Attitudes Towards Achievement

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Contents

Attestation of Authorship

I hereby declare that this submission is my own work and that, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person (except where explicitly defined in the acknowledgements), nor material which to a substantial extent has been submitted for the award of any other degree or diploma of a university or other institution of higher learning.

Sign:

Date: 14/12/2020

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Abstract

Cultures differ in their orientation towards the individual. A preference for high achievers to fail (Tall Poppy Syndrome) was studied, focusing on the wider socio-cultural context and its effect on public perceptions contributing to experiences of Tall Poppies across differing societal norms. As an indicator of tall poppy syndrome, the present study uses a validified instrument – the Tall Poppy Scale (Feather, 1989) found to be sensitive to 'tall poppy syndrome' in English speaking and non-English speaking samples (Feather & McKee 1993). The questionnaire was administered to samples of Korean participants living outside and inside Korea (N = 210) and results were cross-culturally compared with norms from Australia, New Zealand, USA, Japan and China. As predicted, those with poorer scores on the questionnaire with lower decisional self-esteem were more likely to have tall poppy syndrome. Cross-cultural differences were found where participants from a westernised individualistic culture tended to score higher on decisional self-esteem, and lower on the tall poppy syndrome compared to participants from Asian collectivist cultures. It was argued that stronger identification to socio-cultural norms around achievement and these cultural norms themselves have a large role in social etiquette around achievement and how well-received the success of the individual is perceived. A low decisional self-esteem for Asian populations may indicate that self-esteem is defined in relation to others rather than self and is a better reflection of Korean, and Asian cultural world views regarding self-esteem, wellbeing, and attitudes towards achievement. Findings have implications for online platforms and the culture of support towards achieving individuals, benefiting possible future mental wellbeing interventions around internet policies and safeguards around internet feedback.

Introduction

As 40 Korean celebrity suicides have been linked to online criticism (Marks, 2020), it is becoming imperative to understand the reasons why people censure others. The present thesis considers cross-cultural differences in willingness to support (or denigrate) high profile individuals online.

1.1 Tall poppy defined

Tall poppies (TP) are defined as noticeably successful persons, who's distinction may attract envy or hostility (Feather, 1989). The Tall Poppy Syndrome (TPS) is the habit or desire to diminish in stature individuals who attained excellence in a field (Moore, 1997), and as a result high achievers can become targets of resentment and criticism.

1.2 Deservingness influenced by appraisal

Sometimes people do not feel that a high achiever deserves recognition. The study of deservingness is an area of research including greater understanding towards how people's concerns of justice develops. Deservingness is defined in terms of response to perceived success or failure. Feather (2006) considered factors influencing perceived deservingness to positive or negative outcomes. Deservingness seemed to develop in two main ways (1) the positive or negative evaluation by the observers, (2) personal value prioritization (Feather, 2006).

Appraisal Theory was used to explain how attributions of deservingness may develop through cognitive appraisal. Degrees of deservingness seemed to depend on the perceived responsibility attributed when appraising events. For example, a study (Weiner, 1995) showed individuals deemed more responsible for suffering their negative outcome (i.e. drug abuse) elicited more anger rather than pity from observers. Situations where Individuals seemed less responsible for their suffering (i.e. Alzheimer's Disease) elicited more pity rather than anger from observers. Appraising the deservingness of negative outcomes occurring to a target individual may encourage the observer to act unhelpfully towards that individual (incurring in the observer Schaudenfraude - shameful joy). And this could be a particular concern when a person is in crisis (Värnik, 2012). A study showed variables determining pleasure from watching high achievers fail were observed deservingness, resentment or envy, and the act of 'cutting down' (Feather & Sherman, 2002).

1.3 Early studies on Tall Poppy Syndrome

Literature on Tall Poppy Syndrome first conducted studies on Australian participants using psychological scales to measure responses to fictional fails and achievements within Tall Poppy scenarios (Feather, 1989). Participants' desires to diminish tall poppies were used to create the Tall 'Poppy Scale' to measure the syndrome. The Tall Poppy syndrome has been examined by others (Van Valkenburgh, 2013), the majority using hypothetical scenarios, and now observing Tall poppies as individuals (Feather et al., 1991; O'Neill et al., 2013; Mouly & Sankaran, 2002). These studies

showed experience of Tall Poppy Syndrome was varied and further investigation highlighted key moderators effecting societal perceptions. For example, high achievers that seemed to attain status through individual ability and effort experienced lower antagonism (Peeters, 2004). Personal behaviour and personality, as well as the appropriateness of their 'fall' influenced societal perceptions (Feather et al., 1991).

1.4 Values influencing Attitude and Behaviour

Negative responses to a tall poppy may result from the values a person holds. Attitudes guide evaluative (judgemental) responses and function to provide people with (1) knowledge (motivation to understand the world), (2) **instrumentality** (motivation to gain rewards and minimise negative outcomes), (3) ego defence (– a defence mechanism to protect one's self-esteem against threats), (4) and value expressiveness (providing satisfaction influence behaviour when (1) an attitude is appraised as more rather than less socially acceptable (2) when expressed privately, in a group or publicly (3) strength of identification with a social group which considers the attitude as normative (socially acceptable) (Vaughan & Hogg, 2018; Fishbein & Ajzen, 1974).

Compared to attitudes, values are beliefs surrounding desirable or undesirable modes of existence. These values are associated with a sense of right and wrong, are often stable, and include a hierarchy of importance to the self (Schwartz, 1992, 1996). Schwartz's Value theory informs how values serve as a guide of principles that people live by and categorizes differing values into a circle (*see Figure 1*), further describing how some values are incompatible or compatible when pursued together (Schwartz, 1992). Support for achievement or failure in others and towards tall poppies may be influence by such value differences. For example values of conservation (conformity, tradition, security) are incompatible when pursed simultaneously with values of Openness to change (self-direction, stimulation) (Schwartz, 1996). Schwartz further explains incompatibility between values of universalism and benevolence (e.g. self-transience) with values of pursuit of power and achievement (e.g. self-enhancement) (Schwartz, 1996). As such individuals valuing self-enhancement and openness to change may have greater support for achievement compared with persons who value conservation and benevolence. These values in turn influence people's behaviour (support for success or failure in others) through attitudes which may be expressed according to how strong they connect to sociocultural groups, just as individual or collectivist cultures, and expressed according to interpersonal distance (e.g. online, face-to-face) (Bos et al., 2002).
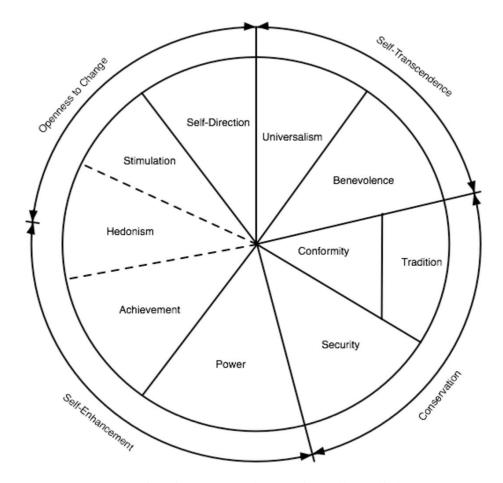
Figure 1. Schwartz Theory of Basic Human Values (Universally applied) (Schwarz, 1996)

1.5 Values and Collectivism influencing attitudes towards Tall Poppies

Feather (1989) aimed to understand variables influencing attitudes towards tall poppies by using a validated scale of generalised attitudes, and testing for possible effects of global self-esteem. Global self-esteem is an individual's negative or positive attitude towards their entire self (Rosenberg et al., 1995). Three main attitudes showed an influence on behavioural attitudes towards tall poppies: achievement values, social power, and tradition maintenance (Feather, 1989). Achievement values were examined in terms of preferences to be ambitious, capable, influential, intelligent, or successful. Social power values were measured by interest in areas of social power or recognition, wealth, authority, and preservation of public image. Tradition maintenance values comprised of desiring respect for tradition, humility, acceptance of the status quo, and faithfulness (Feather, 1989).

