore, & Collins, 1988; Frijda, 1986; and Shweder, 1991, all cited in Mesquita and Frijda, 1992), but differs in that it contains more elements which allows for more detailed analysis and comparison of emotions.

According to this theory, the elicitation and manifestation of emotions is believed to involve the following seven components, with cultural differences and similarities being possible at each componential stage.

1. *Antecedent events.* An emotion requires an antecedent event to elicit it. The range of events that an individual or group is likely to encounter will vary according to their environment. Furthermore, Mesqita and Frijda (1992) seem to argue that the range of events that an individual or group is emotionally sensitive to is influenced by culture.

Anthropological studies provide many of the descriptions of culturally specific differences in the types of events that precede emotions. However, as Mesqita and Frijda (1992) point out, the availability of the events mentioned are often the result of variations in culture-specific living conditions. For example, activities that make Utku Eskimos happy include chasing lemmings and stoning ptarmigans (Briggs, 1970, cited in Mesquita and Frijda, 1992). Antecedent events that can be assumed to be fairly rare in a large number of cultures. The question that this raises is, that if these events were more generally available would they be as enjoyable for members of other cultures?

2. *Event coding.* The event is categorised according to event types that are recognised within the culture. It implies that there are culturally shared meanings for certain events. Mesquita and Frijda (1992) use humiliation, insult, bereavement, and others as examples of event types. Typically they correspond to culturally recognised issues of concern; they can be seen as schemata based on the socially shared meanings in particular events. Event coding is an important concept in this theory because it allows for the possibility that similar events can be coded differently by different individuals and groups.

In a study using students from seven countries as subjects, Hupka et al. (1985) found that events that threatened an exclusive relationship and events that involved self-deprecation were identified by all groups as issues of concern in romantic jealousy and envy situations. However, the specific events that were appraised as threatening to an exclusive relationship or self deprecating varied cross-culturally. Thus, different cultures provide different perceptions of their environment so that the same events may be perceived differently (Triandis, Bontempo, & Villareal, 1988).

3. *Appraisal.* As events are encoded, they are appraised according to their implications for the well-being of the individual (or group) and the individual's (or group's) possibilities for coping with the event. Appraisal can be seen as a process of checking through a set of dimensions such as positive or negative valence, blameworthiness, causation by self or someone else, and so on. It would also appear that different emotions are linked with different patterns of appraisal checks, that are remarkably consistent across cultures (Frijda, Kuipers, & Terschure, 1989, cited in Mesquita and Frijda, 1992). Mesquita and Frijda (1992) regard this as unsurprising because the words used to describe emotions are generally translated from one language to the other on the basis of such agreement.

Mesquita and Frijda (1992) suggest, that based on anthropological evidence, some of the cultural differences in the types of events that elicit emotions, and in the different emotions that similar events provoke, can be explained by differences in appraisal propensities. For example, some cultures may have a propensity to interpret some negative situations as being caused by another's harmful intent, which is likely to result in anger. In another culture the same event may be interpreted as having another cause entirely, or an explanation of cause may not be available, thereby resulting in a different emotion.

Antecedent events, event coding, and appraisal are closely linked but they are also subject to different sources of individual and cultural variation. Hence their inclusion as separate components in this theory.

4. *Physiological reaction patterns.* This describes the pattern of physiological (autonomic) changes that often accompany emotions. These physiological changes and the individual's awareness and expectation of them contribute to the experience of emotion. While there are few studies that measure actual physiological differences, Mesquita and Frijda (1992) argue that "...there is evidence for group differences in attention to physiological concomitants of emotions." (p. 190). Ekman (1992) also argues that evidence of distinctive patterns of central nervous system activity for each of the basic emotions is beginning to be gathered.

5. *Action readiness.* Part of an emotional state is an alteration in action readiness, i.e. action tendencies; impulses to begin, continue, or cease one's relationship with an object or individual. Different emotions produce different kinds of action readiness. For example, fear usually produces action readiness geared toward self protection while love may produce an action readiness focussed toward getting closer to someone. There has been no cross-cultural research into possible differences or similarities in action readiness. However, Mesquita and

Frijda (1992) argue that the available evidence indicates that most, or all, cultural groups share the major forms of action readiness.

6. *Emotional behaviour*. This is the overt behaviour that results from the action tendencies mentioned above. These can be unpremeditated, expressive behaviours or instrumental behaviours that are emotionally motivated. The particular behaviour selected in each situation is likely to depend on a number of factors, including the availability and expected efficacy of the various options. To date, most of the research into differences in emotional behaviour has concentrated on cross-cultural recognition of facial and vocal expression (Mesquita & Frijda, 1992).

Ekman, Friesen, and Ellsworth (1982) reviewed eight studies investigating facial behaviour in different cultures and concluded that they all provided evidence for the cross-cultural association of certain facial expressions with certain emotions. Principally, expressions associated with happiness, fear, surprise, anger, disgust, and sadness. Mesquita and Frijda (1992) also reviewed studies investigating cross-cultural similarities and differences in facial expression recognition and concluded that a number of facial expressions of emotion appear to be universal.

The argument that facial recognition studies support the existence of universal emotions is based on the assumption that recognition implies that the facial expression occurs naturally in those that recognise it. The logic of this is obviously open to challenge, but Mesquita and Frijda (1992) argue that the weight of evidence for the universality of facial expression is too strong to ignore. Russell (1994) however, points out problems with using facial recognition studies to support arguments for the universality of emotions and suggests alternative

explanations for the research findings. He outlines methodological problems (e.g. the use of a forced-choice response format), and problems with the interpretation of findings. A point worth noting is that although Ekman (1992) argues for the universality of certain aspects of emotion and its facial expression, he does not argue for the absence of cultural differences in emotion. He acknowledges that cultural differences will be apparent in the situations that evoke emotions, the behaviours that result from those emotions and in the display rules that control the facial behaviour in certain settings.

Research investigating similarities and differences in vocal expression of emotion across cultures has largely focussed on the recognition rates of vocal intonation. The findings have been equivocal, with both differences and similarities being found (Mesquita and Frijda, 1992). A possible explanation for this could be that emotional expression has both universal and culture-specific components.

Systematic research into differences in other areas of emotional behaviour is scarce, but anthropological evidence suggests support for both similarities and differences. A large part of the observed differences may be due to: differences in behaviour repertoires, differences in the degree to which the environment provokes the need for certain behaviours, and differences in the cultural regulation of the available behaviours (Mesquita & Frijda, 1992).

7. *Regulation*. This refers to the way that emotions are subject to both voluntary enhancement and inhibitory control. All of the emotion components listed above are potentially subject to regulation. Thus, an event can be appraised as an example of a particular type of event (e.g. embarrassing) or it may not be. Whether or not this occurs will depend on the individual's previous experiences and the relevant sociocultural norms. It is therefore possible that

differences in emotional behaviour are due to differences in the degree to which various cultures inhibit universal behaviours, rather than differences in the way that individuals within a culture learn to express their own culture specific emotions (Mesquita & Frijda, 1992).

Mesquita and Frijda's (1992) concluding argument is that "...global statements about cross-cultural universality of emotion, or about their cultural determination, are inappropriate." (p. 198). This belief is reflected in the flexible nature of their theory as outlined above.

Conclusion

It is beyond the scope, or purpose, of this chapter to provide an in-depth evaluation of the several contemporary theories outlined above. However it should be apparent that the differences often alluded to in the literature may not be as large as first thought. All of the theories briefly outlined agree on the following points:

1. Some emotions are universal and naturally occurring in human beings.

2. Cognition plays a role in emotion and its expression.

3. Emotions are subject to the influences of learning and culture.

The major area of disagreement appears to revolve around the relative influence of the three factors. Importantly, for the purpose of the current study, all of the theories outlined allow for the influence of culture on emotions and argued for the need for further research to test their theories.

The Present Study

As outlined in chapter one, there is qualitative support for the argument that the construct of whakamaa describes a pattern of emotional responses that are a qualitatively different to those that are experienced by Pakeha. Thus, there is an argument that Maori will respond differently, emotionally and behaviourally, to some situations. Much of this argument is based on the research completed by Metge (1986), but her findings are also supported by others (e.g. Karetu, 1989; Natana, 1993; Sachdev, 1990; & Tamihana, 1987). One of the weaknesses of the literature reviewed above in Chapter 1, is that while it outlines the various situational causes of whakamaa and the predominantly negative emotions that are often associated with it, it neglects to describe the specific patterns of emotional reaction that might be expected in response to the various types of whakamaa inducing situation. It also neglects to outline how the Maori patterns of emotions would differ from those that Pakeha would experience. Thus the present study seeks to fill in some of the gaps in knowledge about the construct of whakamaa.

Chapter two has shown that there is also theoretical support for the argument that different cultures can develop different emotional and behavioural responses to similar situations, and that there are a number of points during the process of experiencing and expressing an emotion, where culture might influence the nature of the emotion experienced and how it is expressed.

Thus, there is theory based support for the argument that the emotional component of the construct of whakamaa describes a pattern of emotional responses that are different to those experienced by Pakeha. These different patterns of emotional response could be the result of:

• Differences in the self-construal of Maori and Pakeha (Markus and Kitayama, 1991).

- Differences in the appraisal of a situation (Armon-Jones, 1986; Fischer et al., 1990; Harre, 1986; Mesquita and Frijda, 1992).

- Differences in the culturally prescribed patterns of reactions to certain situations (Armon-Jones, 1986; Fischer et al., 1990; Harre, 1986; Mesquita and Frijda, 1992).

- Differences in physiological response patterns (Mesquita and Frijda, 1992).

It is beyond the scope of the present study to identify why proposed differences in Pakeha and Maori patterns of emotional reactions occur. Rather, the present study is of an exploratory nature and is designed to measure the emotions that are most often associated with whakamaa. It is hoped that this quantitative study of Maori and Pakeha emotional reactions will help to clarify the nature of any differences and add support to the currently available qualitative information regarding differences in emotions and behaviours. Research such as this is important, especially given the possibility that some whakamaa reactions to situations are open to misinterpretation by Western mental health workers without an understanding of whakamaa.

Thus, on the basis on the arguments and information put forward above, the present study has the following goals.

Goal 1

To investigate the patterns of Maori and Pakeha emotional reactions to a number of social situations that are argued to involve whakamaa for Maori, and to compare emotions across stories.

Goal 2

To investigate and measure the relationship between Maoritanga and the strength and/or type of emotional reactions to a number of social situations that are argued to involve whakamaa for Maori.

Goal 3

To investigate and measure any differences in the levels of Maoritanga between rural and urban Maori.

Goal 4

To investigate rural and urban Maori patterns of emotional reactions to a number of social situations that are argued to involve whakamaa for Maori.

CHAPTER 4

METHOD

Design

In order to explore the relationships between ethnicity and emotional responding, a comparative cross-sectional study was designed. Participants from the East Cape and Gisborne areas of New Zealand completed a self report questionnaire. Pakeha participants completed a questionnaire which collected demographic information in the first section while the second section measured a variety of emotional reactions to four vignettes/short stories. The questionnaire for participants of Maori descent was slightly different. The first section collected the same demographic information as the Pakeha version but it also contained a self report measure of enculturation/Maoritanga. The second section was the same as that for Pakeha participants.

Procedure

Recruiting participants

After obtaining written approval from the Massey University Ethics Committee a sample of 300 residential phone numbers was drawn from the 1994 telephone directory for the Gisborne/Ruatoria area using systematic sampling with a random start. From these 300 phone numbers, contact was made with 245 individuals, of which, 165 agreed to participate in the present study. No contact was possible at 55 of the selected phone numbers. 111 of the 165 that agreed to participate over the telephone actually returned completed questionnaires. This resulted in a final return rate of approximately 67%.

It was decided to select a sample from the Gisborne/East Cape area for a number of reasons. Firstly because it is the present researchers own tribal area and this avoided some of the ethical issues that can occur when 'outsiders' do research on Maori. This also made gaining the support and assistance of local iwi members easier. The East Cape is also seen as a stronghold for Maoritanga because of its relative isolation, the relatively high proportion of Maori in the local population, and also because of the fact that much of the land is still in Maori ownership. Finally, it was also hoped that the researcher's tribal links with the area would encourage Maori participants to complete and return questionnaires.

Repeated attempts were made to contact as many of the 300 telephone numbers selected as possible within the two week time frame that was available. Phone calls were made between the hours of 6 p.m. and 9 p.m. during week days and 11 a.m. and 6 p.m. on weekends. It was felt that phoning during these hours would provide the least inconvenience to those receiving the calls and increase the representativeness of the sample obtained.

In each case where telephone contact was made the following procedure was followed. The researcher introduced himself and then informed the person that had answered the phone about the study and what was required. Confidentiality and participant rights were also discussed. Essentially, the potential participant was given an overview of the information contained on the information sheet and consent form (see Appendix A) and any queries that were related to the study were answered. If the potential participant was not interested in participating, or was a child, they were asked if there was anyone else in the household who might be interested in participating. If there was, the introduction and other information were repeated. Upon the obtaining of verbal consent the participant was asked for her or his name, postal address, and

whether or not they were Maori. His or her gender was also recorded. Copies of the information sheet, consent form, appropriate questionnaire (see Appendices A, B, C, and D), and a freepost return envelope were then posted out. This procedure resulted in 165 individuals agreeing to participate in the present study.

After a period of six weeks, participants that had not yet returned their questionnaires were contacted again by phone and encouraged to complete and return them if possible. This encouragement was repeated up to a total of three times unless the participant did not wish to continue with the study, or could not be contacted.

The Questionnaire

Section one

Section one for Pakeha participants collected demographic information (see Appendix B). Section one for participants of Maori descent collected demographic information and included a Maoritanga measure (see Appendix C).

The Maoritanga measure used in the present study is based on a composite scale developed by Olsen (1993). Olsen's (1993) scale consisted of 28 questions and was developed to measure an individual's; knowledge of Maori culture, physical involvement in Maori activities or society, and their personal, social, and cultural identity. Possible scores ranged from 0 to 82 with a low score indicating a Pakeha only cultural orientation (i.e. extreme acculturation) and a high score indicating a Maori only cultural orientation (i.e. extreme enculturation). In Olsen's (1993) study, a reliability analysis was conducted using Cronbach's alpha and two of the items failed to correlate satisfactorily with the other items. These two items were excluded from further analysis

and this increased the Cronbach's alpha for the remaining 26 items to .94. Olsen (1993) concluded that this was a highly reliable measure of Maoritanga but acknowledged that the validation of the measure would require further testing on a larger group of subjects. Olsen (1993) also included a single question asking participants to self-rate their level of Maoritanga on an 11-point scale.

