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A History of Intergroup Relations in New Zealand: A Trade-off Between Māori Agency and  
Inclusion

A thesis presented in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Science in  
Psychology

at Massey University, Albany, New Zealand.

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2019

## Abstract

This thesis examines complex intergroup processes as manifested in New Zealand's governing discourses, with a focus on discourses of the colonial era. This investigation is divided into the two following parts- 1) a quantitative examination of racial *bias* in New Zealand's governing discourses and 2) a qualitative examination of rhetorical *strategies* used by past Governors of New Zealand, to justify colonization.

In the first study, an automated language tool called NarrCat is applied to New Zealand's 'Speeches from the Throne', which are political speeches representing the incoming government's legislative agenda (163 Speeches from 1854-2014), with the aim of uncovering patterns of an intergroup bias. In this analysis, the narrative categories of cognition, intention and emotion were employed to analyze patterns of *psychological perspective* attributed to different groups in the texts (Māori, European settlers, and British governing elites). Results showed that British governing elites were consistently attributed the most psychological perspective, positioning them with more agency and moral responsibility than other actors in society. However, contrary to expectations, Māori were attributed *more* psychological perspective than European settlers. Implications are discussed through the lenses of infrahumanization theory and elitism, grounded in New Zealand's historical context.

This leads the paper to the second study, where a thematic analysis is conducted on a specific selection of Speeches from the Throne (10 speeches, from 1860-1899), to examine how past Governors defined ingroup identity in ways that justified certain beliefs and actions favourable to the colonization of New Zealand. The derived themes indicated that a shared ingroup category of *British citizenship* was defined by prescribing certain emotions, more specifically emotional relationships, between the people (both Māori and settlers) and governing elites. These emotional relationships were used by Governors in their rhetorical

attempts to mobilize members of the shared ingroup category towards supporting the British hierarchical social order and its political agendas. These interpretations are discussed through theoretical frameworks of *identity entrepreneurship* and *emotional climate*, again situated within the historical context of New Zealand.

## **Preface and Acknowledgments**

I have written my thesis : “A History of Intergroup Relations in New Zealand: A Trade-off Between Māori Agency and Inclusion” to fulfill the requirements for a Master of Science degree at Massey University. I spent from February 2018 to February 2019, engaged in the research and writing of this dissertation.

This thesis focuses on the origins of New Zealand’s collective identity within the historical context of colonization. Much of the inequalities faced by New Zealand in contemporary times have been shaped by its historical trajectory, revolving around colonization and its aftermath. To understand New Zealand’s legacy of colonization, there is a need to go back and unpack how identity positions of Māori and Pākehā, and their underlying relations, were initially constructed and negotiated in New Zealand’s formative years (19<sup>th</sup> Century).

I was prompted to study this subject from my motivation to develop a better understanding of the history of New Zealand from the angle of social psychology. That is, I sought to understand how New Zealand’s sense of identity has been shaped and influenced by the forces of narratives and discourse, especially those first introduced by British imperialism during colonization. As such, this thesis is situated within the intersection of psychology and history, grounded in both the social reality of socially produced narratives as well as the material reality of historical events, in efforts to inspire future research to become more interdisciplinary and consolidate knowledge between these fields.

From doing this research, I learnt that for us to fully understand the problems of inequality that persist in New Zealand society today, we need to develop better self-awareness as a country. This means that we must confront and bring to the surface all of the complexities of the past- both good and bad, because these nuances and contradictions, are what last and continue to affect our social problems to this day.

I would like to thank my thesis advisor, Professor James Liu from the faculty of Psychology at Massey University, for his support, patience and guidance which has continued to keep me motivated and engaged throughout the research process. I also wish to thank the developers and experts of NarrCat (Professor Tibor Pólya and Associate Professor Orsolya Vincze) for their co-operation in the analysis for the first chapter of this thesis. I would also like to thank my fellow graduate students for their valuable advice, feedback and words of encouragement. Finally, I would like to thank my family for their endless support and faith in my academic pursuits.

Sarah Choi

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## General Introduction

Progressive and egalitarian narratives are characteristic of New Zealand as a culture that is entrenched in symbolic bi-culturalism in contemporary times, and it is worth investigating their origins within New Zealand's historical context of colonization. The aim of the present research is to examine intergroup relations between the indigenous Māori and present-day dominant Europeans (Pākehā), within New Zealand's unique context involving colonization and symbolic bi-culturalism. Specifically, this thesis seeks to examine how the *symbolic inclusion* of Maori, which is characteristic of New Zealand's national, collective identity today (Liu & Hilton, 2005), was originally incorporated in New Zealand's colonizing discourses. Moreover, this thesis is interested in how New Zealand's official colonizing discourses have historically excluded and disadvantaged Māori in reality, while including them symbolically, thereby maintaining a progressive and non-egregious tone.

Study 1 took the approach of automated language analysis, more specifically automated narrative content analysis (Laszlo et al., 2013), by applying a software known as NarrCat. NarrCat is an innovative language technology that provides many new fronts in psychological research, by being able to analyze grammatical structures of language, and by being able to analyze psychological processes at the group level. The specific narrative categories of NarrCat that are applied, determines what psychological phenomena will be analyzed in a piece(s) of text. Here, the narrative categories of cognition, emotion and intention were applied to investigate patterns of psychological perspective attributed to various groups in New Zealand, in a series of political speeches signaling the incoming government's legislative agenda (Speeches from the Throne, 1854-2014). These speeches constitute a widely accessible platform for communicating elite discourses to the public.

Study 1 sought to investigate the positioning of Māori *agency* in New Zealand's elite discourses. The theoretical framework for this investigation was mainly provided by theories

of *infrahumanization*, which is a well-established intergroup bias, conceptualized as a subtle form of ethnocentrism or racism (Leyens et al., 2001). It is interpreted as a bias stemming from basic intergroup principles of SIT (Tajfel, 1974), wherein members of a racial ingroup tend to perceive the racial outgroup as relatively *less human* than the ingroup, by attributing relatively less *psychological perspective*, or mental activity to their actions.

Certain elements of psychological perspective (cognition and intention) are thought to be central to a person or group's perceived agency (Haslam, 2006). Therefore, denying psychological perspective (in the form of cognition and intention) from a group, constitutes an implicit denial of their agency. Study 1 compared rates of psychological perspective attributed to various groups (Māori, European settlers, British governing elites) in New Zealand's Speeches from the Throne, to examine whether British colonizers infrahumanized Māori, and therefore denied Māori agency in elite discourses.

Importantly, this study tested the theory of infrahumanization, in a specific context where British imperialism and aristocracy were the dominant group structures. For the interpretations of this study, the theory of infrahumanization was contextualized by considerations of British Enlightenment ideology (Liu & Robinson, 2016), the Good Māori, Bad Māori formulation (McCreanor, 1997), as well as historical accounts of the New Zealand wars (Belgrave, 2017; Belich, 1986), and broader structures of elitism that characterized the British Empire.

Study 2 provided a qualitative extension to Study 1, by conducting a thematic analysis on the Speeches from the Throne, providing an even more nuanced and historically grounded approach. The scope for this analysis was specific to a selection of ten speeches from the colonial period (1860-1899), in order to conduct an analysis grounded within a specific set of socio-political conditions involving the height of racial conflict and its immediate aftermath. The aim of this analysis was to examine the rhetorical strategies employed by past

Governors, in their efforts to mobilize followers towards endorsing and supporting certain beliefs and actions favourable to the British imperial project of colonization.

Of main interest to this study, was the way in which elements of group *identity* and *emotion* were invoked in the rhetorical strategies used by British colonizing elites. This was guided by theories of identity entrepreneurship (Reicher & Hopkins, 2001) and emotional climate (de Rivera, 1992), which both take constructionist perspectives. That is, group identity and emotion were interpreted as being socially constructed through elite discourses, with the aim of mobilizing people towards desired action.

Processes of identity entrepreneurship and emotional climate were examined within the historical context of the British Empire, where beliefs of aristocracy and social hierarchy were normative. Furthermore, there was a focus on *relationships* as a central element underlying these processes. That is, the way in which Governors invoked *interpersonal relationships* between groups, was interpreted as a central part of their identity entrepreneurship and cultivation of emotional climates. Finally, this investigation was situated within historical accounts of the New Zealand wars (Belgrave, 2017; Belich, 1986) and individual Governors (McLean, 2006), as well as *hierarchical relationalism* (Liu, 2015), which provides a framework for conceptualizing how aristocratic structures are organized.

Overall, the two related studies aim to provide a detailed examination of the processes that have underpinned intergroup relations in New Zealand since historical times. The first study demonstrates a quantitative examination of an implicit racial bias (infrahumanization) through an automated analysis of a large corpus of political speeches. By providing an overall review of New Zealand's Speeches from the Throne (1854-2014), it provides a general overview of patterns of intergroup agency in New Zealand's elite discourses, however, it is not able to capture the depth and complexity underlying these patterns. To address this, the second study provides an in-depth qualitative analysis on speeches from the height of

colonization (1860-1899) and applies broader constructionist theories to examine the rhetorical strategies used by British elites in their colonizing efforts. Despite these varying approaches, both studies aim to unpack how the British colonizing elites had historically undermined the agency of Māori people, while *symbolically including* them in official narratives and discourses. In this way, the two studies seek to provide a balanced picture of the history of intergroup relations in New Zealand.

## Study 1

In research of intergroup relations in New Zealand, there seems to be a lack of explicit and overt forms of racism found in the public discourse. Instead, racism in New Zealand seems to have been complex, subtle and relatively less outwardly egregious in nature since historical times (Liu & Robinson, 2016; McCreanor, 1997; Nairn & McCreanor, 1991; Wetherell & Potter, 1993). As such, it may be worthwhile to examine more subtle racial biases that are communicated implicitly within the language of New Zealand's public or official discourses. To these ends, an automated language tool (NarrCat) is employed in the current study, to analyze the narrative use of *psychological perspective* in public speeches by the Governors (and Governors-General) of New Zealand from the first sitting of its Parliament in 1854 to the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Specifically, rates of psychological perspective that were attributed to Māori, European settlers and the British governing elites are compared in efforts to identify patterns of a common intergroup bias (infrahumanization) as well as patterns influenced by historical and contextual factors of colonization in New Zealand (elitism).

## Introduction

This study seeks to examine an important intergroup phenomena underlying the expression of group identity in New Zealand. In doing so, this study hopes to contribute towards an understanding of how collective group identity has been constructed through time in an extended historical context involving colonization. For the analysis of this study, intergroup processes were analyzed by means of NarrCat, allowing for the automated analysis of a systematic set of texts in New Zealand from 1854-2014. I first review the theoretical and technical background of NarrCat in the following section, to justify its application in the current study.

## **Narrative Categorical Content analysis (NarrCat)**

It has become evident that features and components of language are important means for conveying psychological information (Semin & Fiedler, 1988; Semin, 2000; Turnbull, 1994). In accord with this perspective, recent decades have witnessed an explosive advance in both theories and technology for the quantitative analysis of texts (for reviews see Popping 1997; 2000, Smith 1992, West 2001). Relatively new among these, NarrCat is an automated program that is able to quantitatively analyze language use in relation to psychological processes present in texts (Laszlo et al., 2013).

**Theoretical orientation.** NarrCat performs *narrative categorical content analysis* and provides the toolkit for Scientific Narrative Psychology, a branch of narrative psychology that integrates quantitative methodologies into the study of identity (Laszlo, Ehmann, Polya & Peley, 2007). The main focus of Narrative Psychology is on the interrelationships between language (narratives) and identity (psychological processes). Narratives are understood to act as vehicles for communicating psychological processes, by connecting psychological meaning to events. This psychological meaning is what NarrCat works to decompose in a piece of text(s) (Laszlo, 2008; Laszlo & Ehmann, 2012).

Recent studies on collective identity have bridged individual and group identity processes, demonstrating how processes of individual identity in self-narratives can be related to processes of *group* identity in group-narratives (Laszlo, 2003; Liu and Laszlo, 2007). Furthermore, Narrative Psychology recognizes *social relations* (interpersonal and intergroup relations) as being central to both of these (self-identity and group identity). The aim of Scientific Narrative Psychology is therefore to empirically connect narrative composition to interpersonal or intergroup processes.

**Technical Background.** NarrCat is structured with hierarchically ordered *psycho-thematic modules* that make use of dictionaries and complex grammatical rules. The

hierarchical structure of the program means that dictionary words are arranged into submodules and modules, which can then be combined to hypermodules at higher levels, depending on the aim of the research at hand. The dictionaries within each module first identify words and expressions in the text, that are relevant to that module, and then Local Grammars are applied to perform several technical and grammatical tasks, like the disambiguation of words. These tasks are performed by means of NooJ software (Silberztein, 2003, <http://www.nooj4nlp.net/pages/resources.html>), where grammatical rules are informed by up-to-date developments in Natural Language Processing research. These grammatical components are what allow NarrCat to analyze words in *context*. This is an important methodological advancement because words can often have different meanings according to the grammatical context in which they are being used in a given sentence (Turnbull, 1994). An ongoing goal of language technologies has been to achieve the analysis of more complex linguistic structures, and NarrCat works towards overcoming this methodological problem by considering word *patterns* or configurations, rather than word counts.

NarrCat automates the transformation of sentences in narratives into a composition of psychologically relevant, quantifiable narrative categories (Laszlo et al., 2013). These narrative categories are constituted by the psycho-thematic modules mentioned earlier, which each identify psychological processes relevant for *identity construction* (Laszlo & Ehmann, 2012). As such, the modules act as sensitive indicators of social identity and allow for controlled analyses of the psychological processes involved in identity construction. These modules include agency, evaluation, emotion and cognition. Some of these modules are made up of lower-level submodules (for a comprehensive review of the modules see Laszlo et al., 2013). Through these modules, NarrCat is able to explore who or what group is narrated as acting, evaluating, having emotions and thinking about someone else or some other group within a series of texts.

**Past applications.** NarrCat's modules can be applied and combined in various ways to investigate different research questions. Past applications of NarrCat have explored various psychological processes underlying the construction and transmission of the Hungarian national identity. A narrative of Hungarian national identity organized around collective victimhood (Vollhardt, 2012) was identified by applying NarrCat's modules. For example, Hungary was attributed relatively less agency than other groups in history textbooks (Laszlo, Ferenczhalmy & Szalai, 2010), and a collective emotional pattern emerged where depressive feelings characterized historical self-representations while hostile emotions characterized the depiction of outgroups (Fulop et al., 2013). By mapping words and phrases that characterize intergroup emotions, agency and evaluations in historical texts, NarrCat has enabled researchers to explore social psychological processes underlying the Hungarian collective identity.

### **The Present Research**

To date, NarrCat has only been used to explore the group identity structure of Hungarians, using Hungarian dictionaries for the analysis (Cserto & Laszlo, 2011, Laszlo, Ehmann, & Imre, 2002; Laszlo et al., 2010; Vincze & Laszlo, 2004; Vincze, Ilg & Polya, 2013). Therefore, the current study marks the first application of the English versions of NarrCat's modules. Specifically, the English version of the *Psychological Perspective* module is applied to compare patterns of mental activity attributed to (the present-day dominant) Europeans, the indigenous Māori group, and groups comprising the governing elites of New Zealand. The Psychological Perspective module is made up of the lower-level *cognition*, *emotion* and *intention* submodules. As such, this module identifies words and expressions that describe various internal mental states of individual characters or groups within a series of texts. In addition, the English version of the *dispositional evaluation* sub-



module is applied to compare evaluations of the European group with evaluations of Māori across time.

The Psychological Perspective module has previously been applied for studying patterns of intergroup empathy (Polya, Kis & Naszodi, 2007; Vincze Rein & Laszlo, 2011). These studies highlighted the way in which psychological perspective, as expressed by phrases referring to various mental states in a narrative, can express information about intergroup phenomena. For example, Vincze and colleagues (2011) analyzed patterns of psychological perspective in Hungarian historical narratives, relating psychological perspective attributed to the outgroup with outgroup empathy. More psychological perspective attributed to the outgroup was argued to display a more balanced representation of historical events and therefore indicate greater elaboration and distance from historical trauma (Noor, Brown, Gonzalez, Manzi, & Lewis, 2008).

Indeed, presenting more of the ingroup's psychological perspective has been shown to strengthen ingroup identification whereas presenting inner mental states of the outgroup, enables the reader to empathize with the outgroup as well (Bruner, 1990; Keen, 2006; Liu & Laszlo, 2007). Attributing mental processes to outgroups triggers situational empathy for them, as it facilitates the ability to imagine their internal states (Batson, Early & Salvarani, 1997; Hogan, 2003), and allows the perceiver to not rely on pre-existing (often negative) stereotypes to interpret their behavior (Galinsky & Moskowitz, 2000; Idson & Mischel, 2001). Therefore, shifting the focus to an outgroup's perspective in narratives has been suggested to be promising for decreasing stereotypes and prejudice (Galinsky & Ku, 2004; Vescio, Sechrist, & Paolucci, 2003; Pettigrew, 1997; Stephan & Finlay, 1999). As such, the extent to which narratives distribute psychological perspective to the ingroup and outgroup is important for intergroup relations, which in turn, should be important for structuring group identity.

The theoretical frameworks applied in the current study, for examining the attribution of psychological perspective and evaluation in group narratives, encompasses the four related areas of: 1) Social identity theory 2) Mind perception 3) Infrahumanization 4) Dual model of infrahumanization. These theoretical considerations are then placed within the specific historical context of New Zealand.

### **Social Identity Theory**

Intergroup phenomena are traditionally interpreted and understood within the general framework of social identity theory (SIT). This theory posits that individuals obtain significant aspects of their self-identities from those groups of which they are permanently members of and play an important role in their lives (Tajfel, 1974). Self-categorisation theory (SCT) further refined this by proposing that individuals perceive themselves as interchangeable members of the social group they identify with, in a given social context (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher & Wetherell, 1987). This leads to a situational demand for positive ingroup identity, because positively evaluated group membership is tied to positive self-evaluation. Indeed, it has been demonstrated that the more an individual's personal identity overlaps with their group identity, the more ingroup favoritism they express in comparison to a situationally relevant outgroup (Cadinu & Rothbart, 1996; Smith & Henry, 1996).

Since social identity is conceptualized as a distinct category, distinguishing an ingroup from an outgroup, the ingroup can only gain value by positive distinction from relevant outgroups. This demand for positive social identity is one motivation for intergroup comparison and bias. Groups are oriented towards sense-making processes that provide feelings of superiority, moral justifications for their actions and explanations for threatening events (Turner et al., 1987). Excluding the outgroup's psychological perspective from a narrative allows members of an ingroup to construct a narrative from a self-serving

perspective. The unequal distribution of psychological perspective to the ingroup versus the outgroup can therefore be considered a form of such bias that is motivated by the demand for positive social identity.

### **Mind Perception**

Theories of mind perception can provide further relevant insights into these intergroup phenomena. Mind perception is the study of how people define minds and perceive mind in other individuals and groups (Waytz, Gray, Epley & Wegner, 2010). It involves inferences about another person or group's capacity to engage in complex cognition, experience emotion and act with intention (Ames, 2004; Carruthers & Smith, 1996), thus fulfilling NarrCat's operationalised definition of psychological perspective. Frith & Frith (2003) termed this inferencing as a process of 'mentalizing'. In turn, dementalizing involves the failure to attribute mental states for an agent's actions. Instead, their actions may be explained in terms of events that are external, physical and do not require a mind.

Unsurprisingly, not all minds of others are perceived equally. Those with higher perceived similarity with the self are seen as more mindful (Ames, 2004; Krueger, 1998; Mitchell, McCrae & Banaji, 2006). Mentalizing is also greater for liked, respected and positively evaluated others (McPherson-Frantz & Janoff-Bulman, 2000; Epley & Dunning, 2000; Kozak, Marsh & Wegner, 2006). As such, it is likely that more mental states would be attributed to in-group members while less mind may be attributed to socially distant or negatively viewed outgroups (Hackel, Looser & Van Bavel, 2014).

### **Infrahumanization**

Recently, researchers have bridged a link between mind perception and the theoretical paradigm of *infrahumanization* (Haslam & Loughnan, 2014; Waytz et al., 2010; Waytz & Epley, 2012). Infrahumanization is a well-established intergroup phenomenon, that is broadly conceptualized as the denial of human essence to an outgroup (Leyens et al., 2001). It can be

understood under the general framework of SIT as an intergroup bias that asserts an essentialized superiority for the ingroup: “we” are more human than “them”.

Infrahumanization is an updated take on *dehumanization*. While both are acknowledged to be encompassed by the same underlying phenomena, they vary in degrees of severity (Haslam & Loughnan, 2014). Dehumanization was introduced first and conceptualized as an expression of blatant racism and *absolute* denial of humanness. This was proposed as an extreme phenomenon that occurs under conditions of intergroup conflict, aggression and violence (Kelman, 1973; Staub, 1989). Opatow (1990) claimed dehumanization to be a form of moral exclusion, that placed certain groups (like animals) outside of the space in which moral values and rules of fairness apply. As such, dehumanization allows for an aggressor to morally disengage from the responsibility of harming an outgroup by making the outgroup seem less morally worthy and therefore evoke less compassion (Bandura, 1999).

Dehumanization often involves the tendency to draw an explicit metaphorical link between a person or group, and a nonhuman entity, such as animals or objects. Such anecdotes can be traced back to accounts of early explorers on African coasts who associated its human inhabitants with animals driven by lust and evilness (Jahoda, 1999). This metaphor of animality, where Africans have been associated with apes, Jews with vermin and immigrants with parasites, have persisted throughout the past century and is argued to still endure in modern prejudice today (Loughnan & Haslam, 2007). Recent studies have continued to demonstrate that dehumanization functions as moral exclusion with various target groups including indigenous groups, religious minorities and people of African descent (Cehajic, Brown & Gonzalez, 2009; Goff, Eberhardt, Williams & Jackson, 2008; Tam et al., 2007).

While dehumanization focuses on *absolute* denials of humanness and antipathy, infrahumanization involves a subtle denial of an outgroup's humanity by attributing *relatively* more human essence to the ingroup, and in turn, relatively less human essence to the outgroup (Leyens et al., 2001). Infrahumanization is a much more pervasive tendency that can occur non-consciously and can even occur in the absence of conflict and intergroup antagonism, as long as a meaningful group distinction exists (Demoulin, Cortes, Viki, Rodriguez & Rodriguez, 2009). Since infrahumanization has primarily been studied and demonstrated in national and ethnic comparisons (for reviews see Leyens, Cortes, Demoulin et al., 2003; Leyens, Demoulin, Vaes, Gaunt & Paladino, 2007), it is generally conceptualized as a form of *ethnocentrism*.

Studies that have focused on the infrahumanization of indigenous populations are relevant to the group comparisons of the present study. Castano and Giner-Sorolla (2006) found infrahumanization effects with Australian Aborigines and Native American target groups by British and White American participants respectively. This effect only emerged when participants were primed with perceptions of *collective ingroup responsibility* for the mass deaths of aboriginal peoples during colonization. After reading that colonization and intentional killings led to mass deaths of these indigenous groups in the past, White participants perceived less humanness in them than when they read that these indigenous groups died from accidental causes. These results suggest that infrahumanization can act as a mechanism of *moral rationalization*, that psychologically protects individuals from reminders of their ingroup's wrongdoings.

The human essence or 'humanness' that is denied in infrahumanization, has most commonly been associated with capacities for intelligence, language and refined emotions (Leyens et al., 2000; Leyens et al., 2003, Demoulin et al., 2004). However, studies have demonstrated a range of other infrahumanization effects including the denial of human

suffering (Riva & Andrighetto, 2012), as well as the denial of human traits and values (Haslam & Bain, 2007; Hodson & Costello, 2007; Heflick & Goldenberg, 2009).

Processes of *dementalization*, which originate from theories of mind perception (Frith & Frith, 2003), have been conceptualised as being equivalent to infrahumanization. Therefore *mentalization* can be considered the inverse process of infrahumanization (Waytz & Epley, 2012). Therefore, in the current study, the term mentalization is used to describe the attribution of psychological perspective to a subject, whereas the term infrahumanization is used to describe the opposite phenomena, i.e. a *lack* of psychological perspective being attributed to a subject. This is appropriate because everything that defines humanness seems to be fundamentally tied to the *mind* in some way.

The three trademarks of ‘humanness’ mentioned earlier- intelligence, language and refined emotions, all involve mental capacity to some extent. Furthermore, Harris and Fiske (2006) used neuroscience methods and found that the social cognition area of the brain was less likely to activate when participants perceived a dehumanized target. Infrahumanization can therefore be defined as a “failure to spontaneously consider another individual’s *mind*” (Harris & Fiske, 2006). That is, without perceiving minds, people are not perceiving others as people. Thus, studying intergroup patterns of psychological perspective may provide some insight to how and why people fail to acknowledge the full human essence of fellow human beings. Not acknowledging the psychological perspective of an outgroup can be translated as a denial of mind to that group and consequently, a denial of humanness to that group. While acknowledging the psychological perspective of an outgroup allows perceivers to empathize with their experiences as fellow humans, denying the psychological perspective of an outgroup denies their humanness and consequently does the opposite.

## Dual model of Infrachumanization

Since the initial formulation of infrachumanization, more complex and nuanced accounts of the phenomena have emerged. Haslam, Bain, Douge, Lee and Bastian (2005) introduced the dual model of infrachumanization, which distinguishes between two separate dimensions of humanness: *human uniqueness* and *human nature*. Human uniqueness encompasses attributes that capture human complexity, like cognitive capacity, intelligence, self-control, sophistication and moral sensibility. Human nature consists of more core human attributes like emotions, warmth and vitality. Denying human uniqueness means to deny the abstract and higher-level capacities that distinguish humans from other animals. Denying human nature means to deny fundamental and normative attributes of living entities more generally and is therefore more extreme.

These distinct but related dimensions have been well-established. Haslam and colleagues (2005) found uniquely human traits to be uncorrelated with perceived human nature. Loughnan and Haslam (2007) also found that groups stereotyped as lacking human nature were implicitly associated with *objects* while groups stereotyped as lacking human uniqueness were implicitly associated with *animals*. Furthermore, Vaes & Paladino (2010) found perceptions of human uniqueness to be driven by perceptions of *group competence*, while perceptions of human nature were driven by more general perceptions. Since human nature tends to be more universally attributed, the differential attribution of *uniquely human traits* seems to be what largely drives biases of infrachumanization.

Mirroring this development in the infrachumanization literature, mind perception has also been distinguished into two separate dimensions: *agency* and *experience* (Gray, Gray & Wegner, 2007; Epley & Waytz, 2010). The former involves capacities for reasoned thought and strategic planning, while the latter involves the capacity to experience emotions and basic psychological states.

These distinct dimensions of mind perception extend support for the two dimensions of humanness proposed by Haslam and colleagues (2005). That is, agency can be considered a uniquely human attribute, while experience can be considered as being part of human nature. Thus, when a group is denied human uniqueness, they are denied agency and when a group's human nature is denied, their basic capacity for experiencing emotions is denied (Gray et al., 2007; Vaes & Paladino, 2010). Although these terms may be used interchangeably, for ease of interpretation in the current study, *agency* is used as the standard term for describing higher-level, abstract human traits.

Bringing this research into the domain at hand, NarrCat's Psychological Perspective module can be broken down into specific mental capacities that map on to the different dimensions of humanness. The mental capacities of the cognition and intention modules constitute *agency*, because they are associated with the higher-level abilities to plan and act. On the other hand, the emotion module is associated with basic experience, and this is considered to be a more fundamental part of human nature (Epley & Waytz, 2012; Gray et al., 2007). As such, greater cognition and intention should be attributed to the dominant group while attributions of emotion should be more evenly spread across groups.

Furthermore, Kozak and colleagues (2006) found that perceptions of a subject's cognition and intention were influenced by how positively the perceiver felt towards the subject, but perceptions of emotion were not. This suggests that perceptions of agency (cognition, intention) tend to be more readily attributed to *ingroup* members than socially distant outgroup members, while perceptions of emotional experience are more universal.

Because mind and humanness determine an entity's moral worth and value (Haslam et al., 2005, Gray et al., 2007), perceptions of mental capacities have implications for an entity's moral status. Perceiving an entity's agency affords them *moral responsibility*. This is because their capacity to engage in reasoned thought and planning qualifies them to make



moral decisions. On the other hand, perceiving an entity's human nature engenders empathy for them and makes them worthy of *moral consideration*. This is because their capacity to feel emotions and therefore feel suffering and pain is acknowledged (Gray et al., 2007; Waytz et al., 2010). In these ways, perceiving mind and humanness in others have implications on moral action and ethical treatment.

In sum, infrahumanization biases are primarily driven by the denial of *agency* traits, like cognition and intention, to outgroups that are typically considered subordinate or inferior. Agency and moral responsibility are therefore reserved only for the dominant ingroup. *Human nature* and the capacity for conscious experience of emotions on the other hand, is acknowledged more universally. Moral patiency is therefore afforded to most groups.

### **New Zealand Context**

It is important to consider how these theories of infrahumanization might be applied to the specific context of the current study. The indigenous (Polynesian) Māori population of New Zealand was colonized by the British in the 19<sup>th</sup> century through a mixture of negotiation/persuasion and violence (Belgrave, 2017; Belich, 1986). The first is represented by the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840 between Māori chieftains and the British Crown (Orange, 2004), and the second is represented by the New Zealand Wars (Belich, 1986).

Historically, the structure of British society was hierarchical, with God at the top providing guidance for the sovereign, who in turn benevolently guided the governing elites, who in turn led ordinary people. The British Queen is still formally the Head of State for New Zealand, and the Governor-General is delegated authority as her representative, even though a democratically elected Parliament wields sovereign power in this Commonwealth of the British Empire.

In Liu and Robinson's (2016) thematic analysis of New Zealand's Speeches from the Throne, the dominant discourse that emerged was labelled as the *Enlightenment discourse*. This discourse encompasses themes of rationality, morality, progress and benevolence as determining one's level of *civilizational superiority*. By tacitly reinforcing that British laws and customs were more rational and moral than those of other social and political systems, these discourses justified the moral, social and political superiority of the British as benevolent colonizers.

Liu and Robinson's analysis did not find much evidence for explicit, overt or traditional racism in New Zealand's Speeches from the Throne. Indeed, a key part of Enlightenment discourse is rationality, which involves positioning oneself as fair, reasonable and egalitarian (Billig, 1988). This allows one to plausibly deny their racism, providing room for more subtle and covert forms of modern racism to take ground. As such, the infrahumanizing of Māori, which is a more subtle form of ethnocentric bias, may appear as a manifestation of racism within the context of Enlightenment discourses rather than egregious racism (e.g. claims of inferiority).

Liu and Robinson (2016) also observed that accusations against Māori for barbarism appeared more often during times of heavy conflict while expressions of affection towards Māori were prevalent during times of low conflict. These findings are consistent with the historian Belich's (1986) observation that racist statements about Māori were often accompanied by acknowledgment of their positive qualities. This reflects the broader European double-gaze of indigenous people where indigenous people were historically depicted through images of the bestial savage, as barbarous, brutally violent beings, along with the complementary image of the innocent savage, as beings of nature; child-like and free of modern corruptions (Salmond, 1992).

McCreanor (1997) analyzed an 1839 text from a book published by the New Zealand Company to investigate this double-gaze phenomena in the context of colonization in New Zealand. Historical perceptions of Māori people did indeed seem to reflect the European double-gaze. In this context, Māori were ascribed to a savage state that also acknowledged their potential to evolve to higher civilisation, assisted by the benevolence of Great Britain. They were described as being barbarous, yet the image of a child was also frequently used to convey their potential for development.

These interpretive devices, formulated as the *Good Māori, Bad Māori discourse*, served a dual function whereby colonists could justify the punishment of those Māori who did not conform to their ideals, while benefitting from the support from those who did, without compromising their overall belief in European benevolence and superiority (McCreanor, 1997). This also worked in favour of the wider Enlightenment discourse, by framing colonists as benevolent and morally superior in their efforts to uplift an “imperfectly enlightened people” to greater civilisation (Liu & Robinson, 2016).

When the dual model of infrahumanization is applied to these discourses, we can see how agency was placed with the British colonists. Māori were perceived to lack higher civilisation, and therefore lack the higher-level capacities like self-control and rational thinking, that the British colonists possessed. Furthermore, by benevolently wanting to elevate Māori and guide them towards civilizational progress, the colonists, especially the British governing elites, were framed as being *morally responsible*, while Māori were framed as passive subjects, or *moral patients*, in need of moral guidance.

Discourses of Enlightenment and Good Māori, Bad Māori functioned to determine the inclusion and exclusion of Māori in New Zealand society during colonisation. Māori who were perceived as being successfully enlightened to British ideals were accepted by colonists (McCreanor, 1997), and therefore likely to be humanized. Other Māori who challenged

British authority were excluded and portrayed as being violent, lawless, uncivilised and therefore, less human. These contrasts divided Māori against each other while allowing the British side to appear as benevolent and morally superior.

Today, Europeans are the dominant group with 74% identifying as being of European origins and 15% Māori in the New Zealand population, according to the 2013 census. The dominant group of New Zealand Europeans is now regarded alongside a Māori minority as symbolic partners in a bicultural representation of national identity (Liu & Hilton, 2005; Sibley & Liu, 2013; Sibley & Liu, 2007).

### **Hypotheses**

In the present study, NarrCat was applied for the automated analysis of New Zealand's Speeches from the Throne. Since the establishment of Parliament in 1854, the Speeches from the Throne, delivered by the Governor<sup>1</sup> (or Governor-General from 1917 onwards), have regularly communicated the Government's legislative agenda on behalf of the ruling party or government. These speeches also formally signal the opening of each session of parliamentary proceedings after a change of government. As such, these speeches give insight to elite discourses that were communicated to a primarily European public and official audience, which also included a Māori minority. All speeches from the opening of the first session of Parliament in 1854 up until 2014 were analyzed (see Liu & Robinson, 2016 for details of this corpus).

The theoretical and historical considerations discussed, lead to the following hypotheses for the automated narrative analysis of Speeches from the Throne:

1. a) According to theories of inhumanization, racial groups have the tendency to reserve more human essence and thus more mental states to their ingroup. Therefore, less psychological perspective should be attributed to Māori than European settlers.

- b) According to the dual model of infrahumanization, more abstract human traits are attributed to members of the dominant group, while emotional experience is more universally attributed. Since the British has historically claimed civilizational superiority, more *cognition and intention* should be attributed to settlers than Māori, while there should be no differences in the attribution of *emotion* between the two groups.

That is, while the *overall* measure of psychological perspective should be higher for settlers than Māori (Hypothesis 1a), when broken down, these differences should be driven by differences in cognition and intention specifically (Hypothesis 1b).

2. a) Given that the speeches represent a form of elite discourse, the most psychological perspective should be attributed to the British governing elites.
- b) British governing elites have historically been positioned higher than ordinary people in the social hierarchy of all colonial societies including New Zealand. Therefore, they should be attributed more abstract human traits (cognition and intention) than all other groups, while no differences are expected in the attribution of emotion between British governing elites and other groups.
3. Since infrahumanization biases tend to be stronger under conditions of conflict, infrahumanization of Māori should be strongest during the New Zealand wars period (mid to late 19<sup>th</sup> century).
4. According to SIT, ingroups are motivated to maintain a positive distinctiveness over outgroups: given the settler government of New Zealand, Māori are expected to be more *negatively evaluated* compared to the European settlers overall.
5. The ‘Good Māori, Bad Māori’ discourse shows how attitudes towards Māori during colonization were complex, with overtly positive and negative judgments often occurring together. Therefore, Māori should be ascribed higher rates of *both* positive

and negative evaluations than European settlers, especially during colonial times (19<sup>th</sup> century).

## Method

### Text Corpus

The dataset for the current study included all Speeches from the Throne from 1854 to 2014 (163 total; ranging from 222 to 6101 words,  $M = 2021$ ). Copies of the historical speeches (1854-1999) were collected from the New Zealand National Library's Papers Past database ([paperspast.natlib.govt.nz](http://paperspast.natlib.govt.nz)) as computer-generated transcripts of scanned newspaper articles. These transcripts were edited for accuracy on Nvivo10. More recent speeches (2000-2014), were collected from transcripts available in electronic format on the New Zealand Parliament website (<http://www.parliament.nz>) (see also Liu & Robinson, 2016 for details).

Word searches were performed on these speeches, in order to gather only the extracts that were relevant to intergroup relations. Search words included prevalent terms and labels referring to Māori as a group or individuals (Māori, native, aborigine, chief, tribe and iwi), Europeans as a group or individuals (colonist, settler, British, Colonial, European, English, our race, founders and Pākehā), symbols of the colony's founding treaty between Māori and settlers (Waitangi and Treaty) and general intergroup terminologies (race and ethnicity). The contexts of each returned word and word stem were reviewed to confirm the relevance of the extract. For example, extracts containing the word 'chief' were included only when referring to a Māori chief, and extracts containing the word 'British' were included only when referring to British settlers in New Zealand. The length of each extract was determined by representation of a single topical discursive unit. This process resulted in a total of 413 extracts, with a range from 0 to 9 extracts identified in any single speech ( $M = 2.53$ ). The length of individual extracts ranged from a single sentence to several paragraphs (8-552 words,  $M = 114$ ). In most decades, around 20 extracts related to Māori were identified. Due to the increasingly bicultural nature and politics of New Zealand during the postcolonial period, terms referencing Europeans exclusively were only identified up until 1935. Subsequently,

different terms were used (like immigrant) that are not explicitly ethnically marked, and therefore inappropriate for inclusion in this analysis. In most decades up until 1935, around 10 extracts related to European settlers were identified.

### **Linguistic Analysis**

To analyze the extracts, the English version of the Psychological Perspective module of the NarrCat software was used. The Psychological Perspective module identifies words and expressions in texts, that describe inner mental states or processes of actors. It combines matches from the two modules of Cognition and Emotion, and the sub-module of Intention (a sub-module of the Agency module). The extracts were run through these modules and words were checked against their built-in dictionaries. During this process, linguistic analysis of each word was performed by means of the NooJ software (Silberztein, 2003, <http://www.nooj4nlp.net/pages/resources.html>). In linguistic analysis, each word is tagged with the appropriate grammatical label by the program (e.g. verb, noun, determinant, preposition).

### **Word Pattern Analysis**

NarrCat analyzes patterns of words appearing together in a text, through programmed grammatical algorithms. Thus, the words identified by the Dictionaries are then entered as input for the Local Grammars (LGs) for the next step of the analysis. LGs include disambiguation rules, exclusions and textual variables for analysing syntax (see Laszlo et al., 2013 for details). The linguistic analysis performed at the first step of analysis makes these algorithms more effective in two ways. Firstly, it allows dictionaries to list only the grammatical label (indicated within brackets of '<' and '>' in Figure 1). There is no need to list all word forms since the linguistic analysis relates word forms to their grammatical label. Secondly, the grammatical labels that have been tagged to each word are used by the algorithms to recognise grammatical *sequences* of words. That is, algorithms are able to



recognise occurrences of words that are preceded by certain grammatical units as a correct hit while recognising occurrences of words that are preceded by other grammatical units as an incorrect hit. Algorithms of Local Grammars are thus able to semantically disambiguate multiple meanings of words by considering them in their context, and distinguish words with the appropriate meaning from those with a different meaning. This minimizes the occurrence of false hits in the analysis. For example, in the first pathway of Figure 1, the algorithm would recognise ‘fall’ as a cognitive reference because it is followed by the preposition ‘for’ and a noun (abbreviated as N) (e.g. she falls for him). The second pathway of Figure 1 shows how local grammars can avoid false hits. This part of the algorithm would recognise that if the verb of ‘fall’ is followed by the preposition of ‘through’ and then a determinant (abbreviated as DET) and finally a noun, it would not constitute a true cognitive reference (e.g. she falls through a plank).

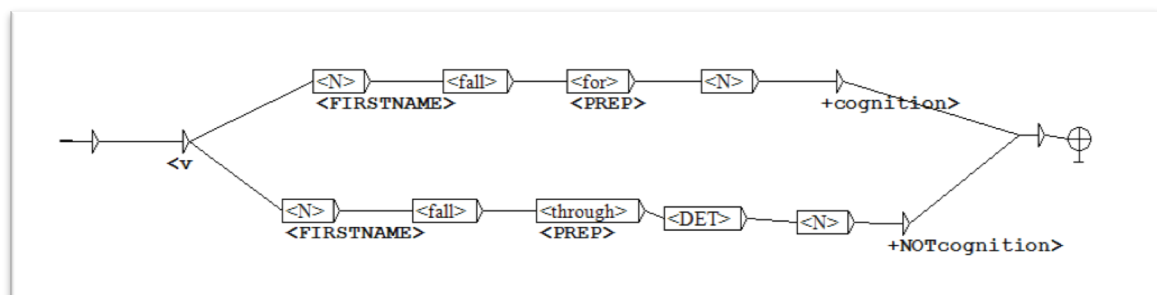


Figure 1. Example of an algorithm pathway recognising a true cognitive hit and avoiding a false hit

Each module listed below, applies these word pattern recognition sequences to the words identified by the dictionaries.

**Cognition submodule.** The Cognition module identifies linguistic markers of cognition in our text. These include verbs, nouns, idioms and more complex linguistic structures which describe mental processes of acquiring knowledge and all other types of mental operations. The module also identifies verbs and nouns that describe auditory and visual perception as elements of human cognition. An example of a Cognition hit from an extract (underlined words are hits identified by NarrCat):

*“My Ministers believe that the time has arrived when the whole question of dealing with native lands should be treated upon a basis in accord with the advancing knowledge of the native race.”*

(Crown/Government gets a cognitive hit for “believe”; Māori get a cognitive hit for “knowledge”)

**Emotion submodule.** The Emotion submodule identifies linguistic markers of the emotionality of actors in the text. These include verbs, nouns, adjectives, and idioms relating to all kinds of emotional states and processes. An example of an Emotion hit from an extract:

*“It gives me much pleasure to meet you in Parliament assembled”*

(Narrator/Governor gets a hit for emotion)

**Intention submodule.** The Intention submodule identifies descriptions of behavioural intentions of actors. These include intentional auxiliary verbs, intentional nouns, adverbs and expressions. An example of an Intention hit from an extract:

*“My Ministers have endeavoured to afford to selectors as wide a choice as the nature of the lands now held by the Crown would admit of.”*

(Crown/Government gets a hit for intention)

**Disposition submodule.** In addition to the Psychological Perspective module, the extracts were also entered into the English version of the Disposition sub-module (a sub-module of Evaluation). This sub-module identifies explicit positive or negative judgments of dispositions attributed to actors in the text. Linguistic markers for these include evaluative dispositional adjectives, and combinations of general evaluative adjectives and nouns, that communicate a certain disposition. An example of a Disposition hit from an extract:

*“Active operations in the field, for the protection of our settlements, and for the defence of*

*our loyal native fellow subjects, have been necessary during the past year.”*

(Māori get a hit for positive evaluation of disposition)

### **Social Reference Coding**

Independent coders removed all false hits that emerged from the reported tallies and then manually performed social reference coding where the correct hits identified by the modules were mapped to their respective actors. The main actors<sup>2</sup> that emerged were Narrator (Governor or Governor-General), Crown (the British sovereign and his/her government in New Zealand), Parliament (popularly elected national representatives), Māori, European settlers and finally, a collective category comprising *both* Māori and European settlers (the people of New Zealand).

The rules for social reference coding were as follows. Actors of hits referencing Māori, natives, chief, tribe, iwi and indigenous and aboriginal people were coded as ‘Māori’ (e.g. *A dangerous sympathy with the insurgents has, however been displayed by the Waikato tribes*). The actor was coded as ‘settlers’ for hits referencing British and European settlers, colonists, as well as ‘Pākehā’, members of ‘our race’, and Colonial soldiers. Local individual officials like statesmen and military officials were also coded as ‘settlers’ by default (e.g. *These settlers courageously endure many hardships...*). The actor was coded as ‘Both Māori and settlers’ for hits that explicitly referenced both groups collectively, or referenced the people of New Zealand in more general terms. These included inhabitants, people of the colony, people of New Zealand or any combination of labels for Māori and European settlers (e.g. *I pray that your labours may, under the blessing of Providence, conduce to the prosperity of the Colony and the happiness of the two races which inhabit it*). Hits that were stated in first person were coded to the ‘Narrator’ (e.g. *It has afforded me much satisfaction to have been able to give effect to the wish expressed by me at the close of the last session*).

Hits that referenced the narrator's advisers, ministers, home government, the Sovereign or Her Majesty were coded to the 'Crown' (e.g. *On the contrary, her Majesty's Government has declared its intention to adhere to its previous decision*). Hits that referenced the Parliament of New Zealand or were stated by the narrator in second person were coded to 'Parliament'. Any considerations of submitted bills were also coded to be acted by 'Parliament' (e.g. *You have learnt with regret of the troubles at Samoa, and the loss of life that has taken place there*).

## Reliability

The reliability of NarrCat's analysis has been summarized by two measures. The measure of *recall* was computed as the ratio of the number of units identified correctly by automated coding and the number of units coded automatically under that code. The measure of *sensitivity* was computed as the ratio of the number of units identified correctly by automated coding and the number of units coded under the corresponding human code. These measures were 88,94 % and 77,44 % respectively. The values of these measures indicate that NarrCat performs a reliable analysis.