Research showed attitudes which favoured the fall of the tall poppy were related to the specific values of placing an importance of maintaining tradition, hedonism, with lower importance on achievement values (Feather, 1989). Alternatively, attitudes favouring the support of the tall poppy related to stronger values towards promoting achievement, social power, and increased concerns with stimulation and restrictive conformity (Feather, 1989). Results showed that with less importance attributed towards achievement or social power there were increasingly negative attitudes towards succeeding individuals (tall poppies) (Feather, 1989).

1.6 Decisional Self-esteem

Feather (1989) considered self-esteem might influence attitudes towards Tall Poppies, but it seems greater instrumentality is liable to predict attitudes towards achievement. Phillips, Landhuis, and Wood (2021), found that confidence and self-efficacy better influenced attitudes towards high achievers.

Research suggests a person's positive image of themselves as decision makers is associated with greater usage of productive decision-making tools (Burnett, 1991). Decisional self-esteem is defined as the level of positivity one associates to their decision making. The Melbourne Decision Making Questionnaire is a validated instrument developed from Janis and Mann's (1977) model of decision making that evaluates tendencies to engage in adaptive vigilant decision making, or defensively avoidant (procrastination, buck-passing) decisional styles. There is theoretical support to suggest a link between decisional self-esteem and a person's decisions to support high achievers. Previous research suggests decision making styles could influence behaviour in specific situations. For example, according to Levi (2011) group decision making may influence greater conformity than individual choices to reduce risks of mistakes. The process of effectively communicating and agreeing to a decision as a group was seen as producing results effectively (Levi, 2011).

1.6.1 Individualistic and Collectivist values influencing attitudes towards Tall poppies

Further study on the effect of values on attitudes towards tall poppies examined how individualistic and collectivist values across countries influence attitudes. Feather hypothesised that individualistic countries would place greater value on achievement and social status and generally favour the reward of tall poppies over their failure (Feather, 1992; Feather, 1998). Western culture was seen to value individualistic enterprise, or accomplishment (Feather, 1975, 1986; Hofstede, 1980; Rokeach, 1973; Schwartz, 1992). A cross-cultural study between the three individualistic countries Australia, Canada and USA, identified values of achievement and social status as influential criteria when considering positive evaluations of high achievers compared to a normal person (Feather, 1998).

Meanwhile research indicates collectivist societies value ingroup "harmony" and interdependence compared to the success of the individual (Triandis, 1988). Ho and Chiu (1944) found in a content analysis of Chinese popular sayings that achievement obtained through cooperative group effort is affirmed but achievement obtained through individual effort is negated. Within collectivist cultures self-interest is rejected while self-reliant but cooperative orientation is valued (Ho & Chiu, 1944; Weng et al., 2020). As such we assume individualistic achievement draws attention away from group solidarity and more likely to illicit social reproach in collectivist cultures. Below we review the literature explaining the key elements of the socio-cultural context which impact inclinations to reproach Tall poppies in east Asian cultures such as Korea.

Feather and McKee (1989) noted that cultures differed in their attitudes towards Tall Poppies. They hypothesized that collectivist cultures (e.g. Asian, Japan) had lower self-esteem and were more likely to censure Tall Poppies than individualist cultures (e.g. USA, Australia). Instead Feather and McKee (1989) found Australian and Japanese students were in favour of rewarding Tall Poppies, but Japanese students were significantly more likely to favour the fall of Tall Poppies. They also reported relationships between self-esteem and the preference for Tall Poppies to fall. However individual collective distinctions may not be strong as typically maintained and this likely reflects the contribution of other situational constraints when considering the development of Tall Poppy syndrome attitudes (Bond, 2013).

The current study will also measure the extent to which participants identify with their ethnic group (Korean). There are studies showing cultural differences in general attitudes towards high achievers. For example, Japanese students had higher scores on the favor fall variable compared to Australian students. When compared to Australian students, Feather and McKee (1993) found Japanese students were more likely to prefer that high achievers fail.

A variety of reasons for differences in Tall Poppy syndrome across cultures have been proposed (Feather & McKee, 1993). Differences were speculated to be from different constructs of self and cultural norms or values. For example, literature show Japanese culture may emphasize interpersonal contexts, ingroup solidarity, harmony, and self-effacement (Markus & Kitayama, 1991) compared to Australia which emphasizes autonomy and independence (Feather, 1994; Feather & McKee 1993). Tall poppies asserting independence and individuality in Japan therefore may be violating social norms and values concerning ingroup harmony or humility and attract tendencies to lower the tall poppy (Munro et al., 2014).

1.6.2 Confucian values in East Asian cultures

Research identifies three key Confucian values dominant in East Asian Cultures (i.e. Korea, China, Japan): (1) collectivism; (2) power distance (PD) and (3) Confucian dynamism (Hofstede et al., 2017). First, collectivism refers to the individual's affiliation and loyalty to their in-group. Second, power distance (PD) is a norm of accepting power disparities particularly towards hierarchal systems or relationship dynamics. Cultural norms with high power distance (PD) are prevalent in Confucian cultures where filial piety or respect for those in authority or seniority is a central value (Bornstein, 2010). Lastly, Confucian dynamism (CD) is a collective understanding of social etiquette or rules around humility, maintaining group harmony, or displaying respect for ones seniors (Bearden et al., 2006) . The underlying reasoning behind Confucian dynamism is to accept one's place in the group in order to maintain group harmony and functioning (Hofstede et al., 2017; Kim & Nam, 1998). Rules of social etiquette and acceptance are highly linked with these Confucian values in Asian cultures (Lee, 2000). Individuals that break out of the normal social hierarchy determined in Confucian values (e.g.

age, tenure, position) (Park & Kim, 1992) may experience greater tensions and vulnerability for social retribution by standing out. In particular we may expect individuals who identify more with Confucianism display greater pleasure in the failure of tall poppies.

1.6.3 Modesty Social Norm

Greater societal vigilance or criticism towards tall poppies may indicate greater cultural emphasis on modesty. Modesty social norms are highly prevalent in East Asia, research indicating how asians are less likely to make favourable self-evaluations (Kurman, 2003). Despite favourable self-evaluations predicting wellbeing, lower depression and anxiety in Asian individuals (Cai, Wu, & Brown, 2009) overt self-report figures of personal strengths remain low (O'Mara et al., 2012). A key explanation was that people of Asian cultures value modesty from a Harm-in-Harmony perspective, striving to maintain group harmony and protection of other's feelings (Kurman, 2003). Alternatively, modesty can provide protection from potential social punishment or allow covert competition. Many East Asian sayings reflect potential social repercussions individuals may encounter from standing out or immodesty. Examples include the Korean saying "A spiked stone gets hammered" to Japanese "the nail that stands out gets pounded down", and Chinese sayings that "the bird that takes the lead gets shot down" (Liu, 2020). Modesty covertly protects self-interest from possible sanctions or sabotage by satisfying the collective goals of promoting equality and harmony. Recent studies show Americans are more likely than Koreans to share their achievement to others (Choi et al., 2019). This effect was moderated by relational concerns (i.e. "I am afraid that others people would feel jealous or envious of me") that are greater in Koreans than Americans (Choi et al., 2019). Rather than the sole explanation of wanting to care for other's feelings or maintain harmony, this view suggests East Asian individuals are more modest because of a sensitivity to the elicitation of negative intent (e.g. envy, jealousy) thus exercising modesty to safely pursue self-interest as a protection strategy (Liu, 2020).

1.6.4 East Asia on Support seeking and Supportive behaviour

Insights into some of the key mental health challenges in East Asia include an overall reluctance to seek social support. This is a concern given Korea has one of the highest suicide rates per capita (Värnik, 2012). Various research participants from Western European backgrounds were found seeking social support more frequently than East Asian participants (Kim et al., 2006; Taylor et al., 2004). Social support in European participants provided protection against stress. However being asked to seek explicit help from close supports caused increased bio-psychological stress responses in Asian participants compared to when they were not seeking support (Taylor et al., 2007). Reluctance to seek professional help with mental wellbeing was also higher in East Asian participants. Common factors influencing the poor help seeking culture in East Asian societies include; preservation of saving face, group harmony (Kim et al., 2006; Taylor et al., 2004; Taylor et al., 2007), and concerns with burdening or indebting others (Miller et al., 2017). This may be indicative of lower societal or

culture expectations on help seeking behaviours from others, and impact the likelihood of supporting or not supporting others who may be succeeding or failing.

The Confucius Harm-in-Harmony perspective holds importance towards preventative vigilance. Research relates the reluctance to seek social support in East Asian culture with greater vigilance towards directly expressing vulnerability (Liu, 2020). Vigilance involves attributing possible malicious use of vulnerable information in the socio-cultural environment, such as mental health support-seeking information influencing employment. Reluctance to expose vulnerabilities or seek support in East Asia (Robins & Post, 1997) may influence attitudes towards Tall poppies and information on their vulnerabilities.

1.7 Online Malicious Behaviour towards Tall Poppies

Korean high achievers can experience greater difficulties in help-seeking or showing vulnerabilities due to the socio-cultural expectations or criticism towards vigilance and ability to maintain 'face' (i.e. kpop-idols maintaining a celibate image), with the failure to do so inviting possible malicious behaviour such as cyberbullying. In the early 2000s South Korea's main reason for 40 celebrity suicides was malicious cyberattacks (i.e., Jin-sil Choi, Yuni) (Marks, 2020). Examples of the cyberbullying Tall Poppies can attract include; using multimedia, online platforms to insult, socially isolate, disturb, humiliate, spread harmful fictitious rumours or hacking for personal information without consent (Wong et al. 2014). Despite the high lethality of online suicide due to baiting and cyber-bullying (Phillips & Mann, 2019), preventative research on predicting and preventing cyberbullying has only started since 2010 and less researched compared to the prevalence of cyberbullying towards high achievers (Lee, 2016). Furthermore specialised legal systems for cyberbullying are very lacking and methods around online policy or support is limited (Lee, 2016). From research that predicts a lack of support and pleasure in seeing high achievers fail we can begin to understand what interventions may be effective. The use of repeated warnings were identified as one preventative method effective for cyberbullying (Yasuda, 2010) showing how education and information surrounding ethical and moral culture in internet and digital environments was important for influencing online behaviours (Bhat et al., 2013; Yasuda, 2010).

1.8 Rationale, aims, research question and study outline
1.8.1 Rationale

Currently there is a lack of studies on Tall Poppy syndrome in Korea, but the continuous wave of celebrity suicides indicates that research is urgently needed. In particular cyberbullying and job stress in East Asia and Korea are the two major risk factors for suicide in high profile celebrities and among youth (Choi, 2015; Klomek, 2009). Currently, there is a lack of Korean tall poppy syndrome studies. The Tall Poppy scale could help understand attacks on celebrities and malicious behaviour online. This project addresses attitudes towards achievement across different ethnic groups, specifically

Korean. This project will replicate and extend research previously conducted on Australian and Japanese cohorts by applying it within a New Zealand context while monitoring possible causal factors such as envy.

1.8.2 Aims

Using previously developed and validated questionnaires, an online survey aims to: 1) determine the extent to which participants self-identify as Korean and, 2) assess their satisfaction with their decision making; 3) assess participants' self-reported preferences for achieving individuals to succeed or fail, and 4) attempt to determine the level of support for achieving individuals; 5) attempt to determine the degree of interest in achievement and failure of others cross-culturally 6) show predictions of behaviour through engagement with failure or success information online.

1.8.3 Research Question

In this study we use a quantitative approach and meta analysis to ask the research question: What influence does collectivist societies have on attitudes towards high achievement. The study specifically considers traits (Self-esteem, Favour Fail or Reward) associated with Tall poppy syndrome and observes any cross-cultural differences or similarities.

1.8.4 Hypothesis

The three main hypothesis (see Table 1) that (1) It would be expected that greater <u>cultural identification</u> would be correlated with a greater preference for high achievers to fail. (2) It would be expected that Koreans would prefer high achievers to fail <u>relative to published norms</u> for Individualistic societies (e.g. USA). (3) It would be expected that Koreans would be less likely to vote to support achievers on reality tv programs. <u>Cultural identification</u> will be identified with questions about the "importance" or "pride" associated with being Korean. <u>Preferences for high achievers to fail</u> will be measured by higher scores on the Favour Fail scale of the Tall Poppy questionnaire.

Table 1. Expected cross-cultural differences.

Society	Culture	Indicated by	Indicated by	Cultural identification	Cultural identification
Individualistic (e.g. USA)	Rewards individual achievement	Higher Favour Reward scores on Tall Poppy Questionnaire	Voting for achievers on reality TV	Previously studied by Feather & McKee (1993)	Previously studied by Feather & McKee (1993)
Collectivist (e.g. Korea)	Censures individual achievement	Higher Favour Fail scores on Tall Poppy Questionnaire	Not voting for achievers on reality TV	"How much it means" to be Korean correlates with Favour Fail scale of Tall Poppy questionnaire	National pride correlates with Favour Fail scale of Tall Poppy questionnaire

1.8.5 Study outline

Previous research on collectivist and individualistic cultural influences on Tall poppy syndrome has been conducted (Feather & McKee 1993; Feather, 1998). This study replicates and extends on Feather and McKee's 1989 study of Australian and Japanese attitudes towards Tall Poppies, and looks at participants' levels of willingness to support high achievers. The present thesis extends this work to a Korean context considering the level of support for achieving individuals, and the preferences for high achieving individuals to be rewarded or fail. Cross-cultural comparisons were made between Korea and values from normative samples from collectivist (Japan) and individualistic cultures (Australia). The implications of the research outcomes will benefit in addressing literature gaps in whether cultural influences on Tall Poppy Syndrome are replicable.

As an indicator of tall poppy syndrome, the present study uses a validated instrument – the Tall Poppy Scale (Feather, 1989). This instrument has been found to be sensitive to 'tall poppy syndrome' in English speaking and non-English speaking samples (Feather & McKee 1993; Feather, 1998). It is anticipated that those with poorer scores on the questionnaire will be more likely to have – tall poppy syndrome, reduce the level of support for achieving individuals, and the preferences for high achieving individuals to be rewarded or fail. Participants from Korea where a collectivist culture is the norm will be explored as it is possible these patterns may similarly occur. The implications of the research outcomes will benefit in addressing literature gaps in whether cultural influences on Tall Poppy Syndrome are replicable (Takano & Osaka, 2018). Furthermore our study can explore possible correlations between decisional self-esteem and Tall poppy syndrome of differing cultures. This may add to further research into understanding links between cultural influences on decision-making styles and Tall poppy syndrome.

1.9 Predicting Favour fail and success behaviour

Given claims that differences between collectivist and individualistic cultures are not consistent (Takano & Osaka, 2018), the strength of relationships between attitudes and actual behaviours was examined (Bond, 2013), Towards the end of the survey debriefing questions, considered the likely information sources participants would engage with. A specific question "There will be a debrief screen at the end of the survey listing links for further information on Korean achievements. Which links do you think you would consider following?" was examined in particular. Participants responded by choosing from the options: Korean achievements. Korean losses. This was done to investigate the decisional self-esteem factors, as well as cultural factors on favouring success or failure.

As a behavioural predictor of willingness to see support or failure of others, Qualtrics allowed us to measure the amount of time participants spent on the debrief page at the end of the survey.

Schaudenfraude was measured by assessing the time participants spent on this list of resources detailing success and failures seen in Korean society (e.g. natural disasters, successful athletes, inventions, suicides). This helped determine engagement and behaviours on an online platform with events or individuals who may be failing or succeeding in their field.

Method

2.1 Participants

Participants were members of the general population living either outside or inside Korea, identifying as Korean. Respondents responded to an online survey, which was advertised in public community and social media online noticeboards. Interested participants followed a web-address which invited them to complete an online survey. Of the total 210 respondents, 36.8.% were male and 60.5% were female with 0.7% identifying as other, ranging in ages between 9–75, with a mean of 29.60 years (*SD*=11.83).

2.2 Measures

The online survey administered reliable and previously validated questionnaires that assess attitudes towards achievement namely the Favour Reward and Favour Fail scale of the Tall Poppy Questionnaire (Feather, 1989); and any tendency to devalue achievement (Feather, 1993). Questions also assessed the extent to which participants identified with a specific ethnic group (Korean), the perceived quality of their decisions, and their levels of support and interest in achieving individuals. This extends research done by Feather and McKee (1989) by looking at the links between attitudes (levels of Tall poppy syndrome) and behaviour (levels of decisional self-esteem) which findings showed people with lower decisional self-esteem had greater tendencies to want Tall Poppies to fall (Feather & McKee, 1989).

2.2.1 Tall Poppy Scale

Feather reported good Cronbach's alpha reliability coefficients for the Favour Reward (.80) and Favour Fall Scales (.85) for an Australian sample (Feather, 1989). For the present Korean sample the Cronbach's alphas were good (Favour Reward, .73; Favour Fall, .72) (Nunnally & Bernstein, 1994).

2.2.2 Decisional Self Esteem Scale

The Cronbach's alpha over a six country sample was .74 (Mann et al, 1998). For the present Korean sample the Cronbach's alpha was .72.

2.2.3 Cultural sayings

Korean cultural sayings were used as an indicator of cultural validity (Weng, Zhang, Kulich, & Zuo, 2020). Three cultural sayings were used which identified Confucianist cultural norms in Korea related to attitudes towards support or censorship of achievements (Lee; 2019; Naver Dictionary, 2012). (1)

A spiked stone gets hammered; 모난　돌이 정 맞는다. (2) Fire catches at the end of boasting; 자랑 끝에 불붙는다. (3) If you boast your child, you're immature; 자식 자랑 팔불출. The extent people agreed with Korean cultural sayings that denigrated high achievers were compared to Tall Poppy Scores. As Feather (1989) felt these scores should relate to self-esteem, agreement with cultural sayings was also compared to Korean Pride and Decisional Self-Esteem (see Table 2). As may be seen in Table 2, Korean cultural saying denigrating high achievers correlated with Favour Fall scores, and to a lesser extent with Korean national pride.

2.3 Design and Analysis

The online survey was hosted on a system called Qualtrics and data was downloaded and subjected to statistical analysis using SPSS. Participants were anonymous; no information identifying a participant was gathered. Data from the present Korean sample was compared to Australian and Japanese norms for the Tall Poppy Scale (Feather & McKee, 1993). Data from the present Korean sample were compared to norms for Australian and Japanese populations from the Melbourne Decision Making Questionnaire (Mann et al, 1998).   Means and standard deviations from these normative samples were then used to conduct analysis of variance and perform cross-cultural comparisons. Analysis of variance explored whether the Korean sample differed from published norms. Furthermore, multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) were performed upon subscales measuring attitudes to achievement and decision-making styles to determine whether there are differences between those that do and don't support achievers.

Results

3.1 Tall Poppy Scale

The present Korean sample's self-esteem and attitudes can be viewed in light of population norms (Feather & McKee, 1993). The Korean sample appears to be less in favour of rewarding high achievers than Australian and Japanese samples.   The Korean Favour Reward (*M*=44.22, *SD*=8.76) is less than the Australian (*M*=47.58, *SD*=8.55) and greater than the Japanese scores (*M*=48.41, *SD*=8.50). Whereas, the Korean Favour Fall scores (*M*=38.03, *SD*=8.83), are situated midway between Australian (*M*=34.17, SD=9.09) and Japanese (*M*=45.37, SD=6.73).

The Korean data was compared to published norms (Feather & McKee, 1993) using oneway analysis of variance (https://statpages.info/anova1sm.html). **Favour Reward** scores were analysed and revealed a significant difference between cultural groups ($F(2,349)=7.544$, $p<.001$, $\eta^2=.04$). Tukey's HSD Post Hoc tests indicated that the Korean sample differed significantly from Australian (*Mean Diff.* =3.31) and Japanese (*Mean Diff.* =4.14) norms, but the Australian and Japanese norms did not significantly differ (*Mean Diff.* =-0.83).

Oneway analysis of variance also examined **Favour Fall** scores. There was a significant difference between cultures for Favour Fall scores ($F(2,349)=53.051$, $p<.001$, $\eta^2=0.23$). Tukey's

HSD Post Hoc tests indicated that the Korean sample favoured fall significantly more than the Australian sample (*Mean Diff.* = 3.81), but favoured fall significantly less than the Japanese sample (*Mean Diff.* = -7.39). Australians favoured the fall of high achievers significantly less than the Japanese (*Mean Diff.* = -11.20).

3.2 Cultural Validity

Table 2: Korean participants and their identification towards Cultural sayings on social etiquette around showing achievement or failure.

	Favour Reward	Favour Failure	Proud of being Korean
모난　돌이 정 맞는다. A spiked stone gets hammered.	-.007	.260**	-.081
자랑 끝에 불붙는다. Fire catches at the end of boasting.	-.008	.205*	.068
자식 자랑 팔불출. If you boast your child, you're immature	-.180*	.215*	-.254**

*p<.05; **p<.01

An important question is the extent to which participants identify with Korean traditional values to determine the cultural influences on behaviour. Previous research has similarly studied the validity of cultural attitudes by measuring correlations between participant's connection of personal values to cultural proverbs (Ye et al., 2018). For this reason, the responses of those who indicated they agree to certain cultural sayings which exemplify Confucius values on harm-in-harmony, and modesty were analysed (see Table 2). The results showed that stronger disagreement with the sayings: "자식 자랑 팔불출. If you boast your child, you're immature", linked with greater favour towards reward in Tall poppies (*M*= -.180, *p*<.05, two tailed). Those that identified with the sayings: "모난 돌이 정 맞는다. A spiked stone gets hammered."; "자랑 끝에 불붙는다. Fire catches at the end of boasting", were significantly more likely to favour failure (*M*=-.260, *p*<.01, two tailed). Results show the strength of agreement with traditional Confucius values linked to favouring failure or success in Korean participants. Of those results greater identification with the phrase "자식 자랑 팔불출. If you boast your child, you're immature" also correlated with reduced nationalism (*r*=-.254, *N*= 210, *p*<.01)

3.3 Decisional Self-Esteem

The present Korean sample was compared to population norms for Decisional Self-Esteem (Mann et al., 1998). The Korean sample's Decisional Self Esteem scores (M=7.73, SD=2.62), were midway between Australian (M=8.42, SD=2.17) and Japanese (M=6.56, SD=2.45) values. These values were compared using oneway analysis of variance (https://statpages.info/anova1sm.html).

As seen in Table. 3 and 4 there were significant cross-cultural differences in **Decisional Self Esteem** (F(2,745)=45.749, p<.001, η^2=.11). Tukey's HSD post hoc tests indicated that all groups differed significantly from each other. Australians (*Mean Diff*.=0.71) had higher decisional self esteem than Koreans, and that Koreans had higher decisional self esteem than Japanese (*Mean Diff*.=1.15). Cross-cultural patterns of decisional self-esteem on Favour Fail and Reward scores are shown in Figure 2, indicating a strong negative relationship between increasing favour fail scores and decreasing decisional self-esteem across cultures.

Table 3. Mean scores and correlations between Decisional Self-Esteem and Tall Poppy subscales, for Japanese, Korean, and Australian samples.

	Japanese Sample		Korean Sample		Australian Sample	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Decisional Self-Esteem	6.56	2.45	7.71	2.63	8.42	2.17
Favour Reward	48.41	8.50	44.27	8.79	47.58	8.55
Favour Fall	45.37	6.73	37.98	8.85	34.17	9.09

*N*s for the Korean Sample were 141/120/120. N for the Australian sample was 249/124/124. *N* for the Japanese sample was 358/108/108.

Table 4. Correlations between Decisional Self-Esteem and Tall Poppy subscales, for Korean, Australian, and Japanese samples.

		Correlations		
	N	SE[c] vs FR[d]	SE vs FF[f]	FR vs FF
Korean[a]	143	.151	-.224*	-.208*
Australian[b]	108	.09	-.24**	-.33**
Japanese[b]	122	.11	-.15	-.12

Tests of significance are two-tailed.

[a]Decisional Self Esteem; [b]Global Self Esteem; [c]Self Esteem; [d]Favour Reward; [f]Favour Fail
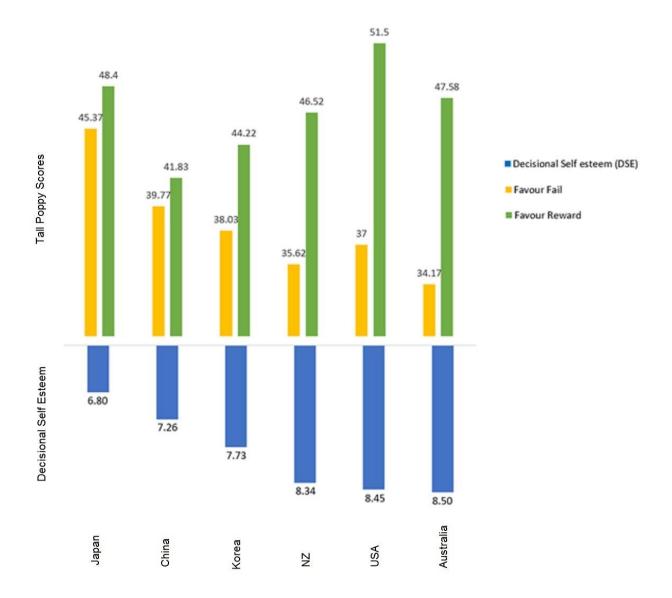
*p<.05 ; **p<.01

Figure 2. Cross Cultural differences in favouring reward and failure in Tall Poppies ordered in ascending order of decisional self-esteem (DSE). Greater differences between Favour Reward and Favour Fall are associated with better Decisional Self Esteem across cultures

3.4 Voting behaviour

Given the observed cross-cultural differences in the preferences for high achievers to be rewarded, it is interesting to consider whether Tall Poppy Scores vary with voting intention. A one-way MANOVA considered traits distinguishing between those that would and would not vote.

A multivariate test was significant, suggesting differences between those that voted and those that did not vote for reality TV contestants (Pillai's Trace=.073, $F(3,114)=2.997$, $p=.034$, $\eta^2=.07$). Voters differed in their Decisional Self Esteem ($F(1,116)=5.399$, $p=.022$, $\eta^2=.04$). People that voted to support contestants ($M=8.083$, $SE=0.29$) had higher decisional self-esteem than those that did not

vote (*M*=6.82, *SE*=0.46). Voters had a greater belief in their own self-efficacy. Non-voters had less confidence in their decision making.

3.5 Online preferences in viewing failure or success information

Given the observed cross-cultural differences in the preferences for high achievers to be rewarded, it is interesting to consider whether interest in the debrief page varied with Tall Poppy scores.

A significant multivariate test indicate, suggesting differences between those that selected "Achievement", "Failure" or "Neither" as options for the debrief (Pillai's Trace=.239, $F(10,216)=2.218$, $p=.002$, $\eta^2=.12$). Univariate tests indicated that this was due to differences in Favour Reward ($F(2,112)=4.957$, $p=.009$, $\eta^2=.08$) and Favour Fail scores ($F(2,112)=5.390$, $p=.006$, $\eta^2=.09$), and were associated with greater time spent on the debrief page ($F(2,112)=4.920$, $p=.009$, $\eta^2=.08$). Simple contrasts indicated that participants that selected Reward at debrief had higher Favour Reward scores (*M*=12.06, *SE*=1.65) and participants that selected Failure had higher Favour Fall scores (*M*=9.61, *SE*=4.18). Furthermore, participants that selected Neither, spent less time on the debrief page (*M*=5.93, *SE*=2.06). Korean participants and their preference to enjoy viewing information of others failing or succeeding correlated with their Tall poppy scores of Favour Fail and Favour Reward.

Table 6. Mean time spent on debrief screen measuring engagement of information of Korean achievements of losses online

Self-report on which information participants are interested engaging with on the debrief page	Actual time Spent on debrief page (seconds)	
	Mean	SE
Korean achievements	12.06	1.65
Korean losses	9.61	4.18
Neither	5.93	2.06

Discussion

High suicide rate is a major health crisis in South Korea, the rate in 2012 being 28.1 per 100,000 people – approximately double the average suicide rate and ranking the highest among the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) countries (Korean National Statistical Office, 2020). Similarly suicides by high profile individuals, public high achievers, and celebrities in Korea are not uncommon and research indicated the two main reasons for celebrity suicides in Korea was (1) job stress and (2) cyberbullying (Choi, 2015; Klomek, 2009). As of date a total of 40 suicides were accounted for cyberbullying-related suicides in Korean celebrities (i.e., Jin-sil Choi, Yuni) (Marks, 2020).

Unfortunately research focus on celebrity suicide predominantly examines the publicity of attractive celebrity suicides and their negative impact of influencing public suicidal behaviours (e.g. the Werther effect; copycat suicide). The Werther effect is the phenomena of increased suicides by the public due to emulation of a publicized suicide often by a famous individual (Niederkrotenthaler & Stack, 2017; Sisask & Värnik, 2012). From interest in the Werther effect, Celebrity suicides started being researched more extensively (Ortiz et al., 2019). In comparison to the minimal research on preventative intervention for celebrity suicides from cyberbullying behaviour (Niederkrotenthaler & Stack, 2017; Cheng et al., 2013; Sisask & Värnik, 2012), an establishment of research focus on their negative influence and improving censorship of celebrity suicides continues.

Given concerns about the cyberbullying of celebrities in Korea, this thesis considers attitudes towards high profile individuals. The purpose of this study was to explore the effect of decisional self-esteem on Tall Poppy syndrome in Korean participants of varying identification to their Korean culture especially in their preferences to strongly valued modesty Confucius values. This cross-cultural research replicates and extends Feather and McKee's study (1993) in hopes of providing a deeper understanding of Tall Poppy Syndrome from a Korean cultural context versus a Western viewpoint. This study was also interested in measuring enjoyment of failure or success of others by observing online information engagement with the debrief screen.

The Tall Poppy scale seemed appropriate for use with a Korean population as it correlated with agreement with traditional Korean sayings. Koreans lay midway between collectivist Japanese and individualistic Australians with regards their attitudes towards achievement. Indeed, across cultures the relative valences towards failure and reward seemed to be related to decisional self-esteem or confidence. But there were disjuncts between attitudes and behaviors. The Tall Poppy scale predicted interest in achievement related information, but not specific voting behaviors. Decisional self-esteem (or self-efficacy) predicted voting behaviors.

4.1 Decisional self-esteem: Identifying Tall Poppy Syndrome

A negative relationship – DSE and favoring the fall of Tall Poppies

One of our key findings was the negative relationship observed between decisional self-esteem and Favor Fail scores and this section explores the possible reasons this correlation is influenced by individual measures of self-esteem. Our results showed lower decisional self-esteem in the Korean sample associated with higher scores on the Tall Poppy Syndrome scores. For this Korean sample lower decisional self-esteem was linked to a greater preference for observing failure in others while Korean participants with higher decisional self-esteem linked with greater success preferences in others. Similarly, the moderating effect of self-esteem on Tall Poppy syndrome was replicated in various other East Asian (Japan, China) and Western (New Zealand, Australia, USA) cultures.

Self-esteem

This result indicates confidence in making one's own decisions, and also in the success of one's decisions are effective towards promoting positive attitudes towards the success and growth of other's

achievements. As relationships are found between better decision making and support for high achievers across cultures, there is likely to be a causal role (Barber, 2002; 2006). Indeed, countries such as Cambodia that have deliberately not invested in their intellectual potential tend to struggle developmentally (Brinkley, 2009).

The decision to seek the failure or success of a high achieving individual is a potential source of conflict. Janis and Mann (1977) observed decision making responses to potential threat or crises and found resource availability and optimism promoted better decision making as availability of support and options increased (Herek et al., 1987). It is possible that high achievers may be a potential threat to one's self-esteem, and individuals lower in decisional self-esteem are more likely to attribute supporting a Tall Poppy as depleting one's available resources and thus feel more comfortable with Tall Poppy failures. Evans et al (2019) linked poor psychological wellbeing and low willingness to seek assistance in people with problematic cannabis use with low decisional self-esteem. It is possible decisional self-esteem not only effects poor mental wellbeing while lowering willingness to seek assistance, but also lowers the willingness to support assisting others, particularly those who are higher achievers.

4.2 Cross cultural differences: How culture influences Tall Poppy Syndrome

The negative relationship between decisional self-esteem and Favor Fail scores were shown to be moderated by cultural attitudes and values. This section explains how possible differences in Confucianist decision making styles and the pursuit of individual success influence Tall poppy syndrome. Our results support the validity of cultural influences on Tall poppy syndrome as our findings of varying cross-cultural differences between collectivist and individualistic countries cannot be explained by individual factors of self-esteem alone.

4.2.1 Characteristics of Collectivist and Individual cultural clusters

Based on the similarity of cultural values the recent GLOBE study identified clusters of societies. The Confucian Asian cluster is made up of countries Korea, Japan, China, and these societies are characterized by high levels of cultural practice in institutional or in-group collectivism (group and family oriented), and power distance (endorsing power differentials) (GLOBE, 2005). The Anglo cluster includes Australia, New Zealand and USA and characterized by orientation to reward performance and competition, high egalitarianism, and lower acceptance of power distance dynamics (GLOBE, 2005).

4.2.2 Decision making styles

The current research compared cross-cultural differences influencing Tall Poppy Syndrome and found the Confucian Asian cluster had lower decisional self-esteem scores and higher Tall Poppy favor-fail scores compared to Western individualistic cultures (New Zealand, Australia, USA). Out of the Confucian Asian cluster, Japan had the highest Favor Fail with Korea showing the lowest Favor Fail scores. Japan also had the highest Favor Reward scores with China scoring the lowest.

One explanation of cultural differences in reward and failure scores may be differences in decision making styles. Various research on the decision-making styles by leadership revealed Japanese's managers took a longer time to compete the process of decision making (Martinsons et al., 2007). Furthermore, Japanese's decision making processes involved comparatively more people when compared to the US and China managers (Martinsons et al., 2007). The interpretation of low decisional self-esteem within a Confucian Asian context may differ from traditional western views. Rather than a reduced value of oneself or abilities, the low decisional self-esteem score may indicate significant differences in decision making styles in Confucian Asian clusters. In line with Confucian values it is possible decisions may involve prioritizing the opinion, approval or benefit of the collective rather than the individual (Liu, 2020), resulting in a reduced focus or support for individual ambitions compared to individualistic Anglo clusters. In turn this effects lower decisional self-esteem scores which impact attitudes in favoring failure in others.

4.2.3 Strength of Affiliation towards traditionalist cultural values

Further analysis of Korean participants showed stronger agreement to traditional Confucius values along with Korean nationalism predicted greater Favor Fail scores. These results build on previous arguments that cultural values have an impact in attitudes towards supporting individual success and failure (Feather, 1989). Findings support previous research on how values have a strong effect on behaviors (Schwarz, 1996) such as attitudes towards Tall Poppies (Feather, 1989). This shows while decisional style differences exist between cultures stronger affiliation to these cultural values (i.e. Confucianism, individualism) helps predict the degree of support for failure or reward towards high achievers.

It may also indicate the traditionalist Confucianist values embodied by the Korean cultural sayings are less favorable towards making social mistakes, such as lacking humility or egalitarianism. Differing ideals on social etiquette may be influencing cultural influences on Tall poppy syndrome as we see favoritism towards Korean traditional Confucian ideals of collective-orientation similar to the equalizing ideals of Tall poppy syndrome towards high achievers.

4.2.4 Egalitarian, Horizontal and vertical cultural orientation

Differential Favor Fail-Reward scores within Confucius cultures may be better understood by examining Tall poppy syndrome research evaluating Favor Fail and Reward score within individualistic cultures. There are clear differences in Tall Poppy scale scores within individualistic Anglo societies (see Figure 2); USA scored the highest in Favor Fail scores (M= 37.00) followed by New Zealand (M= 35.62) and Australia (M=34.17). Triandis (2011) theorized individualist-collectivist dimensions between countries can vary in horizontal or vertical orientation (Feather, 1998; Triandis, 1996, 2011). Horizontal individualism favors more prosocial, egalitarian values (Feather, 1994, 1998; Triandis, 1996, 2011) while vertical individualism promotes notable differences in social status and are more accepting of inequality for success (Feather, 1998; Triandis, 1996, 2011)

For instance countries such as Sweden and Australia have more horizontal individualistic orientations, striving for distinction while advocating equality in status or rank (Triandis 1995). Cultural orientations of other countries such as USA are conceptualised as vertical individualism, more so in favour of being distinct and desiring special status or hierarchy (Triandis, 1995). Feather hypothesised horizontal or vertical orientations within individualistic cultures may predict cross-cultural differences between support for the success or failure of high achievers (Feather, 1998). Upon research, the tendency in wanting to bring down people of high status was more prevalent in Australian culture compared to the United States despite similar culture-level value dimensions (Feather, 1992; Schwartz, 1994). Participants from USA differed from Australian participants with higher mean importance scores on mastery (competence, accomplishment values), conformity and lower scores on harmony (Feather, 1998). Australian participants scored significantly higher on levels of respect, state equality, and prosocial values (Feather, 1998; Schwartz, 1994). Feather's (1989b) argued that Australia had higher values on egalitarianism compared to Americans (Feather 1998), defining Australia as more horizontal individualists (Feather, 1998) and more likely to view the failings of a high achievers as an equalizing effect. We can further extend how horizonal and vertical collectivism could also influence the degree of supportive or malicious attitudes towards high achievers within Confucius cultures (Korea, Japan, China).

4.3 Online Tendencies to support: self-esteem, ingroup-bias

Our research investigated voting behavior and engagement time with online information on other's failures and successes. This involved investigating; (1) people's tendencies to support others by using self-reported attitudes towards voting for celebrities and high achievers on talent shows, and examining (2) their preferences or pleasure in viewing others failure or success by measuring the length of time they engage with a debrief screen holding online links to information on failures or success in Korean society. Results showed within Korean populations individuals with higher decisional self-esteem showed greater support for Tall poppies and have increased voting behaviors. Voters had greater belief in their own self-efficacy while non-voters typically showed lower decisional self-esteem. These results are in line with previous social identity theory research which indicate low self-esteem motivates groups to derogate and reduce levels of support towards out-groups (Abrams, & Hogg, 1988). Hostility and reducing support for the out-group ultimately creates more differentiation between the two groups, with the derogated outgroup having poorer qualities compared to one's own ingroup, allowing a boost of self-esteem (Zavala et al., 2020). Supportive behaviours towards Tall poppies may be influenced by ingroup-biases prevalent with low self-esteem and this influence is cross-culturally validated through our study.

Research outcomes also indicated Korean participants who enjoyed viewing others succeed had higher favour support scores compared to participants who enjoyed viewing others fail having

higher favour fail scores. This further supports the theory of social identity theory explaining the influence of self-esteem in supportive behaviours (Abrams, & Hogg, 1988). People with higher decisional self-esteem believe in positive outcomes arising from one's decisions (Janis & Mann, 1977) and feelings of success can strongly be linked with environmental factors such as competition. Compared with a cooperative environment, competition has been related to poorer self-esteem, social support, and interpersonal attraction (Stanne et al., 1999). It is probable high competition in Korea's socio-economic environment (Kino et al., 2019) factors into high suicide rates, celebrity suicides, and greater repercussion for mistakes and public criticism in general. The effect of the 1997-1998 Asian financial crisis increased competition due to rising income inequality and an inadequate social security safety net in Korea (Khang et al., 2005). Studies have reported trends following the dramatic increase in Korean suicides also correlate with the high economic burden and unemployment rates starting from the economic depression International Monetary Fund (IMF) (Lee et al., 2018). In the 1950s Korea was one of the poorest countries with greater economic difficulties than India and the Philippines but by the beginning of the twenty-first century, South Korea ranked as one of the richest OECD members making an impressive economic comeback (Ko, 2007). With a history of overcoming such economic difficulties over just a decade a high drive for competition, survival, success continue to influence the life and attitudes of Korean people today (Ko, 2007). For example attitudes to compete in the global market pushes Korean education to teach English as a primary language – such high expectations from education to performance of Tall Poppies are likely have to strong influence within a competitive cultural climate and has become a norm within South Korean attitudes (Lee et al., 2010).

Research indicates there is an indirect link between attitudes and behaviors. It is likely that factors such as differences in situations or environments will influence supportive tendencies (Bond, 2013). Just as Korea's competitive cultural climate may influence harsher Favor Fail attitudes towards mistakes, outgroups or Tall poppies, different situational factors can influence individuals into cyberbullying behavior. Favor Reward predicted interest in achievement, but voting/support was a function of self-efficacy. These findings may explain the behavior of internet Trolls or Bullies, and offers possible reasons for malicious behaviors towards Celebrities and Tall poppies online. Self-esteem and its relationship with bullying behavior has been noted where results indicate high self-esteem and self-worth is a protective factor against involvement of bullying behavior (O'Moore & Kirkham, 2001). This can also apply to internet trolls which can take forms of online harassment or cyberbullying. Cyberbullying were directly linked with characteristics of lower self-esteem, conscientiousness, internal moral values and neuroticism (Zezulka & Seigfried-Spellar, 2016).

4.4 Recommendation for Future Study

4.4.1 Prediction of Online Supportive and Unsupportive Behavior

The present study results showed despite expressing interest and values for supporting Tall Poppies instead of enjoying their failure, participants behaved differently to their self-reports. While Korean participants scored higher on the Favor Fail score, they showed a lack of interest or pleasure towards viewing malicious or failing information around Tall Poppies. This was indicated by the lack of engagement with the debrief screen containing information on Korean failures and success online. These results prompt an important question of interpretation of high Favor Fail scores on the Tall Poppy Syndrome in East Asian Korean people. Results indicate active promotion and enjoyment of malicious behavior to reduce support for Tall Poppies (i.e. cyberbullying) and differs from attitudes influenced by cultural Confucius values (such as humility, harm-in-harmony (Triandis, 1988, Kurman, 2003) which prompt disinterest in supporting individual Tall Poppy's success.

Showing disinterest in others success or failures may be reflective of preferences supported by previous research showing how Korean, East Asian cultures prefer covert methods of competition such as omitting information or hiding ambitious attitudes (Choi et al., 2019) due to relational concerns of showing overt negative intent (jealousy, envy) (Liu, 2020). Engagement of online information containing the failures and success of others on the debrief screen may be considered as an overt negative display of one's vigilant attitude towards possible competition. It is possible Korean cultural values of maintaining 'face' (Kim et al., 2006; Taylor et al., 2004; Taylor et al., 2007) **are** influencing a preference to avoid displays of overt competitive intentions. Refusing to show interest in other's success and failures keeps competition in check.

Values towards harm-in-harmony and humility (Liu, 2020) might explain why Korean people may lack interest in viewing information which breaks the status quo such as extreme failure or achievement,

4.3.2 Research contributions towards online engagement

Overall, these findings provide support for research potential of predicting online engagement levels of others with malicious information or internet behavior. China has the greatest number of internet users closely followed by other eastern countries: South Korea (92.4%), Japan (86.2%) (Lee, 2016). The negative effect of cyberbullying however has become prevalent in our current society, especially towards Tall poppies visible online. In South Korea cyberbullying is one of the key reasons for suicide (Lee, 2016). Research on online platforms interacting with suicide for high achievers such as celebrities, have been greatly explored promoting censorship for the negative influences of celebrity copy-cat suicide (Niederkrotenthaler & Stack, 2017; Sisask & Värnik, 2012). However, there are minimal explorations towards techniques promoting safer online communities reducing cyber-bullying, and suicide for tall poppies online (Niederkrotenthaler & Stack, 2017; Sisask & Värnik, 2012). The current research targets understanding and preventing harmful Tall Poppy syndrome effects online (i.e. malicious cyberbullying) by understanding characteristics which influence Tall poppy syndrome through cross-cultural observation of real-time online behavior for future prediction and intervention purposes.

Meta-analysis research show support for the effectiveness of social network services (SNS) intervention on health-related behavioral change and a greater need for understanding of the application of such interventions such as effectiveness of predicting online engagement with cyber-harassment or malicious content (Laranjo et al., 2014).

Despite initiatives to reduce online engagement with malicious information or cyber-bullying intervention and prevention they are rarely implemented with considerable success. Web-based approaches and use of predictive language algorithms are in place but easily bypassed. Research on effective cyberbullying prevention, intervention approaches suggest targeting (1) increasing user awareness of potential cyberbullying behaviors (Muneer & Fati, 2020) (2) psychological education on self-management skills when harassed (Cheng et al., 2019) (3) online reactive skills (blocking, deleting, censorship) and prevention (security settings) (Nahar et al., 2014) (4) target bullying occurring outside cyber-space (Mandot, 2018) (5) empathy training, or healthy internet behavior development (Barlińska et al., 2012).

Platforms such as Facebook or Google are known to collect consumer data on personal interests and online behaviour tendencies, utilising these data to send personalised advertisements for marketing purposes (Chen & Stallaert, 2014). Similarly our study was able to gather engagement of information, and determine online attitudes which are malicious, supportive, or disinterested. Future research can extend on examining online behaviours reflecting attitudes of support and enjoyment with malicious or extremist information for understanding cyberbullying behaviour and influences of behavioural change.

Examples of future studies include targeting decision making processes which effect behavioral change. By prompting precontemplation in users (i.e pop-up notifications of anti-cyber-bullying) this increases awareness and motivations for change by drawing attention to problem behavior (Miller et al., 2014; Monaghan, 2009; Landon et al., 2015). Research on the effect of pop up advertisement suggests the technique can target promotion of decisional self-esteem such as providing information which help increase the ability to make informed rational decisions (Gainsbury et al., 2015). Landon et al., 2015 utilized this method in his predictive research to enhance the effectiveness of interventions towards problematic behavior. They researched the informed decision-making process of gamblers in reaction to deterrent warnings and pop up messages. Their findings suggested the timing of pop ups – just after receiving a win had the greatest impact on reducing gambling behavior change (Landon et al., 2015). Similarly, Yasuda (2010) conducted a leaflet advertising study in Japan where homeroom teachers distributed information on safe technology and information usage for three years to students homes in the morning. The intervention was highly effective in decreasing school issues surrounding cyberattacks and bullying with 73% of guardians finding the information useful (Yasuda, 2010). In this way there is benefit to understanding why some people online disengage with support or malicious intent towards others and Tall poppies for improved intervention.

Anti-cyber-bullying intervention can also include promoting maintenance by improving vigilance against triggers of unwanted behavior (Prochaska et al., 1994). This may involve increasing the responsibilities of online platforms towards deviant (illegal, immoral, extremist) online communities (Adler & Adler, 2008) or improvement of online policies for managing user accountability when people engage in cyberbullying. In this way, ethical and altruistic behaviour online may be improved through research into understanding the predictive factors of tall poppy syndrome and research developments for effective cyberbullying intervention. This research already provides a greater understanding of the cultural nuances influencing support towards others, high achievement, or even failing individuals. Improving safer and supportive online spaces for high achievers using policies or interventions are currently lacking. Possible future interventions related to targeting decision making and reducing engagement with cyberbullying may include health advertising (Tishby, 2001) or polities allowing predictions of malicious cyber behaviour and provide pop up information or educational repeated warnings to target behaviour (e.g. cyberbullying against Tall poppies).

While reduction of high achievers (e.g. celebrities) suicide is hard to target, we know cyberbullying has a large influence (Marks, 2020), as well as individual values surrounding deservingness of failure in high achievers (Weiner, 1995; Feather & Sherman, 2002). This study has identified unique cultural differences in values influencing attitudes towards Tall poppies in Korean and East Asian cultures compared to the West. Example include differences in decision making processes, and values of Confucianism, modesty or egalitarianism. Within an online platform engagement with harmful misuse or extremist values may be the next step for targeting behavioural change in engagement with malicious online information or behaviours. Interventions matched to client presentation have an increased change of influencing engagement with attitudes which support the failure or success of others. This can translate to behavioural change reducing cyberbullying and provide future possibilities to further develop healthy internet culture.

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Appendix

Appendix A: Participant information sheet

Participant Information Sheet

Date Information Sheet Produced:
13th May 2020
Project Title: "Attitudes Towards Korean Achievement".

Hello, I am Jisoo Kim and I am studying psychology at Auckland University of Technology under the supervision of Dr. Jim Phillips. We are asking you to participate in a survey examining I am asking you to participate in a survey examining attitudes towards achievement in Koreans. The findings of this research will be used for my Masters thesis. