

Accent, Appearance, and Ethnic Stereotypes in New Zealand

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Research has consistently shown that there are a number of negative attitudes held by Pākehā towards Māori. Some of these studies have been flawed by low participant identification rates of Māori, and none of these studies have examined the combined influence of accent and appearance on evaluations. The present study addressed these limitations. A videotape of eight speakers reading an identical short passage was presented to 164 high school students. Participants in the auditory presentation did not see the speakers, whereas participants in the visual-plus-auditory presentation heard and saw the speakers. Half of the speakers looked Pākehā and half looked Māori. Of these, half spoke Māori English and half spoke Pākehā English. As predicted, the use of Māori English speakers led to higher Māori identification rates than in prior studies. Results showed that high school students used both accent and appearance information in their evaluations. The results also show that the longstanding negative attitudes towards Māori still exist.

This paper is concerned with the stereotypes associated with Māori, and the potential implications of these on New Zealand society. International research clearly illustrates that many ethnic groups hold unfavourable attitudes towards other ethnic groups (Hopkins, Reagan & Abell, 1997; Lee, 1994; Stangor & Lange, 1994), and this has been especially true of ethnic majority attitudes towards ethnic minorities (Bodenhausen, 1988; Phalet & Poppe, 1997; Wilson, 1996). This phenomenon is also found in New Zealand. Research begun in the 1950s has consistently demonstrated that Māori have been viewed as trouble-makers, lazy, unintelligent, dirty, aggressive, easygoing and

friendly, whereas Pākehā have been regarded as successful, hardworking, intelligent and self-centred (Archer & Archer, 1970; Huang & Singer, 1984; Lynskey, Ward & Fletcher, 1991; Oliver & Vaughan, 1991; Thompson, 1954; Vaughan, 1964).

World-wide research has also shown that people who speak the English associated with an ethnic minority are more negatively evaluated, especially in regards to status variables, than are people who speak the English associated with the ethnic majority (Giles, Williams, Mackie & Rosselli, 1995; Nesdale & Rooney, 1996; Ryan & Sebastian, 1980). Similarly, in New Zealand, research has demonstrated that once speakers are classified as Māori based on their accent, they are rated as less educated, earning a lower income, belonging to a lower social class, less intelligent, less self-confident, and lazier than speakers classified as Pākehā (Bayard & Leek, 1992; Huygens & Vaughan, 1983; Robertson, 1994). Ironically, New Zealanders' attempts at classifying Māori and Pākehā ethnicity based on a speaker's accent are often inaccurate (Bayard, 1991a; Bayard, 1995; Huygens & Vaughan, 1983). For example, only 25% of Vaughan and Huygens' (1983) and 55% of Robertson's (1994) participants correctly classified Māori speakers as Māori.

This inaccuracy is not surprising for two reasons. Firstly, Māori English (ME) and Pākehā English (PE) are not exclusively restricted to Māori or Pākehā. There are Māori who speak PE and Pākehā who speak ME (Bauer, 1994; Bayard, 1995; King, 1993; Robertson, 1994). Secondly, social context is an important factor in the use of ME; ME is used as a tool to signal one's Māori identity (Bauer, 1994; Holmes, 1997; King, 1993, 1999; Robertson, 1994).

Over the last decade research has concentrated on identifying the differences between Māori English (ME) and Pākehā English (PE). Holmes (1997) examined the use of the unaspirated initial [t-] (as in "time"), de-voiced final [-z] as in "dogs" or "bushes", and syllable-timed pronunciation in the English speech of 45 middle class Māori and 35 middle class Pākehā participants. Her study showed

that Māori used the unaspirated initial [t-] and the de-voiced final [-z] significantly more so than Pākehā. Māori also used significantly more full vowels and less reduced [ə] values than Pākehā speakers, resulting in greater syllable timing. Research has also found a greater use of the high rising terminal (HRT) among ME speakers than PE speakers (Allan 1990; Britain, 1992). Māori are more likely to use the pragmatic tag "eh" than are Pākehā (Meyerhoff, 1994), and might differ from Pākehā in their use of certain verb forms (Jacob, 1991; McCallum, 1978). Finally, Bell (1997) describes fronted forms of the KIT vowel /I/ which seem to function as an ethnic marker in ME. For a full account of salient variables in ME see Bell (2000).

Given the above findings, the following conclusions can be drawn regarding ME and PE. Māori English, like Pākehā English, is a form of New Zealand English (Holmes, 1997; King, 1993). Māori English does not contain features specific to it, but it does contain features used more frequently than by PE speakers (Holmes, 1997). Consequently, the relationship between ME and PE is best viewed as a continuum, rather than each being viewed as distinct varieties (Bayard, 1995; Holmes, 1997).

The present study addresses three important issues. Firstly, New Zealanders find it difficult to correctly identify Māori ethnicity using auditory information (i.e., speech accent). Research with higher Māori identification rates is needed to safely conclude that evaluations of a Māori speaker are a consequence of that speaker being categorised as Māori. In this study, we used speakers with clear ME accents, and thus anticipated high Māori identification rates by participants.

Secondly, research examining the relationship between accent and appearance on people's evaluations of others has been surprisingly under-studied (Giles & Coupland, 1991). In many situations, an individual has access to both visual and auditory information on which to form an impression of another (Hamilton & Troler, 1986; Zebrowitz, 1996). Previous research suggests that when visual and auditory cues are present, physical appearance is more likely than accent to activate stereotypes, though accent is still influential (Bayard, 1995; Fiske & Neuberg, 1990; Gordon & Deverson, 1989). Consequently, we expected speaker accent to amplify the evaluative effects of appearance when both pieces of information were available.

Thirdly, we sought to verify the current stereotypes associated with Māori. It was predicted that in both auditory and visual-plus-auditory presentations, speakers who were perceived to be Māori would be rated less favourably than speakers who were perceived to be Pākehā. This bias was expected to be particularly salient for status variables such as social class, educational achievement, and annual income, and competence variables (also referred to as *charisma variables*) such as intelligence, leadership, and reliability. Predictions were less clear for solidarity variables such as likeability, sense of humour, and desired closeness (see Bayard, 1995 for a discussion of these dimensions). Perceived Māori speakers might be rated more favourably on solidarity variables, particularly those who are speakers

of Māori English. Nesdale & Rooney (1996), for example, found that more extreme accents and minority accents sometimes receive higher ratings of solidarity. On the other hand, it is unclear whether predominantly Pākehā students would rate members of another social category higher than their own. Ohama, Gotay, Pagano, Boles, & Craven (2000) found that students judged speakers outside their own ethnic category to be low in attractiveness, whereas students who were of the same ethnic category as the speakers judged them to be much higher in attractiveness.

Method

Participants

One hundred and sixty-four predominantly Pākehā (76%) participants were recruited from a local Dunedin high school. Of these, 104 were male and 59 were female (one participant did not indicate gender). They ranged in age from 12 to 18 years ($M = 14.9$). There were 72 students in the visual-plus-auditory presentation and 92 students in the auditory presentation¹. Data from three of the participants were excluded because they did not complete the questionnaire.

Materials

The passage incorporated twelve words ending in [-z] (such as "dogs, girls," etc.), and eight stressed words starting with "t" ("ton, tip," etc.), to elicit phonological features identified by Holmes (1997) as occurring more frequently in ME than PE. To further help participants distinguish Māori English speakers from Pākehā English speakers, we included six occurrences of word-final [dʒ] ("bridge, judge"). Because this was a reading passage rather than spontaneous dialogue, pragmatic features characteristic of ME like "eh" and high rising terminals were not present. But as the validation presented below shows, the phonological cues alone were sufficient to allow a very high degree of correct ME and PE identification.

Approximately forty speakers were videotaped reading the short passage. All were videotaped from the shoulders up, to minimise judgements made based on their clothing. Eight speakers were selected from an original pool of forty. The eight speakers comprised four females and four males. Of these, two females and two males looked Māori, whereas the other two females and two males looked Pākehā. Half of the speakers spoke with a Māori English accent, and half spoke with a Pākehā English accent. Accent was counterbalanced across gender and ethnicity, yielding four unique combinations: those who looked Māori and spoke with a Māori English accent (MM); those who looked Māori and spoke with a Pākehā English accent (MP); those who looked Pākehā and spoke with a Māori English accent (PM); and those who looked Pākehā and spoke with a Pākehā English accent (PP).

Speakers were selected if they fitted one of the four combinations of appearance and accent described above. Furthermore, if speakers demonstrated a speech style suggestive of a regional variation (i.e., Southland post-

vocalic [-r]), they were not chosen. Speakers were matched in reading speed as closely as possible. Slow readers are more likely to be rated unfavourably than are faster readers (Bradac, 1990). The time taken to read the story by the eight speakers ranged from 37 to 40 seconds. The three-second difference between the fastest and slowest reader was minimal and made it highly unlikely that participant evaluations were based on speech rate. Speakers were also matched in age as closely as possible. The ages of the speakers in each combination were MM (42 and 38), MP (25 and 27), PM (25 and 26), and PP (25 and 26). Unfortunately, due to the difficulty in finding MM speakers, the age of these speakers was somewhat higher than the speakers in the other speaker combinations. This was not considered problematic, however, because research has shown that young peoples' age stereotypes are mainly directed at those persons aged over 70 (Hummert, Garstka & Shaner, 1997). Finally, the speakers were matched as closely as possible on socio-economic status, using their occupation or educational qualifications as a guide.

Validation of Experimental Speakers

Preliminary ratings were obtained to confirm that the eight speakers that we judged as sounding and looking Māori or Pākehā were similarly judged by others. Seventy-four first year psychology students (54 females and 20 males ranging in age from 17 to 42 years $M = 19.4$ years) participated in the rating exercise in partial fulfillment of a course requirement.

Participants first judged speakers using only auditory cues. They listened to a video of the eight speakers reading the experimental passage. The television screen was covered so that they could hear but not view the speaker. The video was paused at the end of each speaker to allow participants to judge what ethnic group they believed the speaker belonged to (Māori, Pākehā, or Other). If they chose 'other' they were asked to write in an ethnic group. The order of presentation of the speakers was reversed for half of the groups.

After rating speakers' accents, participants judged speakers using only visual cues. Participants were shown another video of the same speakers. The cover was taken off the television screen, the volume turned off and the video paused on each speaker as the participants judged what ethnic group they believed the speaker belonged to using the same three choices as in the accent presentation. In this task, they made their ethnicity judgements based on facial appearance only. Importantly, participants were informed that the faces they were viewing were not the faces of the eight speakers they had just previously heard. As in the accent presentation, the order of the presentation of the faces was reversed for half of the groups.

Most of the responses (93%) were either 'Māori' or 'Pākehā'. A paired t -test conducted on the participants' responses, where 'Māori' was assigned a value of '2' and 'Pākehā' was assigned a value of '1', revealed that speakers who were intended to look Māori were more often categorised as Māori ($M = 1.86$) than were those intended to look Pākehā ($M = 1.02$), $t(73) = 32.45$, $p < .001$. Likewise,

Māori English speakers were more often categorised as Māori ($M = 1.89$) than were Pākehā English speakers ($M = 1.10$), $t(73) = 24.36$, $p < .001$. This indicates that the speakers used in this experiment were perceived to be representative of the intended ethnic groups.

Procedure

The order of presentation of the speakers was constructed to avoid grouping of similar accents, gender and appearances. Speaker order was reversed for half of the participants. In the visual-plus-auditory presentation, students watched a video of eight speakers reading aloud the same short passage. Participants in the auditory presentation could not view the speakers because a dark woollen blanket covered the monitor.

Participants performed their ratings in a spare classroom at their school. After giving their informed consent, participants viewed (or heard) the videotape on a large fourteen-inch monitor that was positioned at the front of the classroom. At the end of each speaker's turn the video was paused and the students completed the questionnaire. The questionnaire asked participants to judge what ethnic group they believed the speaker belonged to. Participants used Likert scales² to rate the speakers on three status variables: level of education achieved, income, and social class; five competence variables: intelligence, self-confidence, reliability, leadership, and hardworking; and three solidarity variables: desired closeness, likeability, and sense of humour. At the conclusion of the experiment, participants were debriefed, given an opportunity to ask questions, and thanked.

Results

Speaker Validity

The majority of participants in the auditory presentation categorised the speakers into the ethnic categories that the speakers had been intended to represent; percentage correct identification for speakers ranged from 67.7% to 81.7%. The majority of participants in the visual-plus-auditory presentation categorised 7 of the 8 speakers into the ethnic categories that the speakers had been intended to represent (range 60.6% to 98.6%). Speaker number 7 (a male Māori speaker of Māori English) was only rated by 28.2% of participants as being Māori. This speaker was correctly categorised as Māori in the auditory condition by 78.3% of participants. Because the majority of participants did not classify him as Māori in appearance, he was eliminated from the analyses of data from the visual-plus-auditory presentation. Ratings of this speaker are addressed in the discussion section.

Ratings of Speakers

Participant ratings were recoded so that ratings of 5 were the most favourable and ratings of 1 were the least favourable. Separate multivariate analyses of variance (MANOVAs) were performed on the 11 ratings from the auditory presentation and the visual-plus-auditory

presentation. In each MANOVA, speaker appearance (Māori or Pākehā) and speaker accent (Māori English or Pākehā English) varied within-subjects. For ease of communication, significant effects of appearance, accent, and their interaction are reported in the following three sections, respectively.

Effects of Appearance. Table 1 reports the mean ratings on the 11 scales as a function of appearance in the visual-plus-auditory and auditory presentations. In the visual-plus-auditory mode, the speakers who looked Māori (MM, MP) received significantly lower ratings than the speakers who looked Pākehā (PM, PP), $F(11, 61) = 11.66, p < .001$. Univariate analyses showed that this effect was significant for 9 of the 11 dependent measures. Although participants in the auditory presentation did not see the speakers, and therefore should be unaffected by speaker appearance, those speakers who appeared Māori received significantly lower ratings than those who appeared Pākehā, $F(11, 81) = 8.70, p < .001$. This effect was smaller and less reliable across the different ratings. Only 4 of the 11 rating scales were significant.

Effects of Accent. The analyses revealed an overall main effect of accent in the visual-plus-auditory presentation, $F(11, 61) = 8.31, p < .001$, and the auditory presentation, $F(11, 81) = 14.83, p < .001$. As shown in Table 2, ratings of Māori English speakers (MM, PM) were lower than those of Pākehā English speakers (MP, PP) for 8 of the 11 scales in the visual-plus-auditory presentation, and 7 of the 11 scales in the auditory presentation. The only exceptions occurred in the auditory presentation, where Māori English speakers were judged to have a better sense of humour and more self-confidence than were Pākehā English speakers.

Combined Effects of Appearance and Accent. In the visual-plus-auditory presentation, 5 of the 11 rating scales yielded significant Appearance x Accent interactions. These were ratings of earnings, social class, education, intelligence, and desired closeness. In all five interactions, the speaker

who looked and sounded Māori (MM) received the lowest ratings. In all but ratings of earnings, the speakers who looked and sounded Pākehā (PP) received the highest ratings. Pākehā English speakers who appeared Māori (MP), and Māori English speakers who appeared Pākehā (PM) were generally rated between these high and low values. Figure 1 depicts this relationship for ratings of intelligence. A similar pattern was also obtained for education ratings. For both scales, speakers' ratings were affected by a combination of appearance and accent, with significantly lower ratings for speakers who appeared Māori and who spoke Māori English (MM). The specific pattern differed slightly depending on the rating scale. For example, ratings of social class were affected by accent of the speaker only when the speaker appeared Māori. Speakers who appeared Pākehā were judged as being in a similar social class whether they spoke Māori English or Pākehā English. On the other hand, when participants rated how close a relationship they would like with the speaker, the Māori English speaker who appeared Māori (MM) received low ratings, whereas the other 3 combinations of appearance and accent were higher and did not differ from one another.

Overall, these interactions show that the effects of accent were not always consistent across speakers who appeared Māori or Pākehā, especially for ratings of status and ability. Inspection of means showed no evidence of similar interactions occurring in the auditory presentation. Of the 11 rating scales, 2 (education and humour) yielded significant Appearance x Accent interactions when participants heard but did not see the speakers, and the nature of these interactions was different from those in the visual-plus-auditory condition. For example, the interaction involving humour ratings was due to the unexpectedly high ratings for the speakers of Māori English who looked Pākehā (PM). The different patterns found in the two presentation conditions are illustrated in Figure 1. Intelligence ratings in the auditory condition were

Table 1. Effect of Speaker Appearance on Ratings ^a

	Visual Presentation		Auditory Presentation	
	Appearance		Appearance	
	Māori	Pākehā	Māori	Pākehā
Earning	2.07	2.41***	2.40	2.35
Social Class	2.33	2.98***	2.80	2.88
Education	3.01	3.57***	3.20	3.19
Intelligence	2.84	3.37***	3.14	3.29
Hard Working	3.34	3.34	3.33	3.37
Reliable	3.26	3.38	3.30	3.35
Leadership	2.91	3.20**	3.00	3.44**
Self-Confidence	2.87	3.62***	2.94	3.72***
Closeness	2.73	2.98**	2.86	2.92
Liking	3.22	3.55***	3.24	3.48**
Humour	2.95	3.49***	3.09	3.46***

^a rating scales ranged from 1 to 5, with 5 being the most positive; * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Table 2. Effect of Speaker Accent on Ratings

	Visual Presentation		Auditory Presentation	
	Accent		Accent	
	Māori English	Pākehā English	Māori English	Pākehā English
Earning	2.24	2.24	2.20	2.55***
Social Class	2.53	2.79***	2.65	3.03***
Education	3.01	3.58***	2.91	3.48***
Intelligence	2.90	3.30***	2.95	3.47***
Hard Working	3.26	3.43*	3.16	3.55***
Reliable	3.24	3.39	3.15	3.50***
Leadership	2.94	3.17*	3.14	3.29
Self-Confidence	3.22	3.27	3.49	3.17***
Closeness	2.73	2.98**	2.86	2.92
Liking	3.21	3.55***	3.29	3.44*
Humour	3.12	3.31*	3.45	3.10***

* $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

predominantly affected by accent, with higher ratings for speakers of Pākehā English. On the other hand, in the visual-plus-auditory condition, ratings were influenced by a combination of accent and appearance information.

Discussion

As hypothesised, the use of speakers of Māori English led to higher Māori identification rates by participants. Seventy-four percent of participants in the auditory presentation identified speakers of Māori English as Māori. This is much greater than the Māori identification rates found in Huygens and Vaughan (1983) and Robertson (1994). In addition, 77% of participants in the auditory presentation identified speakers of Pākehā English as Pākehā. The high Pākehā and Māori identification rates in the auditory presentation illustrate that people can accurately distinguish ME from PE. Thus past inaccurate classification of Māori and Pākehā based on speaker accent was most likely due to participants' erroneous assumption that ME speakers must be Māori, and PE speakers must be Pākehā.

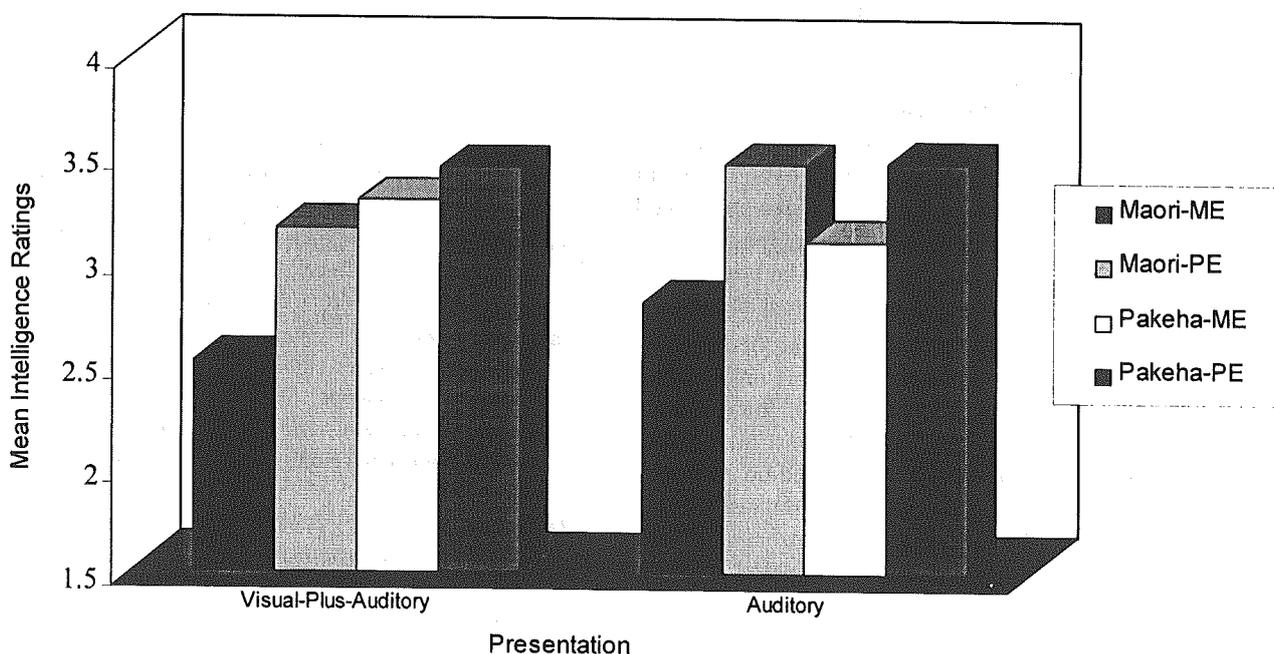
In contrast, the male ME speaker who was intended to represent Māori ethnicity in appearance was only categorised as Māori in the visual-plus-auditory presentation by 28% of the participants. A possible reason for this, given that 78% of participants rated him as Māori in the auditory presentation, is that his manner of dress (he was viewed wearing a tie) may have overridden his ethnicity cues. Therefore, an interesting situation was unintentionally created where a Māori man's high status clothing was in direct contrast to the low status stereotype associated with Māori. This incompatibility may have contributed to participants classifying him as Pākehā, so that his ethnic categorisation was more compatible with his high status appearance. This is purely speculative, though it does

suggest that socio-economic status information may moderate the effects of ethnicity, and further research in this area would be valuable.

The results partially supported the hypothesis concerning the amplifying effect of accent on appearance when both pieces of information were available. Speakers who looked Māori and sounded Māori were rated significantly lower on the variables of earnings, education, social class, intelligence and desired closeness, than the other speaker combinations. Furthermore, on these same variables, speakers who looked Pākehā and sounded Pākehā were generally rated more favourably (but not always significantly so) than the other speaker combinations. From these findings it can be concluded that the amplifying effect of accent on the evaluative effects of appearance was particularly prominent with the status variables. This effect of accent was also more pronounced with speakers who looked Māori than speakers who looked Pākehā. This is consistent with Carli's (1990) finding that groups who have inherently greater status are less affected by variations in their language style. Overall, these interactions highlight the importance of language markers for establishing social status, especially for members of groups who traditionally hold less status.

The hypothesis that Māori would be rated lower than Pākehā, particularly on the status variables, was clearly supported. These findings emphatically show that the negative stereotypes of Māori consistently found in research dating back to the 1950's are currently present in New Zealand's youth. This is worrying, given the implications of continued negative stereotypes for New Zealand society. For example, Māori continue to perform poorly within New Zealand's schooling system (Zwartz, 1998). It has been argued that low teacher expectations of a Māori child's

Figure 1. Effects of speaker appearance and accent (ME or PE) on ratings of intelligence



academic success has been a contributing factor to this (Edwards, 1970; Haigh, 1974; St George, 1983). In addition, Māori children who speak Māori English are likely to be perceived by other children as having lower status and as being less competent students. Thus expectations from peers (Bayard, 1995;p.151), as well as from teachers could potentially negatively impact Māori youth in schools.

It is also likely that negative stereotypes of Māori have adversely affected their employment opportunities. Singer (1988) found that after reading a job application, participants judged a Māori applicant to be more competent at a low status job (filing clerk) than a high status job (departmental manager). In contrast, a Pākehā applicant with the identical job application was judged to be more competent at the high status job than the low status job.

These examples highlight how negative attitudes towards Māori, whether consciously held or not, can lead to discrimination. The present study illustrates that at least some of today's youth are holding the same unfavourable attitudes towards Māori as their parents and grandparents did. Moreover, once stereotypes are established, they tend to remain stable throughout the lifetime (Wilson, 1996). Therefore, it is likely that the teenagers in the present study will carry their negative stereotypes of Māori into their later work and home environments.

So how can we reduce negative attitudes towards Māori? We argue that some of the negative stereotypes associated with Māori remain because they reflect current social circumstances (Bayard, 1991b). Māori are over-represented in crime, low educational achievement, unemployment and the lower socio-economic classes (Zwartz, 1998). These negative stereotypes of Māori will continue until there is true educational, economical and employment equity between Māori and Pākehā (Bayard, 1991b). Social and economic policies that ensure Māori equity (as defined by Māori) with Pākehā in the areas above should be supported and promoted by the government, the education system, iwi and New Zealand society in general. Stereotypes are not easy to change, and even when the overt expression of stereotypes becomes socially unacceptable, unconscious associations and biases can persist (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986; Greenwald & Banaji, 1995). Nonetheless, biases can be reduced by exposing people to counter-stereotypic examples (Power, Murphy, & Coover, 1996). In this respect, the media with its strong influence on societal opinion can directly challenge negative stereotypes of Māori by reporting Māori issues in a fair manner and portraying positive images of Māori.

The effects of speaker appearance that occurred in some of the auditory presentations were surprising, because participants did not view the speakers in the auditory presentation. It should be noted that the vast majority of findings in the auditory presentation showed no effects of appearance. Moreover, the appearance effects that did occur were less marked than in the visual-plus-auditory presentation and never involved status variables. Individual differences (like accent attractiveness and voice quality) between speakers are a possible explanation for the effect

of appearance in some of the auditory presentations. The impact of these factors was minimised by using analyses that usually involved two or four speakers per cell. Moreover, the high ethnic identification rates and the consistent strong effects of ethnicity further suggest that the impact of individual speaker differences was minimal. However, in future research use of the matched guise technique (Lambert, Hodgson, Gardner, & Fillenbaum, 1960; see also Ohama et al., 2000) in which one speaker speaks in both a Māori English and Pākehā English accent would help control for individual speaker differences. Moreover, future research with non-student samples and North Island samples would be useful extensions to the present study.

An important question is whether Māori and Pākehā share similar attitudes. When we included rater ethnicity in our analyses, we found it had no effect on the pattern of data. However, our sample contained only 21 adolescents who identified themselves as Māori. With a larger sample, we would expect similar effects for status variable ratings. On the other hand, we might find different patterns for solidarity variable ratings, with Māori raters showing a preference for speakers using Māori English and for those who appeared Māori (e.g., Ohama et al., 2000).

Perhaps the most telling finding to emerge from the present study is that negative attitudes towards Māori appear to be very much alive in New Zealand. These attitudes have led to discrimination against Māori and most certainly can do so in the future. Because of this, it is crucial that research continues in this area so that racial myths, stereotypes and prejudice within New Zealand can be exposed and understood. As we gain a greater understanding about the ways in which stereotypes and prejudice are established and maintained, we will be one step closer to knowing how to change them. This is the real goal for the future.

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Notes

1. The difference in 'n' between conditions was due to variations in classroom size. Form classes within a grade level were randomly allocated to the two conditions.
2. The anchors on the Likert scales for intelligence, self-confidence, reliability, likeability, and sense of humour were *very to not* (i.e., *very intelligent, not intelligent*). Leadership ranged from *very good* to *very bad*, whereas hardworking ranged from *very hardworking* to *very lazy*. The remaining scales were as follows: education - *no school qualifications* to *University degree*; earnings - *below \$10,000 a year* to *above \$40,000 a year*; desired closeness - *stranger* to *close friend*; and social class - *lower* to *upper*.

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