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

Masters' Thesis

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## **Abstract**

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

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## Contents

Abstract	ii
Acknowledgement	iii
Contents	v
List of figures	vi
List of Tables	viii
List of Appendices	x
Introduction	1
Method	31
Participants	31
Measures and Materials	31
Design and Procedure	32
Results	36
Discussion	67
References	77
Appendices	83

## List of Figures

<b>1. A:</b> Histogram of Responses to Question 1, after the Pro-Treaty Essay.	46
<b>B:</b> Histogram of Responses to Question 1, after the Anti-Treaty Essay.	
<b>C:</b> Histogram of Responses to Question 2, after the Pro-Treaty Essay.	47
<b>D:</b> Histogram of Responses to Question 1, after the Anti-Treaty Essay.	
<b>E:</b> Histogram of Responses to Question 1, after the Pro-Treaty Essay.	48
<b>F:</b> Histogram of Responses to Question 1, after the Anti-Treaty Essay.	
<b>G:</b> Histogram of Responses to Question 1, after the Pro-Treaty Essay.	49
<b>H:</b> Histogram of Responses to Question 1, after the Anti-Treaty Essay.	
<b>I:</b> Histogram of Responses to Question 1, after the Pro-Treaty Essay.	50
<b>J:</b> Histogram of Responses to Question 1, after the Anti-Treaty Essay.	
<b>K:</b> Histogram of Responses to Question 1, after the Pro-Treaty Essay.	51
<b>L:</b> Histogram of Responses to Question 1, after the Anti-Treaty Essay.	
<b>M:</b> Histogram of Responses to Question 1, after the Pro-Treaty Essay.	52

<b>N:</b> Histogram of Responses to Question 1, after the Anti-Treaty Essay.	
<b>O:</b> Histogram of Responses to Question 1, after the Pro-Treaty Essay.	53
<b>P:</b> Histogram of Responses to Question 1, after the Anti-Treaty Essay.	
2. Bar Graph of Worldview Defence. Anti-Treaty mean, Pro-Treaty mean, and Average mean difference for those who received either the Maori or Non-Maori prime (Culture).	54
<b>A:</b> Line Graph of Worldview Defence. Anti-Treaty mean, Pro-Treaty mean, and Average mean difference for those who received either the Maori or Non-Maori prime (Culture).	55
<b>B:</b> Bar Graph Worldview Defence. Anti-Treaty mean, Pro-Treaty mean, and Average mean difference for those who received either the Positive or Negative prime (Cultural Attitude).	56
<b>C:</b> Bar Graph Worldview Defence. Anti-Treaty mean, Pro-Treaty mean, and Average mean difference for those who received either the Positive or Negative prime (Cultural Attitude).	57
3. Mean Difference for cultural attitude for both the Māori and non-Māori groups in regards to the type of affective prime they received: positive or negative.	58
<b>A:</b> Line Graph of Mean Difference for cultural attitude for both the Māori and non-Māori groups in regards to the type of affective prime they received: positive or negative.	59

4. Bar graph of Mean Difference for Culture, for both the Positive and Negative groups in regards to the type of affective prime received, Maori or non-Maori.	60
A: Line graph of Mean Difference for Culture, for both the Positive and Negative groups in regards to the type of affective prime received, Maori or non-Maori	61
5. Positive PANAS Scale scores across all four administrations of the PANAS relating to culture (Maori/non-Maori) and cultural attitude (positive/negative).	62
6. Negative PANAS Scale scores across all four administrations of the PANAS relating to culture (Maori/non-Maori) and cultural attitude (positive/negative).	63

## List of Tables

<b>A:</b> Participant Ratings, Frequency and percentage for Question 1 for the Anti-Treaty, Pro-Treaty Essays	37
<b>B:</b> Participant Ratings, Frequency and percentage for Question 2 for the Anti-Treaty, Pro-Treaty Essays	38
<b>C:</b> Participant Ratings, Frequency and percentage for Question 3 for the Anti-Treaty, Pro-Treaty Essays	39
<b>D:</b> Participant Ratings, Frequency and percentage for Question 4 for the Anti-Treaty, Pro-Treaty Essays.	40
<b>E:</b> Participant Ratings, Frequency and percentage for Question 5 for the Anti-Treaty, Pro-Treaty Essays.	41
<b>F:</b> Participant Ratings, Frequency and percentage for Question 6 for the Anti-Treaty, Pro-Treaty Essays.	42
<b>G:</b> Participant Ratings, Frequency and percentage for Question 7 for the Anti-Treaty, Pro-Treaty Essays.	43
<b>H:</b> Participant Ratings, Frequency and percentage for Question 8 for the Anti-Treaty, Pro-Treaty Essays.	44
<b>I:</b> Numbers, Means, and Standard Deviations for all 8 Pro-Anti Treaty Questions.	45
<b>2.</b> Means, T-Values, and P-Values for Positive PANAS administrations 1, 2, 3.	65
<b>3.</b> Means, T-Values, and P-Values for Negative PANAS administrations 1, 2, 3.	66

# List of Appendices

## Appendix

A.	Primes	84
B.	PANAS Scale	85
C.	Filler Task	86
D.	Results of the Filler Task	87
E.	Pro-Treaty Essay	88
F.	Anti-Treaty Essay	89
G.	8 questions devised to calculate WVD	90
H.	The Booklet in its Final Form	92

## INTRODUCTION

*“Kia mau ki to Māoritanga: Hold fast to your Māoritanga”*

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



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

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

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

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

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

### **Terror Management Theory (TMT)**

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

TMT is largely derived from the work of Becker (1962, 1973, and 1975).

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

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

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

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

## **Culture**

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

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

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

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

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

### **Cultural WV**

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

### **Self Esteem**

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

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

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

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

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

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

## **Māori**

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



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

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

## **Mana/Tapu/Noa**

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

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

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

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

### **Cultural Differences**

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

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

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

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

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

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

### **Mortality Salience**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

### **Affective Priming**

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

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



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

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

### **Cultural Priming**

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

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

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

## **PANAS**

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

## **TMT Findings**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## **Hypotheses**

As such it is predicted that:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## METHOD

### Participants

Sixty New Zealand Māori teenage secondary students, 34 male and 26 female, 16-18 yrs of age, participated in the study during regular school hours, at the request of their teacher and principal, or at the request of their hostel parents for those who attended a boarding school. Of the participants who took part in the experiment, 23% came from iwi of the Bay of Plenty region, making up the largest group, with both Northland/Auckland iwi and Te Arawa/Taupo iwi sitting at 15%. The smallest iwi represented were South Island/Chatham, Manawatu/Horowhenua/Wellington, and Hawkes Bay iwi (Appendix 3). Seventy percent of the participants were in the fourth year of college; 60% considered their Te Reo Māori skills to be at a medium level. One participant was dropped because he was not of Māori descent.

### Measures and Materials

**Primes.** Four affective primes were introduced early in the experiment. Two were Māori in context, and two were more general. Within the two that were Māori in context, one was designed to elicit positive feelings about being Māori (i.e., winning a kapa haka competition), while the other tried to elicit feelings of hostility and aggression (i.e., sister hit off her bike, and being called bloody useless Māori). The other primes were similar in content, except no reference was made to cultural background.

In order to measure WV Defence, two short essays were constructed; one that supported the Treaty of Waitangi and what it stood for, and the other, was against it, offering the opinion that it should be dropped or thrown away, and that

Parliamentarians such as Dr Don Brash should be listened to. At the conclusion of each essay, the participant was asked to indicate how strongly they agreed about 8 statements referring to the author of that particular essay (Appendix G). Each was weighted (1-5), with the higher numbers equalling more positive feelings, and the lower numbers, more negative feelings. WV Defence was calculated by subtracting the negative total ratings from the positive total ratings.

The PANAS (Positive Affect, Negative Affect Scale) developed by Watson, Clark, and Tellegen (1988). This scale is a self-report measure of an individual's emotional state in relation to a range of time frames by means of a checklist of 20 emotional-specific words. It contains 10 Positive Affect items: *attentive, interested, alert, excited, enthusiastic, inspired, proud, determined, and active*, and 10 Negative Affect items: *distressed, upset hostile, irritable, scared, afraid, ashamed, guilty, nervous, and jittery*. This scale was developed to clearly identify the dominant dimensions and nature of affect). Normed on undergraduate students attending Southern Methodist University (SMU) and University employees ( $n=164$ ), the PANAS-PA alpha was  $(\alpha) = 0.89$ , while the PANAS-NA were  $(\alpha) = 0.85$  (Watson, Clark, & Tellegen, 1988). Correlation between the two scales (PA and NA) was  $-.15$ . Convergent validity with other measures was good with the PANAS NA showing a correlation of  $.74$  (past few weeks) and  $.65$  (today) with the HSCL;  $.56$  and  $.58$  with the BDI; and  $.51$  with the A-State. The PANAS PA showed correlations of  $-.19$  (past few weeks), and  $-.29$  (today) with the HSCL;  $-.35$  and  $-.36$  with the BDI, and  $-.35$  with the A-State.

Participants were required to complete the PANAS by reading an item and indicating the extent to which they were feeling that emotion at that moment, the

following 5-point scale (*1=very slightly, 2=a little, 3=moderately, 4=quite a bit, 5=extremely*).

## **Design and Procedure**

The experiment settings were an available room the schools could provide. 3 different schools were tested in group settings. The experimenter introduced himself in a culturally appropriate manner (i.e., mahi-mahi: Maunga, awa, hapu, iwi) as well as identifying himself as a Master's student completing his thesis. As the experimenter had a research assistant, she was also introduced. It was explained that one of the requirements for a Master's was to complete a body of research, and as such, Māori teens attending one of the six Māori secondary schools, or those who took Māori as a subject, were needed to participate in the study. Participants were then asked to read an information sheet, pertaining to their rights, what the experimenter's role was, what would happen to the information, and their right to withdraw or ask any questions at any time. The participants were also told that to show appreciation for participating in the research, they would be provided with some kai (food), ranging from fruits to biscuits. At the end of this process, the experimenter asked the students if they understood their rights, if they had any questions, and if anyone wanted to leave. It is noted that no one chose to not participate. The students were then asked to read, print and sign their name on the consent to participate form.

Once the consent forms were collected, the students were given the experimental booklet titled "A Study of Feelings." The participants were initially asked to complete demographical questions about the participant such as age, sex, ethnicity (Māori), and enjoyment of schooling, place of residence, iwi, year group, and level of Te Reo.



Upon completion of the initial PANAS, participants received one of four primes. The positive prime was winning a kapa haka competition for Māori, or getting a job promotion for non-Māori. The negative prime was watching the baby sister be knocked of her bike and called a useless Māori or just watching their sister be knocked of her bike for non-Māori.

Again the PANAS was administered, with the order of the items counterbalanced to eliminate repetition and practise.

Like in Greenberg, Pyszczynski, Solomon, Rosenblatt, Veeder, Kirkland, and Lyon (1990), a filler task was introduced to provide a delay between the prime and the dependent measure. This delay helps disguise the true nature of the experiment. In essence, it allows the initial reactions to reduce, but still remain so that it can be easily accessed later in the experiment. This is important in that it is hoped that the effect of the prime will influence the participant's reactions after a delay.

Again the PANAS was administered with the items in a new order to eliminate practise and repetition.

Once completed, the participants were given a brief script. This told of two foreign students who were applying for permanent residency in New Zealand. As part of their application, they had to write an essay about their thoughts of the Treaty of Waitangi, based on a one-day course they had attended. The essays represented two polar opposite perspectives, with one focusing on the need to readdress the violation of Māori rights (pro-Treaty), while the other one advocated getting rid of the Treaty and having Māori be absorbed into the general population. This was essential as it was hoped that the essay in opposition of the Treaty would elicit hostile feeling, especially in those who received the negative Māori Prime. After each essay, participants rated their feelings towards the author(s).

Once read and the subsequent questions answered, the participants were required to complete the last PANAS. The booklet ended with a short thank you to the participant for taking part in the research.

After the essays were collected, the participants were asked about their opinions of the two authors of the essays. They were then debriefed as to the broad focus of the study and informed that the essays were actually written by the experimenter and that they were designed purely for the purposes of the experiment. The students were then provided with a meal and once again thanked for their participation.

## RESULTS

Initially, each participant was asked to indicate the extent to which they agreed with each of the 8 questions, which provides us the WV Defence (the raw data for the responses relating to the initial 8 questions is presented in *Table 1A-H*. Questions 4 and 8 were dropped because the majority of responses did not indicate whether affect arousal had taken place, and were statistically insignificant.

Worldview Defence was calculated. Mean differences and standard deviations were calculated for the responses to the questions following each essay. This score was calculated by subtracting the mean of the anti-treaty (negative) essay from the pro-treaty (positive) essay. These scores thus represented the difference between the ratings given to the pro-treaty author and the anti-treaty author. The larger this difference, the greater the WV defence. Using WV Defence as the dependent variable, a 2-way ANOVA investigated the effects of culture and cultural attitudes (the 4 primes used in the study). No significant interaction was found  $f(1, 51) = 1.23$ ,  $p = .272$  (Figure 1). Because there was no significant interaction, the main effects became the focus of exploration. Two items were dropped in calculating the WVD, because they were seen as having no impact.

The main effect for cultural attitude (positive and negative primes) was not significant  $f(1, 51) = .002$ ,  $p = 9.67$  (Figure 2, 2A). A significant main effect for culture (Māori and non-Māori) was found,  $f(1, 51) = 8.411$ ,  $p = .005$  (Figure 3, 3A). The average culture mean for Māori was  $m = 1.6071$ , compared to that of non-Māori, which was  $m = .6728$ .

On the anti-essay scores, there was no significant difference between Māori ( $m = 2.33$ ) and non-Māori ( $m = 2.67$ )  $t(56) = 1.486$ ,  $p = 1.43$ . However, on the pro-essay

scores, Māori scored significantly higher ( $m=3.96$ ) than non-Māori ( $m=3.38$ )  $t(54)=2.933, p=.005$ .

A repeated measures ANOVA showed significant changes across the PANAS-negative scale stages  $f(1, 51)=32.570, p=001$  (Figure 5). In addition to these, there was also a significant interaction between stage and culture  $f(1, 51)=4.792, p=.012$ , between stages and cultural attitudes  $f(1, 51)=3.327, p=.043$ .

*Table 1A*  
Participant Ratings, Frequency and Percent for Question 1 for the Anti-Treaty and Pro-Treaty Essays

Opinion	Anti-Treaty		Pro-Treaty	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
1: very bad	13	21.7	1	1.7
2: fairly bad	14	23.3	0	0
3: okay	18	30.0	17	28.3
4: fairly good	7	11.7	19	31.7
5: very good	5	8.3	22	36.7
Total	57	95.3	59	98.3
Missing	3	5.0	1	1.7

Note. Table 1A outlines the number of participants, and their percentage, in relation to each response for question 1, after the Anti-Treaty and Pro-Treaty essays. These numbers were used in the calculation of the WV Defence. They are presented in Figure 1A, 1B.

*Table 1B*  
Participant Ratings, Frequency and Percent for Question 2 for the Anti-Treaty and  
Pro-Treaty Essays

	Anti-Treaty		Pro-Treaty	
Opinion	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
1: not important at all	15	25.0	2	3.3
2: not important	13	21.7	2	3.3
3: neutral	24	40.0	23	38.3
4: more important	5	8.3	23	38.3
5: superior	2	3.3	9	15.0
Total	59	98.3	59	98.3
Missing	1	1.7	1	1.7

Note. Table 1B outlines the number of participants, and their percentage, in relation to each response for question 2, after the Anti-Treaty and Pro-Treaty essays. These numbers were used in the calculation of the WV Defence. They are presented in Figure 1C, 1D.

<i>Table 1C</i>				
Participant Ratings, Frequency and Percent for Question 3 for the Anti-Treaty and Pro-Treaty Essays				
	Anti-Treaty		Pro-Treaty	
Opinion	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
1: imprisonment and fine	13	21.7	4	6.7
2: fine and deportation	27	45.0	11	18.3
3: fine only	6	10.0	13	21.7
4: reprimand and warning	9	15.0	8	13.3
5: warning only	4	6.7	20	33.3
Total	59	98.3	56	93.3
Missing	1	1.7	4	6.7

Note. Table 1C outlines the number of participants, and their percentage, in relation to each response for question 3, after the Anti-Treaty and Pro-Treaty essays. These numbers were used in the calculation of the WV Defence. They are presented in Figure 1E, 1F.

*Table 1D*  
Participant Ratings, Frequency and Percent for Question 4 for the Anti-Treaty and  
Pro-Treaty Essays

	Anti-Treaty		Pro-Treaty	
Opinion	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
1: very inaccurate	5	8.3	2	3.3
2: somewhat inaccurate	6	10.00	10	16.7
3: not sure	29	48.3	18	30.0
4: somewhat accurate	14	23.3	16	26.7
5: very accurate	5	8.3	12	20.0
Total	59	98.3	58	96.7
Missing	1	1.7	2	3.3

Note. Table 1D outlines the number of participants, and their percentage, in relation to each response for question 4, after the Anti-Treaty and Pro-Treaty essays. These numbers were used in the calculation of the WV Defence. They are presented in Figure 1G, 1H.

*Table 1E*  
Participant Ratings, Frequency and Percent for Question 5 for the Anti-Treaty and Pro-Treaty Essays

	Anti-Treaty		Pro-Treaty	
Opinion	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
1: strongly disagree	22	36.7	4	6.7
2: somewhat disagree	11	18.3	2	3.3
3: unsure	16	26.7	22	36.7
4: somewhat agree	8	13.3	12	20.0
5: strongly agree	2	3.3	19	31.7
Total	59	98.3	59	98.3
Missing	1	1.7	1	1.7

Note. Table 1E outlines the number of participants, and their percentage, in relation to each response for question 5, after the Anti-Treaty and Pro-Treaty essays. These numbers were used in the calculation of the WV Defence. They are presented in Figure 1I, 1J.



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*Table 1F*

Participant Ratings, Frequency and Percent for Question 6 for the Anti-Treaty and Pro-Treaty Essays

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Opinion	Anti-Treaty		Pro-Treaty	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
1: strongly disagree	15	25.0	1	1.7
2: somewhat disagree	14	23.3	4	6.7
3: unsure	16	26.7	14	23.3
4: somewhat agree	8	13.3	20	33.3
5: strongly agree	6	10.0	20	33.3
Total	59	98.3	59	98.3
Missing	1	1.7	1	1.7

---

Note. Table 1F outlines the number of participants, and their percentage, in relation to each response for question 6, after the Anti-Treaty and Pro-Treaty essays. These numbers were used in the calculation of the WV Defence. They are presented in Figure 1K, 1L.

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*Table 1G*  
Participant Ratings, Frequency and Percent for Question 7 for the Anti-Treaty and  
Pro-Treaty Essays

Opinion	Anti-Treaty		Pro-Treaty	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
1: strongly disagree	15	25.0	2	3.3
2: somewhat disagree	9	15.0	7	11.7
3: unsure	23	38.3	23	38.3
4: somewhat agree	8	13.3	21	35.0
5: strongly agree	3	5.0	6	10.0
Total	58	96.7	59	98.3
Missing	2	3.3	1	1.7

Note. Table 1G outlines the number of participants, and their percentage, in relation to each response for question 7, after the Anti-Treaty and Pro-Treaty essays. These numbers were used in the calculation of the WV Defence. They are presented in Figure 1M, 1N.

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*Table 1H*

Participant Ratings, Frequency and Percent for Question 8 for the Anti-Treaty and Pro-Treaty Essays

---

	Anti-Treaty		Pro-Treaty	
Opinion	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
1: inferior	19	31.7	3	5.0
2: less important	13	21.7	11	18.3
3: same	18	30.0	23	38.3
4: more important	7	11.7	15	25.0
5: superior	0	0	4	6.7
Total	57	95.0	59	93.3
Missing	3	5.0	1	1.7

---

Note. Table 1H outlines the number of participants, and their percentage, in relation to each response for question 7, after the Anti-Treaty and Pro-Treaty essays. These numbers were used in the calculation of the WV Defence. They are presented in Figure 1O, 1P.

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*Table 1I*

*Numbers, Means, and Standard Deviations for all 8 Pro and Anti-Treaty Questions*

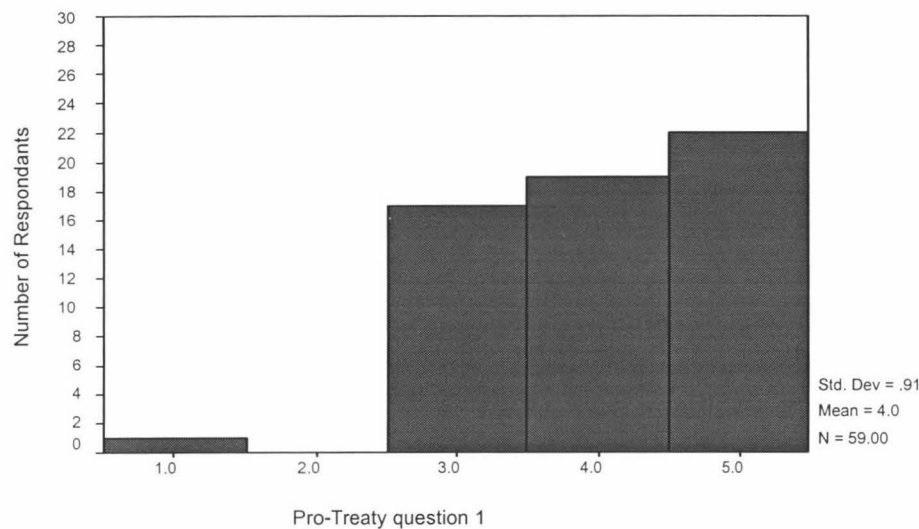
Question	Pro-Treaty			Anti-Treaty		
	N	M	Std Dev	N	M	Std Dev
Q 1	59	4	.91	59	2.7	1.36
Q 2	59	3.6	.91	59	2.4	1.07
Q 3	56	3.5	1.35	59	2.4	1.19
*Q 4	58	3.4	1.11	59	3.1	1.01
Q 5	59	3.7	1.17	59	2.3	1.20
Q 6	59	3.9	1.00	59	2.6	1.29
Q 7	59	3.4	.95	58	2.6	1.17
*Q 8	56	3.1	.98	57	2.2	1.05

Note. Table 1I presents the number of participants that answered the question, the mean, and standard deviation for both the Pro-Treaty and Anti-Treaty Essays.

\*Indicates the two questions that were dropped in the final calculation of the WV Defence. Varying numbers suggest that some participants did not provide an opinion for that question. Figures 2-3 provide the WV Defence calculated without questions 4 and 8.

Figure 1A

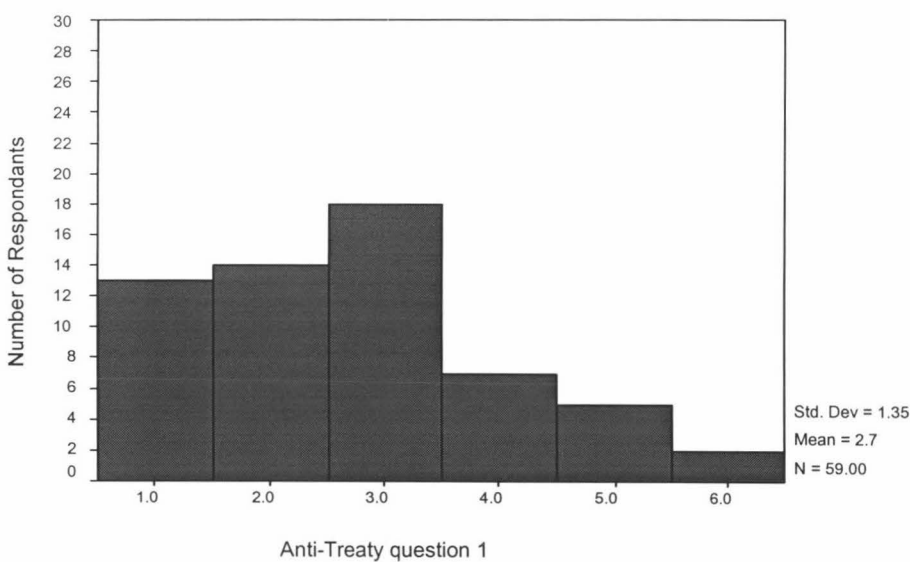
Histogram of Responses to Question 1, after the Pro-Treaty Essay.



Note. Histogram shows the raw data for each participant’s response to question 1 after Pro-Treaty Essay was read.

Figure 1B

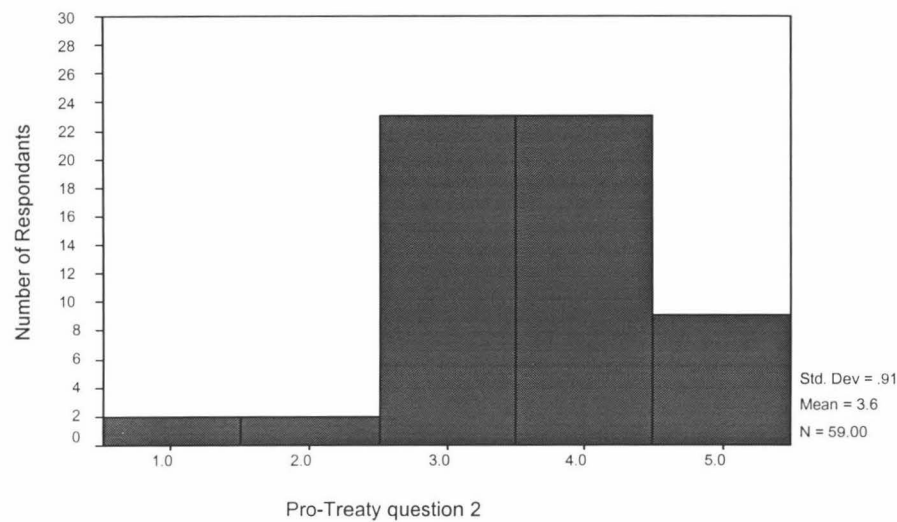
Histogram of Responses to Question 1, after the Anti-Treaty Essay.



Note. Histogram shows the raw data for each participant’s response to question 1 after Pro-Treaty Essay was read.

Figure 1C

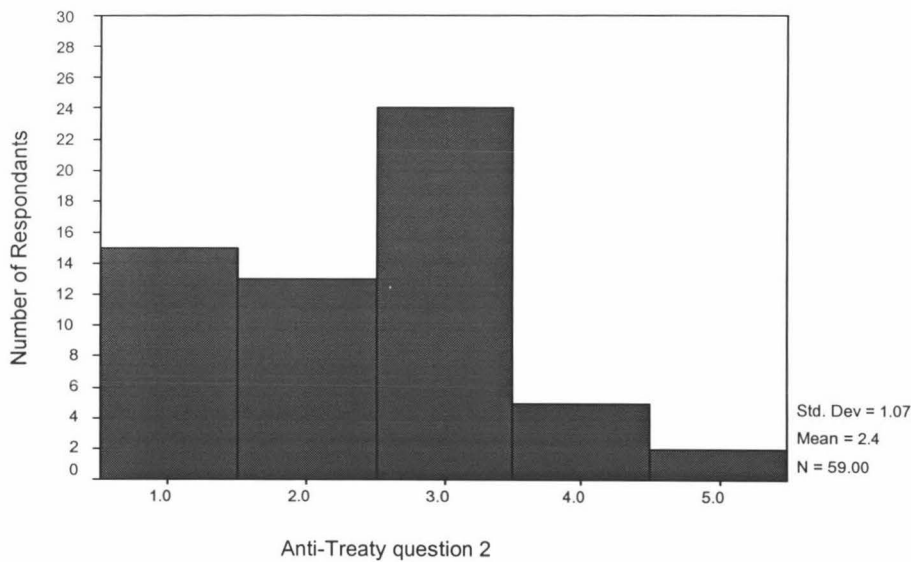
Histogram of Responses to Question 2, after the Pro-Treaty Essay.



Note. Histogram shows the raw data for each participant’s response to question 2 after Pro-Treaty Essay was read.

Figure 1D

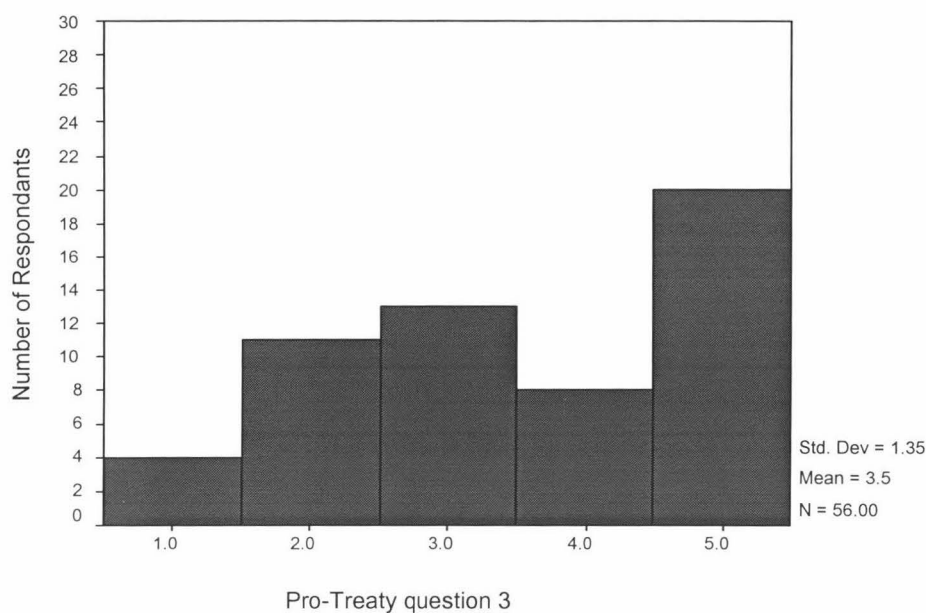
Histogram of Responses to Question 2, after the Anti-Treaty Essay.



Note. Histogram shows the raw data for each participant’s response to question 2 after Anti-Treaty Essay was read.

Figure 1E

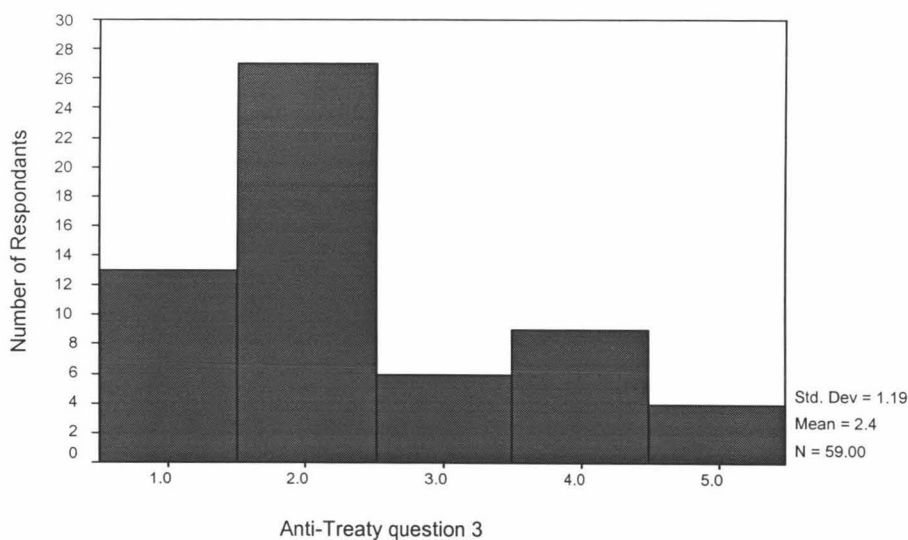
Histogram of Responses to Question 3, after the Pro-Treaty Essay.



Note. Histogram shows the raw data for each participant’s response to question 3 after Pro-Treaty Essay was read.

Figure 1F

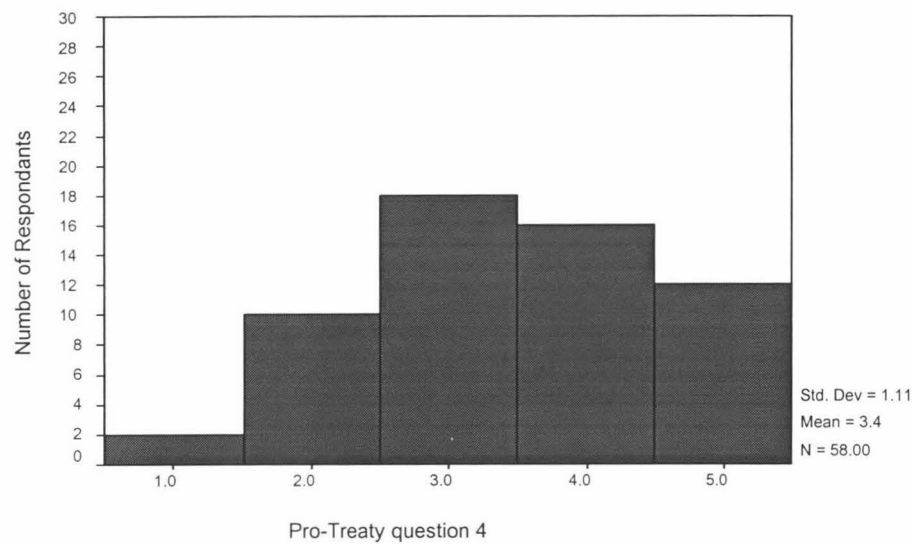
Histogram of Responses to Question 3, after the Anti-Treaty Essay.



Note. Histogram shows the raw data for each participant’s response to question 3 after Anti-Treaty Essay was read.

Figure 1G

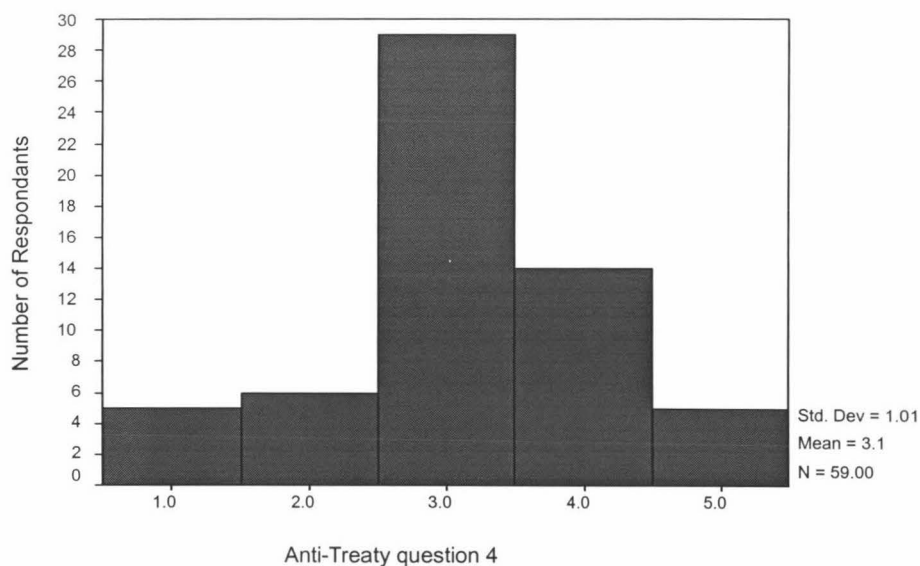
Histogram of Responses to Question 4, after the Pro-Treaty Essay.



Note. Histogram shows the raw data for each participant’s response to question 4 after Pro-Treaty Essay was read. This question was subsequently dropped.

Figure 1H

Histogram of Responses to Question 4, after the Pro-Treaty Essay.

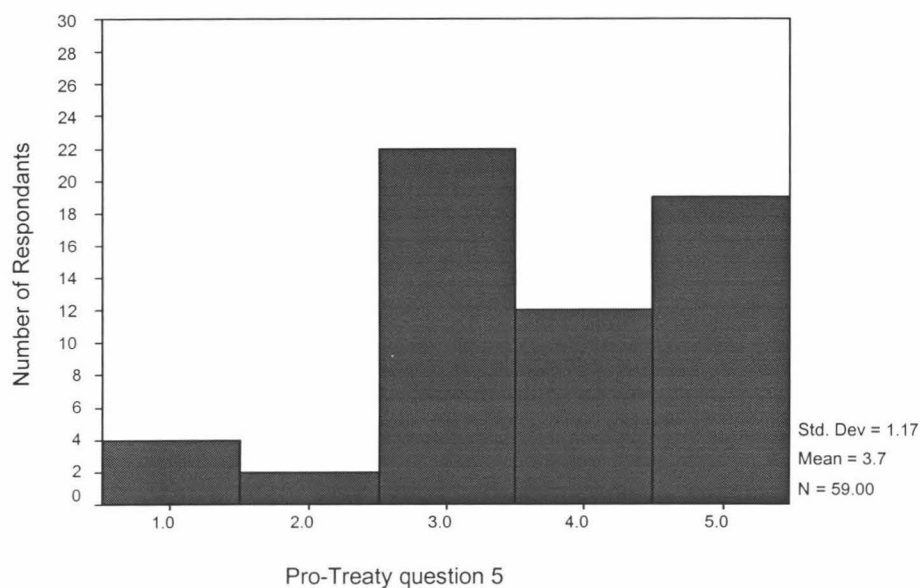


Note. Histogram shows the raw data for each participant’s response to question 4 after Anti-Treaty Essay was read. This question was subsequently dropped.



Figure 1I

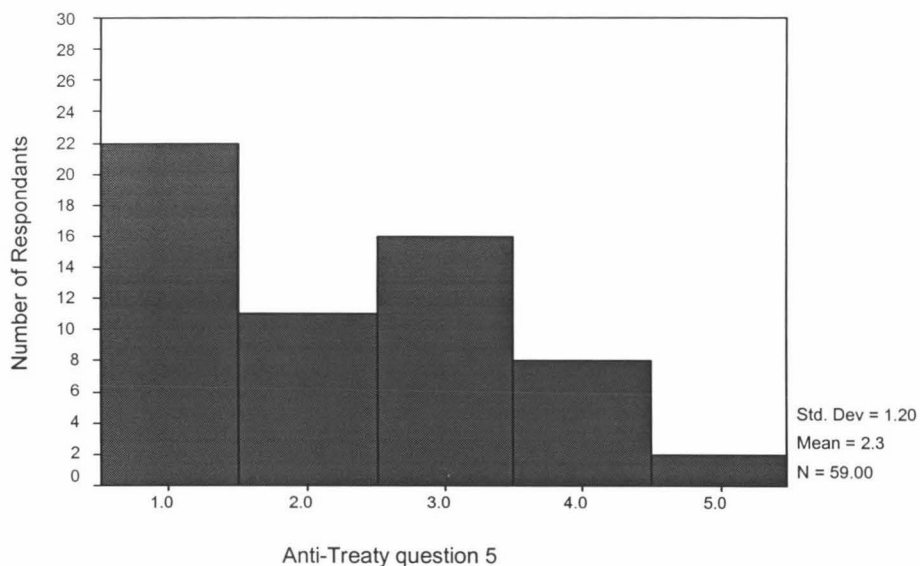
Histogram of Responses to Question 5, after the Pro-Treaty Essay.



Note. Histogram shows the raw data for each participant’s response to question 5 after Pro-Treaty Essay was read.

Figure 1J

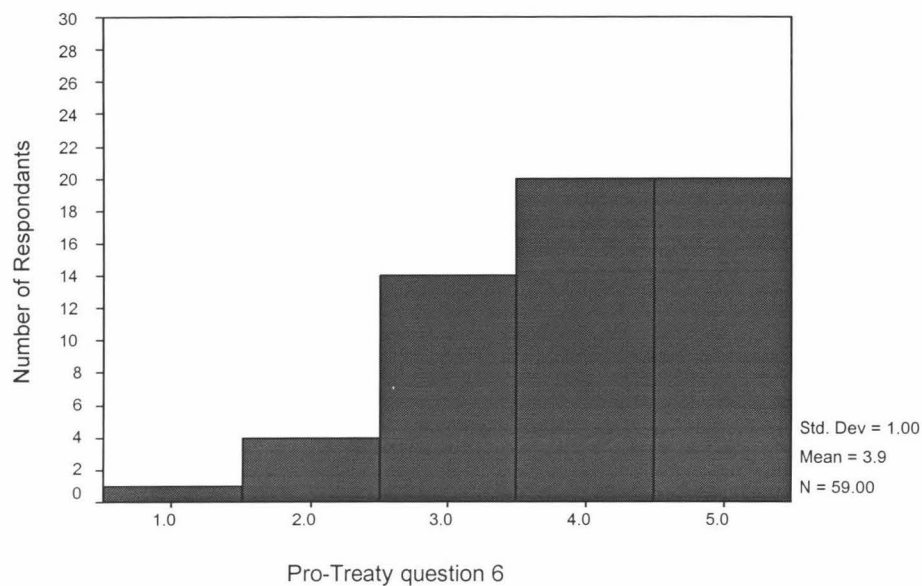
Histogram of Responses to Question 5, after the Anti-Treaty Essay.



Note. Histogram shows the raw data for each participant’s response to question 5 after Anti-Treaty Essay was read.

Figure 1K

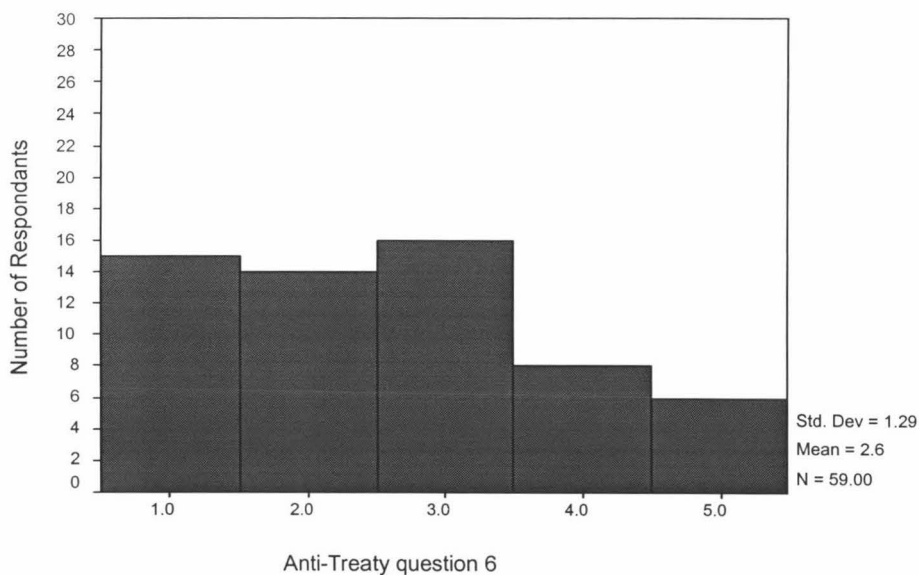
Histogram of Responses to Question 6, after the Pro-Treaty Essay



Note. Histogram shows the raw data for each participant’s response to question 6 after Pro-Treaty Essay was read.

Figure 1L

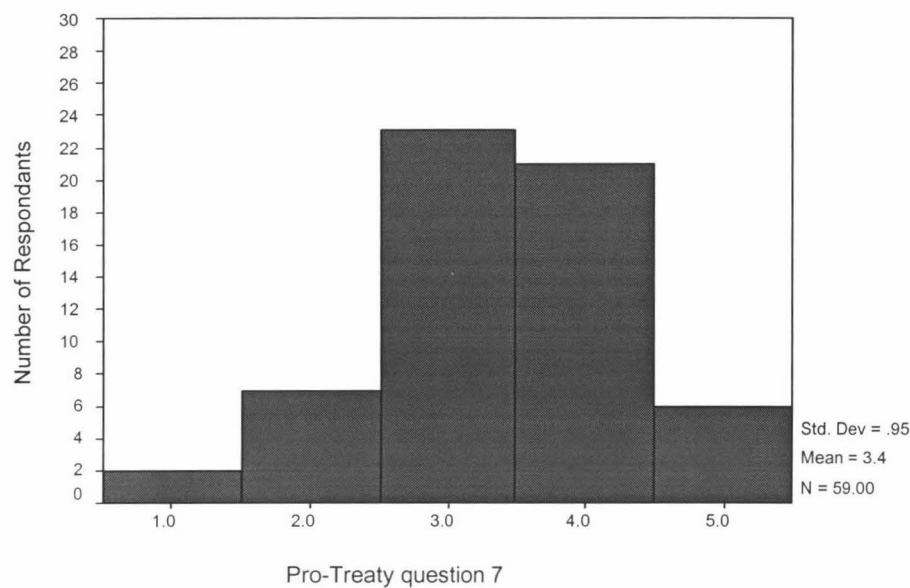
Histogram of Responses to Question 6, after the Anti-Treaty Essay.



Note. Histogram shows the raw data for each participant’s response to question 6 after Anti-Treaty Essay was read.

Figure 1M

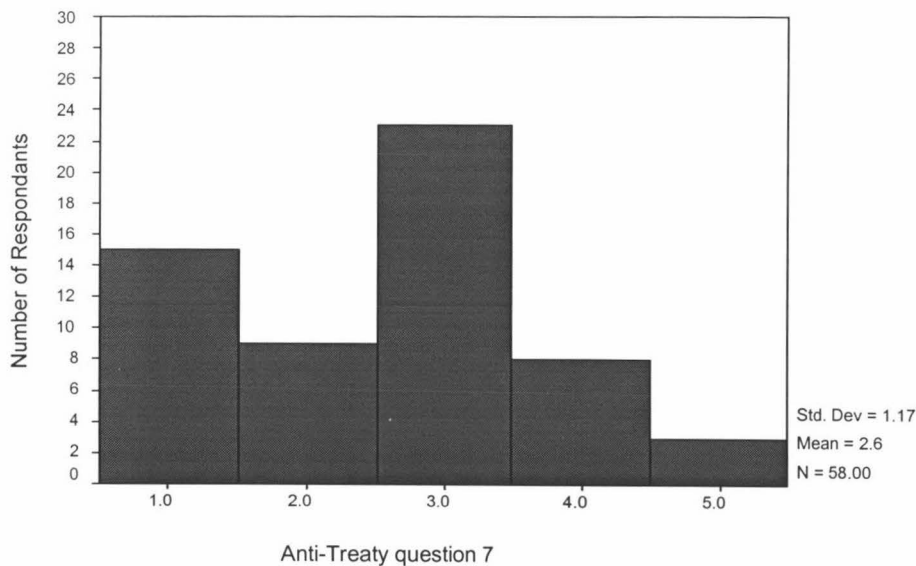
Histogram of Responses to Question 7, after the Pro-Treaty Essay



Note. Histogram shows the raw data for each participant’s response to question 6 after Pro-Treaty Essay was read.

Figure 1N

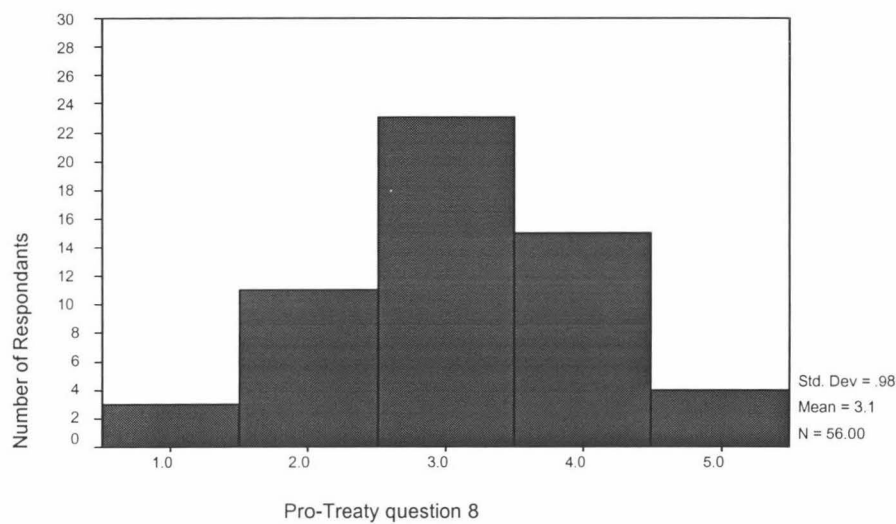
Histogram of Responses to Question 6, after the Anti-Treaty Essay.



Note. Histogram shows the raw data for each participant responses to question 7 after Anti-Treaty Essay was read.

Figure 1O

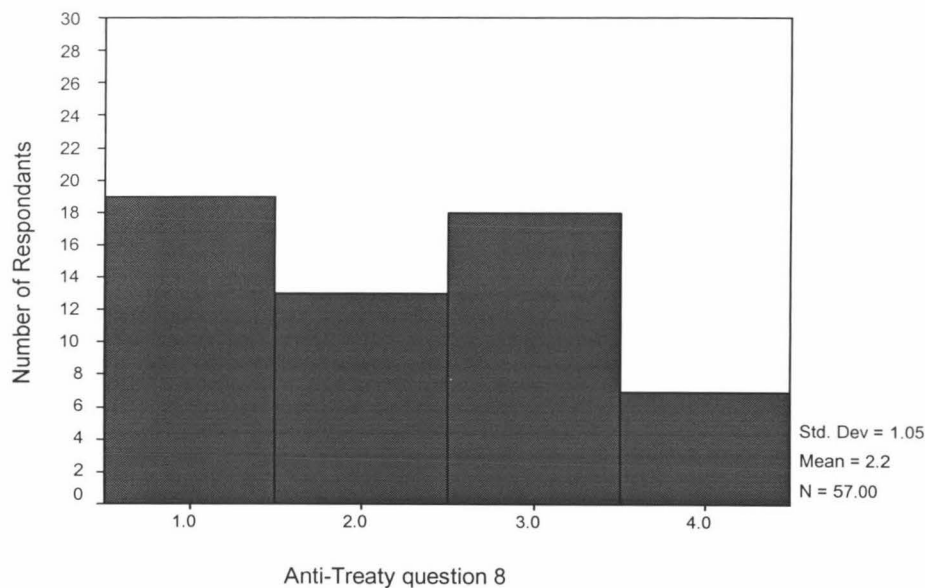
Histogram of Responses to Question 8, after the Pro-Treaty Essay



Note. Histogram shows the raw data for each participant’s response to question 8 after Pro-Treaty Essay was read. This question was subsequently dropped.

Figure 1P

Histogram of Responses to Question 8, after the Anti-Treaty Essay.



Note. Histogram shows the raw data for each participant’s response to question 8 after Anti-Treaty Essay was read. This question was subsequently dropped.

Figure 2

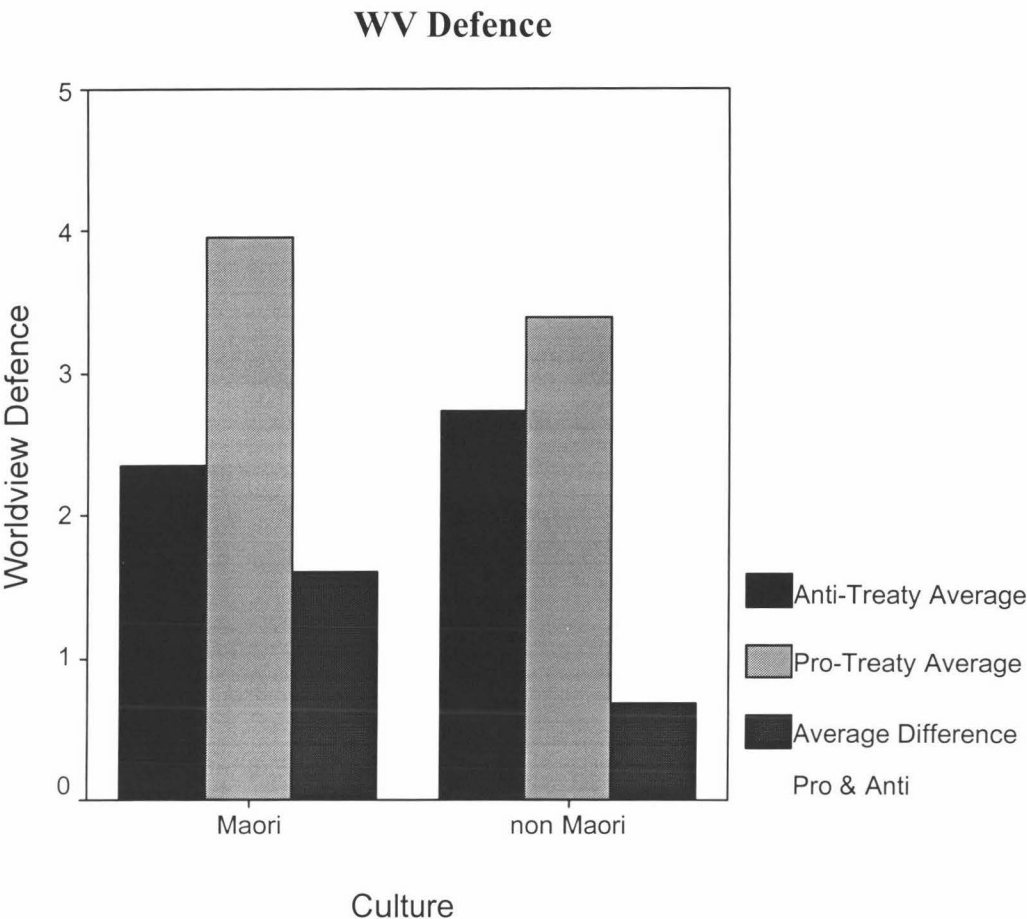


Figure 2. WV Defence. Anti-Treaty mean, Pro-Treaty mean, and Average mean difference for those who received either the Māori or Non-Māori prime (Culture). The Mean difference is the WV Defence, and was calculated by subtracting the mean for the Anti-Treaty from the mean of the Pro-Treaty group.

Figure 2A.

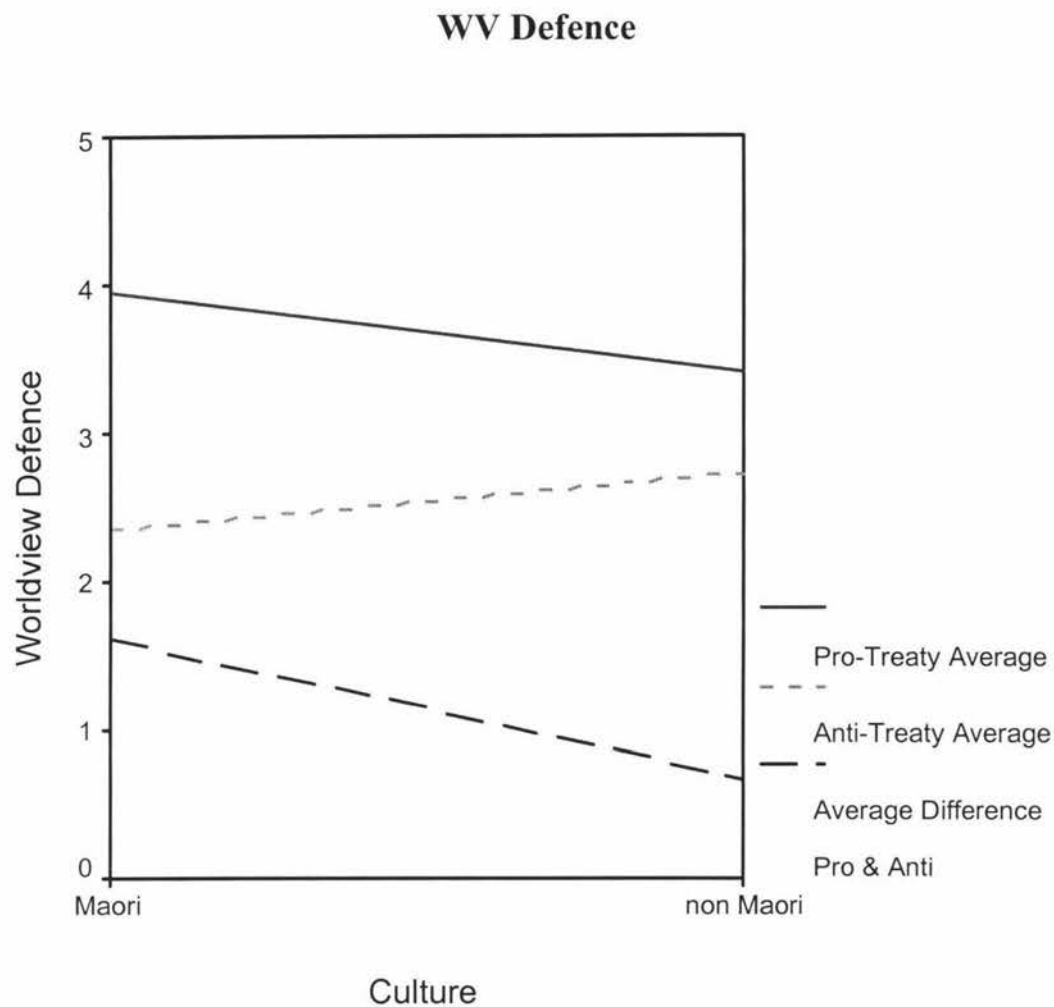


Figure 2A. Line Graph of WV Defence. Anti-Treaty mean, Pro-Treaty mean, and Average mean difference for those who received either the Māori or Non-Māori prime (Culture). The mean difference is the WV Defence, and was calculated by subtracting the mean for the Anti-Treaty from the mean of the Pro-Treaty group.

Figure 2B.

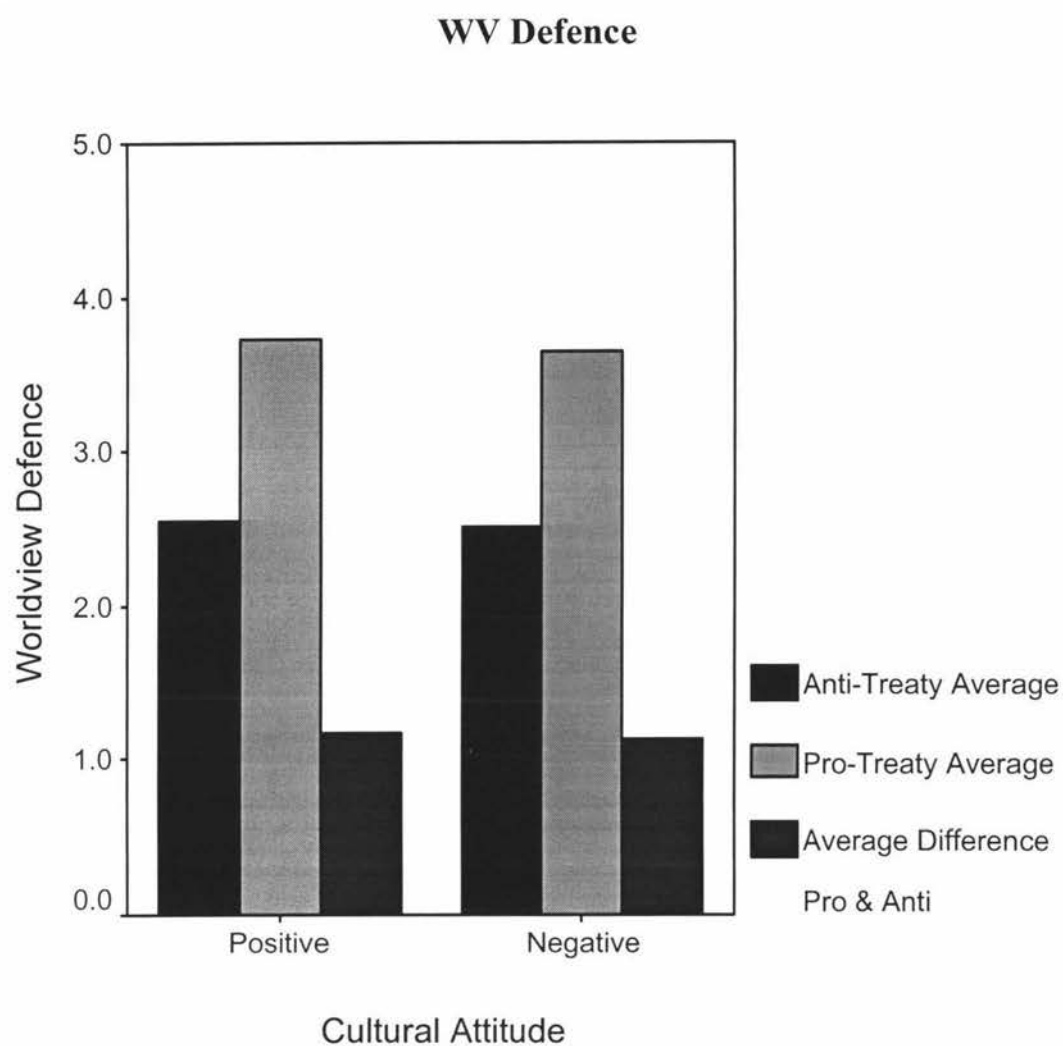


Figure 2B. WV Defence. Anti-Treaty mean, Pro-Treaty mean, and Average mean difference for those who received either the Positive or Negative prime (Cultural Attitude). The mean difference is the WV Defence, and was calculated by subtracting the mean for the Anti-Treaty from the mean of the Pro-Treaty group.

Figure 2C.

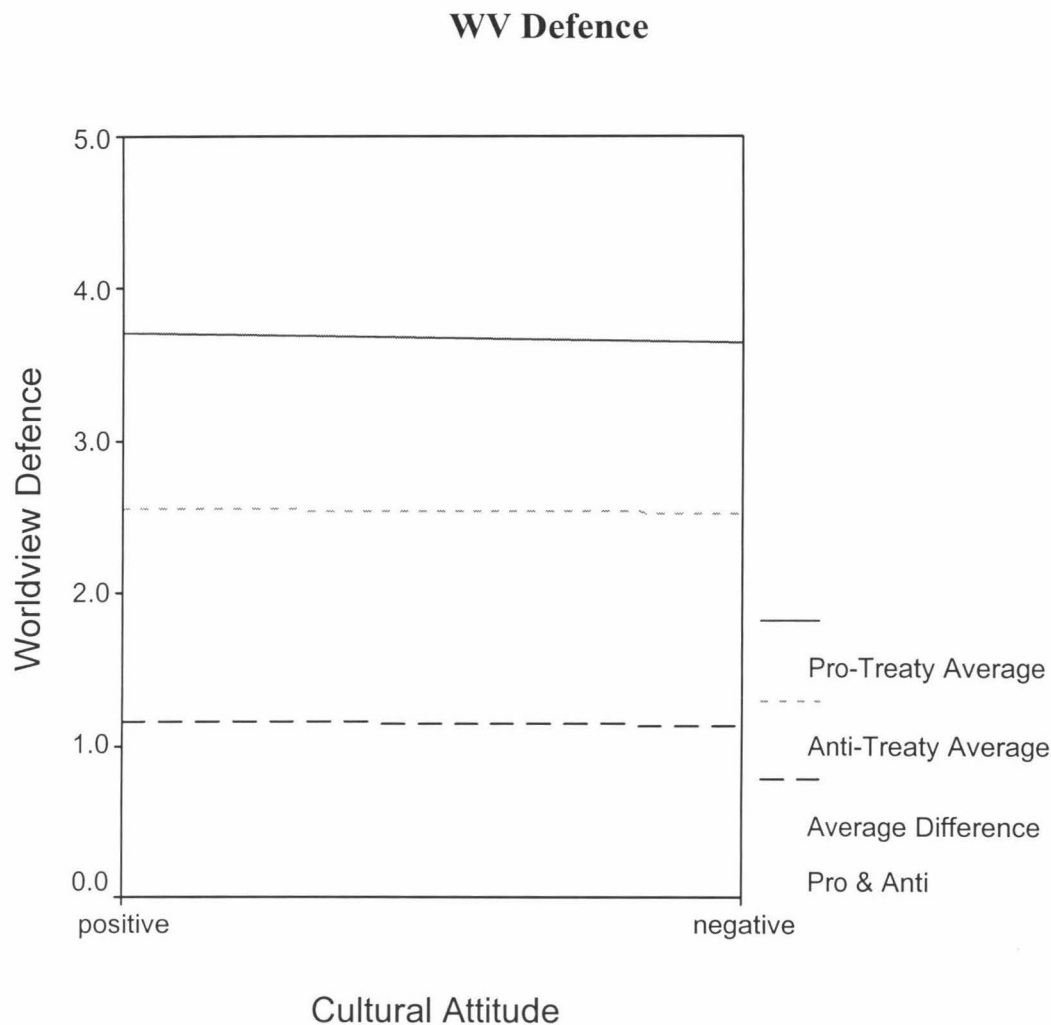


Figure 2C. WV Defence. Anti-Treaty mean, Pro-Treaty mean, and Average mean difference for those who received either the Positive or Negative prime (Cultural Attitude). The mean difference is the WV Defence, and was calculated by subtracting the mean for the Anti-Treaty from the mean of the Pro-Treaty group.



Figure 3.

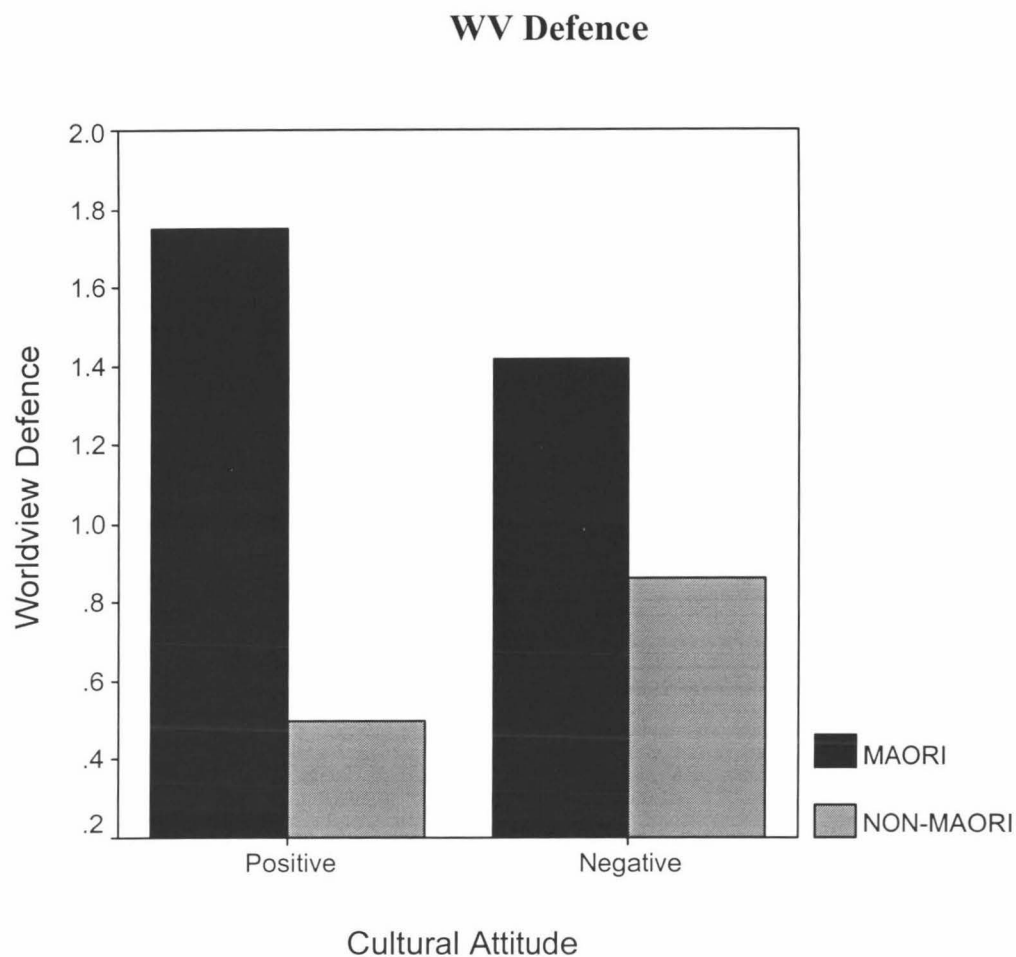


Figure 3. Mean Difference for cultural attitude for both the Māori and non-Māori groups in regards to the type of affective prime they received; either a positive or a negative one.

Figure 3A.

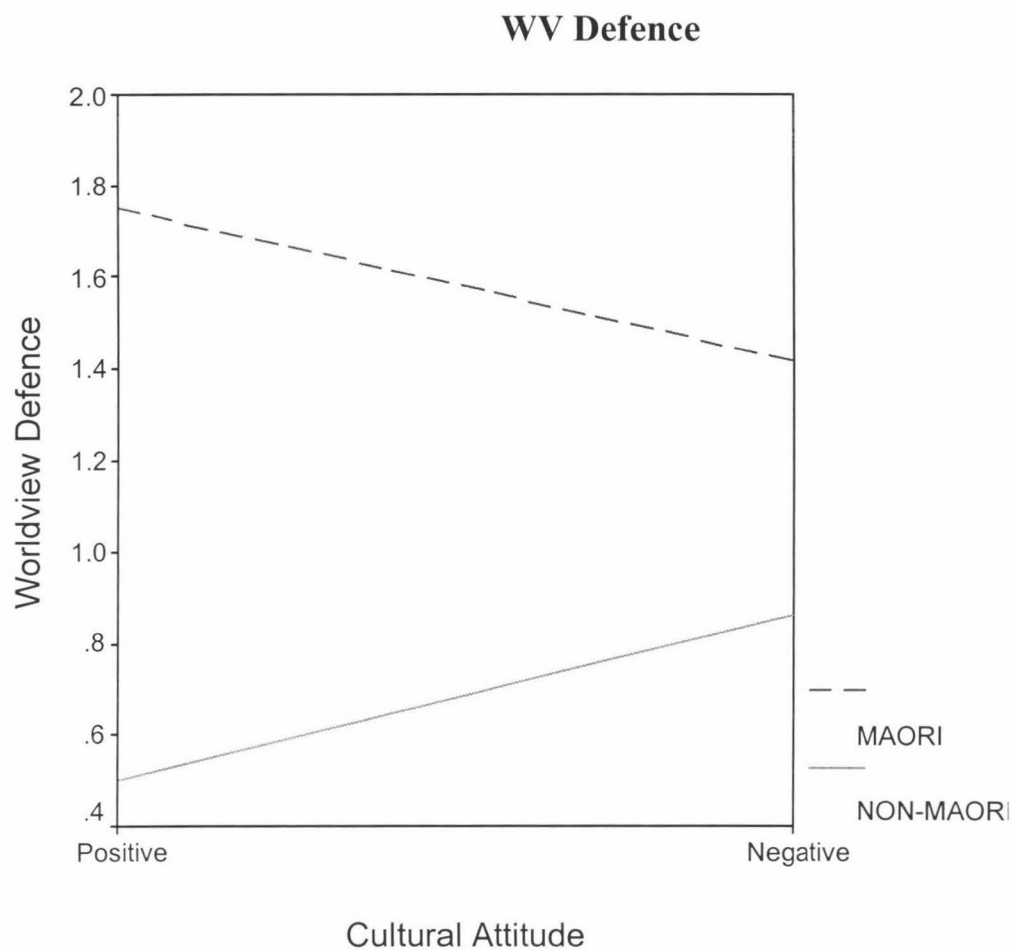


Figure 3A. Mean Difference for cultural attitude for both the Māori and non-Māori groups in regards to the type of affective prime they received.

Figure 4.

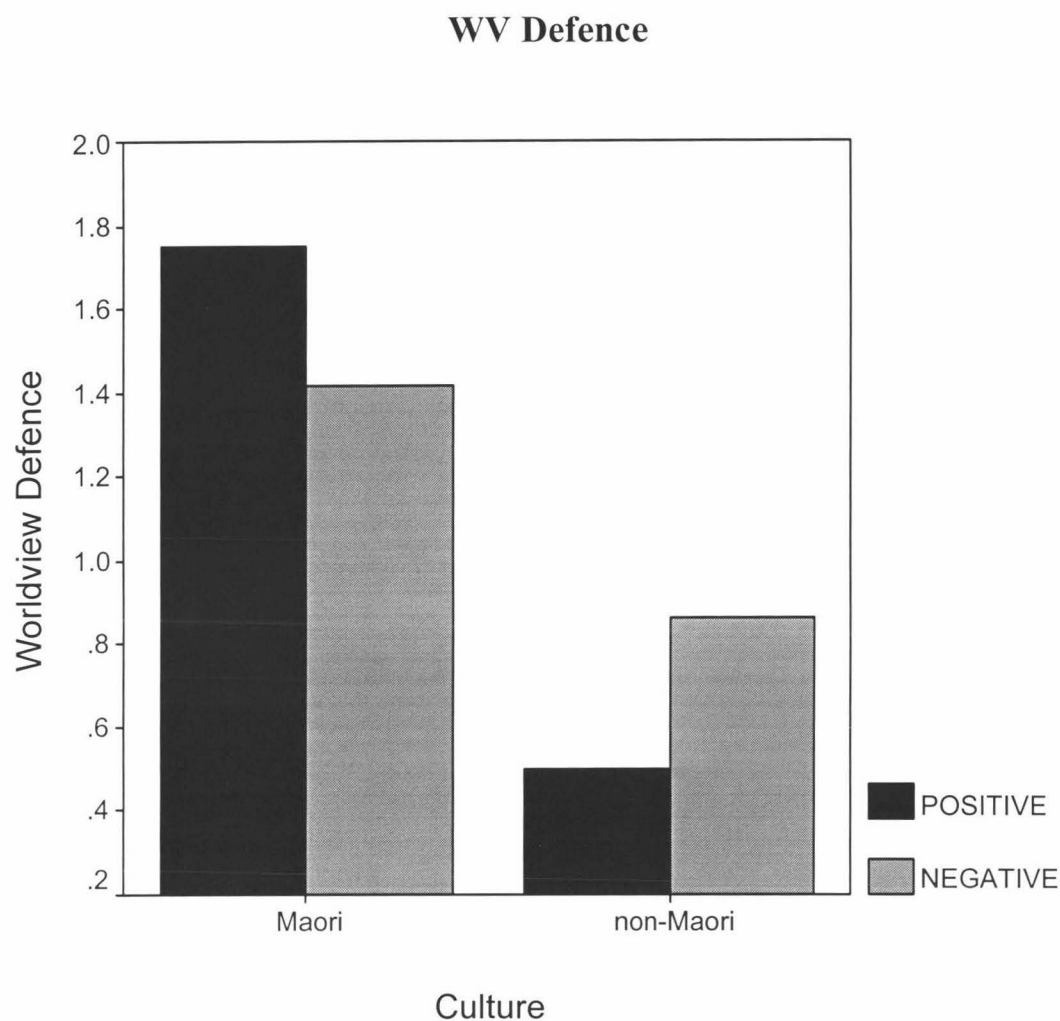


Figure 4. Mean Difference for culture, for both the Positive and negative groups in regards to the type of affective prime they received, Māori or non-Māori.

Figure 4A.

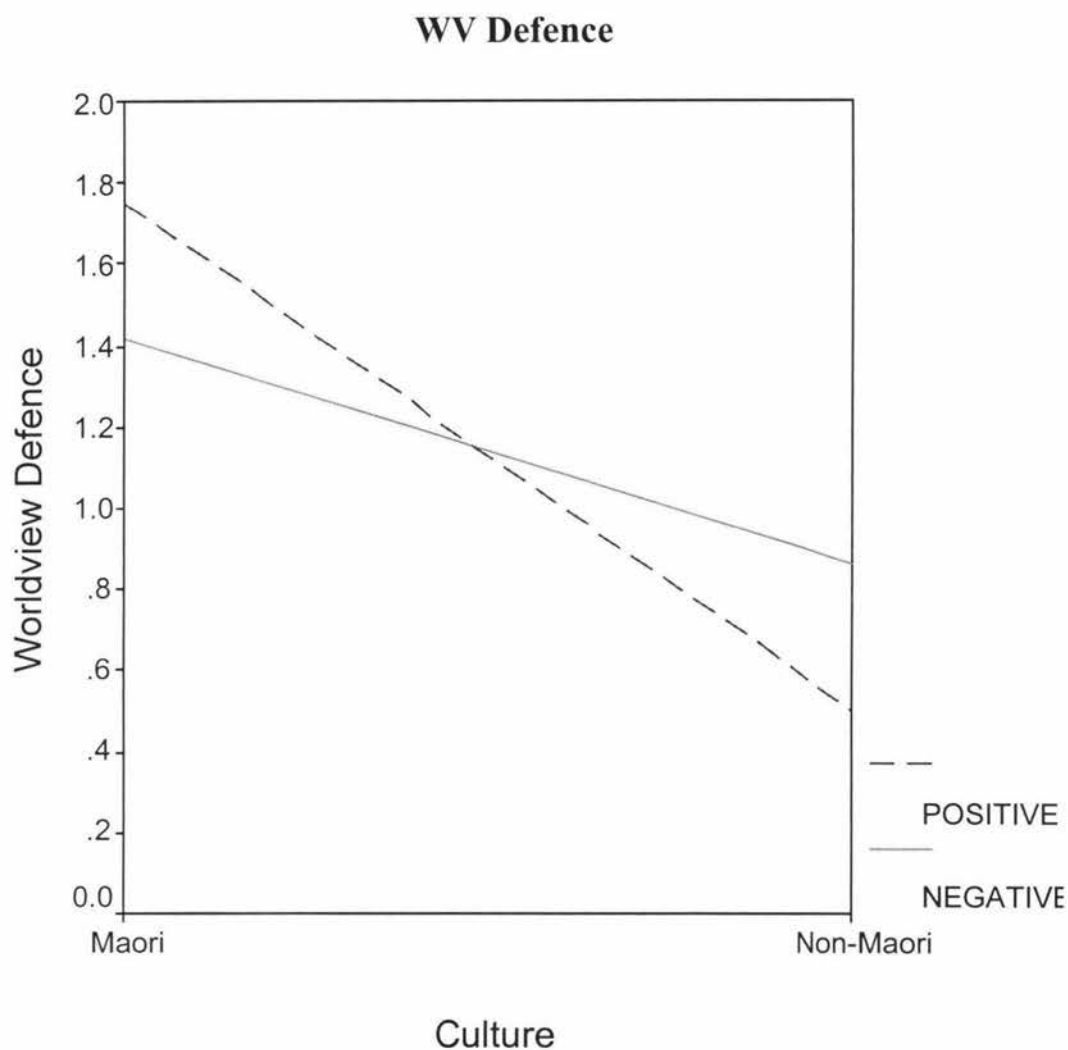


Figure 4A. Mean Difference for culture, for both the Positive and negative groups in regards to the type of affective prime they received: Māori or non-Māori.

Figure 5.

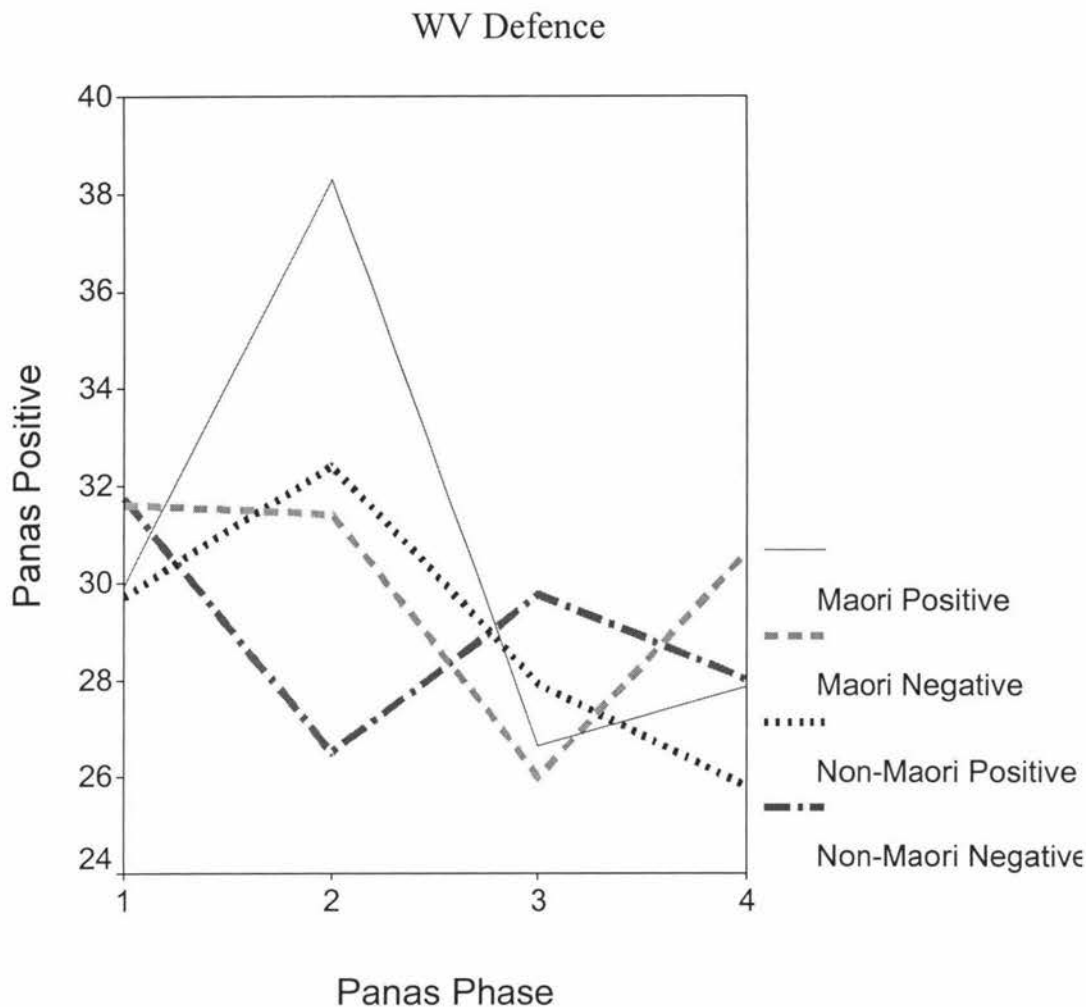


Figure 5. Positive PANAS Scale scores across all four administrations of the PANAS relating to culture (Māori/non-Māori) and cultural attitude (Positive/negative). The lines represent combinations of the culture and cultural attitude (Māori-positive, Māori-negative, non-Māori-positive, non-Māori negative). PANAS scores show if there are was any change in affect between administrations.

Figure 6.

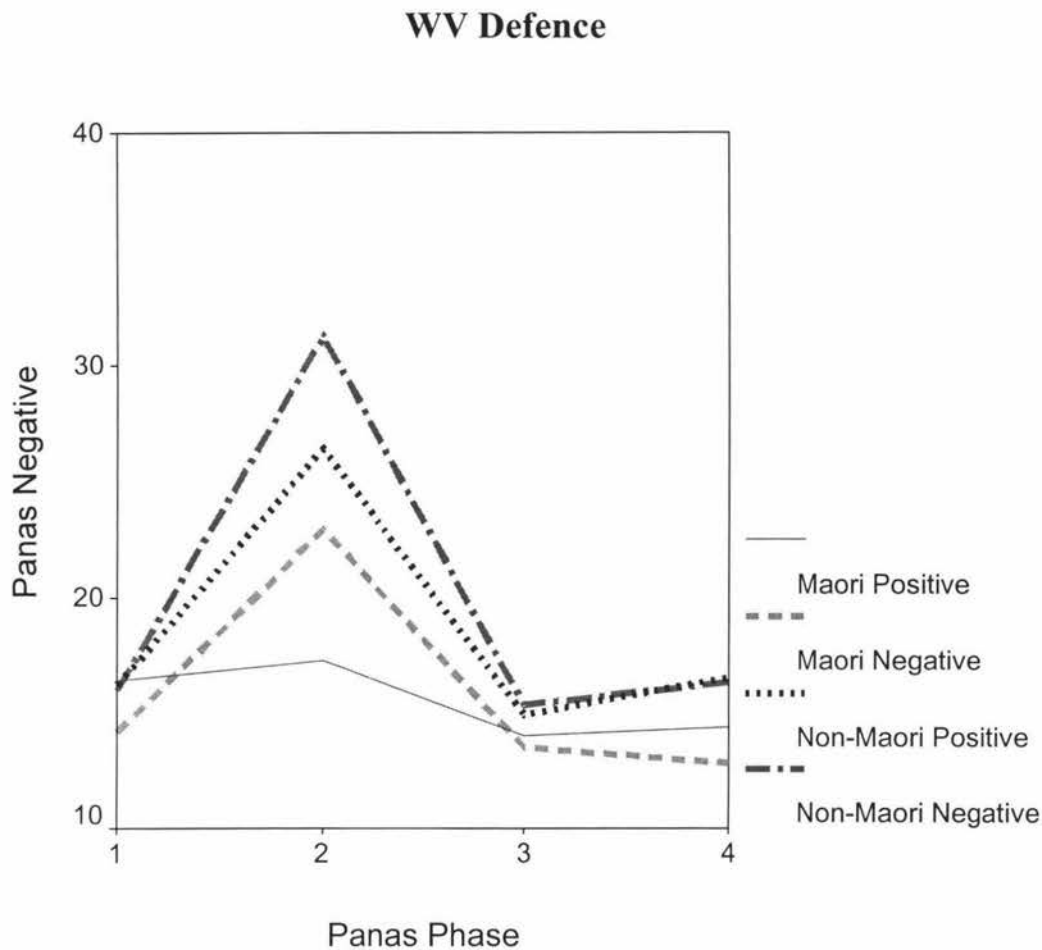


Figure 6. Negative PANAS Scale scores across all four administrations of the PANAS relating to culture (Māori/non-Māori) and cultural attitude (Positive/negative). The lines represent combinations of the culture and cultural attitude (Māori-positive, Māori-negative, non-Māori-positive, non Māori negative). PANAS scores show if there are was any change in affect between administrations.

There was no significant change in the PANAS Negative score comparing PANAS 1 ( $m=16.4$ ,  $SD\ 6.60$ ), to PANAS 3 ( $m=14.9$ ,  $SD\ 4.40$ )  $t(14)=2.03$ ,  $p=0.63$  (Table 3) (Figure 6).

There was a significant increase in the PANAS Positive scale scores between the first and second administrations of the PANAS for the Māori positive group [ $t(14) = -3.532$ ,  $p=.003$ ], and non-Māori Negative group [ $t(8) = 2.70$ ,  $p=.027$ ] (Figure 5) (Table 2).

Similarly, a repeated measures ANOVA showed significant changes across the PANAS-positive scale stages  $f(1, 51) = 4.928$ ,  $p=.008$ , with a significant difference interaction between stage and culture  $f(1, 51) = 2.926$ ,  $p=.055$ , and a significant difference interaction between stages and cultural attitudes  $f(1, 51) = 4.344$ ,  $p=.014$  (Figure 5).

A significant decrease was observed between the administration of the second and third PANAS for the Māori positive group [ $t(13) = 3.738$ ,  $p=.002$ ] (Figures 5, 6).

There was a significant increase in the positive scale of the PANAS between the administration of the first and third PANAS for the Māori positive group [ $t(14) = 2.120$ ,  $p = .052$ ], and for the Māori Negative group [ $t(10) = 2.13$ ,  $p=.059$ ] (Table 2).

There was a significant increase in PANAS Negative scale scores between the second and third administration of the PANAS for the Māori Positive group [ $t(15) = 2.32$ ,  $p = .035$ ], the Māori Negative group [ $t(10) = 2.70$ ,  $p = .022$ ], the non-Māori Negative group [ $t(10) = 6.527$ ,  $p = .001$ ], and the non-Māori positive group [ $t(13) = 3.916$ ,  $p = .002$ ] (Table 3).

There was a significant increase in PANAS Negative scale scores between the first and third administration of the PANAS for the Māori Positive group [ $t(14) = 2.030, p = .062$  (Table 3).

Table 2.  
Means, T-Values, and P-Values for Positive Scale of PANAS Administrations 1, 2, and 3

PANAS Scale Positive	PANAS Scale Positive			
	M 1	M 2	T-Observed	P Value
PANAS 1-2	29.5	37.6	-3.532	.003
	30.7	30.09	.204	.842
	32.2	26.4	2.70	.027
	30.23	30.7	-.167	.870
PANAS 2-3	38.30	26.65	3.74	.002
	30.09	25.09	1.51	.162
	26.40	30.7	-1.290	.233
	30.4	28.07	.689	.504
PANAS 1-3	30.20	26.27	2.120	.052
	30.70	25.09	2.127	.059
	32.09	29.00	1.7	.124
	29.5	28.7	.508	.062

Note. Means, T-Observed, or P-Values for PANAS 4 are not provided because means were similar to that of PANAS 1.



Table 3.

Means, T-Values, and P-Values for Negative Scale of PANAS Administrations 1, 2, and 3

PANAS Scale	PANAS Scale Negative			
	M1	M 2	T-Observed	P Value
Negative				
PANAS 1-2	16.40	17.27	-.535	.601
	13.67	21.50	-2.186	.051
	15.20	32.30	-5.378	.000
	16.00	27.15	-3.586	.003
PANAS 2-3	17.12	13.8	2.32	.035
	22.09	13.18	2.7	.022
	32.30	14.9	6.527	.000
	27.14	14.71	3.916	.002
PANAS 1-3	16.40	14.00	2.030	.062
	13.8	3.15	.445	.666
	15.18	14.90	.177	.863
	16.00	14.71	.671	.514

Note. Means, T-Observed, or P-Values for PANAS 4 are not provided because means were similar to that of PANAS 1.

## DISCUSSION

The initial primus of the study was to explore the effects of affective priming on Māori teenagers. It was proposed that by exposing Māori teens to a prime that was both negative and Māori in context (cultural attitude), as opposed to three other primes that were not as negatively charged, an increase in hostility and anger would occur. Once amplified, it was proposed that these feelings would influence future responses to events and situations, particularly if they were both negative and Māori in context. As such, the design of the study required all participants to read two essays that either supported the Treaty of Waitangi, or was in opposition to it. Written by two foreign students applying for residency, the participants were asked to indicate their opinion to a set of eight questions, about the writers characteristic, based on what they had just read. As such, it was hypothesised that the group who received the negative-Māori affective prime, as opposed to the other three primed groups, would have indicated more positive opinions towards the author of the Pro-Treaty essay, while indicating more negative opinions towards the Anti-treaty essay writer. Based on previous TMT literature, the calculation of this difference indicates whether the activation of the WV Defence has occurred or not. As such, it was believed that the negative-Māori prime would activate greater WV Defence than the other three affectively primed groups. Raw data for the group are presented in Tables (1A-1I), Figures (1A-1O).

The assumption that if cultural attitude changed from positive to negative, WV Defence (WVD) would increase, particularly if the cultural context was Māori, was not supported. No significant effects were found. Instead, what was found was that when an already positive cultural attitude was increased, an increase in WVD was

also witnessed, particularly when the cultural context was Māori. This finding is particularly interesting because it was predicted that threats to cultural identity would arouse feelings of hostile and defensiveness, and that when asked to rate how they felt about these threats (i.e., the author of the anti-Treaty essay), more negative or hostile ratings would be given. In addition, it was assumed that similar findings to that of Greenberg et al., (2003) would be observed without manipulating MS. Although there was minimal support for this, the findings suggest that this experiment may have unintentionally tapped into a variable that previously was not observed or was disregarded as having impact. Either way, the findings were unexpected.

Greenberg and associates have produced numerous studies to show that when mortality was made salient, an increase in WVD was witnessed. This is based on the findings of Pyszcznski et al. (1999), which states that as the individual's accessibility to death related thoughts increase, so does WVD. They proposed that heightened accessibility to thoughts of one's death signalled the potential for anxiety, and that in order to protect or buffer themselves from it, individuals would entrench the self in the prescribed WV, thus gaining valuable attributions such as self-esteem. In contrast, it is suggested that this study found the proposed effect by manipulating self-esteem, thus causing the individual to increase their WVD. It is therefore suggested that the results found here are an alternative route to calculating the WVD. It is suggested that you do not need a negative event to increase WVD, as outlined by Greenberg and colleagues (2003). It is proposed that when these individuals were exposed to negative cultural attitudes, they may not necessarily have seen them as threatening. In fact, they may have little impact on them at all.

From the information gathered, Māori teens seemed to have not been affected by what was said. It is proposed that this effect has arisen from the historical experiences

Māori have had with Pakeha, and the Crown. Although the treaty guaranteed Māori certain rights and privileges (such as ownership of lands and taonga, partnership, and protection), they were forgotten once the treaty was signed. Māori suffered significant land loss due to confiscation, were thought to be a dying people as, at the bottom of every statistic outlining societal well-being (poor health, low income, poor housing, high mental health rate, high imprisonment, high unemployment). Also, being a Māori was, and sometimes is still seen, as negative. During the last century, Māori were ostracized, degraded, and stereotyped as people of no hopers. Jokes about Māori practises, such as going to tangi (funeral), Hui (gathering/meeting) and time, were constantly the source of supposed humour. Māori were seen as labourers, big in stature, staunch, with criminal tendencies and alcohol and drug problems. In consideration of these factors, it is hypothesized that the stereotypes regarding Māori, desensitised them to negative remarks about Māori in general. As such, it is proposed that the Māori teens in this study may have taken the negative aspects and turned thme into something they can laugh at or shrug off, as if to say, “Yeap heard it all before. What else is new?”

Although surprising, the findings are not altogether obtuse. It is proposed that the increase in WVD was influenced by the past feelings, experiences, and understanding of what they were doing that influenced the participants ratings. The majority of *Waiata* (songs), *Haka*, and *Patere* (rhythmical chant) performed depict significant *Tipuna* (ancestor) or event that has happened. These *Tipuna* are of particular importance in that an observed connection to them can allow the individual to experience greater quantities of self-worth, self-esteem, and more specifically, *Mana*. As *Mana* is a concept that provides among other things, honour or prestige, it also elevates the individual to a higher sense of being and experience. It provides

connection to the present and the past, the living and the dead, with the ultimate connection, being to the gods. With *Mana*, one or the collective can stand on *marae* (meeting area of *whanau*, *hapu*, *iwi*), or in front of others and proudly announce who they are, where they are from, and why they are here now.

Throughout the study, the PANAS was administered. These multiple administrations would allow any change in emotion to be identified. Based on the information gathered from the scales, affect was significantly more positive pre-introduction of the prime, than negative. When compared to the positive scale of the first PANAS, a significant difference was found for the positive scale of the second PANAS. After the filler task was introduced, a significant difference was witnessed, showing a decrease in affect. This suggests that the filler task lowered the emotions that were aroused. As such, the filler performed its task. When looking at and comparing the negative scales of the first and second PANAS, a significant effect in negative feelings was observed.

A significant effect was observed between the second and third administrations of the PANAS, again providing evidence that the filler had worked. This is important in that it allows us to see if the intended reaction has occurred (i.e., negative Māori prime eliciting negative feelings, that might have then caused the participant to rate the author of the anti-treaty essay more negatively). Introduction of a filler task allows the initial feelings aroused by the prime, to subside to a point where they can be easily accessed at a later stage. By doing this, the impact and strength of the prime can be determined.

The impact of the positive cultural attitude prime, that was Māori in context, can be seen in the scales of the PANAS. These participants showed a greater increase in WVD than the other three groups. They experienced low levels of negative feelings,

as show by the PANAS Negative scale (Figure 6), and experienced higher levels of positive feelings as shown on the PANAS Positive scale (Figure 5). The graph shows a significant increase in positive feelings following the Māori positive prime, which then dropped dramatically after the introduction of the filler task. Of interest, however, is that fact that even with this decrease, the Māori positive prime still had a significant influence. There are a number of reasons for why this may have occurred. One such reason is discussed below.

A point of interest was that after the deliverance of the two essays (specifically the anti-treaty essay), the 4<sup>th</sup> PANAS did not identify an increase in negative emotion that was significant enough to impact on the participants' ratings. This is puzzling as the second PANAS indicated an increase in negative arousal, as a result of the primes, on both the positive and negative scales. It seems that the desired effect for the negative prime decreased so much that it no longer impacted on the participants' feelings, thus their ratings of the author of the essay. It is suggested that the effect of the filler was a result of the emphasis placed on food, in *Te Ao Māori*. Food is used to *whakanoa* (make things common) objects, possessions, and geographical features. It is a medium through which people can come together and share in a process that is common across all cultures. It is a means of hospitality, and encouraging reciprocation. Through the process of *whakanoa* (to make common, free from *tapu*), *tapu* (sacredness) is lifted, and balance is restored. This state of *noa* (commonality) provides comfort, relaxation, and positive feelings. It is a vehicle through which hostility and anger can be eliminated. It is therefore suggested that food, and its role in *Te Ao Māori*, alleviated the negative feelings that may have been aroused, and may have impacted on the positive ones as well as a result of it all the positive benefits associated with it.

One plausible explanation for these findings may be due to an increase in self-esteem. Self-esteem is an emotional process of self-judgement (Brandon, 1983). It is a means by which self-respect and self-worth can be gained (Rosenberg, 1965). Because it can vary in intensity and quantity, situation, or environment, it can provide the individual, or group, with positive benefits. As such, it is proposed that the positive Māori prime created this effect; it provided the individuals with the positive benefit of self-esteem, thus also increasing their self-worth. An increase in these concepts then leads to an increase in WVD. This has been given support in that TMT theorists have identified self-esteem as way of defending oneself from threats. It allows the individual to evoke their buffer against the high levels of anxiety they may potentially experience.

It is also proposed that for many of the participants, the activity described is one of familiarity. Three out of the four schools, from which the participants came, were Māori boarding schools. These schools uphold all things that are Māori and religious (Catholic or Anglican). They are entrenched in the language (*Te Reo*), values, and beliefs of the Māori cultural WV. They strive for success in all avenues of *Tikanga* and *Te Ao Māori*, but also enforce success in wider community. They provide students with opportunities to learn about *Te Ao Māori* and gain some expertise in it, while also providing them with the necessary skills both academic and relational, to function in the wider community. As such, *Māoritanga* (Māori culture) is a major part of the everyday running of the schools. They allow the students to have access to their *Whakapapa* (lineage), *Te Ao o Nehera* (the past), and what may be awaiting them in the future. These schools also allow access to *tautoko* (support) gained from the wider Māori community, who hold these particular schools in high-esteem, as they are seen as places of nurture, support, academic achievement, and

future leadership for Māori. The main point is that being Māori in this environment is seen as something positive.

The findings of this research have brought up some interesting questions relating to Greenberg et al.'s (2003) measure of WVD. Although the measure provides for an increase or decrease in the WVD, it does not clearly indicate whether there is an increase or decrease in either the pro or anti stories they used. For example, Greenberg and colleagues calculated WVD by subtracting the mean of the anti-US essay from the pro-US essay. These scores provide the difference between the ratings of the pro-US and anti-US authors. The larger this difference, the greater the WV defence. Although this was a seemingly effective and sensible way of measuring WVD, a number of faults began to appear in its design. The measure does not appear to demonstrate whether the increase witnessed relates to the pro-US, or anti-US story. This is important in that you can reach the assumption that WVD has increased or decreased via a number of ways. Firstly, pro-US ratings could remain the same but anti-US ratings could be more substantial, thus increasing the gap. Secondly, anti-US ratings could remain the same but pro-US could increase, thus also increasing the gap. Pro-US ratings may have started at a significantly higher level than anti-US ratings and may have in fact moved closer together, however, the gap may be significant enough to support the WVD; and finally, both may have increased or decreased, but not seen as significance because the difference between remained the same.

The present study found that Māori teenagers, who received the Māori prime, were more likely to rate the author of the anti-treaty essay more negatively than those who had received the non-Māori prime. One variable that may have impacted in this study were the political events occurring in New Zealand society at the time. The leader of the National political party, Dr Don Brash, had given a damning speech



about how Māori were receiving special treatment due to political correctness gone mad. As a result, the government past a policy that removed Māori ownership of the foreshore and seabed, not only guaranteed by the treaty of Waitangi (the founding treaty between Māori and the crown) but also a recent high court decision. As a result, the author predicted that feelings of anger and hostility would significantly impact on how the teenagers rated the anti-treaty author. In fact this was not the case.

Another point of consideration is that there may have been extraneous or other variables impacting on the participants. The first is the environment in which the study was conducted and the time at which the study was conducted. Two sessions were conducted in the morning, while one was held in the afternoon, with another at night. Those who participated in the study in the morning may have performed better and responded with a clearer train of thought. Those who participant in the evening, did so after eating a meal, and were appeared to be a little tired. Tiredness may have lead to the participant not rating and considering the best option to the question and task, as well as lessen the impact of the prime, with the recent consumption of food increasing the impact of the filler task. Along with this, the ratings of the participant may have varied due to the geographical locations of the school, as well as the societal make up the schools.

Another factor for consideration was that there were three different categories relating to the type of student attending the schools. Some of the students were full-time boarders; some were day students at a boarding school; while the others were students at a mainstream, co-educational high school. This creates a new dimension in that those who attend Māori boarding schools are immersed in their Māoritanga, 24 hrs a day, 7-days a week. It is therefore suggested that this difference impacted on the way in which the prime influenced ratings. Another variable to consider is that 3 out

of the 4 schools were religious in their orientation. The only school that was not was the Wellington school. This adds an interesting dynamic in that the faiths set up these schools as they believed that Māori needed an environment where not only Māori things could be cherished and instilled in Māori youth, but also the beliefs of the religion. Therefore, the 3 schools have being Māori as an important aspect of their schooling and WV.

These participants are in an environment where some of the experiences of regular teens are not typical. The majority were not in a class with the opposite sex; their ability to leave whenever they wanted was restricted; and their access to familial support was small. These may have all impacted on the way in which these teens rated the two essays, and why the positive Māori had such an impact.

The results showed that the negative Māori prime did not have the desired effect. It is suggested that the study be replicated to identify if these results could be found again. Along with this, it is suggested that a study consisting of a MS be delivered to identify whether MS would have the predicted effect outlined by Greenberg and associates (2003). Also, it is recommended that the population be expanded to not only Māori students in the boarding schools, but Māori teens in general. Also it is hypothesized that the population be increased to include Māori of all ages.

Based on the findings of the study, Māori participants who were primed with a Māori prime were more likely to activate their cultural WV and use it to defend against a threat by recommending harsher punishment for those who were seen as challenging the Māori WV. Although Rosenblatt, Greenberg, et al., (1989), Greenberg et al, (1990), Greenberg (2003) suggested that this activation of is due

the individual's potential towards experiencing anxiety, which in turn leads to the experience of a paralysing terror, the present study has shown that this potential does not need to be present to activate the WV Defence. Instead, it is suggested that threats to one's self-esteem, can produce the same effect, and that by increasing it, similar findings to that of Greenberg, Martens, Jonas, Eisenstadt, Pyszczynski, & Solomon (2003) regarding an increased WV Defence are easily observed.

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## Appendices

## Appendix A: Primes

### Non Māori Positive Prime

Imagine you have been working at your local supermarket over the last three years. You enjoy your job, the pay is good, your bosses are excellent, and you can see yourself there for another couple of years to earn a little extra cash to supplement your pocket-money. You arrive at work one morning to hear that the store Manager has promoted someone from your section of the supermarket. You think nothing of it and assume your regular duties. Your boss calls you to his office to tell you have been promoted to Manager, which means an increase in responsibility and pay. This is the best news you have had in a long time, and you can't wait to tell people. You quickly ring your mum and she is over the moon with joy. Now you can buy that car you always wanted.

### Māori Negative Prime

Imagine you are sitting in your aunt's lounge that looks out to the main road. As you look out to see how busy the traffic is, you see your baby sister Mihi, biking on the other side of the road. Just as she gets near you, a car backs out of a driveway and knocks her off her bike. The driver gets out and checks to see if she is okay. She seems to be, but then the driver starts to yell at her, calling her a useless little Māori girl who should pay more attention to where she is going. You try to cross the road to get to her, but the traffic is too busy. She is crying, yet the driver will not stop yelling at her. He then picks up her bike and kete and throws it away, driving off. You still can't get to her because of the traffic. Your sister is yelling and screaming for you.

### Māori Positive Prime

Imagine you are participating in your annual hapu festival. This is the first time you have taken part and it is an opportunity to meet both old and new whanau. Everyone is there to have an enjoyable time while competing for trophies, one of which your great grandfather donated. Your team makes it to the final in one of the sports events and after a long hard game, wins. Once the sporting events and kai are finished, everyone forms into their kapa haka groups to compete for the ultimate prize, Te Wairua o te Hapu kapa haka trophy. There is a waiata section, a haka section, a patere section, a kaitito section and a kaea section for both men and women. Your group comes first in the waiata section and you win the kaea section. Everyone cheers in delight while you receive your trophy. It is the first time in five years since someone from your whanau roopu has won.

### Non Māori Negative Prime

Imagine you are sitting in your neighbour's lounge that looks out to the main road. As you look out to see how busy the traffic is, you see your baby sister Kelly, and her friend biking on the other side of the road. Just as they get near to where you are, a car backs out of a driveway and knocks your sister off her bike. The driver gets out and checks to see if she is okay. She seems to be but then the driver starts to yell at her, telling her she should look where she is going. You run outside and try to cross the road to get to her but the traffic is too busy. She is crying, yet the driver will not stop yelling. He then picks up her bike, throws it away, and drives off. You still can't get to her because of the traffic. Your sister continues to yell and screaming for you.

## Appendix B: PANAS Scale

This scale is made up of twenty words that describe different feelings and emotions. Read each item and then indicate the extent to which you are feeling that emotion at this moment. Circle the appropriate number 1-5 that indicates best, your feelings.

	1	2	3	4	5
	very slightly	a little	moderately	quite a bit	extremely
Interested	1	2	3	4	5
Distressed	1	2	3	4	5
Excited	1	2	3	4	5
Upset	1	2	3	4	5
Strong	1	2	3	4	5
Guilt	1	2	3	4	5
Scared	1	2	3	4	5
Hostile	1	2	3	4	5
Enthusiastic	1	2	3	4	5
Proud	1	2	3	4	5
Irritable	1	2	3	4	5
Alert	1	2	3	4	5
Ashamed	1	2	3	4	5
Inspired	1	2	3	4	5
Nervous	1	2	3	4	5
Determined	1	2	3	4	5
Attentive	1	2	3	4	5
Jittery	1	2	3	4	5
Active	1	2	3	4	5
Afraid	1	2	3	4	5

Appendix C: Filler Task.

Ngā Kai

The next activity we would like you do is look at the list of food/kai below. Once you have looked at the list, place the 10 foods you like most in order (i.e. 1= favourite, and 10=least favourite) in the space provided at the bottom.

MacDonald's	Pork bones & Puha		Crayfish	Fish & Chips
Kina	Kentucky Fried Chicken		Paua	Burger King
Pizza	Chinese	Fried Bread	Mussels	Salad
Ice Cream	Chocolate	Sushi	Kebabs	Indian

## Appendix D: Filler Task Results

*Means and Standard Deviations for food preferences and means for food preferences between boys and girls.*

Food Item	Mean	Standard Deviation	Mean	
			Boys	Girls
McDonalds	5.4	3.64	4.75	6.20
Pork Bones & Puha	5.7	3.87	5.41	6.08
Crayfish	7.6	3.93	7.34	7.92
Fish and Chips	8.7	2.66	7.81	9.92
Kina	9.1	3.14	8.88	9.40
Kentucky Fired Chicken	6.8	3.79	6.88	6.60
Paua	8.5	3.62	7.66	9.56
Burger King	6.8	3.73	5.94	7.88
Pizza	7.2	3.14	7.03	7.36
Chinese	7.6	2.89	8.13	7.00
Fry Bread	7.6	3.05	8.38	6.60
Mussels	9.3	2.74	9.06	9.52
Salad	9.5	2.74	10.06	8.76
Ice cream	7.6	3.23	7.94	7.16
Chocolate	6.9	3.55	7.78	5.76
Sushi	10.1	2.06	10.91	9.12
Kebabs	8.4	3.31	8.59	8.24
Indian Food	9.7	2.61	9.03	10.52

## Appendix E: Pro-Treaty Essay

### **The Treaty of Waitangi: A distant observation**

On the 6th of February, the treaty of Waitangi was signed between the British crown and Maaori, the native people of New Zealand. Since then, the treaty has played a significant role in the both the country's' history and development. It has been the basis for protest and policy development as well as protection, partnership and participation. It has been used in the best interests of the nation as well as the interests of those who signed it (Maaori and the Crown). It has always had a significant place in the make up of a nation that is believed to be both understanding and sympathetic.

When looking at how the treaty has affected the lives of those it was imposed upon, it is easy to see that the co-partners of the Crown (Maaori) were treated unfairly and unjustly. The Maaori suffered mass land confiscation, neglect of treaty rights and obligations, as well as lack of recognition of cultural beliefs and protocols. Differences in the texts between the Maaori and non-Maaori versions resulted in cultural misunderstanding, poverty, and heart break. Today the treaty is identified as a document that should not be referred to solely on its words. The Crown, represented by the government, will not acknowledge the words of the treaty as the basis for legislation. Instead it has developed principles from which it acknowledges the treaty and all that it stands for although the government does not have to live up to them.

The treaty of Waitangi is supposedly the foundation upon which New Zealand has been built. There are still numerous accounts of the ordeals many Maaori have had to face because of inappropriate actions towards their treaty rights. The crown needs to address this, as they will not go away. Recently, the government used its authority to override a court finding relating to the seabeds and foreshores of the New Zealand coastline. Guardianship rights were supported by a court of law yet the government would not recognize it. This resulted in a national outcry from Maaori. Maaori are starting to fight back so that the deeds of the past will not re-occur in the future. The treaty of Waitangi was an agreement between Māori and the Crown that secured the rights of self-determination, guardianship, protection, and equal rights. The treaty is a living document and should be recognized in the manner it was intended. Maaori are the guardians of New Zealand. Their rights should be acknowledged. Maaori are the original people of this land.

## Appendix F: Anti-Treaty Essay

### The Treaty of Waitangi: A critical analysis

In 1840, the native people of New Zealand, the Māori, signed the treaty of Waitangi with the British Crown. It was used as a way of controlling the lawless immigrants that had come from Britain. Once signed, it created a new colony for the British Empire, which is one of Greatness and graciousness. Today however, the Treaty of Waitangi has been the cause of numerous social debates throughout New Zealand's history. It came about because of the lack of faith Māori had in the French. The British Crown was reluctant yet agreed to be their sovereign under certain conditions, outlined in the treaty. The Crown provided Māori with a sense of direction and stability, resulting in the rapid development of the Māori people that can be seen today.

To some, the treaty has become an obsolete document that should be removed. In its place, a document similar to that of Declaration of Independence, held by the Americans, should be put. This would result in a better understanding of individual rights and equality across the board. Māori gave up their sovereignty when they signed the treaty in 1840. They are only living in the past, and it is the opinion of the author that they need to move on. Māori are better off under the watchful eye of the British Crown than another. How can a nation, as small as New Zealand, move forward when they cannot stop fighting between themselves?

Many New Zealanders are of the opinion that they are all one people. What is good for one should be good for another. New Zealanders are very self-reliant and productive people. Māori should not be given special treatment because of the treaty. In a recent speech, the leader of the National party voiced his opinion about Māori and the advantages they receive. Mr Brash has a very good point. Why should Māori receive special treatment when there are other people who are in the same position, yet receive no such treatment at all. There needs to be a sense of fairness in a society that has become a little one sided. New Zealand is a beautiful and magical place. Its people are warm and loving yet they cannot achieve an equal footing. In my opinion, New Zealand needs to put the past in past, so that they can move forward together as a nation that has a lot to offer. Look at the success of the Lord of the Rings trilogy. New Zealand came together as one to produce a piece of history for the whole world to see. New Zealand should learn from this.



## Appendix G: 8 questions devised to calculate WVD

1. What type of person do you think this student author is?

very bad      fairly bad      okay      fairly good      very good

2. How do you see this person's social standing?

not important at all      not important      neutral      more important      superior

3. If this person is living here in NZ illegally, what should happen to them?

imprisonment & fine      fine & deportation      fine only      reprimand & warning      warning only

4. How accurate do you feel your judgments are about this author might be?

Very accurate      somewhat accurate      not sure      somewhat inaccurate      very inaccurate

5. I would welcome this student as a friend

strongly agree      somewhat agree      unsure      somewhat disagree      strongly disagree

6. I would encourage the student to apply for residency

strongly agree      somewhat agree      unsure      somewhat disagree      strongly disagree

7. I feel this person will be a very productive person in NZ society

strongly disagree      somewhat disagree      unsure      somewhat agree      strongly agree

8. How important do you think this student's contribution to NZ's future is compared to yours?

Superior      more important      same      less important      inferior

## Appendix H: Questionnaire Booklet

# STUDY OF FEELINGS

Kia ora. In this study we are looking at how activities affect our feelings. In order to discover this, you will be asked to do four (4) tasks. At the end of each task you will then be asked to rate your feelings on a scale called 'The Feelings Scale'. Please read each page carefully and try to do the activities as well as you can while answering all the questions. This is not a competition or a race and no one else in the class will be shown your work.

To start off with, please answer the questions below:

Q1) what is your age?

Q2) what is your sex? Male / female

Q3) Are you Māori? Y / N

Q4) Do you enjoy the school you are attending? Y / N

Q5) What settlement/town/city do you live in when you are not at school?\_\_\_\_\_.

Q6) what is the name of your iwi?\_\_\_\_\_.

Q7) What year are you in?\_\_\_\_\_.

Q8) What level of Te Reo do you have? Beginner / Medium / Fluent

Thank you very much for answering these questions. Please turn over.

This scale is made up of twenty words that describe different feelings and emotions. Read each item and then indicate the extent to which you are feeling that emotion at this moment. Circle the appropriate number 1-5 that indicates best, your feelings.

	1	2	3	4	5
	very slightly	a little	moderately	quite a bit	extremely
Interested	1	2	3	4	5
Distressed	1	2	3	4	5
Excited	1	2	3	4	5
Upset	1	2	3	4	5
Strong	1	2	3	4	5
Guilt	1	2	3	4	5
Scared	1	2	3	4	5
Hostile	1	2	3	4	5
Enthusiastic	1	2	3	4	5
Proud	1	2	3	4	5
Irritable	1	2	3	4	5
Alert	1	2	3	4	5
Ashamed	1	2	3	4	5
Inspired	1	2	3	4	5
Nervous	1	2	3	4	5
Determined	1	2	3	4	5
Attentive	1	2	3	4	5
Jittery	1	2	3	4	5
Active	1	2	3	4	5
Afraid	1	2	3	4	5

### **Activity 1: Nga Moemoea**

Please read the dream or fantasy story below and try to imagine yourself, as vividly as you can, in that situation. Imagine the sights and the sounds and feelings you would experience if this were to really happen:

Imagine you are sitting in your aunt's lounge that looks out to the main road. As you look out to see how busy the traffic is, you see your baby sister Mihi, biking on the other side of the road. Just as she gets near you, a car backs out of a driveway and knocks her off her bike. The driver gets out and checks to see if she is okay. She seems to be, but then the driver starts to yell at her, calling her a useless little Māori girl who should pay more attention to where she is going. You try to cross the road to get to her, but the traffic is too busy. She is crying, yet the driver will not stop yelling at her. He then picks up her bike and kete and throws it away, driving off. You still can't get to her because of the traffic. Your sister is yelling and screaming for you.

Now that you have read the passage on the previous page, indicate the extent to which you feel currently, that is, how you feel at the moment. Circle the appropriate number 1-5 that indicates best, your feelings.

	1	2	3	4	5
	very slightly	a little	moderately	quite a bit	extremely
Distressed	1	2	3	4	5
Attentive	1	2	3	4	5
Upset	1	2	3	4	5
Strong	1	2	3	4	5
Alert	1	2	3	4	5
Scared	1	2	3	4	5
Jittery	1	2	3	4	5
Proud	1	2	3	4	5
Irritable	1	2	3	4	5
Determined	1	2	3	4	5
Ashamed	1	2	3	4	5
Guilt	1	2	3	4	5
Excited	1	2	3	4	5
Enthusiastic	1	2	3	4	5
Interested	1	2	3	4	5
Inspired	1	2	3	4	5
Active	1	2	3	4	5
Afraid	1	2	3	4	5
Hostile	1	2	3	4	5
Nervous	1	2	3	4	5

**Activity 2: Ngā Kai**

The next activity we would like you to do is look at the list of food/kai below. Once you have looked at the list, place the 10 foods you like most in order (i.e. 1= favourite, and 10=least favourite) in the space provided at the bottom.

- |             |                        |             |              |        |
|-------------|------------------------|-------------|--------------|--------|
| MacDonald's | Pork bones & Puha      | Crayfish    | Fish & Chips |        |
| Kina        | Kentucky Fried Chicken | Paua        | Burger King  |        |
| Pizza       | Chinese                | Fried Bread | Mussels      | Salad  |
| Ice Cream   | Chocolate              | Sushi       | Kebabs       | Indian |

Now that you have finished rank ordering your favourite kai on the previous page, please indicate the extent to which you now feel currently--how you feel at the moment. Circle the appropriate number 1-5 that indicates best, your feelings.

	1	2	3	4	5
	very slightly	a little	moderately	quite a bit	extremely
Ashamed	1	2	3	4	5
Enthusiastic	1	2	3	4	5
Attentive	1	2	3	4	5
Upset	1	2	3	4	5
Strong	1	2	3	4	5
Alert	1	2	3	4	5
Distressed	1	2	3	4	5
Jittery	1	2	3	4	5
Proud	1	2	3	4	5
Irritable	1	2	3	4	5
Guilt	1	2	3	4	5
Excited	1	2	3	4	5
Scared	1	2	3	4	5
Inspired	1	2	3	4	5
Nervous	1	2	3	4	5
Interested	1	2	3	4	5
Active	1	2	3	4	5
Determined	1	2	3	4	5
Afraid	1	2	3	4	5
Hostile	1	2	3	4	5



### Activity 3: Ngā Tuhituhi

Below are two essays written by foreign students who are currently applying for permanent residency here in New Zealand. In the essays, the students were asked to discuss their beliefs and feelings about the Treaty of Waitangi from a one-day course they had attended, as well as information that they have gathered from a variety of media sources. Please read the two essays carefully and then answer the questions that follow each.

#### The Treaty of Waitangi: A critical analysis

In 1840, the native people of New Zealand, the Maaori, signed the treaty of Waitangi with the British Crown. It was used as a way of controlling the lawless immigrants that had come from Britain. Once signed, it created a new colony for the British Empire, which is one of Greatness and graciousness. Today however, the Treaty of Waitangi has been the cause of numerous social debates throughout New Zealand's history. It came about because of the lack of faith Maaori had in the French. The British Crown was reluctant yet agreed to be their sovereign under certain conditions, outlined in the treaty. The Crown provided Maaori with a sense of direction and stability, resulting in the rapid development of the Maaori people that can be seen today.

To some, the treaty has become an obsolete document that should be removed. In its place, a document similar to that of Declaration of Independence, held by the Americans, should be put. This would result in a better understanding of individual rights and equality across the board. Maaori gave up their sovereignty when they signed the treaty in 1840. They are only living in the past, and it is the opinion of the author that they need to move on. Maaori are better off under the watchful eye of the British Crown than another. How can a nation, as small as New Zealand, move forward when they cannot stop fighting between themselves?

Many New Zealanders are of the opinion that they are all one people. What is good for one should be good for another. New Zealanders are very self-reliant and productive people. Maaori should not be given special treatment because of the treaty. In a recent speech, the leader of the National party voiced his opinion about Maaori and the advantages they receive. Mr Brash has a very good point. Why should Maaori receive special treatment when there are other people who are in the same position, yet receive no such treatment at all. There needs to be a sense of fairness in a society that has become a little one sided. New Zealand is a beautiful and magical place. Its people are warm and loving yet they cannot achieve an equal footing. In my opinion, New Zealand needs to put the past in past, so that they can move forward together as a nation that has a lot to offer. Look at the success of the Lord of the Rings trilogy. New Zealand came together as one to produce a piece of history for the whole world to see. New Zealand should learn from this.

Now that you have read the first essay, please read the statements below and answer them as best as possible by circling the one that best describes how you feel.

1. What type of person do you think this student author is?

very bad      fairly bad      okay      fairly good      very good

2. How do you see this person's social standing?

not important at all      not important      neutral      more important      superior

3. If this person is living here in NZ illegally, what should happen to them?

imprisonment & fine      fine & deportation      fine only      reprimand & warning      warning only

4. How accurate do you feel your judgments are about this author might be?

Very accurate      somewhat accurate      not sure      somewhat inaccurate      very inaccurate

5. I would welcome this student as a friend

strongly agree      somewhat agree      unsure      somewhat disagree      strongly disagree

6. I would encourage the student to apply for residency

strongly agree      somewhat agree      unsure      somewhat disagree      strongly disagree

7. I feel this person will be a very productive person in NZ society

strongly disagree      somewhat disagree      unsure      somewhat agree      strongly agree

8. How important do you think this student's contribution to NZ's future is compared to yours?

Superior      more important      same      less important      inferior

## **The Treaty of Waitangi: A distant observation**

On the 6th of February, the treaty of Waitangi was signed between the British crown and Maaori, the native people of New Zealand. Since then, the treaty has played a significant role in the both the country's' history and development. It has been the basis for protest and policy development as well as protection, partnership and participation. It has been used in the best interests of the nation as well as the interests of those who signed it (Maaori and the Crown). It has always had a significant place in the make up of a nation that is believed to be both understanding and sympathetic.

When looking at how the treaty has affected the lives of those it was imposed upon, it is easy to see that the co-partners of the Crown (Maaori) were treated unfairly and unjustly. The Maaori suffered mass land confiscation, neglect of treaty rights and obligations, as well as lack of recognition of cultural beliefs and protocols. Differences in the texts between the Maaori and non-Maaori versions resulted in cultural misunderstanding, poverty, and heart break. Today the treaty is identified as a document that should not be referred to solely on its words. The Crown, represented by the government, will not acknowledge the words of the treaty as the basis for legislation. Instead it has developed principles from which it acknowledges the treaty and all that it stands for although the government does not have to live up to them.

The treaty of Waitangi is supposedly the foundation upon which New Zealand has been built. There are still numerous accounts of the ordeals many Maaori have had to face because of inappropriate actions towards their treaty rights. The crown needs to address this, as they will not go away. Recently, the government used its authority to override a court finding relating to the seabeds and foreshores of the New Zealand coastline. Guardianship rights were supported by a court of law yet the government would not recognize it. This resulted in a national outcry from Maaori. Maaori are starting to fight back so that the deeds of the past will not re-occur in the future. The treaty of Waitangi was an agreement between Māori and the Crown that secured the rights of self-determination, guardianship, protection, and equal rights. The treaty is a living document and should be recognized in the manner it was intended. Maaori are the guardians of New Zealand. Their rights should be acknowledged. Maaori are the original people of this land.

Now that you have read this second essay, please read the statements below and answer them as best as possible by circling the one that best describes how you feel.

1. What type of person do you think the author is?

very bad      fairly bad      okay      fairly good      very good

2. How do you see this person's social standing?

not important at all      not important      neutral      more important      superior

3. If this person was living here in NZ illegally, what should happen to them?

imprisonment & fine      fine & deportation      fine only      reprimand & warning      warning only

4. How accurate do you feel your judgments are about the author might be?

Very accurate      somewhat accurate      not sure      somewhat inaccurate      very inaccurate

5. I would welcome this student as a friend

strongly agree      somewhat agree      unsure      somewhat disagree      strongly disagree

6. I would encourage the student to apply for residency

strongly agree      somewhat agree      unsure      somewhat disagree      strongly disagree

7. I feel this person will be a very productive person in NZ society

strongly disagree      somewhat disagree      unsure      somewhat agree      strongly agree

8. How important do you think this student's contribution to NZ's future is compared to yours?

Superior      more important      same      less important      inferior

Now please indicate the extent to which you now feel currently, or how you feel at the moment. Circle the appropriate number 1-5 that indicates best, your feelings.

	1	2	3	4	5
	very slightly	a little	moderately	quit a bit	extremely
Enthusiastic	1	2	3	4	5
Attentive	1	2	3	4	5
Distressed	1	2	3	4	5
Upset	1	2	3	4	5
Ashamed	1	2	3	4	5
Strong	1	2	3	4	5
Alert	1	2	3	4	5
Jittery	1	2	3	4	5
Proud	1	2	3	4	5
Interested	1	2	3	4	5
Guilt	1	2	3	4	5
Excited	1	2	3	4	5
Scared	1	2	3	4	5
Inspired	1	2	3	4	5
Nervous	1	2	3	4	5
Active	1	2	3	4	5
Determined	1	2	3	4	5
Hostile	1	2	3	4	5
Afraid	1	2	3	4	5
Irritable	1	2	3	4	5

## Tena koe

Thank you for taking part in this research. Please wait quietly until the other participants have finished. Once all the booklets are collected, the researcher will provide you with something to eat and drink.