In the analysis, NarrCat was able to distinguish between different grammatical sequences of words. For example, the word 'regard' was not coded as a hit in the phrase: *"Steps are being taken for the holding of a full inquiry into the existence and extent of the alleged unfulfilled promises in regard to lands."*

On the other hand, 'regard' was correctly coded as a cognitive hit in the following phrase, given the grammatical sequence of words:

*"I can not but regard the cordial manner in which I have been everywhere received"*

Similarly, the word 'respect' was not coded when appearing in a sequence such as:

*"In respect to the method of taking applications and dealing with the same, unforeseen difficulties have occurred"*

On the other hand, ‘respect’ was coded correctly as an emotion hit in sequences like:

*“His Majesty and his heir have won a personal regard and respect through and by means of which our loyalty is strengthened...”*

False hits mainly emerged when a cognitive, emotional, intentional or dispositional word was not attributed to any specific actor. For example:

*“...it may be doubted whether any portion of Her Majesty 's subjects, enjoy in more abundant measure the blessings of peace and plenty...”*

False hits also emerged in cases where the text referenced *future* cognitive, emotional or intentional activity rather than mental activity that has been acknowledged to have actually taken place.

*“we have reason to believe that favourable consideration will be given to their suggestions for its amendment.”*

Ambiguous hits emerged when the exact actor that the hit was attributed to was vague and unclear, and these were also removed from the reported tallies. An example of an ambiguous cognitive hit:

*“The discovery of new gold fields in the Southern Island, the satisfactory prospects of the older ones...”*

## Results

Patterns of psychological perspective and dispositional evaluations of the main actors in the texts were examined with multinomial analysis of variance using a Maximum Likelihood Chi-Square test statistic (Woodward, Bonnett & Brecht, 1990). Overall patterns of cognition, emotion, intention and dispositional evaluation for each actor can be seen in Table 1, and patterns of psychological perspective for each actor by time period can be seen in Table 2.

There was no infrahumanization effect on Māori compared to European settlers overall, going against Hypothesis 1a. Instead, there was a moderate infrahumanization effect in the opposite direction, with European settlers being infrahumanized compared to Māori overall,  $\chi^2 (1, 140) = 5.6, p < .018$ . As shown in Table 1 (rows 4 and 5), settlers were attributed significantly less psychological perspective than Māori overall.

There were no significant differences between European settlers and Māori in inferences of *both* cognition,  $\chi^2 (1, 30) = 0.133, p > .500$ , and emotion,  $\chi^2 (1, 88) = 1.136, p < .286$ . As shown in Table 1 (rows 4 and 5), inferences of cognition, a higher-level human attribute, were *not* significantly higher for European settlers than Māori, going against Hypothesis 1b. Comparisons of intention were not included as the overall frequencies of intention hits were relatively low.

There was a significant infrahumanization effect of ordinary people (Māori and European settlers) compared to British governing elites (Crown, Parliament, narrator) overall, supporting Hypothesis 2a. As shown in Table 1 (rows 1, 2, 3 compared to rows 4, 5, 6), ordinary people were attributed significantly less psychological perspective than British governing elites overall,  $\chi^2 (1, 669) = 126.6, p < .001$ .

Table 1

*Frequencies of cognition, emotion, intention and positive and negative dispositional evaluations attributed to each actor overall*

<u>Actor</u>	<u>Psychological Perspective</u>			<u>Evaluations</u>	
	<u>Cognition</u>	<u>Emotion</u>	<u>Intention</u>	<u>Positive</u>	<u>Negative</u>
<i>Elites</i>					
1. Crown	129	52	19	57	1
2. Narrator	80	150	12	15	1
3. Parliament	28	6	4	37	0
<i>Ordinary people</i>					
4. Māori	16	49	16	95	18
5. Settlers	14	39	3	61	1
6. Both Māori and Settlers	9	41	2	86	1
Totals (N=1042)	276	337	56	351	22

There were significant differences in cognition and emotion between ordinary people (Māori and European settlers) and British governing elites<sup>3</sup> (Crown and Parliament),  $\chi^2 (1, 383)=126.55, p<.001$ . As shown in Table 1, British governing elites (Crown and Parliament) had significantly higher *cognition* than ordinary people (Māori and European settlers), being in line with Hypothesis 2b. Interestingly, ordinary people had significantly higher *emotion* than the British governing elites overall.

Further supporting this pattern, the British governing elites had significantly greater *cognition* than emotion within their overall psychological perspective. On the other hand, ordinary people had significantly greater *emotion* than cognition within their overall psychological perspective, as shown in Figure 2,  $\chi^2 (1, 383)=125.472, p<.001$ .

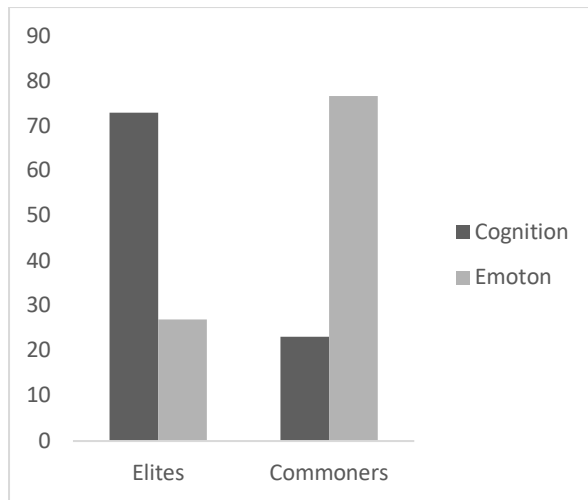


Figure 2. Percentages of cognitive and emotional inferences of British elites and ordinary people in New Zealand overall

There was no infrahumanization effect on Māori during wartime (1854-1883), compared to a later time period (1884-1913),  $\chi^2 (1, 71)=0.014, p>.5$ , disconfirming Hypothesis 3. Māori were *not* attributed less psychological perspective during wartime compared to later time periods, as shown in Table 2 (row 4). Contrary to Hypothesis 3, Māori were attributed the *most* psychological perspective during the wartime period.

Table 2

*Frequencies of psychological perspective attributed to each actor by 30-year periods*

Actor	1854-1883	1884-1913	1914-1943	1944-1973	1974-2013
<i>Elites</i>					
1. Crown	51	72	36	32	9
2. Narrator	121	62	36	21	2
3. Parliament	18	6	0	5	9
<i>Ordinary people</i>					
4. Māori	36	35	5	1	4
5. Settlers	31	19	6	0	0
6. Both Māori and Settlers	20	7	9	14	2
Totals (N=669)	277	201	92	73	26



Consistent with Hypothesis 4, Māori had a significantly *less positive* ratio of dispositional evaluations than settlers  $\chi^2 (1, 175)=14.224, p<.001$ . As shown in Table 1 (rows 4 and 5) and Figure 3, dispositional evaluations of European settlers had a significantly more positive ratio than Māori overall, thus Māori were evaluated more negatively than settlers overall.

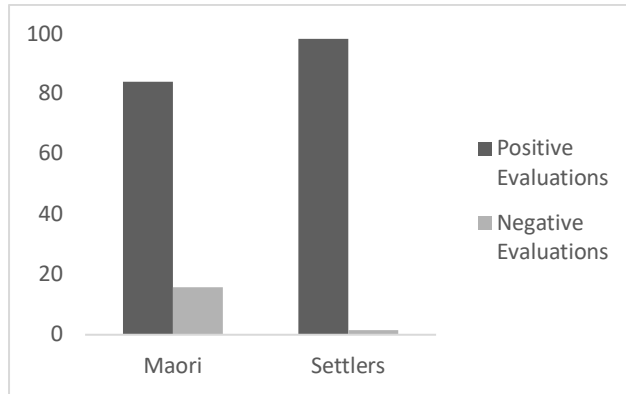


Figure 3. Percentages of positive and negative dispositional evaluations of Māori and European settlers

As shown in Table 3, Māori were ascribed significantly greater positive *and* negative evaluations *than European settlers* in colonial times  $\chi^2 (1, 141)=7.723, p<.005$ , and they were also ascribed significantly greater positive and negative evaluations *in colonial times* compared to postcolonial times  $\chi^2 (1, 113)=32.929, p<.001$ . This is consistent with the final hypothesis that *both* positive and negative evaluations of Māori would have been more prevalent than evaluations of European settlers, especially during the colonial period.

Table 3

*Frequencies of dispositional evaluations of each group in colonial and post-colonial times*

Actor	Colonial (1854-1916)		Post-Colonial (1917-2014)	
	Positive	Negative	Positive	Negative
Māori	70	17	25	1
Europeans	53	1	8	0

Note. The time periods were selected on the basis of the shift in representative from Governor to Governor-General in 1917

## Discussion

The present research examined overall patterns of group-based psychological perspective (and evaluations) in New Zealand's governing discourses, in efforts to identify patterns of infrahumanization. This was done by using NarrCat to map cognitive, emotional and intentional inferences to actors within the texts. Through its narrative categories of cognition, emotion and intention, the program was able to identify and quantitatively measure inferences of various mental states and processes in a series of political speech extracts. Furthermore, through the sub-category of dispositional evaluation, NarrCat allowed the comparison of how Māori and European groups were evaluated. As such, NarrCat demonstrated its ability to quantitatively study ingroup-outgroup processes in texts. Moreover, the present study demonstrated how NarrCat can provide a step towards sophisticated grammatical analysis, beyond word counts of simple categories, to make direct and complex psychological inferences from texts.

Based on the theoretical frameworks of SIT, mind perception, and infrahumanization, the present research argued that patterns of psychological perspective in New Zealand's Speeches from the Throne would correspond to infrahumanization biases against Māori. The patterns identified by NarrCat in this particular set of texts, did not support an argument of infrahumanization based on ethnocentric bias. Instead, the findings support an argument of infrahumanization that is primarily motivated to assert the agency and therefore moral responsibility of *governing elites* over the rest of society. The most important findings to note from the present research are:

- 1) Māori were *not* infrahumanized compared to European settlers in Speeches from the Throne, even during periods of high racial conflict.
- 2) British elites were consistently attributed greater psychological perspective, in the form of greater *cognition*, than all ordinary people.

Overall, the findings suggest an alternative conceptualization of infrahumanization in New Zealand's Speeches from the Throne. Patterns of infrahumanization in these texts were more in line with contextual and historical factors related to *elitism* of the British Empire, than traditional intergroup theories based on racism or ethnocentrism.

### **Infrahumanization driven by Elitism**

The prediction that Māori would be infrahumanized compared to European settlers was not supported. Instead, Māori were consistently attributed slightly *greater* psychological perspective than the settlers. Therefore, the findings go against traditional understandings of infrahumanization as a form of ethnocentrism, and it appears that infrahumanization of Māori was not part of the official colonizing discourse in New Zealand.

On the other hand, the prediction that the British governing elites, would be attributed more psychological perspective than both Māori and ordinary settlers was supported. Specifically, the narrator was attributed more psychological perspective than all other groups during colonial times. However, by postcolonial times, the Crown overtook the narrator, reflecting the shift in narrator from Governor to Governor-General. While the Governor spoke on behalf of his own Government, the Governor-General spoke only for the British Crown and was not part of the government itself. The relatively low psychological perspective attributed to parliament could be expected, given that the purpose of the speeches was to inform the parliament of the incoming government's legislative agendas.

The prediction that European settlers would be attributed greater higher-level human capacities than Māori was not supported. Māori and settlers were attributed similar levels of both cognition and emotion overall. Again, it was only the British governing elites (i.e. Crown, Parliament) who were attributed higher *cognition*, an abstract human trait, than other groups. Interestingly, attributions of *emotion* were higher for Māori and settlers compared to the governing elites, especially during colonial times. These differences were also reflected in

the way psychological perspective was attributed to each group. The psychological perspectives of the Crown and Parliament were mostly made up of *cognitive* inferences, while the psychological perspectives of Māori and Settlers were mostly made up of *emotional* inferences.

In the extracts, psychological perspectives of British governing elites seemed to primarily be constituted by cognitive hits involved in decision-making. An example from the text:

*“The danger and difficulties of the position were judged by my Government only to increase with the continued exercise of forbearance, and it was resolved that the periodical meetings of Natives at Parihaka should be no longer allowed to be held.”*

On the other hand, psychological perspectives of Māori and settlers were mainly constituted by emotional hits such as:

*“to prevent them (Māori) from returning for the present to Parihaka, or recommencing an agitation which has long caused alarm and apprehension of danger among the settlers on the West Coast. I am assured that confidence in the tranquility of the district is established, and that a feeling of security exists among the inhabitants which has been long unknown to them.”*

Bringing these findings together, European settlers were not attributed more agency than Māori. Only psychological perspectives of the British governing elites were defined by the higher-level human capacity for thought, while psychological perspectives of all other groups were defined by the more universal capacity for feeling emotions. As such, predictions based on intergroup theories of ethnocentrism (Hypotheses 1a and 1b) were not supported, while predictions based on contextual and historical factors of *elitism* in New Zealand were supported (Hypotheses 2a and 2b).

Considering these findings in the context of wider historical factors, it is plausible that patterns of inhumanization in the official discourse of New Zealand, would have been driven more strongly by differences in *class* than racial differences. The pattern of results suggests that the dominant hierarchy in the Speeches from the Throne, divided groups into *elites versus non-elites*, rather than into British versus Māori. This is consistent with arguments that some historians have made about the British Empire and its hierarchies. Some historical accounts suggest that racial notions did not occupy a big part of British thought, at least until the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and this was largely driven by the need to defend the idea of a “Greater Britain” as a *multi-ethnic* and *multi-national* empire (Mandler, 2000, 2001, see also Jones, 2006). The British sense of superiority was argued to stem from achievement of the highest level of *civilization*, rather than being based on a racial hierarchy. The British colonizers were also interested in seeing this civilization grow through the colonization of non-British peoples. As such, it is likely that hierarchies were officially rooted in differences in social and political sophistication than innate differences fixed by ethnicity (Hudson, 1996). This is in line with the *Enlightenment discourse* where ideas of civilization, universality and claims of liberalism were central to the legitimization of British imperialism (Liu & Robinson, 2016).

When the findings of the present study are interpreted through more contextual and historically grounded frameworks, a distribution of agency that is based on elite-status can be understood. By attributing more higher-level human capacities to the British governing elites in the Speeches from the Throne, their agency and status as the dominant group were implicitly reinforced (Epley & Waytz, 2010). On the other hand, the psychological perspective attributed to Māori and ordinary settlers primarily served to acknowledge their inherent human nature rather than higher-level, abstract capacities. According to dual model of inhumanization, this implies that the governing elites are *morally responsible* and

positions them as the moral agents of society (Epley & Waytz. 2010; Haslam et al., 2005). In turn, not only the Māori, but ordinary settlers are also positioned as morally naïve subjects, in need of moral protection and guidance.

On a related note, the lack of infrahumanization of Māori<sup>4</sup> compared to settlers could be interpreted as a device that also works in favour of Enlightenment discourses.

Representing the mental states of Māori and settlers relatively *equally* is consistent with enlightenment notions of *universal potential* (Liu and Robinson, 2016). That is, Māori were historically ascribed equal potential as their European counterparts, and *both* were expected to live up to the ideals of enlightenment. Only by living up to such ideals, which were enforced by the governing elites, could they be accepted and included in this society. The important point is that, Māori and settlers are placed on equal grounds so that Māori are framed as possessing just as much *potential* for enlightenment as British settlers. This implies that punishment is deserved for those Māori choosing not to live up to their ‘enlightenment potential’.

The position of moral responsibility assigned to the British elites comes with the responsibility for guiding both Māori and ordinary settlers towards correct moral and social standards. This is consistent with Liu and Robinson’s (2016) formulation of *benevolent tutelage* as an important part of the Enlightenment discourse during colonial times.

Benevolent tutelage invokes the hierarchical ordering of God, sovereign, elites and ordinary people. By being positioned as the link between God/sovereign and the people, the governing elites could be positioned as benevolent leaders who were morally bound to protecting and guiding their inferiors under God’s blessing.

Interestingly, emotional inferences of Māori were higher than it was for all other groups, except the narrator, during colonial times. Since the capacity for Māori to feel emotions was explicitly acknowledged, this would have granted them some protection from

active harm (Waytz et al., 2010). Even though in actuality Māori were marginalized and force was often used against them, at least in the official discourse, Māori were positioned as being entitled to some rights and protection. This is markedly different from how other exploited indigenous groups were represented during colonization, including Aboriginal Australians and Africans (Bell, 2006). This plays into the ‘standard story’ which models Māori/Pākehā relations as the world’s best model of race relations (Fisher, 1980), and reinforces the benevolence of British elites as leaders.

In sum, a top-down, elitist model of infrahumanization, shaped by British Enlightenment-era thinking, seems to fit discourses of New Zealand’s Speeches from the Throne better than infrahumanization that is racially motivated. Based on this argument, the highest level of agency would have been officially acknowledged for those who were included within the class of governing elites. These findings have important theoretical implications for wider research in culture and racial prejudice, including infrahumanization research. They bring in the question of whether theories may benefit from deeper considerations of the role of *class* and gradations of power within a multinational and multicultural territory, rather than focusing on *ethnicity* as the dominant discourse. These considerations may be particularly applicable to other places organized around elite structures.

### **Good Māori versus Bad Māori**

These arguments are not to say that racial prejudice and discrimination were not prevalent during the reign of the British Empire. In the colonization of Australia, Canada and New Zealand, indigenous people were always systematically marginalized. Moreover, Māori were considered to be uncivilized, and socially and politically unsophisticated, which would have placed them low on the civilizational ladder.

Māori were indeed more *negatively* evaluated than settlers in the speeches overall, as predicted. This is in line with the basic premise of SIT/SCT (Tajfel, 1974; Turner et al., 1987), that demand for Europeans' positive ingroup identity should motivate tendencies for perceiving the Māori outgroup more negatively than the ingroup. As such, it is fairly obvious that Māori have been discriminated against in New Zealand society since colonial times. However, the current findings and other studies also show how it was not the case that Māori were explicitly discriminated against as a collective group (see also Liu & Robinson, 2016, McCreanor, 1997). Complex structures of elitism and contradictory discourses of 'Good Māori, Bad Māori', both organized around enlightenment values, worked to systematically reward certain Māori and punish others.

*Positive* evaluations were also higher for Māori than for European settlers, especially in the colonial discourse, supporting the prediction based on the 'Good Māori, Bad Māori' formulation. 'Good Māori, Bad Māori' discourses functioned as a tool that allowed colonists to discriminate and isolate the 'bad' Māori from the 'good' (McCreanor, 1997). That is, positive statements about Māori functioned to appeal to Māori who supported the British colonists, while negative statements about Māori were made to justify the negative treatment of Māori who did not. An example from the extract:

*“By perseverance in a policy of kindness and consideration towards the well-disposed, and of firmness towards the turbulent, her Majesty's native subjects will be assured of the advantages to be derived from habits of order, and a respect for law, while they will also recognise that acts of violence cannot be practised with impunity”.*

Liu and Robinson (2016) also describe this pattern of unequal treatment justified by the failure to live up to British ideals as 'Enlightenment racism' and such discourses still exist in less explicit forms in contemporary times (Nairn & McCreanor, 1991).



**New Zealand wars.** The dehumanization/infracumanization literature posits that biases become stronger under conditions of intergroup conflict (Haslam et al., 2005), which led to the prediction that infracumanization of Māori would have been more pronounced and explicit during the New Zealand wars. This was not supported, again showing how ethnocentric understandings of infracumanization does not fit the discourse in New Zealand's Speeches from the Throne. The results showed that Māori were actually more *mentalized* during the New Zealand wars period (1860s-1880s) than in later years. This mentalizing of Māori may have partly been driven by the need to emphasize narratives of 'Bad Māori'. An example from the extract:

*"They have for some time past been endeavouring to form a general combination of the natives, having, for its avowed object, the indiscriminate slaughter of the European inhabitants of the colony."*

It appears that Māori thoughts, emotions and intentions were often associated with violent deeds during the wartime period. It is also worth noting that Māori were attributed the greatest *intention* during wartime, compared to all other groups. These are in line with Liu and Robinson's (2016) observation that Māori agency was only acknowledged during conflict, albeit portrayed negatively.

These findings go against Fussell's (1989) argument that the more threatening an enemy out-group is, the more their humanity is denied. That is, our findings show that an out-group's resistance does not necessarily lead to greater infracumanization. Māori presented a significant threat to the British colonists (Belgrave, 2017) and this was consistently acknowledged in the extracts. Māori resistance was often framed in ways that actually acknowledged their agency as well as their strong skills in warfare, which may be considered subjective markers of human competence and intelligence (see also Belich, 1986). This pattern is in line with arguments that suggest that unresisting, powerless or passive victims

are the ones dehumanized more severely than those who actively resist aggression (Castano & Giner-Sorolla, 2006).

On the other hand, it is also important to note that a substantial number of Māori troops had actually volunteered to assist the British side during the New Zealand wars (Belich, 1986; Belgrave, 2017). It has even been claimed that Māori troops fighting for the Empire during the height of the wars, outnumbered European troops (Belgrave, 2017). Thus, British success in these wars significantly depended on having Māori allies. Such factors are likely to have contributed to a heightened need to win Māori support and thus accommodate to the ‘Good Māori’ during wartime also. An example from an extract praising Māori allies through a positive evaluation of their disposition:

*“The unbroken success which has attended the operations on the East Coast, of her Majesty's Colonial Forces, largely aided by loyal natives, has resulted in the surrender or capture of most of the hostile natives”*

As such, there were also some instances of mental states being used to highlight the intentions of ‘Good Māori’ during wartime. An example from an extract:

*“My Government has eagerly watched for, and gladly accepted every indication on the part of any of these natives, of a desire to live peaceably with their fellow-subjects..”*

It appears that mentalizing of Māori was not avoided but instead, often *used* as a tool for colonizing discourses. A closer look at the extracts show how the mentalizing of Māori was often framed in ways that divided them into Good Māori and Bad Māori, rather than collectively inhumanizing them as an out-group. In this way, mental states of Māori were framed in ways that favoured the colonists’ interests, especially during wartime when Good Māori, Bad Māori narratives proved most useful. The discursive functions of Bad Māori mentalizing involved portrayals of Māori as barbarously but *intentionally* cruel and violent beings, making their actions more punishable. Indeed, intentional harms have been shown to

be judged more harshly than accidental ones (Cushman, 2008; Ohtsubo, 2007). On the other hand, discursive functions of Good Māori mentalizing involved portraying them as assimilable to enlightened British norms, ideals and lifestyles. As such, through the mentalizing of Māori, their inherent *potential* for achieving enlightenment was reinforced and they could be depicted as being capable of *choosing* to live either as ‘Bad’ (violent) or ‘Good’ (enlightened) Māori.

Overall, the analysis of how psychological perspective and evaluations of Māori were ascribed in Speeches from the Throne, show ways in which the Good Māori, Bad Māori discourse and Enlightenment discourse worked together to frame colonization as a civilizing and assimilating mission, rather than a destroy and eliminate mission. This seems to have been the dominant colonizing discourse of historical Speeches from the Throne, rather than discourses of racism or ethnocentric inhumanization. Furthermore, the analysis of psychological perspective shows how British governing elites were historically positioned as having the most agency in the speeches, justifying *elite status* as a marker of dominance. These colonizing strategies functioned to divide Māori against each other and frame British elites as benevolent leaders, who have the *responsibility* for setting society’s moral standards.

### **Limitations and Future Research**

It is important to note the limitations of the corpus used in the current study. First and foremost, the Speeches from the Throne were delivered on behalf of elites to communicate their own legislative agenda, so it is natural for these speeches to emphasize their own agency and point of view. Furthermore, these speeches only highlight discourses communicated *on behalf* of the elites *to* ordinary people, rather than capturing patterns of discourses shared amongst ordinary people across the British Empire in general. Therefore, future research should focus on sources of wider public discourse and investigate whether the same patterns of inhumanization still hold in those spaces. The asymmetry that is characteristic of the

dual model of infrahumanization means that those from the dominant group should attribute less agency to a subordinate outgroup, yet the subordinate group should not attribute less agency to the dominant group (Capozza, Andrighetto, Di Bernardo & Falvo, 2012).

Therefore, infrahumanization biases of *both* elites and ordinary people should occur in the same direction. Future studies that analyze discourses in both elite and non-elite spaces may add further support for a model of infrahumanization in colonial New Zealand, where a hierarchical, elitist distribution of agency is collectively acknowledged.

A further limitation of the research stems from the fact that terms exclusively referencing ordinary British/European people faded out by the early/mid 20<sup>th</sup> century. This means that any comparisons between Māori and European groups from the early 20<sup>th</sup> Century onwards are limited. This presents a challenge for conducting a longitudinal analysis, as it is not possible to track patterns related to the exclusive category of Europeans in contemporary times. As such, the findings related to comparisons between Māori and Europeans in the current study, should be interpreted to be more relevant and focused to the historical context of New Zealand (19<sup>th</sup> to early 20<sup>th</sup> Century). Nonetheless, there does appear to be continuity in the comparisons between British governing elites and ordinary New Zealanders from historical to contemporary times.

It may be worthwhile for infrahumanization to be compared across different contexts in future research, to investigate what kind of contextual factors drive elitist differences and which factors drive racial differences. Australia is a context known as having a similar history of colonization to New Zealand (Tuffin, 2008), however their treatment and representation of indigenous people during colonization is markedly different. European settlement in Australia was based on the false claim that settlers had arrived into an empty land. During the century that this belief held, indigenous groups were dispossessed, marginalized and even subjected to genocide over several generations (Human Rights and

Equal Opportunity Commission, 1997). Negotiations with Aborigines were historically believed to be impossible because they did not appear to have any King or government, and as such, the dominant approach taken was forcible surrender rather than an approach based on a civilizing mission (Ryan, 2012). It is plausible that the model of dehumanization/infracumanization in the Australian historical context may resemble a more traditional and explicit form based on ethnocentrism.

## **Conclusion**

In the present research, NarrCat was employed for a quantitative analysis of an intergroup phenomena underlying New Zealand's group identity. Infracumanization is most commonly conceived as a bias that functions to reinforce the essentialized superiority of a collective racial ingroup. However, the findings of the present study suggest that in the official discourse of New Zealand, infracumanization may have historically functioned to allow only a specific subset of this ingroup, i.e. the governing elites, to assert their agency and set moral standards for the rest of society. Here, infracumanization biases seems to be organized around complex structures of elite status and civilizational superiority rather than categorical ethnocentrism. To complement this, the mentalizing of Māori was often strategically framed to serve Good Māori, Bad Māori discourses. Overall, these findings indicate that intergroup relations in New Zealand cannot be fully interpreted via traditional understandings of intergroup biases, but rather, more historically contingent theories and factors also need to be considered in order to account for these findings.

## Study 2

Study 1 examined the phenomena of *infracumanization*, a common intergroup bias, in the context of intergroup relations in New Zealand through an automated, quantitative analysis. It found that *infracumanization*, as conceptualized as *ethnocentrism*, was not able to account for processes underlying intergroup relations, between the indigenous Māori and British colonizers, within New Zealand's official discourses. Instead of finding systematic *infracumanization* biases against Māori, the study provided important insights into the ways that mental states of Māori were actively *used* to support colonizing discourses like the Enlightenment discourse (Liu & Robinson, 2016) and the Good Māori, Bad Māori formulation (McCreanor, 1997). Ultimately, these discourses functioned to justify the inclusion of certain Māori in society, and the exclusion of others in the service of colonization. These discourses also functioned to reinforce an underlying hierarchical social order between governing elites and ordinary people. How this order was maintained, and how those who challenged this order were excluded, is a complex and significant matter that warrants further investigation.

The aim of this second study is to provide a deeper and more nuanced examination of the *rhetorical strategies* used by British governing elites, during the colonial era, to justify and materialize their socio-political agenda. Instead of focusing on a specific intergroup bias as was done in the first study, here a broader approach is taken to examine how group *identity* was socially and rhetorically constructed in ways that justified the exclusion of Māori who resisted the British agenda and its social order.

## Introduction

The overarching question that this study seeks to answer is-- how did past Governors of New Zealand use rhetorical strategies to mobilize people towards supporting their agendas during colonization. This question is examined through the social identity framework of

*identity entrepreneurship* (Reicher & Hopkins, 2001) as well as theories of *emotional climate* (de Rivera, 1992; Bar-Tal, Halperin & de Rivera, 2007; Fernández-Dols, Carrera, de Mendoza & Ocejja, 2007). Guided by these theoretical frameworks, the current study seeks to investigate how the cultivation of emotional climate and strategies of identity entrepreneurship were *interconnected* elements in Governors' rhetorical efforts to justify their colonization project. Of particular interest was how Governors invoked *emotional relationships* between people, to cultivate appropriate emotional climates and define a shared identity between themselves and the people they sought to mobilize.

In political and rhetorical speeches, there are various strategies used by leaders and authority figures to appeal to their followers as a group, and motivate desired group action, or inaction. Here, I discuss action in the context of action *against* a target outgroup, while inaction is discussed in the context of *conformity* or obedience to a desired social order. The framework of identity entrepreneurship allows us to elucidate how a rhetorical construction of *group identity* is invoked in the determination of action/inaction, while the framework of emotional climate allows us to elucidate how *emotions* are invoked on a collective level, within a specific sociopolitical context, to determine action/inaction. Both of these elements—identity and emotion, can be seen as interconnected elements that are employed as part of a leader's rhetoric. As such, the current study aims to examine rhetorical strategies involving invocations of both social identity and emotion, and how they interact.

Through a thematic analysis of Speeches from the Throne across different speakers and historical events, the current study examined patterns of continuity and change in Governors' rhetorical strategies during the colonial period. In the following sections, I first provide an overview of New Zealand history during the colonial period (adding some relevant details to the overview provided in Study 1), and then provide an integrative review of the theoretical frameworks used as interpretive lenses in this analysis.

## New Zealand in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century: History and Ideology

The colonial period (mid to late 19<sup>th</sup> Century) was made the focus of the current analysis, given that this was the period when New Zealand Governors held the most political power. This means that speeches delivered during this period hold greater rhetorical significance than speeches from more contemporary times. Furthermore, historical contexts are able to provide insight into how identity positions of various groups have formed in the past. The 19<sup>th</sup> century was a formative period for shaping the identity positions of Māori and Pākehā in New Zealand, and its effects still hold lingering significance in debates surrounding intergroup relations and New Zealand group identity in contemporary times.

New Zealand was colonized by the British Empire in 1840, and the 19<sup>th</sup> century was characterized by some intense conflicts between the indigenous Māori and British colonizers. This period of conflict, which became known as the New Zealand wars, revolved around issues of sovereignty and land ownership and peaked during the 1860s (Belich, 1986; Belgrave, 2017). The eventual cessation of the wars in the late 1870s/early 1880s led to a period characterized by the dispossession of many Māori from their land, and this land being opened up for British settlement. Many Māori leaders who led organised resistance against British sovereignty were punished or suffered loss of status, while Māori allies who fought alongside the British were praised and held in high esteem by the colonizers (see also Study 1, Belgrave, 2017).

**British Enlightenment.** The dominant approach that British colonizers took to the colonization of New Zealand was that of-- assimilation rhetorically presented as *British Enlightenment*. British Enlightenment thinking originated from broader European Enlightenment traditions, which were characterized by the core values of liberty, virtue and egalitarianism (Porter & Teich, 1981). The values that came to be associated with British Enlightenment, encompassed respect for law and property, industry, human rights, and a



social contract form of governance (see Liu & Robinson for a detailed overview). By claiming these values, the British were able to claim civilizational superiority and justify their mission to civilize other groups who were perceived as lacking such values. That is, they could claim it was their *responsibility* to guide other groups, particularly indigenous groups, towards adopting these values and eventually, a British way of life. It seems that this project of civilizing the indigenous group for their own best interests, rather than egregiously discriminatory discourses, was the dominant colonizing discourse in New Zealand (see also Study 1, Liu & Robinson, 2016).

**The hierarchical social order of the British Empire.** In addition to reinforcing the civilizational superiority of British laws and systems, enlightenment discourses also functioned to reinforce a hierarchical social order in society. Given their position in the hierarchy, the function and role assigned to the governing elites was to provide moral guidance to the people, with God's blessing (see also Study 1; Liu & Robinson, 2016).

The Speeches from the Throne represent one platform through which governing elites could establish their role. Speeches in the 19<sup>th</sup> century were delivered by the New Zealand Governor at the opening of each parliamentary session, as a 'statement of the State of the Colony'. The speeches have historically articulated governmental priorities and concerns to serve a certain political/legislative agenda, in ways that were sanitized enough to impart stability and strength to the government and public (Reeves, 1983).

Over time, the position of the Governor lost political power and by the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century, the office of the Prime Minister took over authorship of the speeches. The speeches of focus in the current research are the early historical ones, which were both written, or at least thought to be written, and delivered by the Governor. It should be noted that true authorship of historical Speeches from the Throne is unknown. Because Governors

were assigned by the Crown to act as the mouthpiece for their Government, other ministers or functionaries might have also taken some part in authorship. As such, the speeches are likely to have been affected by various factors, including the relationship between Governors and their Government, and how personal agendas of individual Governors clashed or merged with their Government's approach to colonization and handling Māori affairs.

Governors of this period put much rhetorical effort into constructing their actions, especially in relation to war and land issues, as being motivated by the best interests of their people, and the Speeches from the Throne provided the platform for them to do so. The main subjects of interest in the current research are-- the social construction of *groups* people belonged to, the *roles* of these groups, and *relationships* between them that underpin these rhetorical efforts. The theoretical frameworks applied for this investigation are elaborated in the following sections.

### **The Social Identity Framework of Identity Entrepreneurship**

Theories of identity entrepreneurship (Reicher and Hopkins, 2001) are informed by the social identity model of leadership (for an overview see Haslam 2001). This framework acknowledges leadership as a *group process*, which relies on the relationship between leaders and followers within *a common social group* (Reicher & Hopkins, 2001; Reicher, Haslam & Hopkins, 2005). That is, it is recognized that “leaders and followers are bound together by their mutual involvement in a social category” (Reicher, Haslam & Hopkins, 2005).

An implicit assumption underlying this framework is that existence of *a shared sense of identity* is necessary for influence and leadership (i.e. the mobilization of followers) to be possible (Haslam, 2001). As such, when a shared social identity develops between people, leadership is likely to emerge. However, when people fail to form such a common group

identity, the exercise of leadership will become very difficult (Reicher, Haslam & Hopkins, 2005). This is because without a shared identity, there is not enough to bind leaders to their followers and vice versa. This was demonstrated in the BBC Prison study (Reicher & Haslam, 2006), where leadership structure of a group was observed to increase when a sense of shared social identity increased, and conversely, leadership structure of a group declined when a sense of shared social identity had declined.

To unpack this further, when there is no shared identity, it logically follows that there is no shared consensus for a leader to represent (Haslam, Turner, Oakes, McGarty & Reynolds, 1998). In other words, when people share an identity and therefore share common needs, values and goals, someone is able to represent (or at least claim to represent) what they all have in common, and what they all ought to achieve as a collective. As such, leaders should be motivated to establish and maintain a desired consensus across people, and therefore maintain a shared sense of identity.

In short, leadership depends on two significant factors. Firstly, it depends on the existence of a shared social identity. Secondly, it depends on an agreement of what constitutes the group consensus and who best represents this position. The important point to be made here, is that existence of a shared sense of identity is not random but *actively created and re-created* (Haslam, 2001). The definition of “us” is therefore always dynamic and never static. Those who are in a position to prescribe this definition of group identity, are those who are in a position to exert group influence and lead (Reicher, Hopkins, Levine & Rath, 2005). This leads us to the phenomena of identity entrepreneurship, which is the guiding framework of the current research-- how leaders act as identity entrepreneurs by actively *defining and re-defining social identities*.

From the perspective of self-categorization theory (SCT), social categories are thought to reflect an *existing structure of social relations* in a given society, or a ‘social

reality' (Oakes, Haslam, & Turner, 1994). Reicher and Hopkins (2001) has provided a more balanced view of this picture by presenting the argument that social category definitions can be *created* and in turn, used to create *new* structures of social relations. That is, they acknowledge the ways in which category definitions have the potential to shape 'social reality'. According to this argument, social identity goes beyond just *consisting of* group-based needs, values and goals. It now has the potential to *create* a particular social order that is based on the content of these categories. This perspective opens up the possibility for leaders (and followers) to have an active role in defining group identities, and in turn, defining the social reality of a society.

Social category definitions and boundaries are what provide the basis for social power, or ability to define a social reality (Turner, 2005). That is, the definition, or *content*, of social categories (needs, values, goals) determines the position that a group will take, while the *boundaries* of social categories determine *who* will take that position. For example, what it means to be American will determine *how* members of the *American* public will respond in intergroup situations. Therefore, those who control category definitions and boundaries are in a position to construct and re-construct a social reality.

SCT also posits that the ingroup is embodied in a 'prototype', which consists of characteristics that captures *both* ingroup similarities and intergroup differences (Hogg & Turner, 1987). According to SCT's principle of prototypicality, members of a salient ingroup should evaluate each other on the basis of how ingroup prototypical they are perceived to be (Hogg, 1996). The closer one appears to emulate the ingroup prototype, the more positively they will be evaluated.

Based on these principles, Reicher and Hopkins (2001, 2003) theorized that leaders act as entrepreneurs of social identity by creating identity boundaries, definitions and prototypes, and turning these into practical realities. This process of identity entrepreneurship

is what grants leaders their effectiveness and ability to mobilize people. The three main strategies of identity entrepreneurship that have been outlined by Reicher and Hopkins (2001) include:

- 1) Defining *category boundaries*, which determines who is included within the category, and therefore who will be mobilized. Defining a set of people as belonging to a common social category, creates social power through mobilizing (or persuading/influencing) them to act collectively.
- 2) Defining *category content*, which prescribes *what it means* to be a member of that category and therefore determines the direction of mobilization. That is, the category content will determine *how* and *for what purpose* the group will be mobilized for.
- 3) Defining *category prototypes*, which will identify who best exemplifies the category and therefore who is best fit to lead and direct the mobilization.

Being able to control the definition of social categories through these three related strategies affords a leader the power to create or at least shape a certain social reality.

Therefore, those who have practical interests in shaping the social world in a certain way, which is referred to as a *social project*, will actively define categories in ways that are in line with their project. In the literature of identity entrepreneurship, a social project, or identity project, is defined as any set of structural relations, and therefore social reality, that a leader seeks to materialize in society. This motivation was demonstrated empirically in the BBC prison study (Reicher & Haslam, 2006), where an individual that emerged as a group leader, was observed to actively and consciously craft group identity definitions in ways that were conducive to the aims of his overall project.

Identity entrepreneurs need to be skilled at defining social categories to be *inclusive* of all the people that they seek to mobilize in their social project. That is, the entrepreneur should seek to constitute the whole audience that they wish to mobilize as a single category,

in order to maximise the mobilizing capacity of that category. The broader the mobilization one wants to achieve, the broader and therefore more inclusive the category *boundaries* need to be. An effective entrepreneur then associates this category with *content* (i.e. needs, values, goals) that is line with their agenda, or social project. Conversely, rivalling agendas will typically be defined in ways that clash with the ingroup category content. Finally, the category should present themselves as being *prototypical* of the category they seek to mobilize, granting themselves the legitimacy to define the group's agenda and therefore lead the group (Reicher, Haslam & Hopkins, 2005). It should be noted that the strategies of defining the social category and mobilizing that category do not necessarily follow a causal order. That is, how an identity is defined may influence a shared agenda of mobilization, but also, a shared agenda may go on to shape or solidify group identities (pre-existing or new). This reflects the constructionist core of the social identity framework of identity entrepreneurship (Reicher & Hopkins, 2001).

A common example of a category that identity entrepreneurs, particularly politicians, seek to mobilize is *nationhood* or *national identity* (Reicher & Hopkins, 2001). Like any social category, the definition of nationhood is socially constructed. Whoever is successful in providing the definitions of—who belongs to the nation and what it means to belong to it, is the one with social power to shape the reality of that nation (Turner, 2005). The national category is not directly related to policies and political proposals, but it *is* directly related to the audience that an entrepreneur of identity (politician) is seeking to influence. This explains why politicians often emphasize the concept of nationhood in public speeches. Nationhood appeals to a social category that is inclusive of all members of the public that politicians are seeking to influence and mobilize in a certain direction (and excludes others they are mobilizing against).

In the context of national mobilization, identity entrepreneurs need to embed their definitions of category boundaries, content and prototypes within widely shared understandings about nationhood in order to be effective. Reicher and Hopkins (2001) demonstrated how politicians in Scotland varied in how they defined nationhood, depending on the nature of their social project. That is, what it means to be Scottish was presented in ways that aligned with their party policies. Khan, Svensson, Jodnand and Liu (2017), also applied the framework of identity entrepreneurship to examine the rhetorical construction of Hindu nationhood by Hindu nationalists.

Under this framework, leaders do not passively react to social identity processes and a pre-existing social reality. Instead, they actively participate in defining and re-defining identities which in turn, creates and transforms their followers and the social reality in which they live in. Specifically, they have the ability to define what it means to be ‘us’ or ‘who we are’ in a given context. As such, instead of being able to directly shape social reality, leaders who are identity entrepreneurs, have the indirect power to shape social reality *through* the group categories that they create (Turner, 2005). Their effectiveness ultimately depends on their ability to engage and mobilize followers to transform society according to the categories they have defined (Reicher, Haslam & Hopkins, 2005; Turner, 2005).

**Defining a shared identity in the context of British Empire.** When the social identity framework of identity entrepreneurship is applied to the current study, the Governors of the mid to late 19<sup>th</sup> Century can be interpreted as acting as entrepreneurs of identity within their context. As representatives of the British Empire, they had high stakes in achieving the imperial project of colonization. Furthermore, they held significant political authority during this time and were even in complete charge of the Government’s handling of Māori affairs up until 1864 (McLean, 2006). The platform through which political leaders typically invoke shared identities are *public speeches* (Reicher & Hopkins, 2001), and hence the Speeches

from the Throne constitute an important platform through which Governors would have exercised their strategies of identity entrepreneurship.

It should be emphasized that these speeches provide a snapshot of the political arena of colonial times, and the role of the Governor in those times. As a representative of the British sovereign, Governors could actively define a shared identity between their audience (ordinary people) and those they spoke on behalf of (governing elites). As such, in the current analysis, the speeches are used to examine the rhetorical efforts that Governors put into constructing themselves (and the Crown) as belonging in a shared mutual category with their followers.

As outlined earlier, the success of an identity entrepreneur is largely determined by the extent to which the *content* of their defined category is in line with their project (Reicher & Hopkins, 2001; Reicher, Hopkins, Levine & Rath, 2005). Therefore, defining the content (needs, values, goals) of the shared category is a crucial part of identity entrepreneurship. In the context of this analysis, colonization (disguised as British Enlightenment) constitutes the project that Governors sought to manifest in the social reality of New Zealand. Therefore, in the current paper, I also seek to examine how Governors defined the category content, that is—what it meant to belong to the shared ingroup category, in ways that would mobilize their followers in the direction of colonization, or more specifically, the colonization of Māori in New Zealand.

Fundamental to this analysis, is the acknowledgement of the *hierarchical structures* that governed social categories in the British Empire at its height. Across the British Empire, there was a certain fixed set of hierarchically structured relations embedded in society (Cannadine, 2002), meaning that prototypicality of a leader was not determined based on shared group consensus but *determined by God*, or at least His divine order as claimed by the aristocracy. In other words, the structure of hierarchical relations from God to Monarch to



Governor to people was decided “from above” (see also Liu & Robinson, 2016). This fixed social hierarchy meant that certain people (the Crown and governing elites) were accepted as *just better than* or above others in society. This contrasts with more familiar contexts of the modern day, where leaders are democratically elected by people to represent the group.

While the prototypicality principle may apply to modern Western societies, with individualistic and democratic ideals, it does not seem to be able to account for how *differences* between leaders and followers are reinforced in groups governed by aristocracy. This was demonstrated by Liu and Allen (1999) in their investigation of how group and leadership structures formed in Māori tribes of the Hawkes bay region. They noted that the ‘*otherness*’ of leaders (chiefs) were emphasized rather than their prototypicality, and such tendencies were characteristic of traditional Māori culture. Otherness of Māori chiefs were often emphasized by ascribing supernatural or unusual qualities to narratives of their birth. Such emphasis on the superior, or even divine nature of chiefs and Kings, has been observed across most complex traditional societies (Sahlins, 1985).

Tying this back to the current study, because British governing elites were not primarily granted their influence and power by group consensus, it is reasonable to question whether SIT and SCT’s principle of group prototypicality would apply to the context of the current study. Instead of positioning themselves as prototypes of the group, or being ‘one of us’, it is likely that British governing elites would have been more motivated towards convincing the people that the overall *hierarchical social order* exists for their own good (see also Study 1). More specifically, those with greatest power and influence in the British Empire, would have been motivated to define social categories in a way that *maintains* the hierarchical social order, and also assimilates *new* groups, such as Māori, into this hierarchy. This suggests that intergroup categorizations would have been less emphasized, and Governors would have been more motivated towards the unification of various groups, under

a *common* hierarchical order of relationships, from the Queen down to her appointed representatives, down to ordinary people. Such a social structure resembles that of *hierarchical relationalism*.

Hierarchical relationalism was formulated by Liu (2015) to describe the collectivist, high power distance structure of East Asian societies. It refers to a “hierarchically ordered relational universe” (Liu, 2015), where unequal positions are granted to people within a group, on the basis of relational duty and obligation. That is, in these societies, belief in a social order based on unequal interpersonal relationships becomes *normative*. The existence of this order implies moral and ethical obligation of authorities towards their people in a top-down manner, and reciprocally, loyalty, veneration, and affection of the people towards the authority above them. These role-based moral obligations are argued to provide the basis for rationalizing high power distance between groups in society as a mutually beneficial, but hierarchical social order. Thus the framework of hierarchical relationalism highlights how status differences are maintained within certain societies, *without* recourse to SIT/SCT’s principles of intergroup prejudice as being the dominant group process.

Under the conditions of hierarchical relationalism, the ingroup is represented by a complex relational network (Yuki, 2003), and there is a *gradation* of superiority and power across this network (Liu, 2015). This contrasts with the more *categorical* conditions of ingroup superiority as understood by traditional SIT/SCT (Tajfel, 1974; Turner et al., 1987) where group members view their group as a homogenous, depersonalized entity. The structure of hierarchical relationalism may be helpful for understanding how the British Empire operated. That is, the British Empire can be understood as a class structure, where reciprocal but unequal normative obligations between individuals of different status maintains a social order of inequality, even while an overall social cohesion is maintained (Liu and Allen, 1999).

The main purpose of applying the framework of identity entrepreneurship to these conditions of hierarchical relationalism, is to examine how past Governors of New Zealand would have defined a shared social category that was both widely inclusive and strictly hierarchical. As hinted earlier, defining the content and boundaries of such a category should be central to these efforts. However, given the hierarchical ordering of the British Empire, it is unlikely that a category prototype would have been emphasized so much as unequal but mutually beneficial relations between the sovereign, her representatives and their subjects. Finally, an important tension to explore with the application of this framework, is how Governors would have negotiated the desired *inclusion* of Māori in the social hierarchy with their necessary *exclusion* during periods of racial conflict.

The Speeches from the Throne provide a medium for examining how these strategies of identity entrepreneurship would have been applied in practice by Governors during a key historical period in New Zealand. There is likely to be continuity in the strategies of identity entrepreneurship that function to support the overarching project of colonization, however there may also be some *variability* in these strategies across individual Governors, based on more personal motivations. As such, this analysis is also situated within the unique contexts and backgrounds of individual Governors, to examine variability in the strategies of identity entrepreneurship employed across Governors with varying personal agendas.

Creating and defining a shared identity may involve various dynamic and interconnected processes. Khan and colleagues (2017) adopted the social representations framework (Liu & Hilton, 2005), to examine how shared historical representations were invoked by Hindu nationalists to define their shared category of Hindu nationhood. In the context of 19<sup>th</sup> Century New Zealand, given that this was still a new colony with no established history, widely shared cultural understandings about nationhood did not exist for Governors to draw upon. In the current study, I use the framework of *emotional climate*, to

examine how collective emotions were used by Governors in their efforts to define a shared (and hierarchical) category.

### **Collective Emotions**

The present research seeks to examine how invoking *emotion* can be an important part of defining a shared category, as well as mobilizing that category, in identity entrepreneurship. To build this case, we must first recognize the possibility for emotions to exist on a collective level. Indeed, it has long been recognized that emotions have the potential to become a societal phenomenon, and to study how they function has proven to be important for understanding collective behaviors (Frijda, 1986; Mackie, Devos, & Smith, 2000). It has also been suggested that distinct cultures and societies can be characterized by certain emotions and emotional patterns. For example, the American narrative has the emotional characterization of being hopeful, optimistic and oriented to redemption (Bellah, 2005). In contrast, Paez and Vergara (1995) showed the existence of a collective “fear culture” in South American societies. Therefore, emotions seem to play a central role within social and cultural contexts, and this has led to the examination of emotions as a part of group processes.

**Emotional orientation.** The collective emotions that characterize a certain society or culture are conceptualised by Bar-Tal (2001) as a *collective emotional orientation*. This refers to the characterizing tendency of a society to express a particular emotion, or set of emotions. However the present study is not so much interested in an overall collective emotional orientation of New Zealand as a country. Instead, it is interested in collective emotions that arise *in response to a particular socio-political context*. As such, the study focuses on collective emotions that are much more contextually grounded to specific socio-political conditions and a certain period in time (the colonial period). This leads us to the theoretical formulation of emotional climate which I turn to next.

## Emotional Climate

Emotional climate, as initially formulated by de Rivera (1992), refers to collective emotions that manifest in a society, *in response to its socio-political conditions*. These emotions are durable and fundamentally related to the underlying socio-political and socio-economic structures of a society. Emotional climate is a social rather than physical phenomenon, meaning that it is socially produced through processes of people interacting with each other in society, rather than reflecting the material reality of a society (Schneider & Reichers, 1983). The key point to be made for the current study, is that emotional climates are influenced by the actions of political leaders in a society (de Rivera, 1992). That is, certain emotions are rhetorically primed in society members, depending on how political leaders frame events. This point is explored further in my discussion of emotional contexts.

**Emotional relationships.** A core element of the emotional climate framework, is the recognition that emotions are *fundamentally interpersonal* in nature (de Rivera & Grinkis, 1986). Conversely, others have claimed that emotion lies at the core of all interpersonal relationships (Collins, 2001). Emotions and relationships are therefore inextricably linked. Emotional processes, such as understanding, acceptance, love and rejection, are all fundamentally to the existence of human relationships (Macmurray, 1961).

In a given society, certain kinds of emotional relationships may be encouraged, and while others are discouraged. This means that different societies and contexts may cultivate different emotional relationships. For example, the feelings that arise from stable emotional attachments, is expressed in markedly different ways in Japan compared to America (Rothbaum, Weisz, Pott, Miyake & Morelli, 2000).

Building on this, de Rivera (1992) argued that emotional relationships can be used as a dimension to examine differences in emotional climate across different societies and contexts. Indeed emotional climate seems to affect, and be affected by, the emotional

relationships that exist between members of a society, in a given socio-political context. For example, Páez, Asún and González (1994) found that the emotional climate of insecurity and caution in Chile, had affected and been affected by people's emotional relationships. Specifically, a sense of *social isolation* was created in both personal and public relationships, because it became dangerous for people to say certain things and they were prevented from knowing how others thought. Therefore, the structure of a society, including the *relations* that exist between the people within it, becomes an inherent part of that society's emotional climate.

**Context and emotional climate.** Bar-Tal and colleagues (2007) extended the emotional climate framework by clarifying the conditions for the formation of emotional climates. They argued that *context* has the largest influence on the formation of emotional climates. Context is quite a general and loose term that refers to the environment or background in which individuals and groups live and function (Duranti & Goodwin, 1992). In addition to the physical context, there is also the existence of a more abstract *social* context, which consists of the society's political, economic and cultural conditions. Social contexts can also be further distinguished based on their degree of *temporality*. There are relatively stable social contexts, such as social contexts that are specific to each culture, and then there are more *transitional contexts*, that exist in relation to the particular socio-political structures of a society. Transitional contexts specifically, are the ones relevant to the formation of emotional climate (Bar-Tal et al., 2007).

A transitional context will consist of *relatively temporary* political, economic, military and psychological conditions, that make up the environment in which individuals and groups live (Bar-Tal & Sharvit, 2007). Emphasis is put on the *psychological conditions* of this context. Bar-Tal and colleagues (2007) propose that these psychological conditions, which are perceived and cognitively appraised by members of society, include various

*emotional aspects*. For example, members of a society may, appraise the psychological conditions of their environment as being threatening or as being peaceful.

Given that these psychological conditions have an emotional element, Bar-Tal and colleagues (2007) describe these conditions as constituting an *emotional context*. The emotional context is what is theorized as triggering particular emotions in the public (de Rivera & Paez, 2007). The process underlying this is—the emotional context transmits salient cues and signals to members of a society, which evokes a particular emotion or set of emotions in them. When a particular emotional context exists for a prolonged period of time, society members become attuned to the transmitted cues and signals. That is, they become predisposed to respond to these cues and signals in a particular way and eventually become characterized by the particular emotions they evoke.

The crucial premise of this framework, is that the mechanism through which these cues and signals are transmitted, are *societal channels of communication*. All societal channels of communication, including political, cultural and educational channels are emphasized. This is based on the recognition that emotional contexts shape the way in which *events* are framed, and much of this occurs in the public sphere- that is, in spaces like mass media and public speeches, usually by various authorities like political and religious leaders, and teachers. These channels of communication are the lens through which society members interpret socio-political events, and the way that events are framed in these spaces affect the emotional climate that eventually manifests in response to those events.

This principle relates back to de Rivera's (1992) initial argument that emotional climate is affected by political leaders rhetorically framing events to evoke certain emotions. The reaction of leaders (and the press) to events seems to be crucial for the formation of emotional climates. This is because political leaders serve as *epistemic authorities* for the public; modelling and shaping their beliefs and emotions in response to certain events

(Jarymowicz & Bar-Tal, 2006). For example, when events are rhetorically framed to be pervasively threatening and dangerous, then a climate of fear is likely to develop. On the other hand, when leaders react by minimizing the importance of threats, reassuring the public and reminding them of their commitment to peace, then a climate of hope is likely to thrive (Jarymowicz & Bar-Tal, 2006).

In short, processes of *dissemination* are proposed to underlie the formation of emotional climates. Societal beliefs are transmitted and disseminated via mechanisms of public communication, and through this, society members receive information that elicit particular emotions. This is the approach taken in the current study, to conceptualize *how* emotional climates are cultivated.

**Collective emotions as conventional emotions.** Fernandez-Dols and colleagues (2007) have offered an even more nuanced perspective on the way that emotional climates should be interpreted. Their perspective is in line with that of Bar-Tal and colleagues' (2007), that emotional climate does not result from the physical, material reality of a society, but from the extent to which certain beliefs are rhetorically primed in the public discourse. However, Fernandez-Dols and colleagues' (2007) theorization offers the added nuance that the emotions constituting an emotional climate are *conventional*.

Conventional emotions are described as emotions that are collectively primed by *emotional conventions*. In behavioural settings, there are certain social norms that govern people's emotions and these can be referred to as emotional conventions. For example, in a behavioural setting like a birthday party, acts of gift giving are an emotional convention that primes conventional love. These practices may be regarded as conventions if the wider social group accepts these behaviours as being conventional ways of showing those emotions. Therefore, emotional conventions constitute the social norms that *prescribe* certain emotions to people and justify certain behaviours to be enacted on behalf of those emotions in



behavioural and social settings. According to this perspective, collective emotions are emotions that become widely accessible by *set social norms and practices*.

In this way, emotional climate is defined as being grounded on emotional conventions. That is, emotional climate is understood as a by-product of emotional conventions (social norms) collectively priming the accessibility of certain categories of emotions in people. Therefore, emotional climate is directly related to the extent to which a society's emotional conventions repeatedly *prime* certain emotions in the public discourse.

Emotional conventions may come to be used as key *justifications* and explanations for certain agendas. It is likely that politicians and leaders are motivated to provide the public with emotional conventions, because these eventually become legitimate reasons for supporting any particular proposal, belief or way of life. This is the perspective taken in the current study, for interpreting the function of emotional climates.

**The role of emotion in maintaining the hierarchical social order of the British Empire.** Of main relevance to the present research is the question of- what kind of beliefs were disseminated through the Speeches from the Throne, to cultivate particular emotional climates in New Zealand during the colonial period. Of special focus is the *relational* nature of the emotions evoked (de Rivera & Grinkis, 1986) as well as the *emotional conventions* that the Governor uses to prime these emotions (Fernandez-Dols et al., 2007).

When the emotional climate framework of Bar-Tal and colleagues (2007) is applied to the current study, the colonial period of New Zealand (mid to late 19<sup>th</sup> century) can be interpreted as a *transitional context*, because it constitutes a relatively time-delimited period of socio-political conditions in New Zealand (colonization and the New Zealand wars). These underlying socio-political conditions would have led to the cultivation of particular emotional climates. Since it has been suggested that published or broadcast statements by political leaders should be taken into account when examining how an emotional climate has

developed (see also Jarymowicz & Bar-Tal, 2006), the Speeches from the Throne are interpreted as a *mechanism* that would have contributed to the formation of emotional climates in colonial New Zealand.

As previously mentioned, hierarchical relations between governing elites and ordinary people would have been characteristic of this context, given the rigid social order of the British Empire. Indeed, historians have observed that social hierarchy was built into societies under the rule of the British Empire, and it has also been observed that *emotions* played a crucial part in maintaining these hierarchical relations. In a general historical interpretation of empire societies, Denison (1928) noted that people were typically organized *vertically* under a common authority figure, and emotions of reverence towards authority, like awe, fear and respectful obedience were commonly displayed.

Based on Fernandez-Dols and colleagues' (2007) conceptualization of emotional conventions, these emotions of reverence could be interpreted as being *conventional*. That is, these positive bottom-up emotions are less likely to have arisen from people's true, willing admiration of authority figures, but rather, these feelings would have become widely accepted and normative, from conventions that repeatedly prime them as normatively correct in everyday public discourses.

Historians have also observed how groups of ordinary people tended to be organized *horizontally* in empire societies, with conventional feelings of fraternity and friendship fostered towards each other (Denison, 1928). Relating back to de Rivera's (1992) argument that *emotional relationships* are what shapes the emotional climate of a society, it appears that certain emotional relationships (reverence to authority and fraternity amongst ordinary people) were invoked to cultivate emotional climates that unified various groups of people under a common authority in colonial societies.

Such norms of emotional expression are common in other societies where there are vertical gradations of power (Saller, 2002; Liu, 2015; Liu, Yeh, Wu, Liu, & Yang, 2015), and this relates back to the conceptual framework of hierarchical relationalism. A central element to how hierarchical relationalism operates, is the authenticity of *emotions*, which Liu (2015) refers to as affect, that exists between people in their relationships. As part of the justification of hierarchical beliefs, there are widely shared beliefs of authentic *affection* between the authority and the people. Typically, these affect-based beliefs revolve around beliefs of a *benevolent* authority (Liu et al., 2015). Positive and relational affect is therefore central to the maintenance of a hierarchical social order of inequality.

Although I acknowledge that this framework is specific to the East Asian context, it is reasonable to interpret that a relational structure, with an embedded hierarchy of inequality (hierarchical relationalism), also fits the 19<sup>th</sup> century British Empire (see also Cannadine, 2002), more than an individualistic group structure, where all ingroup members are thought to start off more or less equal (SIT/SCT). Neither structures are exclusive, and elements of both are likely to play a role in determining group behaviours in any context. Nonetheless, in those specific contexts where vertical gradations of power exist (East Asia, aristocracies), It is worth focussing on the role of *relational* links between members of a group, and the emotions associated with them, in maintaining the internal hierarchy of that group.

To these ends, the current study seeks to examine how Governors primed certain emotional relationships in the Speeches from the Throne, to cultivate emotional climates of trust and affection towards *both* the Queen, and fellow subjects across the British Empire. That is, the current analysis aims to unpack how emotional climate functioned as part of *intragroup* processes that maintained people's acceptance of and conformity to a hierarchical social order of inequality.

Conversely, the cultivation of an emotional climate of *fear* is expected during the period of the New Zealand wars, for justifying certain punitive acts and responses against Māori who challenged the British hierarchical order, and therefore threatened the project of colonization. Jarymowicz and Bar-tal (2006) claimed that the dissemination of beliefs regarding *threats* to the ingroup are crucial for cultivating an emotional climate of fear. The categorical principles of SIT and SCT are likely to apply better during these conditions of conflict. Therefore, I also seek to examine the systems of beliefs that were disseminated during the New Zealand wars, to justify the enactment of extreme measures against a group that did not conform to the British social order. That is, how emotional climate also functioned as part of *intergroup* processes that created the conditions for exclusion and subsequent elimination of an outgroup when situations demanded.

### **Identity entrepreneurship and Emotional Climate – Emotion and Identity as**

#### **Interdependent Elements in Rhetoric**

Overall, I am interested in examining how emotion and identity are interlinked in the rhetorical justification of action/inaction. That is, how did Governors incorporate emotional elements into their rhetorical strategies of identity entrepreneurship, *and* how did they cultivate emotional climates by performing strategies of identity entrepreneurship. Although there have been a lack of studies combining the theoretical frameworks of identity entrepreneurship and emotional climate, it is clear that the two are interlinked. Both identity entrepreneurship and emotional climate are fundamentally based on shared social identification. That is, leaders can only perform strategies of identity entrepreneurship when there is a shared category of people to be collectively mobilized. Likewise, collective emotions are not primed from individuals directly experiencing events, but from individuals identifying with a group that is collectively affected by events. Furthermore, both identity

entrepreneurship and the cultivation of emotional climate are dependent on how leaders rhetorically frame and interpret events in the public discourse.

Jogdand and Reicher (2016) have recently introduced the social identity model of leadership to the study of group-based emotions, positing that *both* social identity and emotion lie at the core of group mobilization. Both identity and emotion are interpreted as outcomes that are *actively constructed* by mobilizing agents (leaders), rather than cognitively appraised on an individual level, thus being consistent with theorizations of emotional climate. Moreover, Jogdand and Reicher (2016) do not make clear distinctions between identity and emotion processes, or delineate them in any causal order in the determination of action/inaction. Instead, they are seen as “interlinked elements in a representational system” of the social category that one identifies with. That is, how leaders define *identity* is affected by how they invoke people’s emotions, and conversely how they invoke emotion in their people, affects their definition of identity. This constructionist perspective is adopted in the current study, and identity and emotion are interpreted as interdependent elements in a leader’s rhetoric.

Although emotion has been much less emphasized than social identity in intergroup literature, it seems that researchers are beginning to focus on the interconnections between identity and emotion in group processes. However, theories of emotional climate (de Rivera, 1992; Bar-tal et al., 2007; Fernandez-Dols et al., 2007) have not yet been incorporated with the social identity framework of identity entrepreneurship (Reicher & Hopkins, 2001) to examine how leaders justify action/inaction. By combining these theoretical approaches in the current research, we may begin to understand how emotion becomes embedded in a leader’s identity entrepreneurship, and conversely, how strategies of identity entrepreneurship become incorporated in the cultivation of emotional climate to mobilize a group.

## **Contributions**

The current study aims to offer new insights into the rhetorical strategies used by past Governors of New Zealand, to justify their colonization project. As an extension of Study 1, the current study seeks to understand how governing elites were historically able to justify acts of violence, alienation and exclusion against Māori who challenged their aims, without using traditional languages of racism.

This study also introduces a unique perspective by combining the theoretical frameworks of identity entrepreneurship and emotional climate, interpreting both emotion and identity as interdependent elements invoked by Governors to justify the mobilization of action (against an excluded group) or inaction (conformity to a social order) in their followers. The main essence of this study is to elucidate how rhetorical strategies of identity entrepreneurship would have operated in a context where hierarchical relationalism was the basic framework for group relations, and SIT/SCT processes only became activated when necessary. As part of this, the study also focuses on emotion and emotional relationships as playing a significant role in Governors' efforts to unify various groups in a shared category while still maintaining hierarchical differences.

## Method

### Corpus

In the current research, thematic patterns of discourses related to *social identity and collective emotions* were analyzed in a selection of historical Speeches from the Throne (refer to Study 1 and Liu & Robinson, 2016 for corpus details). The data set for this analysis included the full texts of a selection of ten Speeches from the Throne from mid-late 19<sup>th</sup> century (1860-1899) across 7 different speakers (10 total; ranging from 849 to 3108 words,  $M = 1592$ ).

The data set was narrowed down to speeches from the mid to late 19<sup>th</sup> century, because the focus of the current study is on the construction of social identity and emotional climate within the specific context of colonial New Zealand. In selecting the ten Speeches of the Throne that would make up the data set, speeches that corresponded to *significant historical events and transitional periods* in the trajectory of colonization in New Zealand were chosen. This was informed by the historical accounts provided by Belich (1986), King (2003) and Orange (2004). This selection process led to a selection of ten Speeches from the Throne, shown in Table 4, which were rich with inter-group discourses relevant to social identity and emotional climate processes.

Table 4

<i>Key historical events relevant to each selected speech</i>	
<u>Year of Speech</u>	<u>Historical Events</u>
<i>Beginning of main conflicts</i>	
1860 (Governor Browne)	Taranaki War (1860-1861)
1863 (Governor Grey)	Waikato War (1863-1864)
<i>Mid-conflict</i>	
1865 (Governor Grey)	Māori land confiscation in Waikato launched
1866 (Governor Grey)	Campaign against Hauhau movement Māori leader Te Kooti imprisoned without trial
1867 (Governor Grey)	Māori resistance continues
<i>Māori defeat</i>	
1879 (Governor Robinson)	Māori armed resistance has ceased
1882 (Governor Gordon)	Parihaka crisis (1879-1881)
1883 (Governor Jervois)	Te Whiti and other Māori prisoners released Te Kooti pardoned
<i>Transition to peace</i>	
1896 (Governor Glasgow)	Period of heightened attention to Imperialism
1899 (Governor Ranfurly)	

## Analysis

Braun and Clarke's (2006) guidelines were followed for conducting a thematic analysis to identify and analyze recurring themes across the data set. The approach of a *theory-driven* thematic analysis was taken. That is, the analysis was explicitly driven by theoretical interests in the areas of identity entrepreneurship and emotional climate. The analysis thus focused on providing a detailed analysis of aspects of the data related to these underlying theoretical interests, rather than providing a detailed analysis of the data overall (Braun & Clarke, 2006). In addition to this theoretical orientation, the current analysis is



situated within the context of historical factors and events in colonial New Zealand as informed by Belgrave (2017), Belich (1986), King (2003), McLean (2006) and Orange (2004).

This analysis is neither bound to an exclusively constructionist or essentialist epistemological framework. The rhetorical strategies used by Governors in the selected Speeches from the Throne, reflect the early construction of shared social identity in New Zealand. However, the way that shared identity was defined by these Governors, aligned with wider colonizing discourses that already existed in the British Empire. As such, this analysis is placed in between the two epistemologies, a position defined by Braun and Clarke (2006) as being *contextualist*. The following six steps were followed for conducting thematic analysis, as suggested by Braun and Clarke (2006):

- 1) The data was first *familiarised* through manual processes of repeated reading and note taking.
- 2) Initial *coding schemes* were developed based on theories of emotional climate and identity entrepreneurship, situated within contextual factors related to colonization in New Zealand. Extracts of the texts were coded accordingly, and new codes were identified while a priori codes were consistently reviewed and revised throughout this process.
- 3) The data was then *searched for themes* by arranging these codes under broader themes that captured their underlying essence. Themes emerged on the basis of recurrence and emphasis throughout the extracts, as well as variability corresponding to historical events, and their relevance to the research aim, which was to examine the rhetorical strategies used by Governors to justify action (and inaction) in a shared ingroup category.

- 4) The initial themes were then *reviewed and refined*. Initially, various related themes emerged which were organized into sub-themes under broader themes. As the analysis progressed, it seemed more appropriate for the sub-themes to be interpreted as single coherent themes and so they were combined accordingly. I was mindful to ensure internal coherence within each theme and distinctiveness across separate themes. The extracts were consistently re-read throughout this process in order to ensure that no themes were omitted<sup>5</sup>.
- 5) Themes were then *defined* by being named and corroborated with representative extracts from the data set.
- 6) Finally, *theory and report* were produced by interpreting the final themes and interpreting how different themes connect with each other. These interpretations are articulated in the following sections.

## Results

### Themes

Through the analysis, five main themes were identified on the basis of emphasis and recurrence, as well as systematic *variability* corresponding to historical factors. The current paper interprets each of these themes as being discrete but also *connected* as rhetorical strategies used by Governors to define a shared social identity in ways that aligned with their political agenda. The first theme pertains to the way in which Governors invoked *emotional relationships* to define themselves, the Crown and ordinary people as belonging to a shared mutual category. The second theme explores how Governors built an emotional climate of *fear* to mobilize category members to support an agenda of violence against those excluded from the shared category. The third theme captures the *conditions* that were defined for the inclusion of Māori in the shared category, and how these were emphasized during the New Zealand wars. The fourth Theme explores how Governors defined what it means to belong to the accepted group in ways that align with the broader imperial project of colonization. Finally, Theme 5 concerns the way Governors invoked varying degrees of shared identity in response to different situations.

#### **Theme 1: Invoking emotional relationships to define the shared category of British citizenship: The Crown and her subjects**

The strategy employed by Governors for defining category boundaries, involved the *conventionalizing* of emotional relationships. These efforts were primarily directed towards defining a shared category that was inclusive of a multi-racial audience while still being nuanced enough to maintain a social order, or hierarchy within it.

#### Extract 1

*“I have thus had the pleasure of becoming acquainted with most of its leading towns and rising settlements, in all of which I have, as the Queen's representative, met with the most*

*cordial reception. By the people of Auckland also, on the occasion of my recent visit to that part of the country, I have been most warmly and loyally received. It has been a pleasing duty to me to report to the Secretary of State that in no part of the Empire has Her Majesty more loyal subjects than the inhabitants of the districts through which I have travelled.”*

(1867)

The last statement of the extract above, illustrates how the Governor (here, Governor Grey) positioned himself as a conduit between the Crown and ordinary people. Because these Governors occupy a space *in between* the Queen and her subjects, they are able to oscillate between the two groups, and invoke both ‘bottom-up’ and ‘top-down’ emotions. Bottom up emotions consist of the feelings of loyalty, affection, devotion and admiration that characterize the attachment of ordinary people to the Crown. These emotions are signaled by Governor Grey, in the form of feeling “warmly and loyally” received in the second statement of the extract.

Because the Governor is positioned to serve as a conduit for the Crown, these feelings of warmth and loyalty that are expressed to the Governor, are indirectly being expressed to the Crown. This is reinforced by using the bottom-up emotions to warrant people’s status as loyal subjects of ‘Her Majesty’ in the last statement. Throughout the speeches, the label of ‘Her Majesty’s subjects’ is consistently used, to describe people who are emotionally attached to the Crown. This is interpreted as a strategy of defining a shared category that is based on *British citizenship* under the Crown. That is, people who are prescribed a positive emotional attachment to the Queen are granted British citizenship as ‘Her Majesty’s Subjects’, and this comes to constitute the shared category that the Governor seeks to mobilize.

The pattern of bottom-up emotions that appears in Extract 1, recurs frequently throughout the speeches, particularly when Governors are describing their visits to various

districts across New Zealand. As such, these visits represent a *convention* that primes these bottom-up emotions (Fernandez-Dols et al., 2007). This set of bottom-up emotions can be broadly characterized as emotional *patronage* towards the Crown (Denison, 1928; Saller, 2002). It could be interpreted that ordinary people ('her Majesty's subjects') do not come to experience this positive emotional attachment towards the Crown solely out of their own will, but rather, these feelings are repeatedly primed by emotional conventions in the discourse. That is, these emotions become accessible during the Governor's visits and interactions with the people. This allows the Governor to use these conventions to solidify positive relations between ordinary people and the Crown.

Extract 1 also highlights the way in which Governors often expressed top-down emotions, on behalf of the Queen, towards her subjects. The emotions that appear to be at the core of the Crown's attachment towards her subjects are *paternal* in nature, consisting of feelings of duty, satisfaction and pleasure in response to the people, as well as gratitude for the people's loyalty. Like emotional patronage, this emotional pattern is also consistently emphasized throughout the speeches. In Extract 1, Governor Grey expresses 'pleasing duty' as a *reaction* to the people. Emotions that are prescribed to the Governor or Crown are typically framed as being reactive to or dependent on their people in this way, emphasizing their own paternal nature and dutiful *obligation* to the people. Therefore, this pattern of top-down emotions is broadly characterized as feelings of *paternal benevolence*.

#### Extract 2

*"Since my assumption of the government of this colony, to which Her Majesty has been graciously pleased to appoint me, I have visited a considerable portion of each island, and have thus been able to obtain a personal knowledge of various districts, and to make the acquaintance of many of the residents. I trust were long to be able to complete my tour through the colony. I cannot but regard the cordial manner in which I have been everywhere*

*received as an evidence of the loyal attachment of the people of New Zealand to the throne and person of our beloved Sovereign. I have been specially gratified by the hearty welcome given to me by the natives whom I have met in different parts of the country.”*

(1883)

Governors also consistently emphasized the *interpersonal* nature of his exchanges and interactions with the people. For example, in Extract 2, Governor Jervois asserts his desire to get personally acquainted with residents of different districts, building a sense of personal intimacy between himself and the people. This interpersonal intimacy also becomes part of the convention associated with the emotional relationship between the Governor (Crown) and the people.

Extract 2 also includes instances of the Governor aligning himself with ordinary people, and thus becoming one of ‘Her Majesty’s subjects’. When referring to the Queen as “our beloved Sovereign”, the Governor expresses his own patronage to the Queen, and reinforces the emotions of patronage that people, as ‘Her Majesty’s subjects’, should all conventionally display.

Given the positive nature of both patronage and paternal benevolence, a sense of positive relationalism is asserted between the Crown and the people. However, given the asymmetry in these emotions, one set being bottom-up and the other being top-down, a certain hierarchy *within* this relationship is also reinforced (Liu, 2015). Therefore, a social hierarchy between the Governor (Crown) and the people, underlies the structure of the defined category of British citizenship.

Bringing this all together, the shared category is bound by *both* hierarchical and positive relationalism, and this is reinforced by the Governor’s use of conventions to prime certain emotional relationships. Specifically, inclusion in this category is warranted by

having a relational connection *to* the Crown (patronage) and also being a recipient of relational connection *from* the Crown (paternal benevolence). Because European settlers are already considered ‘her Majesty’s subjects’ as citizens of the British Empire, they are always automatically prescribed these emotional conventions. Māori are also included in this shared category, more often in the post-conflict period, with explicit acknowledgments of Māori patronage like in the last sentence of Extract 2. By explicitly defining Māori as ‘her Majesty’s subjects’, Māori and settlers both come to be defined within a common category that is connected to the Crown.

By invoking emotional relationships as the basis, Governors were able to define category boundaries in ways that would both *maximize* and *target* the people that they sought to mobilize. By defining the category to potentially include Māori as well as European settlers, Governors maximized the category’s mobilization capacity. On the other hand, by including only *certain* Māori within the category (those who displayed patronage towards the Crown), the ingroup category could be constructed in a way that still placed certain Māori outside the lines of inclusion. Having defined the boundaries of the shared category using conventions of patronage and paternalism, Governors created the space for mobilization *against* a group that did not follow these conventions.

## **Theme 2: Cultivating an emotional climate of *fear* to mobilize a shared agenda of violence**

To effectively mobilize followers towards condoning or supporting violence against a target outgroup, leaders need to define themselves and followers as being *mutually involved* in a shared category (Theme 1) and interpret events in terms of *shared collective concerns* (Reicher, Hopkins, Levine & Rath, 2005). The second step is explored in the current theme, although it should be noted that neither of these strategies necessarily precedes the other (Reicher & Hopkins, 2001).

Based on SIT/SCT tradition, how a group collectively perceives and acts towards another group depends on both constructions of “us” (the ingroup) and “them” (the outgroup) as well as the *relations* between the two (Turner, et al., 1994). Based on theories of identity entrepreneurship and emotional climate, reactions of political leaders to events are important in determining how a group interprets events and reacts to them (de Rivera, 1992; Jarymowicz & Bar-Tal, 2006; Reicher & Hopkins, 2001). In line with both of these principles, Governors did indeed seem to put much rhetorical work into interpreting events in terms of ingroup-outgroup relations during the peak of the New Zealand wars. How these rhetorical efforts were directed towards the construction of a *casus belli* (good reason to declare war) is of focus here. In the current section, I discuss the conditions that were created to mobilize people *against* Māori who were not symbolically included as British citizens.

Drawing from integrated threat theory (Stephan, Diaz-Loving, & Duran, 2000), an important condition that is proposed for mobilizing violence, is the construction of the outgroup as having a negative impact on the ingroup, particularly in the form of a dangerous *threat*. The construction of the outgroup as a threat may involve the *dehumanization* of the outgroup (Haslam, 2006), or it may involve defining the outgroup as *intentional* and competent in other instances (see also Study 1). The latter option frames the outgroup as a more legitimate threat to the ingroup, and this is what the construction of the Māori outgroup resembled during the New Zealand wars.

This condition for mobilizing violence overlaps significantly with the cultivation of an emotional climate of fear. In the cultivation of fear climates, mechanisms that both reflect and disseminate *beliefs* eliciting a fear climate are crucial (Jarymowicz & Bar-tal, 2006). Publicized speeches of political leaders have indeed been shown to contribute greatly to people’s fear mentality, by emphasizing beliefs about threats that are specific to the ingroup (Bar-Tal & Antebi, 1992). The threat-related beliefs that were disseminated during the New



Zealand wars, included beliefs of *high Māori agency* combined with beliefs that Māori harbour brutal and violent *intentions* towards the ingroup, which was sometimes defined as being categorically European and other times defined more inclusively.

#### Extract 3

*“They have deliberately resolved upon war, and to try their strength with the British race.”*  
(1863)

The quote above highlights the Governor’s acknowledgement of high Māori agency. The first part (‘deliberately resolved’) recognizes their cognitive agency and intention, while the latter (‘try their strength’), recognizes their behavioural agency and competence. This reflects the construction of the Māori outgroup as a competent rival and reflects the opposite language of dehumanization (see also Study 1). The use of strong language conveys a high level of Māori determination. Furthermore, Māori are categorically positioned against the entire British race. Use of racial categories generalizes all Māori people as being threatening and a sense of danger for the European ingroup is heightened.

#### Extract 4

*“They have for some time been endeavouring to form a general combination of the natives, having, for its avowed object, the indiscriminate slaughter of the European inhabitants of the colony”*  
(1863)

Extract 4, which also comes from the same speech by Governor Grey, further reinforces the high agency of the Māori outgroup and even acknowledges their abilities to organize and plan amongst themselves. As such, their resistance is framed as being driven, organized and goal-directed, and their competence in warfare is consistently acknowledged in these ways.

This extract also shows the way in which the Māori outgroup was portrayed as being barbarous, indicating some level of dehumanization that also operated alongside the acknowledgement of their agency. Although their acts are painted as being goal-directed, these goals are framed as being brutal, violent and aggressive in nature. Here, this violence is targeted towards members of the European category. This is framed as the only goal of Māori actions, failing to acknowledge other underlying motivations or legitimate goals. The expression of ‘indiscriminate slaughter’ evokes a sense of brutality and ruthlessness in their actions with an underlying lack of self-control. This exemplifies an extreme case formulation (Pomerantz, 1986), to justify the legitimacy of the claim that Māori are dangerous to settlers. This also coincides with McCreanor’s (1997) conceptualization of the ‘Bad Māori’ discourse, which frames Māori as brutal beings or ‘savages’ capable of non-human acts. Bringing both elements together, the Māori outgroup is construed as possessing both high agency and an inherently brutal nature. This combination makes for a highly dangerous image- a group that is *capable of intentionally* bad deeds (see also Study 1).

This extreme rhetoric may have been applied in extracts of the 1863 speech, because it was delivered by Governor Grey when he was at the brink of invading the Waikato tribes (Belich, 1986). Grey had initially wanted to negotiate with Waikato tribes and attempted to introduce British law to Māori districts. However, despite these efforts, Māori remained suspicious of Grey’s intentions. Grey eventually resorted to threatening Waikato tribes by building a military road, but it was clear that Auckland settlers did not want the attack on Waikato to go ahead (McLean, 2006). This context helps us to understand why Governor Grey was motivated to perform identity entrepreneurship in ways that would emphasize threat for the European ingroup categorically. This strategy would have focused mobilizing efforts on European settlers, towards supporting an agenda of violence against the Waikato tribes.

## Extract 5

*“It is satisfactory to know that only a small portion of the native population has taken any part in the insurrection. A dangerous sympathy with the insurgents has, however been displayed by the Waikato tribes. These tribes have for some years past been the center of the agitation for the establishment of an independent Māori state, under a native sovereign, and it is in furtherance of this project that aid from Waikato has been afforded to the insurgents.”*  
(1860)

The negative agency ascribed to the Māori outgroup is also tied to *anti-enlightenment danger*, in the form of hostility to the Queen. In the construction of an outgroup as a threat, the outgroup may be represented as a physical threat to the ingroup and/or a *symbolic* threat to the ingroup (Stephan et al., 2000). Anti-enlightenment danger constitutes the latter, which involves a threat to ingroup *identity* or ingroup *values*. Extract 5 captures how the Māori outgroup was constructed as a symbolic threat to the Queen’s authority. The aim of Māori to establish a “native sovereign” constitutes a direct challenge to the Queen and therefore a challenge to the natural order underlying the structure of the shared category. Because obedience to the Crown is one of the defining values of the ingroup category (Theme 1), any attack on sovereign authority becomes an attack to the whole category.

In Extract 5, sympathy is invoked as an emotion collectively felt by the outgroup, reflecting some attempt to neutralize a potentially dangerous sentiment amongst Māori. Outgroup members are labelled as “insurgents”, framing their position as illegitimate and unlawful. Interestingly, more *nuanced* language is used by Governor Browne here to define the outgroup (“the Waikato tribes”) compared to the categorical language used by Grey after him. Although this speech was delivered during the Taranaki wars, Browne was known to be relatively more oriented towards advancing Māori welfare. For example, Browne had worked towards introducing a policy that would establish local self-government for Māori. However,

these efforts became overshadowed by his public purchase of a block of land in Waitara against strong (and warranted) Māori opposition, leading to the Taranaki wars (McLean, 2006). In this extract, Browne asserts that only a small and specific subset of the Māori population (“a small portion”) has engaged in these acts, indicating that ‘well-disposed’ Māori are still prevalent, and this shows his ongoing efforts to maintain positive relationalism with some Māori.

Both Governors Grey and Browne employed rhetorical strategies to build up an enemy that possessed a level of force, agency and competence that was sufficient to call for a serious response from their side. Extreme ‘solutions’ for dealing with them are justified when the outgroup is perceived dangerously and a climate of fear is cultivated in this way. Unsurprisingly, most of the extracts alluding to Māori agency came from speeches from the early 1860s, the period where creating the conditions for mobilizing violence was most urgent. Furthermore, Governors of this period were largely relying on the British Empire to supply them with Imperial troops to help them win the war (Belgrave, 2017). Therefore, the construction of high Māori agency, functions as a message and request to the British Empire for support.

#### Extract 6

*“The resumption of a block of land by my orders at Taranaki, which had, long previously to the late war, been peacefully occupied by our settlers, but which the continued threats of the natives had since prevented their return to, was followed by the entirely unprovoked murder of nearly the whole of a small escort of her Majesty’s troops”*

(1863)

There is another important condition for mobilizing a shared agenda of violence against an outgroup, and this is the construction of the ingroup as *virtuous* (Reicher, Hopkins, Levine & Rath, 2005). Typically, the more the outgroup is perceived as a threat to the

ingroup, the more one will stress the virtue of the ingroup, and *together*, these group perceptions legitimize violent action against the outgroup. This is exemplified in the extract above, where settlers are categorically positioned as peaceful subjects, who had maintained peace until they were disturbed by the Māori outgroup. Also, by stating that the murders of British troops were “unprovoked”, the British side is positioned as being innocent while Māori are framed as the instigators. This demonstrates a common rhetorical construction of facts that favors the Governor’s case for action.

Governor Grey had confiscated large blocks of land from Māori ‘rebels’ and placed large numbers of military settlers in their place. This sparked some controversy and dispute with the British Government and especially the British General, who suspected that Grey was using the British military to acquire Māori land (McLean, 2006). In Extract 6, Grey emphasizes the danger and unpredictability in the Māori attack, justifying the need for ongoing occupation of these areas with armed forces.

Traditionally, intergroup psychology has focussed on how the outgroup is represented in conflict situations (Schwartz & Struch, 1989). Reicher, Haslam and Hopkins (2005) point out that the way in which the shared ingroup category is defined, also makes up a large part of ‘hate rhetoric’. That is, there is an underlying potential for prejudice in the attribution of virtue to the ingroup category (Koonz, 2003). Once it is clear who the outgroup is and how they pose a threat to the ingroup, a focus on ingroup virtue is enough to legitimize and mobilize violence against the target outgroup as self-defence. This is because the actions of the ingroup also become virtuous and oriented to peace, even when they involve force and aggression.

#### Extract 7

*“To do this — to provide a material guarantee for the preservation of peace — such measures will be necessary as will render future insurrections of the natives hopeless. The*

*most obvious and effective of such measures are the construction of roads through the interior of the country, and the introduction, into the disaffected districts especially, of an amount of armed population, sufficient to defend itself against all aggression.”*

(1863)

Extract 7 highlights the way in which the agenda proposed by Governor Grey was equated to measures *necessary for peace*. These measures are also framed as being *preventative* in nature, securing peace for the people by preventing the actions of Māori instigators before they occur. The specific measures that are proposed in this extract involve the laying out of roads, which were intended to intimidate Waikato tribes (Belich, 1986), and the arming of districts, which is framed as defence against *external* aggression. Only the one-sided aggression coming from the Māori outgroup is acknowledged, while their own aggression is substituted with terms related to self-defence. The second half of the extract, is actually describing the real invasion of “disaffected districts” occupied by Māori with British troops, but this is not explicitly acknowledged. Instead, it is discursively framed as self-defence, organized in a civilized and orderly manner.

In the extract, the term “insurrection” is used to describe Māori protests, presuming that Māori do not have a legitimate right to protect their own property rights and independence. ‘Insurrection’ is a term with impact, and it creates a powerful emotional framing of events. In turn, the Governor explicitly communicates his desire to render these Māori actions “hopeless”. Implicit in this statement is the desire of the Governor to render Māori hopeless of attempts at agency.

The *benevolence* behind Governor’s intentions needs to be asserted while they enforce these extreme and violent measures against the Māori outgroup, in order to maintain a noble and virtuous image of the shared ingroup category, as well as maintaining the convention of paternal benevolence (Theme 1). This was especially relevant when the use of

armed aggression in response to the Parihaka resistance was discussed, which was a movement of *peaceful* resistance directed by Māori tribes. The Parihaka crisis began when a Māori settlement resisted Grey's efforts to open up their land for settlement in 1878. This resistance was built upon the correct claim that land reserves which had been promised for Māori had not been set aside. After several ignored protests, the leader Te Whiti ordered Māori men to erect fences and plough land that had been sold off to Europeans. In response, the Government sent troops to march on Parihaka, apprehend Te Whiti and arrest many others. Villages, crops and weapons were also ordered to be demolished (Belgrave, 2017).

#### Extract 8

*“My Government desire it to be recognized that in the course pursued they have been and are actuated by anxiety to avert consequences disastrous to all classes of her Majesty's subjects rather than by any desire to inflict punishment.”*

(1882)

In discussing the Parihaka incident in Extract 8, it is stated that the Government's orders were intended to *protect* the ingroup rather than inflict any harm on the outgroup. Anxiety is invoked as an emotion that signals immediacy and urgency of action. By referring to “all classes of her Majesty's subjects”, the speaker asserts that these measures were necessary for protecting the best interests of *all* people in the shared category, thereby invoking inclusivity of the category and framing events in terms of *collective concerns*. It is important to note that although “all classes” of subjects is an inclusive label, it is very indirect in including Māori, removing Māori distinctiveness and agency. Again, the proposed measures are framed as being *preventative* of potential threats (“consequences disastrous”), failing to note that the resistance was not a violent one, and therefore there would have been low potential for any legitimate danger or threat in the first place.

It should be noted that Governor Gordon had boldly and openly criticized the Government's orders to invade Parihaka, eventually leading to his own alienation (McLean, 2006). This clash of opinion is not evident in the 1882 speech, revealing that the Government ministers' may have had significant influence and control over speech authorship in this case.

Overall, Governors consistently disseminated beliefs that construed the Māori outgroup as a *legitimate* threat to the ingroup throughout the New Zealand wars, while disseminating beliefs that construed the ingroup as peaceful and therefore vulnerable. This created an emotional climate of fear that legitimized a solution of self-defence. In actuality, this 'solution' was an agenda of armed aggression against Māori who challenged British sovereignty and resisted the Governor's efforts to establish Crown title over Māori land.

### **Theme 3: The conditional inclusion of Māori in the shared category of British citizenship**

Defining category boundaries by invoking emotional relationships (Theme 1) shows how the shared category was flexible enough to potentially include Māori people. This marks the beginning of the process of Māori becoming invisibilized under British citizenship. However, the need to *differentiate* between Māori- those who were supportive of versus those who challenged British aims, was still high throughout the latter half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. As such, the inclusion of Māori in the shared category of British citizenship was still explicitly *conditional* during this period. This constitutes a direct violation of the third clause of the Treaty of Waitangi, which guarantees citizenship to all Māori indiscriminately (Orange, 2004). What these conditions of inclusion were, is explored in the current section.

The symbolic acceptance and inclusion of Māori in the shared category of British citizenship, appears to have been conditional on their *relational disposition*. That is, only when they were considered to be *positively disposed* towards both the British governing elites and British settlers, would they have been warranted inclusion in the shared category.



Therefore, a positively evaluated disposition seems to have warranted Māori people their status of British citizenship. In the speeches, the Governor signals this positive disposition through Māori displays of patronage and signals their symbolic inclusion by positioning them as recipients of the Crown's paternal benevolence.

#### Extract 9

*“The loyalty expressed to her Majesty, together with the friendly greetings and hearty welcome accorded to me personally, will ever be implanted in my memory, and I am fully assured that friendly relations with these once turbulent and warlike tribes have been firmly established, and that they are now peaceable and loyal subjects.”*

(1896)

The *desire* of Māori people to develop positive relationships with the British, is consistently emphasized and evaluated positively throughout the speeches. The extract above emphasizes the importance that was attached to positive relationalism with positively disposed Māori. Moreover, it connects positive relationalism with Māori to the maintenance of *peace*. This narrative where the maintenance of peace and security depends on positive relations with Māori, is one that recurs frequently. Here, the association between positive relationalism and peace is framed objectively by the Governor through the use of bold statements (“I am assured” and “firmly established”). Furthermore, the contrast between Māori when they did not have positive relations with the British and when they do, is illustrated by the contrast in their disposition. In the absence of positive relationalism between Māori and Europeans, Māori are portrayed violently, but when positive relationalism with Māori is established, they are shown to naturally become loyal and peaceful subordinates.

In Extract 9, the conventions of friendly greetings and welcome are used to invoke patronage of Māori. The Governor also invokes this on a level that is personal to him,

building a sense of interpersonal intimacy. The inclusion of Māori in the shared category is further signaled by referring to them as “loyal subjects” at the end of the extract.

The conditional acceptance of Māori, based on their relational disposition towards the British, was strongly emphasized during the peak of the New Zealand wars. Here, it is important to acknowledge certain historical factors that made the New Zealand wars different from typical conditions of racial conflict. For one, the indigenous Māori population largely outnumbered British inhabitants in New Zealand up until the early 1860s (Belich, 1986). Māori also presented a legitimate challenge to the colonial military, both in numbers and skills in warfare (Belich, 1986). Due to the shortage of Colonial troops, the Governor (specifically Governor Grey from the mid-1860s) was faced with the need to rely significantly on Imperial troops sent from the Imperial Government, as well as regiments of Māori allies (Belgrave, 2017).

#### Extract 10

*“Additional proof has been afforded, through the operations at Taranaki and Wanganui, that the Colony may rely with confidence on the skill and gallantry of its own officers and men, whilst the devoted courage evinced by the loyal Natives has placed beyond doubt the attachment of a large portion of the Native race to the Crown, to their European fellow subjects, and to the cause of order against turbulence and fanaticism.”*

(1865)

Due to the growing reliance on Māori allies, the Good Māori, Bad Māori discourse (McCreanor, 1997) was prevalent during the mid-late 1860s. In particular, the *desire* of Good Māori to maintain or build positive relationships with Europeans was emphasized (see also Study 1). The extract above highlights the use of this discursive device at work.

To contextualize this extract, it should be noted that Governor Grey had been involved in disputes with the British Government after the Waikato wars ended, regarding the

withdrawal of Imperial troops from New Zealand. The British Government saw much less of a need for Imperial troops to be stationed at New Zealand and requested for their return.

Colonial troops had also suffered heavy losses during the Waikato wars and despite Grey's wishes that Māori tribes would admit defeat, the war continued to spread. This finally forced him to turn to Māori allies for support, which was criticized by many as being long overdue (McLean, 2006).

In Extract 10, as well as being praised for their courage, Māori allies are ascribed patronage through the double loading of patronage adjectives- "devoted" and "loyal". Grey also asserts their attachment to the Crown, fostering a sense of bottom-up relational intimacy. Furthermore, by asserting that this is felt by a "large portion" of Māori, he asserts that positively disposed Māori are prevalent. The assertion "beyond doubt" functions to cover up the sense of insecurity and doubt that was prevalent during this period in actuality. By 1865, the outcome of the conflict was still very much in doubt (Belich, 1986), therefore the bold relational assertion made by the Governor exemplifies real rhetorical strategies of identity entrepreneurship at work. It is also important to note how the brutal tactics used by Grey to ensure loyalty of Māori in Taranaki were *not* mentioned.

As part of the relational assertion in this extract, the attachment of Māori allies to their "fellow" European subjects is also mentioned. This assertion of positive *horizontal* relations between Māori and European subjects is also a convention that emerges frequently, reflecting the emotions of fraternity that were prescribed in efforts to emotionally bind the Queen's subjects to *each other* (Denison, 1928). In contrast, the final phrase highlights how Māori were rhetorically divided *against* each other, showing Grey's attempts to establish negative relationalism amongst Māori. Māori allies are positioned as standing against the "turbulence and fanaticism" of Māori 'rebels' and this creates the space for a *common enemy* outgroup to be constructed for both Europeans and their Māori allies alike. Therefore, loyal

Māori are bound to their fellow European subjects, all under the Crown, in the *shared* cause of order against turbulence and fanaticism.

Extract 11

*“The behaviour of Tawhiao and his people continues favourable and peaceful, and my advisers have good reason to believe that these relations will be maintained. At the same time, the well-known chief Rewi has given further important proof of his loyalty; the attitude taken by him affords a guarantee for the continuance of peace, and the maintenance of this would in a short time lead to the opening up of the interior for settlement.”*

(1879)

The conditional inclusion of Māori in the shared category was also emphasized in the immediate aftermath of the peak conflict period. As the peak of the New Zealand wars subsided (late 1860s), a recurring narrative that emerged was the *conversion* of dangerous Māori ‘rebels’ to non-threatening, peaceful subjects. The extract above highlights this narrative, with key leaders of Māori resistance. These Māori leaders are shown to be converted to peaceful and loyal subjects. The positive description of Tawhiao signals that the positive change in his disposition warrants his inclusion in the shared category. Using chief Rewi as an example for relational assertion, is also significant because he was a highly important figure in Māori resistance at the height of the New Zealand wars (Belgrave, 2017; Belich, 1986). It was a well-known fact to Governors, how much influence Māori chiefs wielded over the Māori population (Belgrave, 2017). As such, liaising with them would have been effective in winning over Māori support, and interpersonal connections between Governors and Māori chiefs were indeed consistently emphasized following the peak conflict period. Here, the Governor uses chief Rewi’s “proof of loyalty” as a guarantee of peace. This creates the obligation for Māori chiefs to continue to provide ‘proofs’ of loyalty. The guarantee for peace, is then associated with *land acquisition* for settlers. Therefore, Māori

being converted to loyal subjects of the Queen, is indirectly associated with successful colonization, and the true motives underlying the Governor's motivation for establishing positive relations with Māori, is revealed. In this way, loyalty of Māori towards the British affords peace, and peace affords settlement.

#### Extract 12

*“The attitude of some Hau Hau fanatics, who in October last threatened the town and settlement of Napier, was such as to cause a temporary anxiety; but by the judicious measures adopted by Mr. M’Lean, and gallantly given effect to by Lieutenant-Colonel Whitmore and all classes of the inhabitants of the district, the offenders were severely punished, tranquility was speedily restored, and has not since been disturbed in that neighbourhood.”*

(1867)

The defeat of Māori in the New Zealand wars was also implicitly associated with the *loss of Māori agency*. That is, since the Māori outgroup had only been attributed negative agency, being stripped of this agency guaranteed peace. Extract 12 explicitly associates the punishment of Māori leaders with restored peace. The beginning of the extract reminds the audience of the threat that Māori once posed (“last threatened the town”). To emphasize this point, the emotion of anxiety is stated with no subjective speaker position, thereby framing an emotionally negative event as an objective fact. It seems that anxiety is an emotion that is commonly invoked, to denote the Governor's care for his subjects. The contrast between Māori “fanatics” with highly praised military leaders also adds to the justification of Māori punishment. Here, the term “fanatics” is used to refer to those who participated in the HauHau movement in Taranaki. This was a pantribal movement, based on a Māori millennial religion that sprung up in the wake of colonization (Belich, 1986). Again, this constitutes a movement of Māori agency that the Governor sought to suppress. Overall, the extract

communicates that loss of Māori agency promises the ongoing maintenance of peace, and the inclusive category of “all classes” of subjects is invoked, to credit this achievement of peace to the ingroup category as a whole.

Associating these positive outcomes with Māori defeat functions as a form of rationalization for the agenda of violence that had been mobilized against them. As part of communicating such positive outcomes following Māori defeat, Governors associate the loss of Māori agency with positive changes in their disposition.

#### Extract 13

*“The Māoris who have for so many years maintained their isolation in the district between European settlements at Waikato and those on the Waitara have now unreservedly renewed their intercourse with the Government, and the European population, and it is a gratifying fact that on a recent occasion important chiefs of the tribe which has hitherto maintained a most exclusive attitude, and which occupies the most isolated part of the colony, have recognised our laws by voluntarily attending at the Supreme Court in Auckland to give evidence against a number of their own people who had committed a serious outrage on a party of Government surveyors.”*

(1883)

The extract above emphasizes the positive effects of Māori defeat on a *relational* level. Alienating language is used to illustrate how they had been negatively disposed to Europeans in the past (“a most exclusive attitude”). This is a negative rhetorical framing of Māori who had attempted to hold onto their land, in efforts to resist European settlement and colonization. The positive change or conversion in their relational disposition is signaled through the acknowledgment of their newfound desire to have relational exchanges with the governing elites as well as with fellow European inhabitants. The importance of chiefs is explicitly acknowledged, emphasizing the significance in this progress. Successful change is

also indicated by claiming that these Māori chiefs now recognize “our laws”, and they are positioned in direct opposition to non-converted Māori. Here, “our laws” is a euphemism, as these laws were products of British construction, designed to deprive Māori of their land, in the service of advancing colonization.

In Extract 13, the Governor uses the term “unreservedly” to describe the extent of positive Māori attitudes towards the British, again showing gross exaggeration in their certainty of loyal Māori. In response to these changes in Māori attitudes and relations, Governor expresses the top-down emotion of gratification. This signals that the Governor’s paternal benevolence extends to Māori, once they are pacified.

#### Extract 14

*“Later on it is my intention to visit the Waikato and what is known as the “Rohepotae”. I have also visited several Māori settlements. The most important meeting took place at Waitangi, where the famous treaty was signed in the year 1840. My meeting with the chiefs and the native people generally was of a satisfactory character, and sincere assurances of their loyalty to the constitution and to our Sovereign Lady, the Queen, were given.”*

(1899)

Governors’ active relationship building efforts with Māori became more prevalent towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, when it became safer for Governors to visit various Māori districts. This is highlighted in Extract 14, where Governor Ranfurly uses his positive interpersonal exchange with Māori to again build a sense of interpersonal intimacy. The meeting between the Governor and Māori chiefs is again singled out. These personal visits to the tribes become a convention used by Governors to signal the development of emotional intimacy and even friendships between the Governor and Māori. Here, the sincerity of patronage displayed by Māori is asserted, emphasizing the emotional element of the

relationship that binds loyal Māori subjects to the Crown. Furthermore, by equating loyalty to the Queen with loyalty to the constitution, their patronage is framed as being *constitutional*.

Overall, the symbolic inclusion of positively disposed Māori in the shared category, had the main functions of-- associating patronage of Māori people with *peace* and justifying the ongoing exclusion of Māori who had not converted to being positively disposed towards the British. By associating the loss of Māori agency with a positive change in their disposition, an emotional climate of *hope* for peace was eventually fostered at the expense of Māori agency. That is, peace was only guaranteed when Māori were shown to give up their agency and yield willing obedience to the Crown.

**Theme 4: Defining the shared category with British Enlightenment ideology, to mobilize a shared agenda of colonization**

As outlined in Theme 2, Governors had defined the content of the ingroup category, as being *peaceful* or committed to peace. The current section explores how the content of the shared ingroup category was also defined with the ideological values of British enlightenment, and how this was used by Governors to mobilize support for the wider imperial project of colonization.

Extract 15

*“I was at once struck by their extent and importance, and gratified by the presence, notwithstanding the circumstances under which they were formed, of that regard for law and order which is the characteristic of our race, I can say with confidence that security for life and property, and respect for the law, exist in as marked a degree in those recently populated districts as in any part of her Majesty's dominions”*

(1867)

In the earlier speeches (1860s), Governors often invoked British Enlightenment values to define the content of the *British* ingroup category. The above extract shows how



“respect for the law” was emphasized as a defining characteristic of the ingroup category. Here, Governor Grey also associates this with *security for life* and *property ownership* which are also key foundational elements of the British Enlightenment philosophy (Liu & Robinson, 2016). By explicitly linking these values to “our race” and “recently populated districts”, he specifies that these values only exist in the settled areas. As such, it is made clear that Grey is defining the content of the ingroup category according to British values.

#### Extract 16

*“Especially, it is most gratifying to remark the almost unexampled progress in wealth and population made by the settlements in the Middle Island.”*

(1863)

Another defining characteristic of the British Enlightenment mission is *progress*. In the extract above, it is communicated that there is wealth in settled areas, and the growing population of settlers is equated with economic progress. As such, settlers are framed as an advanced group that can bring great progress to New Zealand.

It seems that respect for law, order, and progress were the values most emphasized by Governors in defining ingroup identity. These definitions allowed Governors to link the expansion and growth of settlements with increased lawfulness, security and wealth throughout the colony. That is, having defined the ingroup category in line with British Enlightenment, Governors could draw on this definition in various ways to instantiate their project of colonization.

#### Extract 17

*“The growing demand from all parts of the country for the establishment of institutions so congenial to our race, and which would have largely promoted its prosperity and developed its habits of self-reliance, will secure for this bill your earnest and careful consideration...”*

(1867)

Measures that were designed to advance colonization were justified by drawing on the various enlightenment values ascribed to the ingroup category. Extract 17 highlights the way in which British ingroup identity was invoked to justify the establishment of British institutions, while fostering a climate of hope for prosperity. Describing such institutions as “congenial to our race” reflects a bald-faced assertion of cultural ethnocentrism. Here, the neo-liberal value of self-reliance also begins to emerge as an important characteristic of British ingroup identity (Liu & Robinson, 2016).

Over time, Governors invoked a broader and more inclusive shared category when defining the category content with British enlightenment values. The *awakening* of Māori to British Enlightenment values is a narrative that reflects the broadening of this category, and therefore the broadening of the mobilization of colonization.

#### Extract 18

*“The natives in all parts of the colony have evidenced a strong and earnest desire to have their lands opened by roads, and thus bring themselves into closer touch with civilisation. Their anxiety to have schools established in their midst shows that they are alive to what will prove of great moment to their children in the future.”*

(1896)

#### Extract 19

*“The unopposed re-opening of the harbor of Kawhia, which had been closed to Europeans for more than twenty years, the laying out of a Government township adjacent to the harbor, and the exploration for railway purposes of a part of the country where for many years Europeans had not been permitted even to travel, warrant the belief that the natives are realizing that the development of the resources of the country will most effectively promote*

*their own interests.”*

(1896)

The ‘enlightening’ of Māori people to a British way of life are shown in the extracts above (18 and 19) and based on this, the establishment of British institutions and structures could be justified as being in the best interests of Māori people also. In the extracts, a climate of hope for Māori is cultivated by ascribing them positive emotions in relation to their civilizational progress, such as the “desire” to have roads built (Extract 18). Placing this desire for civilizational progress on Māori, creates the impression of a self-imposed civilizing mission by Māori. Furthermore, by speaking on behalf of Māori people, the Governor also asserts himself as a representative of Māori voices, and by specifying that these sentiments exist in “all parts of the colony”, the Governor reinforces that *all* Māori are becoming civilized and therefore, enlightened to a British way of life. This newfound confidence of the Governor to speak on behalf of Māori further bespeaks of their loss of agency. It shows that Māori will has been subordinated to that of the Crown, which the Crown responds to with top-down satisfaction.

Extract 19 also reminds the audience of past alienation between Māori and Europeans, emphasizing the progress that has been made in the enlightenment and civilizing of Māori people. Governors of the late 19<sup>th</sup> Century (post 1880s) had more room to do this, as the focus of their rhetorical strategies could be shifted from building an emotional climate of fear, to building an emotional climate of hope, and their efforts could be directed towards mobilizing people towards expanding British settlements.

Extracts 18 and 19 reveal an underlying acknowledgment of the cognitive capacity of Māori people, through the recognition that Māori are able to eventually *realize* what is best for them. However, Māori cognitions are only acknowledged as being reactive to British

initiatives and British guidance. This functioned to only reinforce the inner potential of Māori to attain British values and ultimately worked to justify colonization as an agenda that looks after the best interests of Māori.

#### Extract 20

*“By perseverance in a policy of kindness and consideration towards the well-disposed, and of firmness towards the turbulent, her Majesty's native subjects will be assured of the advantages to be derived from habits of order, and a respect for law, while they will also recognise that acts of violence cannot be practised with impunity.”*

(1866)

Although the rhetorical construction of Governors (and the Crown) as a prototype of the shared category was not evident across the speeches, Governors still appeared to be motivated towards maintaining their image as an official *representative* of the shared category. In Extract 20, Governor Grey is assumed to represent the ingroup by getting to decide who are enlightened, versus who are challenging enlightenment values. The term “turbulent” is used to describe the unenlightened, which interestingly implies immaturity rather than evil. It is a quality that allows correctability rather than being fixed, especially when juxtaposed with general desires to change Māori attitudes and dispositions for the better. Through this positioning, Grey presumes his own right to judge ingroup values in others, and he is implicitly prescribed a sense of authority over ingroup values. At the same time, a sense of fairness is communicated by balancing punishment on one side, with reward and benefits for the well-disposed on the other. In this way, the quote characterizes the formula for a benevolent authority that also acts in disciplinary ways.

#### Extract 21

*“I felt it to be my duty to repel this assumption of an authority inconsistent alike with the maintenance of the Queen's sovereignty and the rights of the proprietors of the land in*

*question.”*

(1860)

The extract above shows how Governor Browne equates the Queen's sovereignty with one of the defining values of British Enlightenment- respect for property ownership. Through his rhetorical framing, the Queen is positioned as the legitimate representative of settler land rights, and anyone who opposes her authority can be framed as infringing upon the rights of all property owners. In these ways, the Governor (and indirectly, the Crown) is positioned as an indisputable representative of British Enlightenment values.

Tying this all together, by defining the content of the shared category in line with British Enlightenment values, including respect for law, order and progress, Governors could make proposals to advance colonization in ways that appealed to his followers. By framing the growth of British settlements as indicators of progress, an emotional climate of hope that is conditional on the growth and expansion of settlements, as well as the assimilation of Māori to a British way of life, could be fostered. Furthermore, by implicitly positioning themselves (and the Queen), as an authority (or parent) over British Enlightenment, Governors could reinforce the position of themselves as an official authority over the shared ingroup category.

### **Theme 5: Invoking different levels of shared identity within the parameters of the British Empire**

#### Extract 22

*“Especially, it is most gratifying to remark the almost unexampled progress in wealth and population made by the settlements in the Middle Island, the inhabitants of which, while themselves undisturbed by any difficulties with a native race, have shewn so deep a sympathy with, and so generous a regard for, the sufferings and dangers which have fallen on their fellow colonists on this island.”*

(1863)

Different Governors seemed to vary in the *levels* of shared identity that they invoked. The extract above shows the shared identity of Europeans that was invoked by the Governor during the period of the New Zealand wars, by priming the emotion of sympathy towards each other. In this extract, Governor Grey performs identity entrepreneurship with British settlers by linking individual victims of the conflict to the British group as a whole. The situation faced by those individual victims became a common difficulty faced by all Europeans and this sets up the conditions for mobilizing all British settlers. This relates back to the motivations of Grey during his Governorship highlighted earlier, of gaining settler support for invading Māori tribes.

#### Extract 23

*“I feel assured you will join with me in deploring the loss the colony has suffered by his death so shortly after assuming that position”*

(1896)

Over time, the scope of the shared category that was invoked broadened, mirroring the extension of category boundaries. In later years, (post 1860s) Governors start to invoke the category of the ‘colony’ more frequently than the category of Europeans, which is more flexible in terms of who can be included. This is demonstrated in Extract 23, where Governor Ranfurly unites the colony by invoking a common emotional loss (death of a Government official). Again, a situation is framed in terms of collective interests, and the loss is framed as an event that people are emotionally affected by collectively.

From the late 19<sup>th</sup> Century, there is an overall heightened attention to Imperialism (Cannadine, 2002). In line with this socio-political trend, Governors of this period (1880s-1890s) did seem to consistently emphasize the wider shared identity of the British Empire.

## Extract 24

*“I forwarded to the Queen an expression, which I feel sure will have your hearty concurrence, of the deep-felt thankfulness with which all classes of Her Majesty's subjects in New Zealand heard of her recent preservation from danger, and of their earliest prayer that she may be long spared to reign over a loyal and united empire.”*

(1882)

In the extract above, the shared category of “people of New Zealand” is situated *within* the emotional unity of people as part of the British Empire as a whole. As such, the extract invokes a connection between the category of New Zealand and the broader category of the British Empire. Unity of the British Empire is relevant in the context of this extract, as the Governor is responding to an international threat to the Queen’s safety. As such, here, people all across the empire are united by feelings of “deep-felt thankfulness” for her safety. Governor Gordon seems to be tapping into different levels of category membership as part of his identity entrepreneurship. That is, he asserts that one can exist as a member of the New Zealand colony, which itself is situated within the broader category of the British Empire and uses this to deepen the emotional relationship that ties people to the Crown as well as to fellow subjects across the empire.

## Extract 25

*“The frequent presence in New Zealand waters of the Admiral and the Australian squadron is also a matter of congratulation to the Colony, not only as a material evidence of an ever ready fresh line of defence, but a constant reminder of our intimate connection with Imperial interests.”*

(1896)

Governor Ranfurly was known as a Governor who felt a strong sense of dignity in his position as the Queen's representative (McLean, 2006). In an extract from one of his speeches shown above, he invokes an "intimate connection" that exists between New Zealand and the broader empire. Through this, an emotional relationship between New Zealand and the other colonies of the British Empire is asserted. Furthermore, by being connected to "Imperial interests", members of the New Zealand colony are framed as being collectively affected by any event that affects the British Empire as a whole.

The scope of the shared category that is made salient, seems to depend on the level of mobilization that is most relevant to the current situation, as well as the Governor's personal approach or response to that situation. This is likely to be why Governor Grey invoked the more exclusionary category of Europeans during the early 1860s, while Governors of the late 19<sup>th</sup> Century, who prioritized their commitment to Imperialism, tended to invoke the broader shared identity of the British Empire. An important point to note is that despite some variability, all of the levels of unity invoked by the Governor lie within the limits of a shared category that is bound by patronage to the Queen. That is, the shared category of British citizenship, no matter what the scope, is always activated by conventions of emotional patronage.



## Discussion

The thematic analysis of New Zealand's Speeches from the Throne, from mid to late 19<sup>th</sup> century, identified five main themes. These were chosen on the basis of recurrence and emphasis as well as systematic variability throughout the texts. Although these themes were coherent and discrete, there was some interconnectedness and relatedness between them in terms of how Governors defined shared ingroup identity. By incorporating the social identity framework of identity entrepreneurship (Reicher & Hopkins, 2001) and theories of emotional climate (de Rivera, 1992; Bar-Tal et al., 2007; Fernandez-Dols et al., 2007) the analysis identified how Governors invoked emotion to define: 1) the criteria for inclusion in the shared category and 2) what it meant to belong to this shared category, in ways that were in line with the project of colonization. In turn, the analysis also identified how Governors cultivated emotional climates of fear and hope by invoking shared category definitions. These category definitions aligned with personal motivations of different Governors to some extent, but for the most part, they aligned with the common overarching project of colonization (assimilation of Māori and gaining access to Māori land).

Each of the identified themes encapsulate rhetorical strategies of identity entrepreneurship in various ways. The strategy of defining category boundaries, is encapsulated by Theme 1. This theme captures how Governors invoked *emotional relationships* to bind people to the Governors themselves, and to the Queen, and to each other, in efforts to define them as belonging to a common category. By repeatedly priming positive, hierarchical emotional relationships between people, particular between civilians and the Crown (patronage and benevolence), Governors were able to justify the British social order, while formally binding people together in a shared category. Because patronage to the Queen is what binds all people within this shared category together, the Queen symbolically

represents the binding force for the whole category (Theme 5). In turn, the exclusion of people who were cut off from these relational ties could be justified.

Defining category boundaries in these relational terms, allowed for the selective inclusion of Māori in the shared category, and this was discussed in Theme 3. Māori were warranted the same status as European settlers in the shared category ('Her Majesty's subjects') if they were explicitly shown to conform to the positive, bottom-up emotions of patronage. As such, the positive relational disposition of Māori, towards both the Queen (vertical) and fellow European inhabitants (horizontal), was emphasized and used as the criteria for inclusion of Māori in the shared category. This allowed Māori who had previously been excluded from the shared category to be granted inclusion, as long as they could prove that their relational disposition had changed, in displays of loyalty to the Crown and settlers. This theme highlights an interaction between intragroup and intergroup processes. That is, the dominant group processes operating *within* the ingroup (hierarchical relationalism) was also extended to a group initially located *outside* the ingroup (Māori), in order to subject that group to the same influence and hierarchy of the ingroup. Māori were led to give up their agency and subject themselves to the British hierarchy, in exchange for symbolic inclusion in the shared ingroup category (British citizenship), and the benefits of top-down benevolence this came with.

The rhetorical strategy of defining category *content*, is constituted by elements of both Themes 2 and 4, albeit in different ways. As part of the mobilization of violence explored in Theme 2, Governors defined what it meant to belong to the ingroup category in terms of *peace*. This was done in categorically exclusionary terms during the 1860s by Governor Grey, being in line with principles of SIT/SCT (Tajfel, 1974; Turner et al., 1987). Those of the ingroup category were defined as either peaceful subjects (settlers) or facilitators of peace (governing elites). European settlers were defined as a naturally peaceful group, who had

lived peacefully on settled land before being disrupted by unprovoked Māori instigators. Governors, and the governing elites that they spoke on behalf of, were construed as benevolent facilitators of peace. The practical measures that they proposed, were always framed as being oriented towards establishing or restoring peace. To uphold their paternal benevolence, Governors consistently communicated how they were hesitant to use violence, only resorting to it because they were compelled by duty and obligation to protect their people. Finally, the explicit construction of a dangerous and threatening outgroup, had the effect of fostering an emotional climate of fear. The rhetorical contrast between the ingroup and outgroup- one being defined as peaceful and the other (intentionally) violent towards both innocent settlers and the benevolent Crown's authority, is what legitimized the mobilization of force against Māori who resisted as self-defence. It seems that intragroup processes of hierarchical relationalism were overtaken by intergroup processes of SIT/SCT during the 1860s. These intergroup processes became activated during the height of conflict, and importantly, when Māori attempts at agency were at their height.

Governors also defined the category content with core values of British Enlightenment ideology (Theme 4). Initially (early 1860s), the values that were invoked to define ingroup identity were explicitly ascribed to the British ingroup in a culturally ethnocentric manner. Over time, these values came to be ascribed to a more inclusive category. That is, they started to be ascribed to some Māori, and then most Māori, and eventually *all* Māori by the time conflicts subsided by the late 19<sup>th</sup> Century. The spread of these values was rhetorically framed as indicating positive progress of the civilizing mission, or the British Enlightenment project. Although these values were framed to reflect civilizational superiority and sophistication, in actuality they were values designed to support British ideals and a British way of life (Liu & Robinson, 2016). As such, Governors could increasingly appeal to these values to mobilize people, both Māori and European settlers that

were included in the shared category, towards the establishment of British institutions, infrastructure, and the overall opening up of land for expanding British settlements.

Importantly, the analysis did not find discourses of leader or group prototypicality, aligning with the interpretations of Liu and Allen's (1999) study. Given the social order of inequality embedded across the British Empire, *hierarchical differences* between leaders (Governor/Crown) and their followers were more emphasized than their 'sameness'. Instead of constructing themselves as prototypes, it seems that Governors implicitly asserted their position (and that of the Crown) as official, indisputable authority figures. This is reflected in the priming of hierarchical emotions and relationships in Theme 1. Such hierarchical emotions position the Governor and Crown *above* ordinary people within the shared category, rather than positioning them as being *amongst* ordinary people. This positioning was also implicitly reflected in the positive agency assigned to the governing elites as facilitators of peace during the New Zealand wars in Theme 2. Furthermore, it was evident in the way the Governor and Queen were assumed to guard ingroup values of British Enlightenment in Theme 4. Importantly, the agency of governing elites and the Crown was always associated with emotions of paternal benevolence, to signal that their actions were always intended for the best interests of their people. This rhetorical strategy worked to contribute to an emotional climate of affection, trust and respect for Governors, and therefore the Crown.

### **A Hierarchical Order Supported and Protected by Emotional Conventions**

The current analysis offers two main contributions. Firstly, the perspective of emotional conventions (Fernandez-Dols et al., 2007) allowed the current study to elucidate how Governors invoked *emotion* in their rhetoric, in ways that could justify *inaction* towards the desired social order on one hand, while justifying *action* in the New Zealand wars on the other. According to the theory of emotional conventions, the relational emotions that were

invoked in the speeches (e.g. affection, loyalty, gratitude), could be described as being *conventional*. Conventional emotions are those emotions that are primed by a standard script in official (conventional) situations. Given that these patterns of emotional expression, primarily in the context of relationships, were so consistently emphasized across the speeches in situation-specific ways, they did indeed become predictable and normative.

As Fernandez-Dols and colleagues (2007) posited, emotional climates can be used by political leaders to justify or explain a social order, because emotional climates are driven by emotional conventions. That is, by providing certain emotional conventions, political leaders are providing people ‘good reasons’ for supporting a particular way of life or set of beliefs, which may reinforce a particular social order. In the speeches, Governors did indeed consistently provide people with conventions relating to patronage (e.g. subjects always providing a warm and friendly welcome to the Governor, as a representative of the Crown) which came to constitute strong and legitimate justifications for supporting and maintaining obedience to the Crown.

Expressions of patronage worked to justify the way in which ordinary people were formally bound by allegiance to the Crown. In turn, the Governor’s repeated expressions of benevolence justified the way in which the governing elites, particularly the Queen, were paternally bound to their subjects. Tying this together, it seems that the emotions/emotional relationships that were invoked in these speeches, were typically invoked as part of an official script or *ritual*, what the current study interprets as conventions, to reify the hierarchical social order of the British Empire.

These elements fit well with Liu’s (2015) proposed structure of hierarchical relationalism. Hierarchical relationalism is built on the premise that positive but *reciprocally unequal* relationships, which revolve around role-specific obligations, are what justify the existence of a hierarchical social order. The hierarchical emotions that became

conventionalized in the speeches (patronage, benevolence) reflect such positive but unequal relationships. Specifically, the bottom-up emotions of patronage place the Governor and Crown in a position that is above ordinary people, while the top-down emotions of benevolence reflect the moral and relational obligations that the Governor and Crown have towards the well-being of their subjects. Liu (2015) specifies that such relationships must become normative for the hierarchical social order to hold and become solidified in society. The conventionalizing of hierarchical emotions provides a mechanism for making such unequal positions normative, and through this the British social order was able to become widely accepted and justified.

The rhetorical strategy of using patronage to warrant people's inclusion also reveals the *constitutional* nature of certain emotions, or more specifically emotional relationships, within this context. This implies that any opposing emotion, including negative emotions like hostility and disaffection that go *against* conventional patronage, becomes *unconstitutional* and warrants punishment. By invoking emotions/emotional relationships on a conventional level (priming them in the discourse with social norms), Governors reinforced certain norms of acceptable emotional expression, so that violation of such norms would lead to appropriate action.

This was exemplified during the height of the New Zealand wars, where Governors repeatedly primed a sense of threat and danger to this social order, and the relationships within it. With the systematic dissemination of beliefs related to dangerous Māori agency and disposition (see also Study 1), invocations of fear, anxiety and agitation as well as sympathy for ingroup victims, came to characterize the speeches of the 1860s. Overall, it appears that the main skill of Governors as mobilizing agents, revolved around their articulation of emotional relationships in a manner that facilitated the cultivation of appropriate emotional climates. That is, emotional relationships were articulated in ways that cultivated a climate of

fear and urgency when moving into the New Zealand wars, while emotional relationships were articulated in ways that developed a climate of satisfaction, hope and security when Māori no longer posed a threat to the social order. Therefore, the *conventionalizing* of emotions, particularly those central to relationships, appears to be important for understanding how Governors could justify both action and inaction in the service of protecting the desired social order.

### **Fluidity of the Shared Category- Relationalism and Ideology**

The other main contribution of the current research is the elucidation of how Governors were able to define a shared category that was so flexible in nature, and therefore easy to negotiate across intragroup and intergroup territories. This can be attributed to flexibility in category boundaries, which was defined by emotional relationships, as well as flexibility in category content, which was defined by values framed to be *universally* attainable and desirable. Based on these definitions, Governors were able to craft a category that always had the inherent potential to include and mobilize all Māori people, while still maintaining selective inclusion based on their political agendas.

Flexibility of the defined category was largely based on the *relational* nature of category membership, as outlined earlier. Given that positive, hierarchical relationships warranted people's status as fit subjects of the Crown (and God), these relationships warranted one's status of British citizenship in the speeches of this period. Granting citizenship on the basis of relationships, and the emotions associated with them, is what allowed the fluid expansion of hierarchical structures in this context.

The relational element of the shared category extends support for the Good Māori, Bad Māori formulation (McCreanor, 1997), with an emphasis on how *relational dispositions* of Māori were evaluated. In the flexible duality of Māori representation during colonial times, where Māori were represented as either 'savage' or innocent and child-like

(McCreanor, 1997), the duality in Māori representation as either affectionate or hostile *towards the British* also seems to have been crucial. In addition to more general dispositions like being violent or peaceful, the relational disposition ascribed to Māori seems to have played an arguably larger part in determining their symbolic inclusion as British citizens. The key insight here, is that the relational disposition ascribed to Māori was not fixed but *fluid* and subject to change. This means that Māori who had been excluded in the past, could be included and granted citizenship, as long as they displayed the appropriate relationships and thus agreed to conform to the desired social order. This was reflected in a common narrative that emerged towards the late 1860s, where a change in the relational disposition of Māori ‘rebels’ came with the acknowledgement of their status as subjects of the Crown (British citizens). In line with McCreanor’s (1997) ideas, it seems that much of the historical contradictions in Māori representation, were functional and intentionally crafted by British colonizing elites. An important element of these dual representations, for the exercise of identity entrepreneurship, was that they needed to be fluid in such a way that provided enough space for Māori to convert and thereby ‘redeem’ themselves.

Defining category *content* with values that reflected British Enlightenment ideology also contributed to the underlying flexibility of the shared category. This extends support for Liu and Robinson’s (2016) analysis, where they concluded that the Enlightenment discourse has continuously expanded to include more and more diverse people in New Zealand over time. There seems to be an underlying continuity in the ideologies that were introduced in the colonial period even up until today, revealing how remarkably malleable and durable they were. The flexibility of Enlightenment discourses largely stems from the civilizational basis of its values (Benham, 1789/1996; Porter & Teich, 1981). That is, enlightenment values are not fundamentally restricted to any particular group and they differentiate groups based on civilizational superiority rather than racial or cultural differences.



This universal basis of enlightenment values is what allowed colonization to be legitimized as a civilizing mission, and this was reflected in the present analysis. Over time, stereotypically British values like respect for law and property, were increasingly ascribed to more Māori people. This was manifested in various ways, such as Māori allies being ascribed enlightened qualities like discipline and order (against turbulence) from the mid-1860s. Through the inclusion of more and more Māori in the shared category, Governors could rhetorically frame assimilation as the awakening or realization of Māori to the benefits of a more civilized way of life.

In sum, it could be argued that these fluid relational and ideological elements, defined by Governors of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, is what grants New Zealand's group identity its ability to survive cultural shifts and still affect symbolic inclusion of Māori to this day (see also Liu & Robinson, 2016; Nairn & McCreanor, 1991).

### **Limitations and Future Directions**

It is important to acknowledge the limitations of the present analysis, which may affect its interpretations. First and foremost, it should be acknowledged that these interpretations are specific to the unique context of New Zealand during the mid to late 19<sup>th</sup> Century. Given the conditions of intergroup relations in New Zealand, which has been shaped by its unique historical trajectory (see also Study 1; Belgrave, 2017; Fisher, 1980; Liu & Robinson, 2016; Nairn & McCreanor, 1991; Wetherell & Potter, 1993), the interpretations of the current analysis may not apply to other places and contexts. Nonetheless, the interpretations do highlight the need to consider and apply more contextually grounded frameworks in studies of intergroup psychology, especially in contexts where groups structures and conditions contradict those based on traditional intergroup theories (see also Study 1; Yuki, 2003; Liu & Allen, 1999).

Another limitation lies in the nature of the corpus. Because the corpus was made up of speeches that were all delivered from the Governor/Government's point of view, the study could not address the emotional climate that actually materialized in New Zealand during the colonial period. The Speeches from the Throne constitute a public channel of communication that can widely disseminate beliefs, and this allowed the examination of the speeches as a *mechanism* of emotional climate (Bar-Tal et al., 2007). However, the present research cannot claim to have been able to address the *effects* of this mechanism; that is, whether the primed emotions actually came to be conventionally endorsed by members of the general public, nor can it address the implications for such emotions and beliefs being endorsed. To examine the *real implications* of these emotional climates being developed, future research should draw on sources like press responses to the Governors' speeches, and various newspaper articles corresponding to key historical events. Although the press also constitutes a public channel of communication, it is likely to reveal emotions and beliefs endorsed by more diverse groups in society and therefore, may show the extent to which Governors' rhetorical efforts ended up materializing in the social reality of this context.

Another key limitation comes from the fact that true authorship of the historical speeches is unknown. This means that it cannot be claimed whether the rhetorical strategies employed by Governors in the speeches do truly reflect any *personal* agendas. The strategies of identity entrepreneurship employed by Governor Grey throughout the 1860s do seem to reflect his motivations and approach to the New Zealand wars. However, the speech delivered by Governor Gordon did not seem to express his personal opposition towards the Government's handling of the Parihaka incident. Therefore, it is not clear who exactly were directing identity entrepreneurship in these speeches, especially when motivations of Governors clashed with those of their Government. Nonetheless, this constitutes a more minor issue. The main point to be made, is that Governors acted as entrepreneurs of identity

on behalf of the British governing elites, in efforts to serve the underlying project of assimilation of Māori to British hierarchical structures and subsequent opening up of Māori land for settlement.

## Conclusion

The present study sought to answer the question of- how did past Governors of New Zealand, use emotion as part of their rhetorical strategies of identity entrepreneurship, to mobilize their followers towards colonization. The wider aim underlying this research was to contribute towards the endeavor of understanding how group identity has formed in New Zealand under its historical conditions of colonization. An underlying contradiction between reality and discourse has always existed in the relations between Māori and Pākehā in New Zealand. That is, while there is substantial material evidence of inequality between Māori and Pākehā groups, studies have continued to find a significant lack of traditional racism, or racial bias against Māori in public discourses, even in historical times. The examination of rhetorical devices used by Governors during colonization, provided some important insights into how actions that fell under a racist agenda, have been masked and rationalized so well historically, as acts that appeared reasonable and beneficial to all (*both* Europeans and Māori).

A framework that integrated theories of both identity entrepreneurship and emotional climate was applied in the analysis. Through the interpretive lenses of this framework, it appeared that Governors of the colonial period, sought to define and mobilize people as a shared category, through the articulation and ritualization of *emotional relationships*. Certain rituals or scripts of emotional relationships functioned to reify a hierarchical social order, and when this was disrupted, as in the case of the New Zealand wars, exclusionary discourses were emphasized to produce *action* that would re-establish the desired social order. The

exclusion of certain groups from the articulated emotional relationships justified their elimination, not solely by killing but also by *conversion* and change in their disposition.

These insights extend the findings of past studies, that complex and contradictory representations of Māori have underpinned intergroup relations in New Zealand since historical times (Liu & Robinson, 2016; McCreanor, 1997; Nairn & McCreanor; Sibley, Liu, Duckitt & Khan, 2008). As such, decontextualized intergroup theories may not be applicable for understanding how racism has historically operated in New Zealand. A theoretical point that is emphasized in this study, is the need for more historical and contextual factors to be considered in the study of inter-group relations. This calls for an interdisciplinary literature in social psychology to be prioritized, which incorporates important contributions from history.

## General Conclusion

This thesis sought to investigate intergroup processes that have contributed to New Zealand's collective identity, by examining a corpus of political speeches (Speeches from the Throne) that spans over an extended period (1854-2014). The Speeches from the Throne have signaled the incoming government's legislative agenda to both an official and widely public audience since historical times. As such, the present research was situated within a broadly historical context, as manifested in elite discourses represented by New Zealand's Speeches from the Throne.

The most important finding of Study 1 was that Māori were *not* infrahumanized compared to European settlers in New Zealand's Speeches from the Throne since historical times. Instead, *both* Māori and European settlers were consistently infrahumanized compared to the British governing elites. This infrahumanization effect lay in the differences in *cognition* attributed to these groups. Therefore, British governing elites were positioned with more *agency* than both Māori and European settlers in the Speeches from the Throne. Importantly, Māori were attributed the *most* psychological perspective (including cognition and intention) during the period of the New Zealand wars, compared to later time periods. This shows that the British governing elites actually acknowledged and regarded Māori as having agency during the height of conflict over colonization. In other words, Maori were not simply positioned as brutish savages.

Overall, Study 1 showed that infrahumanization of Māori was not part of the official colonizing discourse in New Zealand. Its findings highlighted how the traditional interpretation of infrahumanization as an ethnocentric bias, could not account for the patterns of psychological perspective attributed to Māori, European settlers and British governing elites in the Speeches from the Throne. Instead, the findings suggest that infrahumanization

biases in New Zealand's Speeches from the Throne, have historically revolved around more of a *class* structure, or structures of elitism as a property of the British Empire.

These findings were extended in Study 2, which showed how group identity in New Zealand has historically been defined around deeply embedded structures of *hierarchical relationalism* in elite discourses. Study 1 hinted at an embedded class structure in New Zealand, however it was unable to capture the way in which positive, hierarchical *relationships* between groups tied this structure together. This is the fundamental insight gained from Study 2, which allowed for a deeper examination of the aristocratic structures of the British Empire, as manifested in the form of positive, hierarchical relationships between the Crown, the Governor and their subjects.

In the historical context of New Zealand during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, a social order entrenched in hierarchical relationalism seems to have been maintained by the ritualization of relational intimacy between the Crown and her subjects. The positioning of Māori within these narratives, was crucial for the aims and agenda of British governing elites. Most notable is the *fluidity* of Māori positions in these narratives. The inclusion and exclusion of Māori in the British Empire was fluid in such a way that allowed the expansion of British hierarchical structures without having to eliminate all Māori and allowed British colonizing elites to maintain a 'spirit of benevolence' in their talk about their subjects, throughout the period of conquest. Moreover, this fluidity allowed positive relations between Māori and Europeans to be encouraged *while* undermining the 'dangerous' agency of Māori as a distinct, autonomous group.

According to its initial formulation, Good Māori, Bad Māori discourses seem to operate in a categorical manner, where Māori are divided into two distinct groups and included/excluded accordingly (McCreanor, 1997). This was evident in Study 1, where positive versus negative evaluations and mental states were attributed to Māori allies and

Māori ‘rebels’ respectively. Importantly, Study 2 also revealed the fundamentally relational nature of this discourse. That is, Māori could only be considered Good Māori, insofar as they displayed certain relational attitudes and desires favourable to the British project of colonization. The point to be emphasized here is that such relational attitudes were highly ‘correctable’ and never fixed. Even those who had been most strongly excluded during the height of conflict (e.g. chieftains formerly at war with the empire), were granted symbolic inclusion once they displayed a change in their attitudes.

Through the extension of positive and hierarchical relationships, Māori became subjected to the British social order and termed loyal subjects of the British Crown. In doing so, they traded in the ‘dangerous’ agency that had been acknowledged for them during the New Zealand wars. The official colonizing discourse, as manifested in New Zealand’s Speeches from the Throne, was *not* racially exclusionary. Instead, Māori were symbolically included in the British Empire, while losing their agency and distinctiveness in the process.

### Footnotes

<sup>1</sup> In the mid to late 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Governor functioned as the chief executive of the New Zealand government, but in recent years, the Governor-General's role has become more symbolic, and merely speaks on behalf of the Prime Minister and the ruling party or coalition in Parliament.

<sup>2</sup> All other actors were dismissed because there were a negligible amount of hits for those actors

<sup>3</sup> The narrator was the only British elite actor who had higher emotion hits than ordinary people. However, this stemmed from the narrator using emotional language to appeal to the public. This is a common style of discourse across public speeches. As such, narrator was not included in the comparison. Nonetheless, the narrator did have higher cognitive hits than ordinary people, thus being consistent with the overall pattern.

<sup>4</sup> Māori were consistently attributed more mental states than settlers, but the size of these differences were moderate

<sup>5</sup> Some themes that were identified did not lie within the scope of the current research and were therefore not included.



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