As mentioned above, the present study used a slightly modified version of Olsen's (1993) Maoritanga measure (see Appendix C). The two items that Olsen (1993) excluded from his analysis were not included in the present study, two other items were not included because they were considered to be repetitive, and a question assessing the amount of contact with Maori grandparents was added. Thus the Maoritanga measure used in the present study consisted of 25 items with a range of possible scores of 0 to 77. A single question asking participants to rate their level of Maoritanga on an 11-point scale was also included. This was used as a measure of self-reported Maoritanga.

This section of the questionnaire was then piloted on a sample of ten Maori, six females and four males of various ages, who were not university students. These pilot participants said that the questions used covered the range of behaviours and beliefs that they considered to 'be Maori', were not threatening or offensive, and after some minor modifications to the wording of some of the questions, were easy to understand and complete. The final version of the Maoritanga measure was also assessed by; Utuku Potaka of Te Pumanawa Hauora (the Maori Health Research Unit attached to the Department of Maori Studies at Massey University), and staff and students of Te Whare Wananga o Ngati Porou, in Ruatoria. All who participated in this assessment felt that the measure was appropriate for the aims of the present study.

The primary purpose of using the Maoritanga measure in the present study was to obtain an objective assessment of the degree of enculturation, or acculturation, of the Maori participants. Maori today are exposed to a broad range of cultural environments, ranging from environments that emphasise Maori (enculturated) practises, beliefs and values to environments that emphasise predominantly Pakeha (acculturated) practises, beliefs and values. This results in Maori having varying levels of knowledge in regard to Maoritanga as well as different degrees of adherence to traditional cultural practices. Thus, the Maoritanga measure was used to measure the degree of enculturation of the Maori participants. It is important to note that this measure was not being used to define who is, or who is not, Maori. For the purposes of the present study self identification was used to decide ethnicity. This was out of respect for the participants' own feelings and loyalties, and avoided the researcher having to make an arbitrary decision.

Section two

Section two of the questionnaire (see Appendix D) was identical for Pakeha participants and participants of Maori descent. In this section, participants were asked to use seven point Likert scales to rate the strength of nine emotions, that they may have experienced in reaction to each one of the four vignettes.

Vignettes have also been used in research conducted by Hall, Brockington, Levings, and Murphy (1993). They argued that attitudes are the most reliable precursors of behaviour and that the use of vignettes is an acceptable way to access attitudes, given the difficulty of designing totally objective measures. Vignettes and rating scales have also been used in research investigating: cultural differences in adult attitudes toward child problems (Weisz et al. 1988); differences in the attitudes of foster parents, social workers and parents in the general population towards birth

parents of abused children received into foster care (Corser & Furnell, 1992); and a comparison of abusive, potentially abusive, and control group parents' perceptions of commonly used discipline procedures (Kelly, Grace & Elliot, 1990). Hupka et al. (1985) used a 69-item Likert type questionnaire in a cross-cultural, comparative study of romantic jealousy and romantic envy. However, the scales were used to measure degree of agreement with the items, not the intensity of emotion. Likert type scales were later used to measure the intensity of jealousy by Buunk and Hupka (1987). Subjects from seven countries rated the intensity of jealousy they would experience in reaction to various behaviours by their intimate partner. Behaviours such as sexual relations with a third party and flirting were found to result in jealousy in all seven countries. However, the intensity of jealousy that was the result of flirtation differed across the seven countries. Seven point rating scales of emotional intensity have also been used by Ekman et al. (1987).

The instructions for this section of the questionnaire asked the participants to imagine themselves in the position of the main character. To facilitate this, the sex of the main character in each short story was matched to that of the participant. The nine emotional reactions that the participants were asked to rate were derived from the feelings that Metge (1986) outlined as being associated with whakamaa; shyness, embarrassment, uncertainty/confusion, inability to cope (i.e. inadequacy and unable to cope combined), frightened/fearful, humiliation, depression, shame, and anger. As noted by Metge, all of these feelings that are most often associated with whakamaa have a negative tone and reflect the generally negative nature of the construct of whakamaa.

Each of the vignettes was also followed by two open ended questions. The first question, asking the participants whether there were any other emotions that they felt in reaction to the vignette was intended as a check of whether the stories aroused any unexpected emotions. The second question, asking participants why they thought that being in the situation outlined in the vignette would have resulted in them feeling the way that they did, was included as an attempt to assess how the participants were appraising the situations in the short stories.

Three of the vignettes (Stories 1,2, and 4) described situations in which, according to the literature outlined above in chapter one and anecdotal information gathered by the present researcher, Maori would feel whakamaa. It would also be reasonable to expect Pakeha participants to have emotional reactions to these situations, but it was anticipated that these emotional reactions might be different, either in content or intensity, than those of Maori descent, because of differences in cultural background. However, it is noteworthy that in the literature describing whakamaa there is no explicit explanation, or description, of how Pakeha emotional reactions would differ from those of Maori. It seems to be assumed that the differences are self evident. One vignette (Story 3) was included as a control and check for response set amongst the participants.

Story 1 features a character who built up a career as a lawyer after much support from his/her family, then lost everything very publicly when caught embezzling clients' money. The character in this story has: lost occupational and social status, has very publicly been seen to have done wrong, and has caused his or her family distress. All factors that can lead to whakamaa.

Story 2 features a character who had a partner, three teenage children, and a happy life until one of the children was arrested for prostitution and selling drugs. The character in this story is likely to feel whakamaa as the result of the daughter's behaviour, i.e. on her behalf because she has done wrong and will be feeling whakamaa herself. Also because she has lowered the family's social status and put the parents in the position of wondering where they had gone wrong with their parenting.

Story 3 outlines a situation that was not anticipated to cause whakamaa. It describes a main character who had a successful banking career and was offered a promotion in another, larger town. It was anticipated that this scenario may involve some apprehension on the part of the main character, but nothing like whakamaa because it does not involve any of the causal factors previously outlined.

Story 4 involves a scenario where the main character rescued someone at the beach and was to be presented with an award for bravery. The presentation was to be televised. As mentioned previously, whakamaa can be the result of being singled out for praise as others may think that the person being singled out is being whakahihi, or big headed.

This section of the questionnaire was piloted with the same group of Maori that piloted section one, and with a group of three female and two male Pakeha. This resulted in some minor changes to the wording and content of the vignettes but the pilot groups agreed that the three 'whakamaa type' vignettes were more emotion provoking than the one 'neutral' vignette. Section two was also assessed by Utuku Potaka of Te Pumanawa Hauora (the Maori Health Research Unit attached to the Department of Maori Studies at Massey University), and staff and students at Te

Whare Wananga o Ngati Porou in Ruatoria. It was agreed that the vignettes used were appropriate for the aims of the present study.

Data Analysis

Analysis of data was conducted using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences SPSSPC+ computer programme (Norusis, 1988). Descriptive statistics, correlations, paired sample *t*-tests, independent sample *t*-tests, and repeated measures MANOVA analyses were used in the analysis of the results.

1. Descriptive statistics summarising the socio-demographic information were computed. This included percentages, and means.

2. A reliability analysis was conducted on the Maoritanga measure to determine Cronbach's alpha.

3. Correlations using Pearsons *r*, were used to help evaluate the validity of the Maoritanga measure, and to test the strength of the relationship between scores on the Maoritanga measure and emotional reactions to the short stories.

4. Paired sample *t*-tests were used to test the differences between the overall emotion scores for each short story.

5. The emotion scores were entered as measures into repeated measures MANOVA to establish whether ethnicity, and story were influencing variables in the emotion scores of the participants. Repeated measures MANOVA were also to establish whether rural or urban residence, and story were influencing variables in the emotion scores of the Maori participants.

6. Oneway MANOVA were calculated to identify differences between Maori and Pakeha patterns of emotional responses to stories 1, 2, and 4. Univariate F-tests were used to identify whether differences between Maori and Pakeha on specific emotions were significant.

CHAPTER 5

RESULTS

Descriptive Statistics of the Participants

Ethnicity

The number of participants that returned completed and useable questionnaires totalled 111. Of these 111, 48 (43.2%) self-identified as being Maori and 63 (56.8%) self-identified as being Pakeha or a European New Zealander.

Sex distribution

There were 39 (35.1%) males and 72 (64.9%) females.

Table 1 *Sex distribution by ethnicity*

Sex	Maori	Pakeha	Total
Female	32 (28.8%)	40 (36.1%)	72 (64.9%)
Male	16 (14.4%)	23 (20.7%)	39 (35.1%)
Total	48 (43.2%)	63 (56.8%)	111 (100%)

As shown in Table 1, the majority of participants in both ethnic groups were female with the largest group being Pakeha females and the smallest being male Maori.

Rural/urban distribution

Table 2 *Rural/urban distribution by ethnicity*

Residency	Maori	Pakeha	Total
Urban	27 (24.4%)	32 (28.8%)	59 (53.2%)
Rural	21 (18.8%)	31 (28.0%)	52 (46.8%)
Total	48 (43.2%)	63 (56.8%)	111 (100%)

Table 2 shows that the majority of participants were urban Pakeha while the smallest group were rural Maori.

Age distribution

Table 3 *Age distribution by ethnicity*

Age	Maori	Pakeha
14 - 24	9	3
25 - 34	11	12
35 - 44	12	11
45 -54	7	16
55 - 64	8	8
65 - 74	-	7
75 - 86	1	2
Not given	-	4
Total	48	63

Table 3 shows that the age profile of the Maori participants is much younger than that of the Pakeha participants. The mean age for Pakeha participants was 47 years while the mean age for the Maori participants was 38.2 years.

Level of highest educational qualification

Table 4 *Level of highest educational qualification by ethnicity*

Education level	Maori	Pakeha	Total
Primary		2	2
Secondary	39	38	77
Tertiary	4	14	18
Not given	5	9	14
Total	48	63	111

As shown by table 4, the majority of participants in both ethnic groups achieved some type of secondary school qualification but at tertiary level there are a proportionally greater number of Pakeha represented.

Tribal Affiliations of the Maori Participants

Of the 48 Maori participants, 36 listed from one to six major tribal affiliations. The remaining 12 gave no affiliation. As Table 5 shows, the majority of the Maori participants gave Ngati Porou as a major tribal affiliation.

Table 5 Major tribal affiliations of Maori participants (N=36)[1]

Major tribal affiliations	Frequency (%)
Ngati Porou	27 (75%)
Te Aitanga-a-Mahaki	6 (16.6%)
Ngapuhi	5 (13.8%)
Ngati Kahungunu	4 (11.1%)
Whanau-a-Apanui	3 (8.3%)
Rongowhakaata	3 (8.3%)
Te Aitanga-a-Hauiti	3 (8.3%)
Tuhoe	2 (5.5%)
Ngai Tamanuhiri	2 (5.5%)
Rongomaiwahine	1 (2.7%)
Wanganui	1 (2.7%)
Whakatohea	1 (2.7%)
Ngati Oneone	1 (2.7%)
Ngati Hine	1 (2.7%)
Ngati Rangiwewehi	1 (2.7%)
Ngati Whakaue	1 (2.7%)

The Maoritanga Measure

Of the 48 participants that self-identified as Maori, only 36 completed the Maoritanga measure without missing any items. In order to include as many participants as possible in the analyses involving the Maoritanga measure, up to two missing items were allowed. By using this as the cut off point, the completion rate went up to 46 participants. A frequency distribution of the Maoritanga measure scores showed a broad range with a minimum score of five, a maximum of 70, a mean score of 38.3 and a standard deviation of 16.05.

---

[1] Each Maori participant was able to list as many tribal affiliations as they felt necessary. Hence the percentages do not add up to 100.

A reliability analysis conducted on the Maoritanga measure revealed a Cronbach's alpha of .93. Indicating that the Maoritanga measure had very high reliability (see Appendix E for the item-total statistics).

In order to help assess the validity of the Maoritanga measure, a correlation using Pearsons r was calculated. There was a significant, and strong, positive relationship between the Maoritanga measure and the subjective, self rating of Maoritanga ($r = .84$, $p < .0001$).

Rural and Urban Maori Levels of Maoritanga

Independent t-tests were conducted to test for differences between rural and urban Maori scores on the Maoritanga measure. There was no significant difference between the mean scores of the two groups (urban Maori mean = 38.52, SD = 15.508; rural Maori mean = 39.24, SD = 17.041; $t(44) = -.15$, $p > .05)^2$.

The four short stories

The Maori and Pakeha mean ratings for each emotional reaction to the four short stories were calculated. Higher scores indicated stronger emotional reactions. Table 6 displays the means and standard deviations obtained. It can be seen that the mean intensity ratings given covered a range from 1 to 6.75.

---

[2] This analysis uses the pooled variance estimate of t.

Table 6 *Mean emotion scores and standard deviations by descent for all four short*

stories

| | | STORY | | | | | | | |
| | | STORY 1 | | STORY 2 | | STORY 3 | | STORY 4 | |
EMOTION	DESCENT	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.
Shyness	Pakeha	3.16	2.29	2.32	1.68	1.87	1.44	4.36	1.86
	Maori	4.28	2.33	2.19	1.44	2.00	1.74	4.13	2.05
Embarrassment	Pakeha	6.10	1.49	4.48	1.94	1.12	0.46	4.41	1.96
	Maori	6.40	1.19	4.50	2.17	1.34	1.01	3.27	2.14
Uncertainty	Pakeha	4.60	2.13	5.37	1.78	2.90	1.85	2.24	1.62
	Maori	4.11	1.98	4.91	2.04	2.57	1.68	1.77	1.41
Unable to Cope	Pakeha	4.44	1.89	3.29	1.73	1.49	1.10	1.46	0.95
	Maori	4.39	2.14	2.57	1.74	1.33	0.68	1.30	0.91
Fear	Pakeha	5.21	1.82	3.46	2.07	2.30	1.72	1.68	1.10
	Maori	4.84	2.01	2.86	1.84	2.02	1.39	1.93	1.60
Humiliation	Pakeha	6.15	1.42	4.29	2.03	1.02	0.13	1.30	1.09
	Maori	6.13	1.39	4.27	2.32	1.02	0.15	1.14	0.77
Depression	Pakeha	5.26	1.74	4.13	2.09	1.25	0.73	1.02	0.13
	Maori	5.26	1.73	3.10	1.85	1.14	0.41	1.16	0.75
Shame	Pakeha	6.75	0.84	4.78	2.07	1.00	0.00	1.07	0.42
	Maori	6.52	1.19	4.49	2.32	1.02	0.15	1.14	0.56
Anger	Pakeha	4.62	2.16	5.62	1.69	1.10	0.55	1.38	1.16
	Maori	5.14	2.04	5.20	2.10	1.05	0.21	1.37	1.16

As can be seen in Table 7, Maori and Pakeha emotion ratings for each short story were added together to give an overall, mean emotion score for each story. As all of the nine emotions measured involved negative affect, these overall mean emotion scores can be seen as representative of the amount of negative affect produced in reaction to each short story. The higher the overall, mean emotion score, the greater the amount of negative affect produced in reaction to each short story.

Paired sample *t*-tests revealed that all of the *t* statistics calculated were significant to the .0001 level. Story 3, the non whakamaa story, had an overall emotion score that was significantly lower than that of the other short stories. These significant differences in the means of the short stories were consistent with the argument that the stories 1, 2, and 4 were tapping into different aspects

of emotions related to whakamaa while story 3 was a control story. Therefore, to enable more clear interpretations to be made, Story 3 was excluded from subsequent statistical analyses.

Table 7 *Means, standard deviations and t statistics of the overall emotion scores for each of the short stories*[3]

			Paired sample t statistic			
Story	Mean	SD	Story 1	Story 2	Story 3	Story 4
Story 1	46.60	10.4	-	7.91	26.85	22.93
Story 2	35.21	10.87		-	18.01	13.36
Story 3	13.63	5.18			-	-5.3
Story 4	17.63	6.62				-

Maori and Pakeha Patterns of Emotional Reaction to the Whakamaa Stories

The participants' nine emotion scores in reaction to stories 1, 2, and 4 were entered as measures into a 2 x 3 (Descent x Story) mixed design MANOVA. The analysis revealed no significant main effect for Descent, $F(9,73) = .96, p > .05$. However there was a significant main effect for Story, $F(18,64) = 81.78, p < .0001$; and a significant Descent x Story interaction effect, $F(18,64) = 2.86, p = .001$.

In order to help clarify the nature of the Descent x Story interaction, each of the nine emotions measured were submitted to a 2 x 3 (Descent x Story) mixed design MANOVA. In each event where significant interaction effects were revealed, pairwise comparison of the stories using 2 x 2 (Descent x Story) mixed design MANOVA were executed to clarify where the interaction effects were occurring.

---

[3] Each of the t statistics calculated were significant to the .0001 level of significance.

Shyness

This analysis revealed a main effect for Story, F (2,91) = 36.93, p < .0001; and a significant

Descent x Story interaction effect, F (2,91) = 4.76, p < .05. A series of 2 x 2 (Descent x Story)

repeated measures MANOVA revealed significant Descent x Story interaction effects between

Story 1 and Story 2, F (1,93) = 8.01, p < .05; and Story 1 and Story 4, F (1,95) = 7.84, p < .05.

Figure 2 shows that, overall, respondents reported higher levels of shyness in reaction to Story 1

than Story 2. However, this difference was greater for Maori than Pakeha. Thus, in comparison

to Pakeha, Maori found situations where they had been seen to commit a serious crime (as

outlined in Story 1) more shyness inducing than situations where an immediate family member

was seen to commit a serious crime (as outlined in Story 2). Figure 2 also shows that the

interaction effect between Story 1 and Story 4 is due to Pakeha reporting notably higher levels of

shyness in reaction to Story 4 while Maori reported slightly lower levels to those that they

reported in response to Story 1. Thus, in comparison to Maori, Pakeha reported greater shyness

in reaction to situations where they were singled out for public praise (Story 4) than where they

had been seen to commit a serious crime (Story 1).

Figure 2 *Mean shyness ratings for Maori and Pakeha across the three stories*

Embarrassment

This analysis revealed a significant main effect for Story, F (2,100) = 71.48, $p < .0001$; and a significant Descent x Story interaction effect, F (2,100) = 4.64, $p < .05$. A series of 2 x 2 (Descent x Story) mixed design MANOVA revealed a significant Descent x Story interaction effect between Story 1 and Story 4, F (1,101) = 9.25, $p < .05$. Figure 3 shows that, overall, respondents reported lower levels of embarrassment in reaction to Story 4 than Story 1. However, this difference was greater for Maori than Pakeha. Thus, Maori reported more embarrassment than Pakeha in situations where they had been seen to commit a serious crime (as outlined in Story 1) than situations where they had been singled out for public praise (as outlined in Story 4).
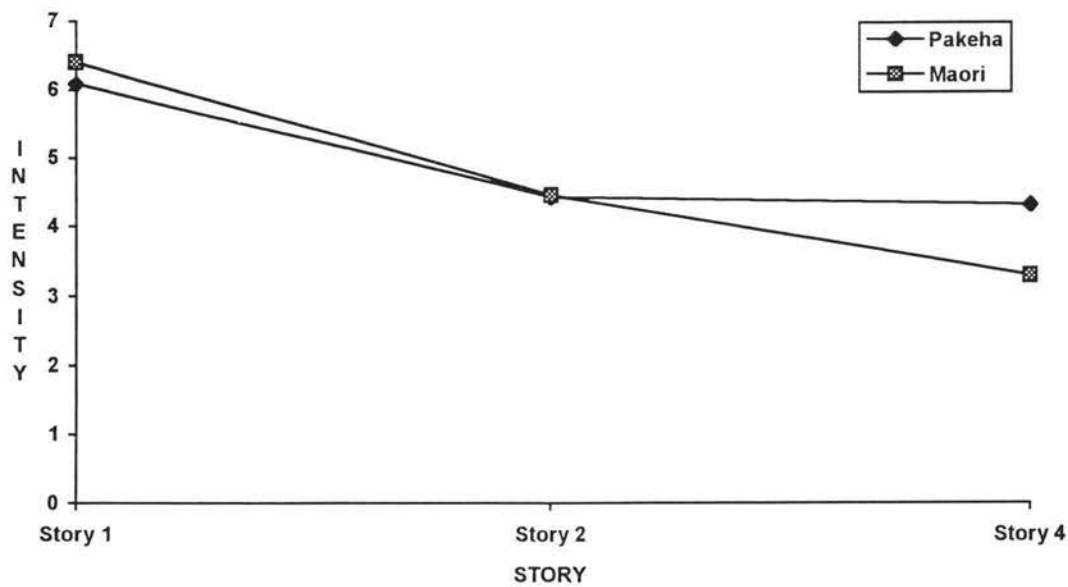
Figure 3 Mean embarrassment ratings for Maori and Pakeha across the three stories

Uncertainty

This analysis revealed a significant main effect for Story, F (2,95) = 99.69, $p < .0001$; but no significant Descent x Story interaction effect, F (2,95) = .05, $p > .05$.

Unable to cope

This analysis revealed a significant main effect for Story, F (2,97) = 92.92, $p < .0001$; but no significant Descent x Story interaction effect, F (2,97) = 2.49, $p > .05$.

Fear

This analysis revealed a significant main effect for Story, F (2,92) = 117.71, $p < .0001$; and a significant Descent x Story interaction effect, F (2,92) = 3.37, $p < .05$. A series of 2 x 2 (Descent x Story) repeated measures MANOVA revealed a significant Descent x Story interaction effect between Story 2 and Story 4, F (1,94) = 5.87, $p < .05$. As can be seen in Figure 4, compared to

Story 4, both groups of respondents reported higher levels of fear in reaction to Story 2. However, the difference is notably greater for Pakeha than Maori. Thus, compared to Maori, Pakeha found situations where a family member had been seen to commit a serious crime (as outlined in Story 2) more frightening than situations where they had been singled out for public praise (as outlined in Story 4).
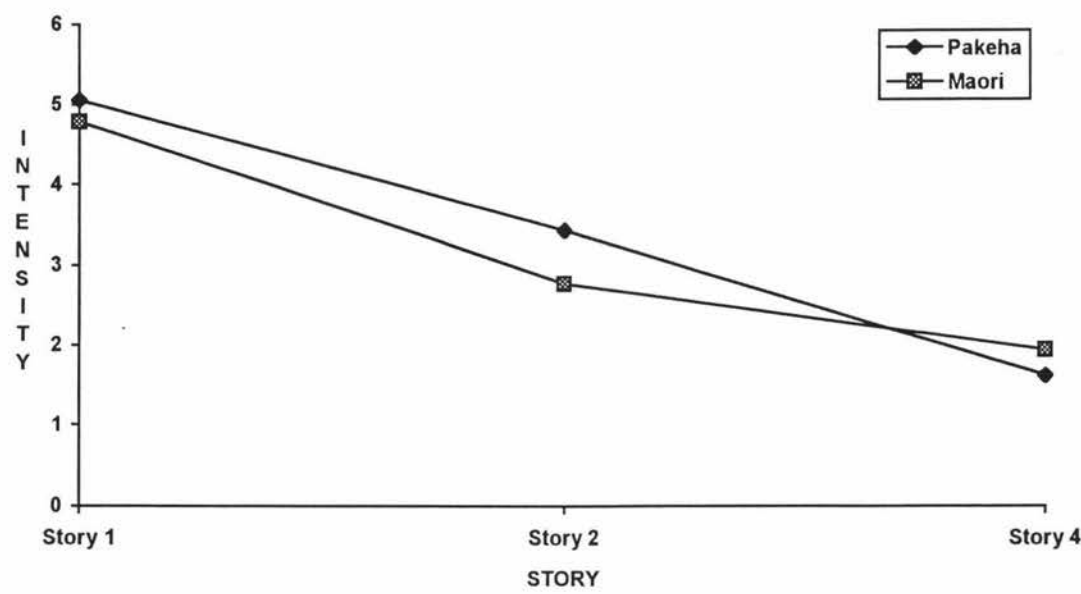
Figure 4 *Mean fear ratings for Maori and Pakeha across the three stories*

Humiliation

This analysis revealed a significant main effect for Story, $F (2,93) = 406.26$, $p < .0001$; but no significant Descent x Story interaction effect, $F (2,93) = .16, p > .05$.

Depression

This analysis revealed a significant main effect for Story, $F (2,94) = 236.28$, $p < .0001$; and a significant Descent x Story interaction effect, $F (2,94) = 5.14, p < .01$. A series of 2 x 2 (Descent x Story) mixed design MANOVA revealed significant Descent x Story interaction effects

between Story 1 and Story 2, $F(1,98) = 8.78$, $p < .05$; and Story 2 and Story 4, $F(1,96) = 7.41$, $p < .05$.

As can be seen in Figure 5 both Maori and Pakeha, in comparison to Story 1, reported lower levels of depression in reaction to Story 2. However, Maori in comparison to Pakeha, reported a greater degree of difference between Story 1 and Story 2. Thus, in comparison to Pakeha, Maori reported that situations where they had been seen to commit a serious crime (as outlined in Story 1) induced more depression than situations where an immediate family member was seen to commit a serious crime (as outlined in Story 2). Figure 5 also shows that overall, both groups reported higher levels of depression in reaction to Story 2 than Story 4. In comparison to Maori, the difference was notably larger for Pakeha. Thus, compared to Maori, Pakeha found situations where a family member had been seen to commit a serious crime (as outlined in Story 2) more depressing than situations where they had been singled out for public praise (as outlined in Story 4).
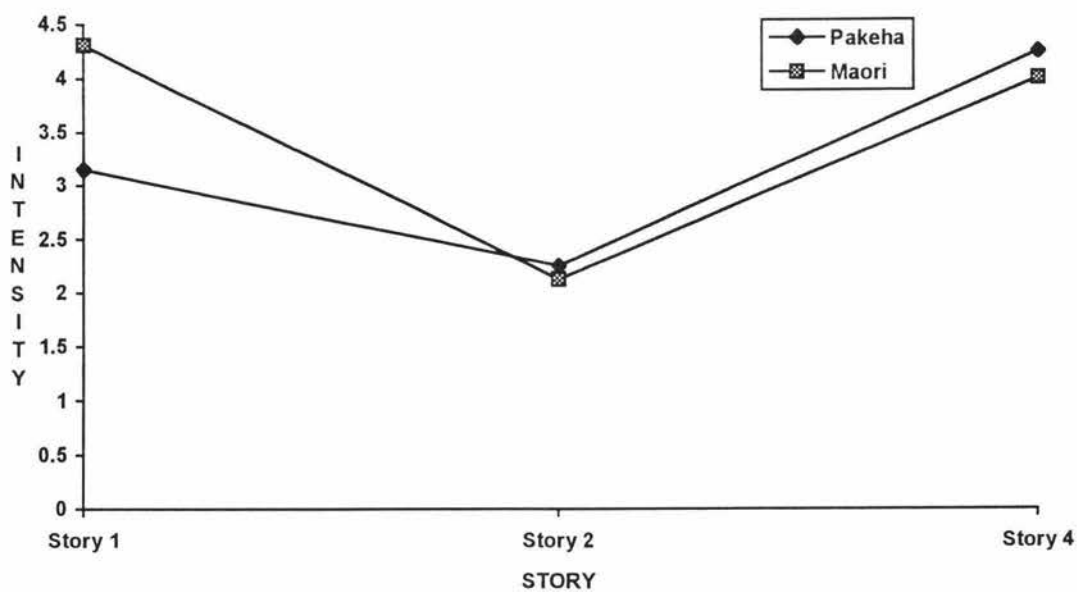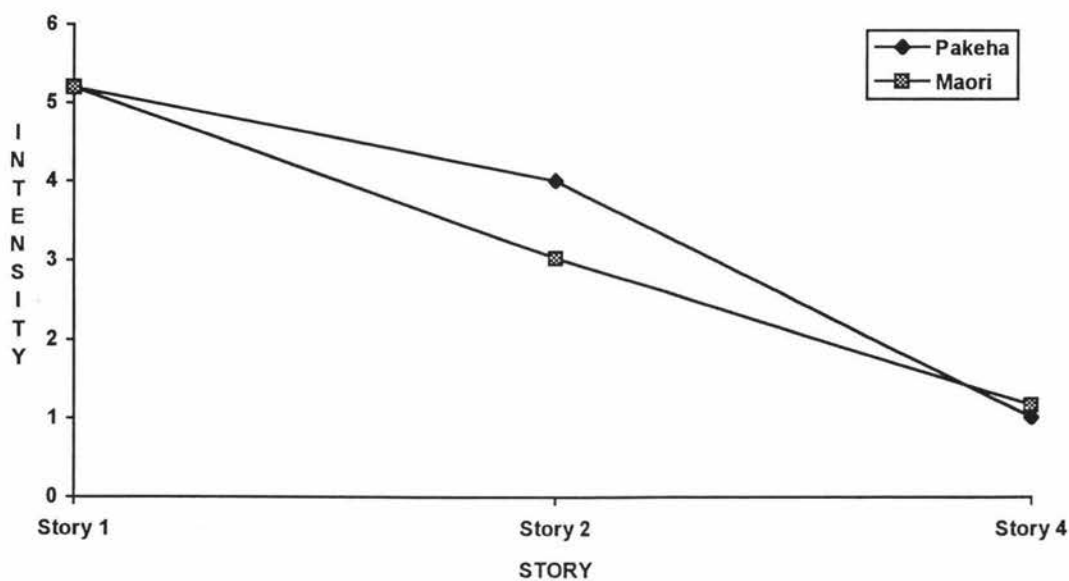

Figure 5 Mean depression ratings for Maori and Pakeha across the three stories

Shame

This analysis revealed a significant main effect for Story, F (2,92) = 928.88, p <.0001; but no significant Descent x Story interaction effect, F (2,92) = .66, p > .05.

Anger

This analysis revealed a significant main effect for Story, F (2,95) = 160.18, p < .0001; but no significant Descent x Story interaction effect, F (2,95) = 2.07, p > .05.

In order to further clarify Maori and Pakeha patterns of emotional response to Stories 1, 2, and 4, the profiles of the Maori and Pakeha responses to each of these stories were compared to see if they differed. Thus, the dependent variable emotion ratings for each story were entered into a oneway MANOVA with descent as a dichotomous factor.

Story 1

Figure 6 displays the Maori and Pakeha emotion ratings for Story 1. It can be seen that the profiles are reasonably similar with the ranking of emotions following a similar pattern and with the only notable difference appearing to be between ratings of shyness. The oneway MANOVA revealed a significant effect for Descent, F (9,84) = 3.45, p = .001 showing that the profiles differ in some way. Univariate F-tests revealed that the only significant difference between Maori and Pakeha ratings was for shyness, F (1,92) = 6.47, p < .05, with Maori reporting significantly more shyness than Pakeha in reaction to Story 1. Thus, in situations where an individual has publicly been seen to have committed a serious crime, Maori are likely to respond with significantly more shyness than Pakeha.
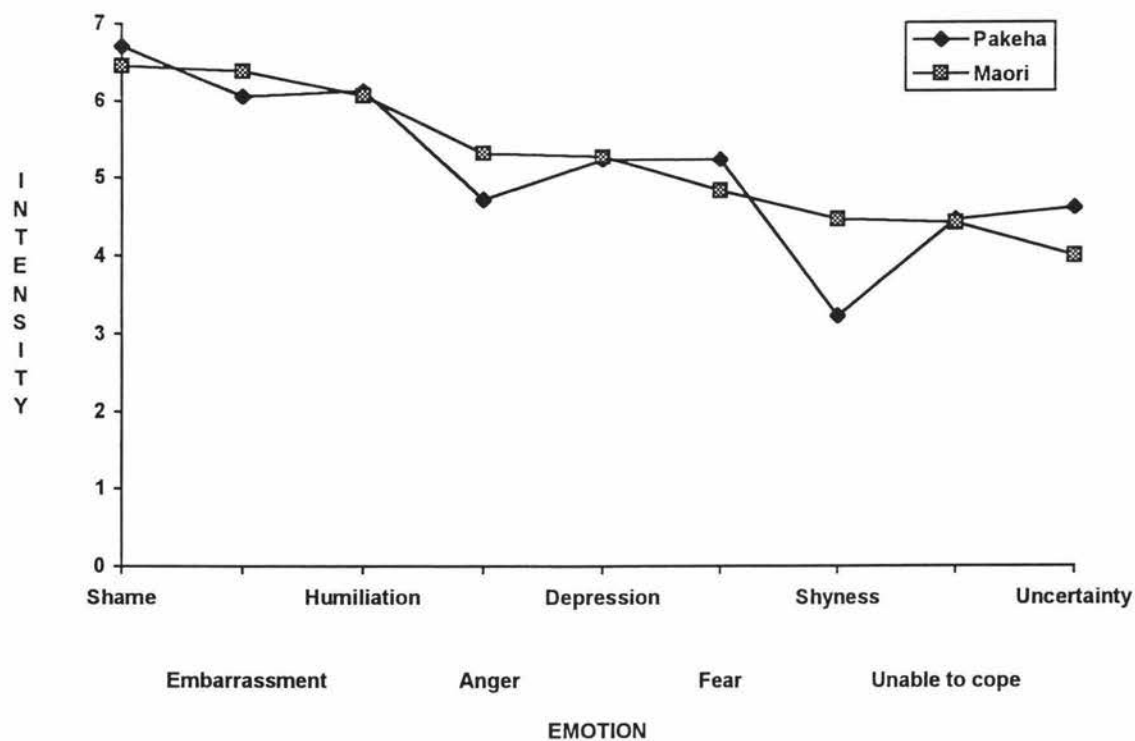
Figure 6 *Maori and Pakeha emotion intensity ratings for Story 1. Maori ranked from highest to lowest*

Story 2

Figure 7 displays the similar Maori and Pakeha patterns of response to Story 2. It can be seen that the profiles are reasonably similar with the ranking of emotions following an identical pattern. The oneway MANOVA revealed no significant effect for Descent, F (9,81) = .91, $p >$ .05, indicating that further analysis of the data was inappropriate. Thus, from this information it is apparent that Maori and Pakeha respond with identical patterns of emotional response to situations involving the committing of serious crime by a daughter (as outlined in Story 2).
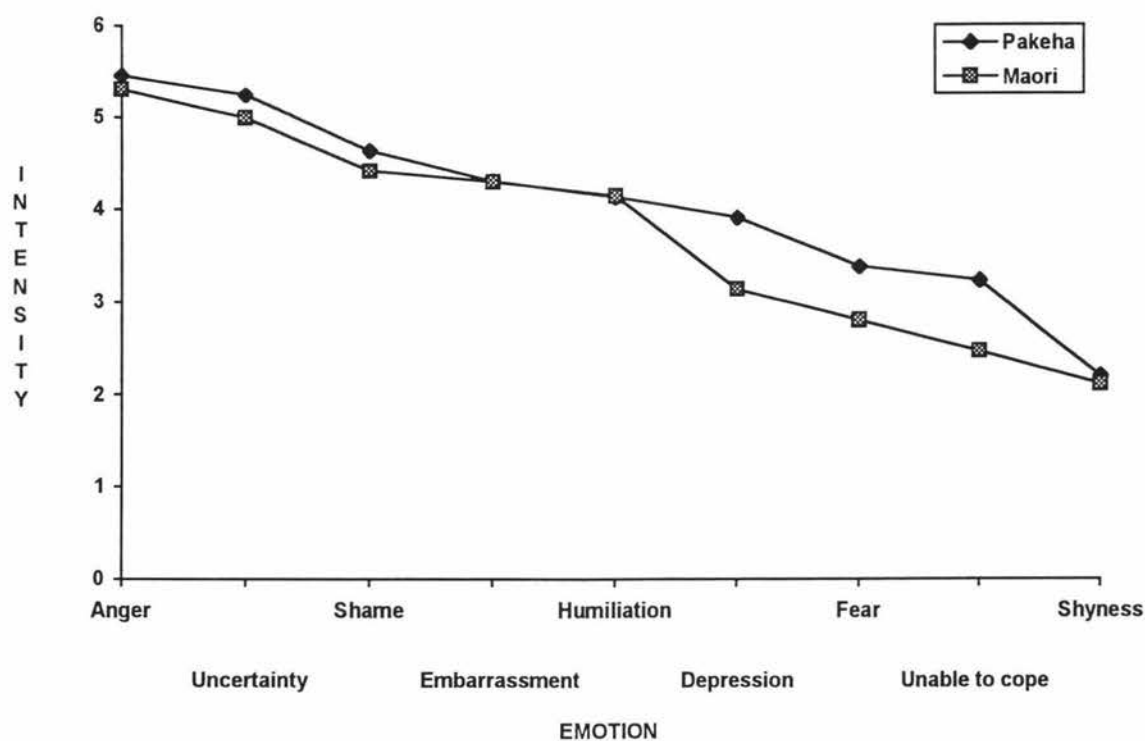
Figure 7 *Maori and Pakeha emotion intensity ratings for Story 2. Maori ranked from highest to lowest*

Story 4

Figure 8 displays the Maori and Pakeha emotion ratings for Story 4. It can be seen that the profiles are reasonably similar with the ranking of emotions following an identical pattern apart from a notable difference between ratings of embarrassment. The oneway MANOVA revealed a significant effect for Descent, $F(9,88) = 2.42$, $p < .05$, showing that the profiles differ in some way. Univariate F-tests revealed that the only significant difference between Maori and Pakeha ratings was for embarrassment, $F(1,96) = 7.08$, $p < .05$, with Maori reporting significantly less embarrassment than Pakeha in reaction to Story 4. Thus, in situations where an individual is being publicly singled out for praise (as outlined in Story 4), Pakeha are likely to respond with significantly more embarrassment than Maori.
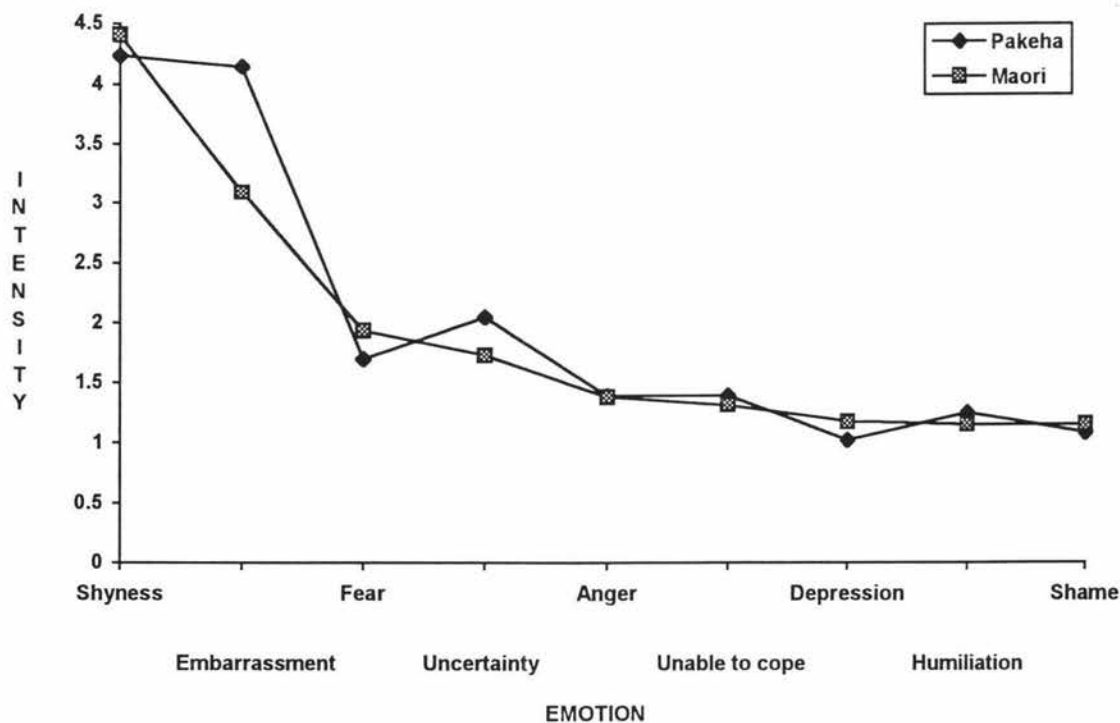
Figure 8 *Maori and Pakeha emotion intensity ratings for Story 4. Maori ranked from highest to lowest*

The open ended questions

Each of the vignettes was also followed by two open ended questions. The first question, asking the participants whether there were any other emotions that they felt in reaction to the vignette was intended as a check of whether the stories aroused any unexpected emotions. The second question, asking participants why they thought that being in the situation outlined in the vignette would have resulted in them feeling the way that they did, was included as an attempt to assess how the participants were appraising the situations in the short stories. The completion rate, and the relevance of the answers to these questions, was inconsistent. They were therefore not included in the analysis.

Rural and urban Maori emotional reactions to the short stories

Rural and urban Maori participant's emotional reactions to the four short stories were submitted to a 2 x 4 (Residence x Story) mixed design MANOVA. The analysis revealed no significant main effect for Residence, $F (9,26) = .78$, $p > .05$, a significant main effect for story, $F (8,27) = 24.46$, $p < .0001$, and no significant Residence x Story interaction effect, $F (8,27) = .55$, $p > .05$. The absence of a significant main effect for Residence, and the lack of a significant Residence x Story interaction effect indicated that there were no significant differences in the emotional reactions of rural and urban Maori to the short stories. Therefore, no further analyses were appropriate.

Level of Maoritanga and emotional reactions to the short stories

Correlations using Pearsons r were conducted in order to assess the relationship between scores on the Maoritanga measure and emotional reactions to the short stories. No significant relationships were revealed between level of Maoritanga and any of the nine emotions measured on each of the stories (see Appendix F for the list of correlations). It can thus be concluded that there was no relationship between Maoritanga, as measured by the Maoritanga measure, and the emotional reactions to the short stories.

CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION

The main objective of the present study was to investigate the relationship between culture and the patterns of emotional reactions that occurred in response to certain types of social situation. More specifically, it attempted to measure the feelings that are most often associated with whakamaa (Metge, 1986) and relate these to ethnicity, strength of Maoritanga, and whether or not Maori live in rural or urban areas. The following discussion relates the findings of the present study to the goals outlined in Chapter 2, discusses the limitations of these findings, and then outlines a number of conclusions and future research recommendations.

Goal 1: Ethnicity and the Pattern of Emotional Response

The Descent x Story interaction effects

While there were no significant main effects for Descent (i.e. ethnicity) when the emotion scores were entered as measures into a 2 x 3 mixed design MANOVA, there were significant Descent x Story interaction effects on four of the emotions; shyness, embarrassment, fear, and depression. Further analysis of these interaction effects identified that three were due to Maori, in comparison to Pakeha, having greater differences in specific emotion intensity from one story to another; while three were due to Pakeha, in comparison to Maori, having greater differences in specific emotion intensity from one story to another.

Precisely why these differences occurred is beyond the ability of the present study to identify. However it is obviously related to factors involving both the respondents' ethnicity and specific elements of the short stories. An explanation that may account for both of these variables

involves the concept of appraisal, as outlined by Mesquita and Frijda (1992) in their cognitive-process model of emotions (see Chapter 2 for an overview). This model suggests that differences in the emotions that similar events provoke can be explained by differences in the way that members of different cultures appraise situations.

According to the literature reviewed above in Chapter 1 there appears to be an obvious difference in the way that Maori and Pakeha appraise events that involve whakamaa for Maori. Metge (1986), indicates that for Maori, such events are primarily appraised, often at an subconscious level, according to their relevance to, and impact upon, the individual's mana. Individuals and groups experience whakamaa when they perceive that they have less mana in relation to particular others, or lose mana through their own actions or the actions of others. How Pakeha would appraise the same events is not described. However, since the construct of mana has no equivalent in Pakeha culture (Metge, 1986), Pakeha appraisals must by definition be different. One possibility is that Pakeha will appraise the situations according to the impact that they might have upon their self-esteem.

There is also the possibility that Maori and Pakeha appraise situations differently because of the different self-construals that are characteristic of the two cultures. As outlined previously, Markus and Kitayama (1991) contend that the emotions that an individual experiences in reaction to a situation are dependent on how that individual appraises the situation. Furthermore, how an individual appraises a situation is "...constrained by and largely derived from, construals of the self, others, and the relationship between the two. Thus, emotional experience should vary systematically with the construal of the self." (Markus & Kitayama, 1991, p. 235). In Western cultures such as Pakeha culture, individuals focus on independence and self-actualisation, and the

impact that the situation may have on this for them. In interdependent cultures such as that of the Maori, the individual is focussed on his or her relationship with the culture group as a whole, or members of that group, and the impact that the situation will have on these relationships. Thus, it is possible that Pakeha appraise events primarily in terms of their impact on themselves as individuals while Maori appraise events primarily in terms of how the event affects interpersonal relationships.

Further research focussing on the cross-cultural comparison of how Maori and Pakeha appraise similar situations would help clarify the factors involved and possibly provide an indication of why the Descent x Story interaction effects occur. The present study attempted to do this by including an open ended question inquiring about why participants would feel like they did, after each short story. However, the completion rate and the inconsistency of the answers given meant that they could not be included in any analysis.

Another direction for future research that would help to clarify what is happening, would involve comparing reactions to short stories with identical themes but slightly different details. For example, Story 1 in the present study describes an individual that has been caught embezzling money. Changing the type of crime involved, or the circumstances of the criminal may alter the reactions of respondents. Altering the themes themselves would also provide new information. All of these options would help identify the specific factors in the stories that are involved in the Descent x Story interaction effects outlined above and provide new information on whakamaa.

The profiles of the emotional reactions to the whakamaa stories

Maori and Pakeha responses to stories 1 and 4 were found to be significantly different, but responses to Story 2 were not significantly different (see figures 6, 7, and 8; and the accompanying analyses). The difference between Maori and Pakeha responses to Story 1 (which describes the main character being caught embezzling money) is due to Maori reporting significantly greater levels of shyness than Pakeha, while the difference between responses to Story 4 (which describes the main character being singled out for some very public praise) is due to Pakeha reporting significantly greater levels of embarrassment.

Given the design of the present study, it would be logical to deduce that these differences provide quantitative evidence that whakamaa involves Maori experiencing different patterns of emotional reactions to Pakeha in response to certain types of social situation. While this may certainly be true, this claim must be treated with caution for the following reason.

While the literature did not explicitly state that whakamaa involves Maori, experiencing higher levels of the negative emotions involved in reaction to certain types of social situation, it certainly implied that this was the case. As the results have shown, this may not be the reality. In reaction to Story 1 Maori experienced higher levels of shyness, but all other emotion levels were identical; in reaction to Story 2 Maori and Pakeha experienced an identical pattern of emotional reaction; and in reaction to Story 4 Pakeha experienced higher levels of embarrassment, but all other emotion levels were identical. Thus, while there is evidence of differences in patterns of emotional response, the direction of one of the differences (i.e. in reaction to Story 4) is not in the direction implied by the available literature. As this is the first study to explicitly compare Maori and Pakeha emotional reactions to whakamaa inducing situations it is difficult to know

how robust these findings are. Further comparative research will be required in order to verify the findings of the present study.

Thus, in summary, the present study has found some statistically significant differences in the way that Maori and Pakeha respond to the following two types of social situation.

1. In situations where they have been caught embezzling money and consequently destroyed their career, let themselves down, and let their family down.

2. In situations where they have been very publicly singled out for praise after an act of bravery.

Because these two situations were designed to elicit whakamaa in Maori, and also because the emotions measured in reaction to these stories were those that Maori frequently associate with the construct of whakamaa, it is postulated that the observed differences are due to Maori experiencing whakamaa.

However, there was no difference in the way that Pakeha and Maori responded emotionally to Story 2 (describing a daughter being brought home by the police after being arrested for prostitution and selling drugs), a scenario that was also designed to elicit whakamaa in Maori participants. Therefore, assuming that Maori did feel whakamaa in reaction to this story, it must be concluded that whakamaa in such a situation involves the same pattern of emotional reaction as Pakeha would experience. At least as it is measured in the present study.

This does not rule out the possibility that there are differences in how Maori and Pakeha react behaviourally to the emotions aroused by whakamaa situations and that the behavioural differences may be more extreme than the emotional differences. As the emotion theories outlined above in Chapter 2 argue, different cultures may have different behavioural responses to

the same emotions. This raises the possibility that even though the emotional responses to Story 2 were identical, the behavioural responses to these emotions may differ according to the cultural background of the individual. Further research comparing Maori and Pakeha behavioural reactions to whakamaa type situations would help to clarify this and increase our understanding of whakamaa.

On the basis of these findings it would be best to tentatively conclude that in certain situations whakamaa does involve differences in emotional response for Maori in comparison to Pakeha. However, in other situations whakamaa may involve similar patterns of emotional responding. Given that the present study has identified differences in Maori and Pakeha patterns of emotional responses to some types of social situation, the role of future research will be to further clarify, the nature and the reasons for these differences.

Goal 2: Maoritanga and the Strength of Emotional Reaction

There were no significant correlations between the Maori participants' levels of Maoritanga, as measured by the Maoritanga measure, and the strength of their emotional reactions to the whakamaa based short stories. This indicates that for the types of situations described in Stories 1, 2, and 4, Maoritanga is not related to emotional reaction. Therefore, the experience of whakamaa is not related to Maoritanga as it is measured in the present study.

A possible explanation for this finding has been suggested by Metge (1986), who proposes that Maori with little overt knowledge of Maoritanga, may have an unconscious understanding of whakamaa and may still experience whakamaa in reaction to certain types of social situations. Metge acknowledges that this possibility requires further research before it can be viewed as

anything more than a possibility.

It is also possible that the validity of the Maoritanga measure is questionable, but every attempt was made to ensure its validity by pilot testing it on Maori, and by consulting with individuals and groups knowledgeable about Maoritanga. Furthermore, while Olsen (1993) acknowledged that the original version would require further testing to establish its validity, he found it to be a highly reliable measure. In the present study, the strong positive correlation ($r = .8348$, $p < .001$) with the subjective, self rating of Maoritanga further supports its validity and the Cronbach's alpha of .93 indicates that it is an internally consistent measure. Perhaps it is possible that the measure is a valid and reliable measure of the more obvious features of Maoritanga, but it is not sensitive enough to the aspects of Maori culture that influence the experience of whakamaa?

Goal 3: Maoritanga and Urban/Rural Residence

An independent t-test indicated that there was no difference between rural and urban Maori levels of Maoritanga. This finding is contrary to that found by Thomas (1988) who found that rural Maori scored significantly higher than rural Maori on a test of Maori knowledge. While Maoritanga and Maori knowledge are two distinct constructs it is logical to argue that the two constructs would be strongly correlated. The finding of the present study may be explained by the possibility of a recent increase in the pace of the Maori cultural renaissance (brought about by recent debate surrounding sovereignty issues; and the increasing use of the Maori language for teaching, in kohanga reo and kura kaupapa) or it may also reflect the fact that Maoritanga is very strong in the East Cape region, including the city of Gisborne. Further research is necessary to clarify these issues.

Goal 4: Urban/Rural Residence and Emotional Reactions

A 2 x 4 (Residence x Story) within-subjects MANOVA revealed that there were no differences between rural and urban Maori patterns of emotional reaction to any of the short stories. This is consistent with the pattern of findings outlined above, given that there were no significant differences in the levels of Maoritanga for urban and rural Maori, nor was there any relationship between Maoritanga and the strength of emotional reactions to the short stories.

The Story Method

The present study measured emotional reactions by asking participants to place themselves in the position of a character in a short story, and then rate how strongly they would feel nine specific emotions if they were that character. Likert scales were used to rate the strength of the emotions. The primary reason for using this method was that it was the most efficient and easiest way to gather quantitative information on the nine specific emotions that were suggested to be components of whakamaa. The use of the Multiple Affect Adjective Checklist was excluded as an alternative to the Likert scales because it was too lengthy, and it did not measure the range of emotions that were associated with whakamaa. The questionnaire was self administered, and in order to encourage its completion and return, it was kept as brief and simple as possible. This was especially important, given the possibility that a large proportion of the sample would not have tertiary education and may have had difficulty with more complex questionnaires.

As mentioned above in Chapter 3, Likert scales have previously been used successfully in emotion research (Buunk and Hupka, 1987; Ekman et al., 1987), and the use of vignettes, or short stories is argued, by Hall, Brockington, Levings, and Murphy (1993), to be an acceptable way to access attitudes, given the difficulty of designing totally objective measures. The success

of the story method in eliciting different patterns and intensities of emotional reaction according to the content of the story, and the success of the Likert scales in measuring them is indicated by the differences in the overall emotion scores of the four short stories (see Table 7). Higher overall emotion scores indicated that participants on average, reacted with greater levels of negative affect. Thus, the amount of negative affect in response to each story can be ranked from the highest to the lowest as follows:

1. *Story 1*. This story had the strongest impact probably because of the severity of the crime involved and the impact that its discovery would have on the individual and others involved.

2. *Story 2*. This story had less impact than Story 2 due to the fact that the crime involved was committed by an immediate family member rather than the person that the participant was asked to identify with. Nevertheless, this story still succeeded in generating negative affect. This was probably due to the severity of the crime, the fact that it was committed by an immediate family member, and the disruptive effect that the crime would have had on the family's self image.

3. *Story 4*. Despite the relatively positive situation presented by this story, participants still responded with greater negative affect than they did to Story 3. Participants obviously found the prospect of public praise distressing.

4. *Story 3*. This story had both positive and negative aspects. The main character would supposedly be pleased to be promoted, but apprehensive about moving to a new and larger town after becoming part of the local community. It is noteworthy that the participants found this story less distressing than Story 4.

Overall, the success of the story method in eliciting significantly different levels of emotion to each story argues for the validity of the method. This is particularly so given the significantly

lower scores reported in reaction to Story 3, the control story.

However, despite the validity of the story method for eliciting emotions and the success of the Likert scales in measuring these emotions, there may be a problem with relating the emotions measured to the construct of whakamaa. Essentially, the problem revolves around the use of Pakeha/Western emotional constructs to describe what is a distinctively Maori construct. As mentioned previously, whakamaa has no direct translation in English. Nevertheless, Metge (1986) identified a number of Western emotion terms that are often used in the description or translation of the emotions involved in whakamaa. The present study has measured these emotions in the hope that it will thus measure whakamaa. The problem with this is that there may be constructs or emotions involved in whakamaa that do not translate into English or are not described by the emotions used. They will therefore be missed in any analysis based on English emotion words.

As outlined previously, Wierzbicka (1986) identifies a similar issue when discussing the universality of some basic-level categories of emotion. The point being, would emotion researchers from another culture with another language, identify the same basic-level emotion categories as Western researchers? The fact that some languages do not have translation equivalents for some of the terms used suggests that they would not come up with the same categories. Russell (1991), carries the argument even further by speculating about whether or not using the word 'emotion' cross-culturally is appropriate. Arguments such as these outline some of the limitations of cross-cultural comparisons such as those carried out by the present study.

Despite these limitations, the present study was justifiable primarily because so little was known

about the emotions involved in whakamaa. It was an attempt to explore the construct and to investigate whether Western emotion constructs could be of any use in describing whakamaa. Thereby helping to improve understanding of the construct from a Pakeha perspective.

The Maoritanga Measure

As mentioned above in Chapter 3, the Maoritanga measure was piloted and assessed by a number of Maori individuals and groups. All who were involved in this assessment agreed that the measure was appropriate for the aims of the present study, confirming its face validity.

Further assessment of the validity and reliability of this measure would involve extensive testing of the measure on many more subjects. This was beyond the scope of the present study, but it could be a fruitful area for future research. Also possible in future research would be the use of Thomas' (1988) test of Maori knowledge to provide a further comparison with the Maoritanga measure.

For the purposes of the present study, the Maoritanga measure seems to have been appropriate. However, there are number of possible problems with using such a measure to quantify the level of an individual's enculturation.

1. It must be noted that a pencil and paper instrument has limitations. It can not hope to provide complete information about an individual's cultural identity, and such self report measures are open to self presentation biases.

2. Despite attempts to ensure the validity of the Maoritanga measure used in the present study, it is still possible that it fails to tap the base values of Maori culture. Whether it would ever be possible to identify the base values that make any culture unique, and then measure them is

questionable. This is especially so given the heterogeneity and dynamic nature of Maori culture.

3. A related issue is the problem of interpreting what a high score on the measure of Maoritanga reflects. It is possible that a high score on the Maoritanga measure does not exclude the same individual from being able to achieve a high score on a measure of Pakehatanga, if such a measure existed. The point being, that in New Zealand it is a distinct advantage for Maori to be bicultural especially if Maori are to succeed in a Pakeha dominated society. This introduces the possibility of some enculturated Maori being able to react as acculturated Maori, dependent on the situation. In the present study there was an attempt to keep the short stories as culturally neutral as possible but there is no way of knowing whether enculturated Maori were responding to the short stories as enculturated Maori or bicultural Maori. It may be possible for future research to manipulate cultural variables in the short stories to investigate this possibility.

It is also possible that if bilingual Maori were given similar stories in Maori, and allowed to respond in Maori, that the responses may have been different. However, cross-cultural research by Davitz (1969) comparing Ugandan descriptions of emotional states (happiness, sadness, and anger) found little differences between the descriptions written in Lugandan and English by bilingual Ugandans. This indicates that, at least in this case, the language used did not affect the descriptions of emotions being given. Further research is required to investigate whether the same would be true for bilingual Maori.

Factors Limiting the Present Study

The sample

Attempts to generalise the findings of the present study to groups of Maori and Pakeha from other areas of New Zealand may be problematic because of the nature of the sample used in the present study. The sample used was selected from the 1994 Gisborne telephone directory, which means that residents without phones or with unlisted numbers were excluded from the selection process. Nevertheless, the use of this method was considered appropriate because it provided a large, up to date and ready made sampling frame from which it would be possible to economically select a reasonably representative sample. It also meant that potential respondents could be screened for willingness to participate and easily recontacted, if they required encouragement to complete the questionnaire. The final return rate of approximately 67% indicates that this methodology was justified.

Another potential problem is the result of the area that the sample was selected from. The sample was originally selected from the East Cape region because it was the researcher's own tribal area and also because the region is a stronghold for Maoritanga. It is possible that the strength of Maoritanga in the area acted to the detriment of the research.

The possibility being, that on the East Cape, Pakeha culture is not as dominant as it is in other parts of the country because of the higher proportion of Maori living in the area. Census data shows that the Gisborne/East Cape area has the highest Maori:Non-Maori population ratio in New Zealand. 40 percent of all people living in this region are Maori; the national average is 13 percent; and the next highest ranking region is Northland, where Maori make up 28 percent of the population (Statistics New Zealand, 1994). This may have had the effect of Pakeha being

exposed to, and absorbing some Maori cultural beliefs and the associated behaviours. With the result for the present research being, that Pakeha living on the East Cape responded emotionally, similarly to Maori.

A similar argument has been used by Thomas (1988) when discussing differences between urban and small town Pakeha scores on a test of Maori knowledge. Small town Pakeha school children scored significantly higher than urban Pakeha school children on a test of Maori knowledge. Thomas (1988) proposed that this was due to the higher ratio of Maori students in the small town schools, i.e. they were likely to have picked up knowledge of Maori culture and practices through contact with Maori settings and events, both inside and outside the school. Future research will need to take such problems into account and include samples from areas not so highly populated with Maori.

Another factor worth considering in regard to the sample is that 75% of the Maori sample that listed tribal affiliations, gave Ngati Porou as a major tribal affiliation. This was understandable given the area from which the sample was selected.. This may have introduced the possibility of an iwi bias to the findings as there are often regional and tribal variations in language and cultural practices (Rangihau, 1992; Thomas, 1988). For example, some tribes will not permit women to speak on the marae while other tribes are not so stringent (Walker, 1992). Thus, the possibility of tribal variations in the experience of whakamaa must be considered.

However, Metge's (1986) participants were from a wide range of tribes and no tribal variations in whakamaa were apparent or discussed. The other literature reviewed in Chapter 1 also gave no indication that there may be tribal variations in whakamaa or the emotions and behaviours associated with it. Future research could investigate the possibility by using samples from

different tribes and from regions where the Maori population and Maoritanga are not so strong.

The definition of rural versus urban residence

The findings regarding urban/rural residence and its relationship to Maoritanga must be viewed with some caution for the following reasons.

1. The definition of whether or not an individual was rural or urban was based solely on their current residential address. It failed to take account of the person's residential history, ie he or she may have spent all their lives in the country and only recently moved to the city.

2. By some standards Gisborne may not qualify as a particularly typical example of an urban environment. Although it qualifies as a city, it essentially exists to service the surrounding rural community. Thus it has a very small town, rural feel about it.

3. Compared to other cities in New Zealand, a relatively high proportion of the population in Gisborne is Maori. Thus, it can be expected that Maoritanga will be stronger there in comparison to other cities.

4. Gisborne itself is located in an area of New Zealand that is relatively isolated from the rest of New Zealand and renowned for its strength of Maoritanga.

In summary, the rural/urban dichotomy that exists in other parts of New Zealand may not exist to the same extent in Gisborne and the surrounding region, and the way that urban and rural residence was defined may not have been appropriate for the goals of the present study. It also appears that other factors related to the uniqueness of the region from which the sample was selected may restrict the generalisability of the findings.

The study design

As mentioned above, the present study has measured nine emotions that have been identified as

being associated with whakamaa in the hope that it will thus measure whakamaa. There may be constructs or emotions involved in whakamaa that do not translate into English or are not described by the emotion categories used. It is therefore possible that the study is not providing a complete picture of the emotions associated with whakamaa. Thus, the conclusions reached by the present study must be moderated because of the problems associated with the defining of a construct from one culture (i.e. whakamaa) with constructs from another culture.

It may be useful for future research to also explicitly ask respondents to rate the strength of whakamaa that they experience in reaction to the short stories. The point of asking Pakeha respondents such a question is dubious, but it would provide more valid information regarding the Maori experience of whakamaa in reaction to the stories. Therefore providing a more valid measure to correlate to Maoritanga and the rural/urban residence of Maori respondents.

The possibility that Maori under-reported emotional reactions

Previous research (Prigatano and Leathem, 1993) has acknowledged the possibilty that Maori may describe themselves in less favourable terms than Pakeha because of whakamaa. Durie (1985) has also proposed that Maori often do not talk about thoughts and feelings, preferring to let the feelings speak for themselves in the actions of the person. This suggests the possibility that whakamaa and cultural practise may have combined, with the result that Maori participating in the present research under-reported their emotional reactions to the short stories. Such a suggestion is speculative, but future research may be able to avoid the possibility of under-reporting through the use of a structured interview with an interviewer that is able to reduce the participant's whakamaa and encourage the accurate reporting of emotional reactions.

The Maoritanga measure

The potential problems with the Maoritanga measure used in the present study are outlined above. However, the main problem is that despite attempts to ensure the validity of the Maoritanga measure it is still possible that it failed to tap the base values of Maori culture. Whether it would ever be possible to identify the base values that make any culture unique, and then measure them is questionable. This is especially so given the heterogeneity and dynamic nature of Maori culture. It is obvious that further research exploring the validity of the Maoritanga measure is necessary. This could take the form of comparing the scores of individuals recognised as being strong on Maoritanga with those recognised as having weak Maoritanga. How these individuals are recognised may be an issue of some debate.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the results of the present study have found that:

1. Maori and Pakeha from the East Cape region respond with different patterns of emotion to some types of whakamaa inducing situations but not to others.

2. Urban and rural Maori from the East Cape region have similar levels of Maoritanga as measured in the present study.

3. Urban and rural Maori from the East Cape region respond similarly to whakamaa inducing situations.

4. Maoritanga as measured in the present study has no relationship to the strength of emotional reaction that Maori from the East Cape region have to whakamaa inducing situations.

In summary, the present study has found differences and similarities in the ways that Maori and Pakeha respond to certain types of situations, and the differences identified may be due to Maori respondents experiencing whakamaa. The present study failed to find any differences in the levels of Maoritanga of urban and rural Maori, or in the responses of urban and rural Maori to the short stories. There was also no relationship found between strength of Maoritanga and response to the short stories. However, these findings must be viewed as tentative because of potential problems with the instruments used to measure the emotional reactions and Maoritanga; and problems with the way that urban or rural residence was defined. Furthermore, these tentative findings may not be generalisable to populations from other parts of New Zealand because of some of the unique features of the sample used.

Thus, the present research provides some support for the argument that whakamaa involves Maori and Pakeha experiencing different patterns of emotion, but it also indicates that the differences are not that great, i.e. there appear to be more similarities than differences. This does not rule out the possibility that there are differences in how Maori and Pakeha react behaviourally to the emotions aroused by whakamaa situations and that the behavioural differences may be more extreme than the emotional differences.

Summary of Research Recommendations

1. Further research focussing on the cross-cultural comparison of how Maori and Pakeha appraise similar situations would help clarify the factors involved and possibly provide an indication of why the differences identified above occurred.

2. The relationship between ethnicity, story type, and pattern of emotional reaction needs further exploration. This could involve comparing emotional reactions to short stories with identical themes but slightly different details. Altering the themes themselves would also provide new information, as it is acknowledged that the present study has not covered the complete range of situations that can result in whakamaa for Maori. All of these options would help identify the specific factors in the stories that are involved in the differences outlined above and provide new information on whakamaa.

3. As the present study is the first of its type, further comparative research is also required to verify the findings of the present study.

4. The present study found no relationship between Maoritanga and Maori patterns of emotional response to the short stories. Future research needs to investigate whether Maori with low levels of Maoritanga experience and express whakamaa.

5. There is also a need for future research that investigates the validity of the Maoritanga

measure used in the present study.

6. The problems involved in the use of Pakeha/Western constructs to measure a Maori construct have been discussed above. If possible, future research should attempt to use Maori constructs. This may prove to be as simple as asking Maori participants to rate how whakamaa they were in response to the situations outlined in the short stories. It is unlikely that asking Pakeha this question would be of any value but for Maori it would provide an appropriate measure of whakamaa.

7. The present study had problems generalising its findings to other regions of New Zealand because of the nature of the sample used. Future research would benefit from using a more representative sample.

Suggestions have been made for possible future research into the construct of whakamaa. It is important to note that any research into aspects of Maori culture must be carried out with the utmost sensitivity. Maori culture is not something to be studied flippantly by outsiders for academic interest, imposing their own belief structures onto Maori, or passing judgement based on their own ethnocentric biases. This tramples the mana of the Maori people and, as already pointed out above, the trampling of mana can result in whakamaa. Repeated trampling of mana can result in whakamaa becoming chronic to the point of it being identified as mate Maori. Given such an analysis, the construct of whakamaa may go some way to explaining the position and the behaviour of the Maori people in New Zealand society after having their mana trampled by colonialism for over 150 years. Therefore, unless research involving Maori can be seen to have the possibility of significant, culturally appropriate, benefits for Maori it should not be carried out. Research into whakamaa is justifiable primarily because there is the possibility that some of the associated behaviours can be mistaken for symptoms of psychiatric illness (Sachdev, 1990)

and this needs to be recognised by those that work in the mental health services. Furthermore, if more Pakeha understood whakamaa, it would reduce misunderstandings during everyday interactions.

Practical Implications

Because of the factors outlined above, which place limitations on the present study, the practical implications are somewhat limited. However, the findings of the present study have provided some support for the claim that whakamaa involves Maori and Pakeha experiencing different patterns of emotional reactions to some types of social situations. This possibility has implications for everyone that has contact with Maori, but it has particular import for those dealing with emotionally disturbed Maori. Supporting the argument that Maori have a different world view to that of Pakeha, and that different therapeutic approaches may be more appropriate.

Finally, although the present study was of an exploratory nature, it has provided a stepping stone for future research and raised many possible directions for future research. It is also hoped that the present study has contributed to an increased understanding of how Maori and Pakeha world views affect emotions.

REFERENCES

Armon-Jones, C. (1985). Prescription, explication and the social construction of emotion. *Journal for the Theory of Social Behaviour, 15,* 1-21.

Armon-Jones, C. (1986). The thesis of constructionism. In R.M. Harre, (Ed.), *The social constuction of emotions.* (pp. 32-56). Oxford, England: Basil Blackwell.

Banks, C.G. (1992). 'Culture' in culture-bound syndromes: the case of anorexia nervosa. *Social Science and Medicine, 34* (8), 867-884.

Barlow, C. (1991). *Tikanga Whakaaro Key Concepts in Maori Culture.* Auckland, New Zealand: Oxford University Press.

Barrington, J.M., & Beaglehole, T.H. (1990). 'A part of Pakeha society': Europeanising the Maori child. In J.M. Mckenzie (Ed.) *Making Imperial Mentalities.* Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Boucher, J.D. (1979). Culture and emotion. In A. J. Marsella, R. G. Tharp, & T. V. Ciborowski (Eds.), *Perspectives on cross-cultural psychology* (pp. 159-178). San Diego, CA: Academic Press.

Buunk, B., & Hupka, R.B. (1987). Cross-cultural differences in the elicitation of sexual jealousy. *Journal of Sex Research, 23,* 12-22.

Corser, A.S., & Furnell, J.R.G. (1992). What do foster parents think of the natural parents? A comparative study. *Child: Care, Health and Development, 18,* 67-80.

Davitz, J.R. (1969) *The Language of Emotion.* New York: Academic Press.

Durie, M. (1984). "Te taha hinengaro": An integrated approach to mental health. *Community Mental Health in New Zealand, 1* (1), 4-11.

Durie, M. (1985). *Counselling Maori People*. A paper presented to the New Zealand Counselling and Guidance Association Hui, Tu Tangata Marae, Palmerston North, New Zealand.

Ekman, P. (Ed.). (1982). *Emotion in the Human Face. Second Edition*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.

Ekman, P. (1992). Are there basic emotions? *Psychological Review, 99* (3), 550-553.

Ekman, P., Friesen, W.V., & Ellsworth, P. (1982). What are the similarities and differences in facial behavior across cultures? In P. Ekman (Ed.), *Emotion in the Human Face. Second edition*. (pp.128-146). Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.

Ekman, P., Friesen, W.V., O'Sullivan, M., Diacoyanni-Tarlatzis, I., Krause, R., Pitcairn, T., Scherer, K., Chan, A., Heider, K., Ayan LeCompte, W., Ricci-Bitti, P.E., Tomita, M., & Tzavaras, A. (1987). Universals and cultural differences in the judgements of facial expressions of emotion. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 53*, 712-717.

Fischer, K.W., Shaver, P.R., & Carnochan, P. (1990). How emotions develop and how they organise development. *Cognition and Emotion, 4* (2), 81-127.

Hall, P., Brockington, I.F., Levings, J. & Murphy, C. (1993). A comparison of responses to the mentally ill in two communities. *British Journal of Psychiatry, 162*, 99-108.

Harre, R. M. (Ed.). (1986). *The social constuction of emotions*. Oxford, England: Basil Blackwell.

Hill, R.F. & Fortenberry, J.D. (1992). Adolescence as a culture-bound syndrome. *Social Science and Medicine, 35* (1), 73-80.

Hupka, R.B., Buunk, B., Falus, G., Fulgosi, A., Ortega, E., Swain, R., & Tarabrina, N.V. (1985). Romantic jealousy and romantic envy. A seven nation study. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 16* (4), 423-446.

Izard, C.E. (1983). Emotions in personality and culture. *Ethos, 11,* 305-312.

Karetu, T.S. (1989). Reviews. *Pacific Studies, 13 (1),* 164-166.

Kelly, M.L., Grace, N., & Elliot, S.N. (1990). Acceptability of positive and punitive discipline methods: comparisons among abusive, potentially abusive, and nonabusive parents. *Child Abuse and Neglect, 14,* 219-226.

Kitayama, S. & Markus, H.R. (Eds.) (1994). *Emotion and Culture: Empirical Studies of Mutual Influence.* Washington, DC: American Psychiatric Association.

Levy, R.I. (1984). The emotions in comparative perspective. In K. R. Scherer & P. Ekman (Eds.), *Approaches to emotion* (pp. 397-412). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.

Markus, H.R., & Kitayama, S. (1991). Culture and the self: Implications for cognition, emotion, and motivation. *Psychological Review, 98,* 224-253.

McKessar, C.J., & Thomas, D.R. (1978). Verbal and non-verbal help-seeking among urban Maori and Pakeha children. *New Zealand Journal of Educational Studies, 13 (1),* 29-39.

Medland, J. (1988). Therapy with the whamere. *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Family Therapy, 9 (1),* 33-35.

Mesquita, B., & Frijda, N.H. (1992). Cultural variations in emotions: A review. *Psychological Bulletin, 112*, 179-204.

Metge, J. (1986). *In and Out of Touch: Whakamaa in a Cross Cultural Context.* Wellington, New Zealand: Victoria University Press.

Metge, J. & Kinloch, P. (1978). *Talking Past Each Other!? Problems of Cross Cultural Communicaton!* Wellington, New Zealand: Victoria University Press.

Mitchell, D.R. (1983a). A comparison of high school students smoking behaviours in 1968 and 1981. *New Zealand Medical Journal, 96*, 534-536.

Mitchell, D.R. (1983b). Alcohol consumption of high school students in relation to ethnicity, socioeconomic status and sex. *New Zealand Medical Journal, 96*, 572-575.

Natana, I. (1993). Why be a whakamaa! In V. Miller, S. Robertson, M. Teesson, & B. Garvey. (Eds.). *On the Street Where You Live: The 3rd Annual Mental Health Services Conference* (pp. 19-26). NSW Australia: Fast Books.

Nightingale, M. (1973). Maori and Pakeha: What Kind of Difference. *Delta, 13*, 42-53.

Norusis, M.J. (1988). *SPSS/PC+ TM V2.0 Base Manual.* Chicago: SPSS Inc.

Olsen, C.S. (1993). *Hauora: A Sociocultural Perspective.* Unpublished master's thesis, Massey University, Palmerston North, New Zealand.

Prigatano, G.P. & Leathem, J.M. (1993). Awareness of behavioral limitations after traumatic brain injury: A cross-cultural study of New Zealand Maoris and non-Maoris. *The Clinical Neuropsychologist, 7 (2)*, 123-135.

Prins, H. (1990). *Bizarre Behaviours: Boundaries of Psychiatric Disorder.* London: Routledge.

Rangihau, J. (1992). Being Maori. In M. King. (Ed.). *Te Ao Hurihuri: Aspects of Maoritanga* (pp. 185-190). Auckland, New Zealand: Reed Books.

Ritchie, J. (1963). *The Making of a Maori.* Wellington, New Zealand: Reed.

Rowsell, S. (1993). *Disabilities and New Zealand Children Nga Tamariki Maori me Pakeha.* Unpublished honour's dissertation, Massey University, Palmerston North, New Zealand.

Russell, J.A. (1991). Culture and the categorization of emotions. *Psychological Bulletin, 110 (3)*, 426-450.

Russell, J.A. (1994). Is there universal recognition of emotions from facial expression? A review of the cross-cultural studies. *Psychological Bulletin, 115 (1)*, 102-141.

Sachdev, P.S. (1990). Whakama: culturally determined behaviour in the New Zealand Maori. *Psychological Medicine, 20*, 433-444.

Simons, R.C. (1993). A simple defense of Western biomedical explanatory schemata. *Medical Anthropology, 15*, 201-208.

Statistics New Zealand. (1994). *Maori: New Zealand Now.* Wellington, New Zealand: Statistics New Zealand.

Tamihana, S. (1987). Strokes and art attacks: In and out of touch. *Broadsheet, 147*, 44-45.

Thomas, D.R. (1988). Development of a test of Maori knowledge. *New Zealand Journal of Psychology, 17,* 59-67.

Triandis, H.C., Bontempo, R., & Villareal, M.J. (1988). Individualism and collectivism: Cross-cultural perspectives on self-ingroup relationships. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 54,* 323-338.

Vandereycken, W., & Hoek, H.W. (1992). Are eating disorders culture-bound syndromes? In Halmi, K.A. (Ed.), *Psychobiology and Treatment of Anorexia Nervosa and Bulimia Nervosa* (pp. 19-36). Washington: American Psychiatric Press.

Walker, R. (1992). Marae: A place to stand. In M. King. (Ed.). *Te Ao Hurihuri: Aspects of Maoritanga* (pp. 15-28). Auckland, New Zealand: Reed Books.

Webster, S. (1990). Reviews. *Journal of the Polynesian Society, 99 (4),* 434-438.

Weisz, J.R., Suwanlert, S., Chaiyasit, W., Weiss, B., Walter, B.R., & Anderson, W.W. (1988). Thai and American Perspectives on over and undercontrolled child behavior problems: Exploring the threshold model among parents, teachers and psychologists. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 56,* 601-609.

Wierzbicka, A. (1986). Human emotions: Universal or culture-specific? *American Anthropologist, 88,* 584-594.

Yarrow, L.J. (1979). Emotional development. *American Psychologist, 34,* 951-957.

INFORMATION SHEET.

Researcher:	Supervisor:
Clive Banks-Wawatai	Malcolm Johnson
Graduate Student	Senior Lecturer
Psychology Dept	Psychology Dept
Massey University	Massey University
Palmerston North	
Phone Home (06) 3582027	

MASSEY
UNIVERSITY

Private Bag 11222
Palmerston North
New Zealand
Telephone +64-6-356 9099
Facsimile +64-6-350 5673

FACULTY OF
SOCIAL SCIENCES

DEPARTMENT OF
PSYCHOLOGY

Tena koe,

my name is Clive Banks-Wawatai and I am a Massey University student doing a Masters Thesis in Psychology. You may remember my telephone call asking if you would be willing to help me with my research. I am conducting a study which aims to explore the link between cultural background and how people react to certain situations. I wish to advise you that I have selected your name, at random from the telphone book for people in your area, in an effort to get a good cross-section of people to take part in this study.

What will I have to do?

You are asked to answer the following series of questions which come in two parts. The first section explores your background and collects some statistical information. The second section asks you to rate some of your reactions to four very short, made up, stories. The questionnaire should take about 30 minutes to complete. I would like to make it very clear that there are no right or wrong answers to any of these questions. I want to find out what you think. It is also important for you to understand that all the answers that you give will be anonymous. This means that after I receive your finished questionnaires it will not be possible to tell who provided which answers.

What can I expect from the researcher?

If you agree to participate you will:
*   Have the right to refuse to answer any question and to withdraw from the study at any time.

*   Provide information on the understanding that it remains confidential to the researcher. All information will only be seen by the researcher. It will not be possible to identify individuals in any published reports.

*   Have the opportunity to have feedback on the findings of the study on its completion.

*   If you have any questions about the study or the questionnaire, please write to me at the address given above or phone me collect, in Palmerston North, on (06) 3582027. Preferably after 6 pm, or during the weekend.

Please call me immediately if any of the short stories cause you undue distress.

N.B. You may keep this sheet for your own information.

Culture and Emotional Reactions

Consent Form.

I have read and understood the information sheet for this study.

I understand that I am free to withdraw from the study at any time, or to decline to answer any particular questions. I agree to provide information to the researcher on the understanding that it is completely confidential.

I wish to participate in this study under the conditions set out on the information sheet.

Signed:_____
Name:_____
Phone number:_____
Date:_____

I wish to hav feedback on the findings of the study when it is concluded. YES/NO (Circle the appropriate choice)

Contact address for the summary: _____
_____
_____

N.B. Please send this page back with the questionnaire.

Appendix B: Section One for Pakeha Participants

<u>Statistical and Background Information.</u>

(1) How old are you? _____

(2) Male or Female? _____

(3) Which ethnic group do you belong to? (Please circle one or more categories if necessary)

a) Pakeha.
b) Maori.
c) Other (please state) _____
                         _____

(4) What is your highest educational qualification?
                            _____
                            _____

Questionnaire: Section one for participants of Maori descent.

<u>Statistical and Background Information</u>

(1)   How old are you?   _____

(2)   Male or Female?   _____

(3)   What, if any, are your major tribal affiliations?

_____
_____
_____

(4)   What is your highest educational qualification?

_____
_____

DIRECTIONS: For the next 26 questions please circle the category that best describes you. There are no right or wrong answers, I just need to know what you think.

(1)   Can you speak Maori? If so, how well?

a)   fluent.
b)   good.
c)   fair.
d)   not very well.
e)   not at all.

(2)   How well do you know your whakapapa?

a)   extremely well, both parental sides back to their canoes.
b)   very well; several generations both sides; one side back to the canoe and the other a few generations.
c)   quite well; several generations one side, a few on the other.
d)   not very well; 2 or 3 generations both sides.
e)   poor; less than 2 generations.

(3)   Are you familiar with the kawa on your marae?

a)   extremely well.
b)   very well except for a few aspects.
c)   good but still some learning to do.
d)   not very well; a lot to learn.
e)   don't know what it is.

(4)   How often do you visit your marae or local urban marae?

a)   several times a month.
b)   once or twice a month.
c)   several times a year.
d)   two or three times a year.
e)   never, hardly ever.

(5)   How often do you attend hui?

a)   several times a month.
b)   two or three times a month.
c)   several times a year.
d)   two or three times a year.
e)   hardly ever.

(6)   Who would you attend tangi for?

a)   for members of my hapu and in support of several other hapu or iwi.
b)   mainly only for members of my hapu but sometimes for other hapu or iwi.
c)   usually only for my hapu or iwi.
d)   whenever someone in my whanau dies; including second cousins etc.
e)   whenever someone in my immediate whanau dies.

(7)   Can you mihi in Maori?

a)   yes, very confidently.
b)   yes, very well but there are things that I'm not sure about.
c)   yes, but I'm not very confident.
d)   yes, but only to say who I am and where I'm from.
e)   no, not at all.

(8)   Are you actively involved in things Maori, such as being part of a Maori
        club or committee, or a mainly Maori sports club?

a)   yes, I'm actively involved in several.
b)   yes, I'm involved in two or three.
c)   yes, one or two.
d)   sometimes I go but normally I'm not actively involved.
e)   no, not at all.

(9)   Are there ritenga or tikanga that you practice in the home, such as
        karakia or being aware of tapu practices, e.g. sitting on the table?

a)   yes, regularly and religiously on all aspects Maori.
b)   yes, but only on things that I feel are important.
c)   yes, but I'm not consistent about it.
d)   yes, sometimes on a couple of things not really into it.
e)   don't know what it is or don't believe in it.

(10)   When you were growing up, did you have much contact with your Maori
        grandparents?

a)   yes, my grandparents were responsible for bringing me up.
b)   yes, I spent a lot of time with my grandparents.
c)   yes, but I spent most of my time with my parent/s.
d)   only occasionally.
e)   no, very rarely.

(11)   In what ethnic group do you classify yourself?

a)   Maori.
b)   both.
c)   Pakeha.
d)   Other.....................

(12)   Are you on the Maori electoral roll?

a)   yes.
b)   no.

(13)   How important is te taha wairua to you?

a)   very important.
b)   fairly important.
c)   not really important.
d)   don't know what it is.

(14)   Would you give your children Maori first names?

a)   yes, all Maori names comprised of tipuna and family names or other Maori
      names.
b)   yes, and no, some may have Maori names, other Pakeha.
c)   no, probably not, maybe as a second name.
d)   no, definitely not.

(15)   Have you or would you send your children to Kohanga Reo or a Whare
        Wananga?

a)   yes, definitely.
b)   yes, but it may depend on other factors, e.g. where it was, costs etc.
c)   yes, but Pakeha education takes priority in the long run.
d)   no, the only Maori education will be what the state school gives.
e)   no, definitely not.

(16)   Circle yes or no:

a)   Can you name your whanau?   yes/no
b)   Can you name your hapu?   yes/no
c)   Can you name your iwi?   yes/no
d)   Can you name your waka?   yes/no

(17)   What is the ethnic background of people you admire the most?

a)   Maori.
b)   both.
c)   Pakeha.

(18)   Are your friends mostly:

a)   Maori.
b)   both.
c)   Pakeha.

(19)   From what ethnic background would you prefer a long term partner to come
        from?

a)   Maori.
b)   either.
c)   Pakeha.

(20)   What type of people do you feel most comfortable with?

a)   Maori.
b)   both.
c)   Pakeha.

(21)   What culture do you feel most comfortable with?

a)   Maori.
b)   both cultures.
c)   Pakeha.

(22)   What is the culture that you feel most proud of?

a)   Maori.
b)   both cultures.
c)   Pakeha.

(23)   Do you listen to Maori programmes on the television or radio, such as Whakahuia?

a)   always.
b)   often.
c)   sometimes.
d)   never.

(24)   What music do you most enjoy listening to?

a)   Maori.
b)   both.
c)   Pakeha.

(25)   After being in Pakeha places for a long time, do you often feel   a strong urge to recharge your batteries (te waiora-a- tane) in a Maori environment?

a)   yes, I feel that always.
b)   yes, I feel that often.
c)   yes, I feel that sometimes.
d)   no, I don't feel that at all.

(26)   If you could place Maoritanga on a scale from zero to ten, with zero indicating little Maoritanga and ten indicating maximum Maoritanga, where do you think you would be situated? Please circle below.

0--1--2--3--4--5--6--7--8--9--10

Appendix D: Section Two of Questionnaire. Male and Female Versions

SHORT STORIES

DIRECTIONS:

The following are fictional, or made up, short stories describing a number of different situations that people can sometimes find themselves in. Please read them one at a time, placing yourself in the position of the main character and then answer the questions that follow as honestly as possible. There are no right or wrong answers, I just need to know how you would feel.

STORY 1:
Please read the following short story, placing yourself in the position of John.

John is a successful lawyer who has over the years built up a large practice in a big city. His friends think of him as a bit of a high-flier and in his family he is held up as an example of what others in the family could achieve if they work hard. John's family are not very well off, but because he is the oldest they made sacrifices to make sure that he got the best education that they could afford. With this support he graduated with an honours degree. Now there is even talk of him taking up a career in politics because of the respect he gets in the community. But one day all that changes when it is discovered that he has been stealing large amounts of money from his clients to support a gambling problem. This makes national headlines in both the newspapers and television.

If you were John, how strongly would you feel the emotions listed below? Please circle the number, **for each emotion**, that best matches the strength of your feelings. For example, circling a 1 would mean that you would not feel that emotion at all, circling a 4 would mean you feel it moderately, or circling a 7 would mean that you would feel that emotion as much as you possibly could.

Not at all....A little bit....Moderately....Quite a bit....Extremely

1) Shy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2) Embarrassed	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3) Uncertain/confused	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4) Unable to cope	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5) Frightened	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6) Humiliated	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7) Depressed	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8) Ashamed	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9) Angry	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

10) Are there any other emotions that you think you would feel?
....
....
....
....

11) Why do you think being in this situation would make you feel these things?

....
....
....
....

STORY 2:
Please read the following short story, placing yourself in the position of James.

James is the proud father of three children aged from 15 to 20 years old. Sometimes it has been a struggle to provide everything that the family has needed, but between the two of them, James and his wife have managed to keep everyone clothed and fed. James thinks of them as a happy and lucky family. However, early one morning, the family receive a visit from the police. They are informed that Alice, their middle daughter, has been arrested for prostitution and selling drugs.

If you were James, how strongly would you feel the emotions listed below? Please circle the number, **for each emotion**, that best matches the strength of your feelings.

	Not at all	A little bit	Moderately	Quite a bit			Extremely
1) Shy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2) Embarrassed	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3) Uncertain/confused	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4) Unable to cope	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5) Frightened	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6) Humiliated	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7) Depressed	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8) Ashamed	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9) Angry	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

10) Are there any other emotions that you think you would feel?

....
....
....
....

11) Why do you think being in this situation would make you feel these things?

....
....
....
....

STORY 3:
Please read the following short story, placing yourself in the position of Dave.

Dave is a single man in his mid thirties. Since he left school with his university entrance he has had a number of jobs in the banking industry. For the last six years he has been living in the same small town, getting involved with the local rugby club and even trying out for the district rep team. However, after recently passing a banking examination he has been offered a promotion in a larger city some distance away.

If you were Dave, how strongly would you feel the emotions listed below? Please circle the number, **for each emotion**, that best matches the strength of your feelings.

	Not at all	A little bit	Moderately	Quite a bit	Extremely		
1) Shy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2) Embarrassed	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3) Uncertain/confused	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4) Unable to cope	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5) Frightened	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6) Humiliated	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7) Depressed	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8) Ashamed	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9) Angry	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

10) Are there any other emotions that you think you would feel?
....
....
....
....

11) Why do you think being in this situation would make you feel these things?
....
....
....
....

STORY 4:
Please read the following short story, placing yourself in the position of Bill.

Bill is a keen jogger. He doesn't run marathons or anything like that, but about every second day he goes for a jog along the beach-front to help stay fit and to unwind at the end of the day. One day Bill noticed someone swimming quite a way out from the beach and suddenly realised that they were caught in a rip and needed help. Without thinking Bill swam out and rescued him, risking his own life at the same time. By the time they got back to shore the police had arrived and they were full of praise for Bill and his bravery. The next day, Bill was contacted by the Mayor and told that he had arranged for Bill to receive a special award for bravery from Paul Holmes and that the presentation was going to be on television.

If you were Bill, how strongly would you feel the emotions listed below after being contacted by the Mayor? Please circle the number, **for each emotion**, that best matches the strength of your feelings.

Not at all....A little bit....Moderately....Quite a bit....Extremely

1) Shy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2) Embarrassed	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3) Uncertain/confused	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4) Unable to cope	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5) Frightened	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6) Humiliated	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7) Depressed	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8) Ashamed	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9) Angry	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

10) Are there any other emotions that you think you would feel?
....
....
....
....

11) Why do you think being in this situation would make you feel these things?
....
....
....
....

Thank you for your help. Please check to see that you have completed all the questions, then post the completed questionnaire to me in the pre-paid, **freepost**, envelope provided. Thank you.

SHORT STORIES

DIRECTIONS:

The following are fictional, or made up, short stories describing a number of different situations that people can sometimes find themselves in. Please read them one at a time, placing yourself in the position of the main character and then answer the questions that follow as honestly as possible. There are no right or wrong answers, I just need to know how you would feel.

STORY 1:
Please read the following short story, placing yourself in the position of Sharon.

Sharon is a successful lawyer who has over the years built up a large practice in a big city. Her friends think of her as a bit of a high-flier and in her family she is held up as an example of what others in the family could achieve if they work hard. Sharon's family are not very well off, but because she is the oldest they made sacrifices to make sure that she got the best education that they could afford. With this support she graduated with an honours degree. Now there is even talk of her taking up a career in politics because of the respect she gets in the community. But one day all that changes when it is discovered that she has been stealing large amounts of money from her clients to support a gambling problem. This makes national headlines in both the newspapers and television.

If you were Sharon, how strongly would you feel the emotions listed below? Please circle the number, **for each emotion**, that best matches the strength of your feelings. For example, circling a 1 would mean that you would not feel that emotion at all, circling a 4 would mean that you would feel it moderately, or circling a 7 would mean that you would feel that emotion as much as you possibly could.

Not at all....A little bit....Moderately....Quite a bit....Extremely

1) Shy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2) Embarrassed	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3) Uncertain/confused	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4) Unable to cope	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5) Frightened	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6) Humiliated	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7) Depressed	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8) Ashamed	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9) Angry	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

10) Are there any other emotions that you think you would feel?
....
....
....
....

11) Why do you think being in this situation would make you feel
these things?
....
....
....
....

STORY 2:
Please read the following short story, placing yourself in the position of
Jane.

Jane is the proud mother of three children aged from 15 to 20 years old.
Sometimes it has been a struggle to provide everything that the family has
needed, but between the two of them, Jane and her husband have managed to keep
everyone clothed and fed. Jane thinks of them as a happy and lucky family.
However, early one morning, the family receive a visit from the police. They
are informed that Alice, their middle daughter, has been arrested for
prostitution and selling drugs.

If you were Jane, how strongly would you feel the emotions listed below?
Please circle the number, **for each emotion**, that best matches the strength of
your feelings.

	Not at all	A little bit	Moderately	Quite a bit			Extremely
1) Shy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2) Embarrassed	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3) Uncertain/confused	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4) Unable to cope	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5) Frightened	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6) Humiliated	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7) Depressed	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8) Ashamed	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9) Angry	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

10) Are there any other emotions that you think you would feel?
....
....
....
....

11) Why do you think being in this situation would make you feel
these things?
....
....
....
....

STORY 3:
Please read the following short story, placing yourself in the position of
Alice.

Alice is a single woman in her mid thirties. Since she left school with his
university entrance he has had a number of jobs in the banking industry. For
the last six years she has been living in the same small town, getting
involved with the local netball club and even trying out for the district rep
team. However, after recently passing a banking examination she has been
offered a promotion in a larger city some distance away.

If you were Alice, how strongly would you feel the emotions listed below?
Please circle the number, **for each emotion**, that best matches the strength of
your feelings.

	Not at all	A little bit	Moderately	Quite a bit		Extremely
1) Shy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2) Embarrassed	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3) Uncertain/confused	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4) Unable to cope	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5) Frightened	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6) Humiliated	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7) Depressed	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8) Ashamed	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9) Angry	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

10) Are there any other emotions that you think you would feel?
....
....
....
....

11) Why do you think being in this situation would make you feel
these things?
....
....
....
....

STORY 4:
Please read the following short story, placing yourself in the position of Mary.

Mary is a keen jogger. She doesn't run marathons or anything like that, but about every second day she goes for a jog along the beach-front to help stay fit and to unwind at the end of the day. One day Mary noticed someone swimming quite a way out from the beach and suddenly realised that they were caught in a rip and needed help. Without thinking Mary swam out and rescued him, risking her own life at the same time. By the time they got back to shore the police had arrived and they were full of praise for Mary and her bravery. The next day, Mary was contacted by the Mayor and told that he had arranged for Mary to receive a special award for bravery and that the presentation was going to be on television.

If you were Mary, how strongly would you feel the emotions listed below after being contacted by the Mayor? Please circle the number, **for each emotion**, that best matches the strength of your feelings.

	Not at all	A little bit	Moderately	Quite a bit			Extremely
1) Shy	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2) Embarrassed	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3) Uncertain/confused	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4) Unable to cope	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5) Frightened	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6) Humiliated	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7) Depressed	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8) Ashamed	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9) Angry	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

10) Are there any other emotions that you think you would feel?
....
....
....
....

11) Why do you think being in this situation would make you feel these things?
....
....
....
....

Thank you for your help. Please check to see that you have completed all the questions, then post the completed questionnaire in the pre-paid, <u>freepost</u>, envelope provided. Thank you.

Appendix E: Item-total Statistics for the Maoritanga Measure

	Scale Mean if Item Deleted	Scale Variance if Item Deleted	Corrected Item-Total Correlation	Squared Multiple Correlation	Alpha if Item Deleted
SPEAK	37.0870	229.3256	.6702	.8274	.9217
WHKPAP	37.2609	235.7971	.6013	.8068	.9229
KAWA	36.7826	224.6184	.7152	.9223	.9210
VMARAE	37.1087	224.8546	.7363	.8299	.9205
ATHUI	37.5217	229.3217	.6261	.8429	.9227
ATTANGI	36.9565	227.1536	.6164	.6982	.9233
MIHI	37.3696	222.1048	.7480	.8888	.9204
CLUB	37.4565	224.4314	.7191	.8013	.9209
RITENGA	36.4565	233.0981	.6475	.8187	.9221
GPARENTS	36.9565	238.1314	.3575	.6402	.9290
ETHNICID	37.2609	245.9749	.6128	.7778	.9239
ROLL	38.4348	249.8068	.4709	.7065	.9253
TWAIRUA	37.2391	230.5415	.7106	.8753	.9210
NAMES	37.2609	243.3082	.5593	.8067	.9238
KOHANGA	36.5652	239.0512	.4636	.7472	.9252
WHANAU	37.9783	251.4884	.5427	.6960	.9255
HAPU	38.1522	247.1097	.6932	.8148	.9239
IWI	38.0217	249.6217	.6356	.7734	.9248
WAKA	38.0870	249.3700	.5807	.7432	.9248
PEOPLEAD	37.7174	250.5628	.4674	.8095	.9255
FRIENDS	37.7391	253.0860	.3515	.8752	.9263
PARTNER	37.5435	251.6758	.3411	.8980	.9262
COMFORTP	37.6739	252.9802	.2751	.8483	.9267
COMFORTC	37.6739	246.3135	.5654	.6878	.9242
PROUD	37.3043	245.1498	.6124	.7339	.9237
MEDIA	37.4783	240.9662	.5592	.8118	.9236
MUSIC	37.9783	252.1551	.3552	.6343	.9262
RECHARGE	37.8261	233.5691	.7152	.8388	.9212

RELIABILITY COEFFICIENTS   28 ITEMS

ALPHA = .9264   STANDARDIZED ITEM ALPHA = .9382

Appendix F: Table of Correlations Between the Maoritanga Measure Scores and the Emotional Reactions to the Short Stories. Minimum Pairwise N = 35.

	STORY			
EMOTION	Story 1	Story 2	Story 3	Story 4
Shyness	.27	-.01	-.21	-.05
Embarrassment	.15	.02	-.15	-.10
Uncertainty	.10	.15	-.05	.02
Unable to cope	.15	-.02	-.13	-.11
Fear	.01	.12	-.06	-.01
Humiliation	.07	.09	.06	.04
Depression	.24	-.03	.07	.00
Shame	.03	-.03	.06	.05
Anger	.10	-.16	.15	.05

Appendix G: Maoritanga Scoring Key

Questions 1-10, and 15: a = 4, b = 3, c = 2, d = 1, e = 0

Question 11: a = 2, b =1, c =0, d =0

Question 12: a = 1, b = 0

Questions 13-14, 23, and 25: a = 3, b = 2, c =1, d =0

Question 16: 1 for each yes, 0 for each no

Questions 17-22, and 24: a = 2, b = 1, c = 0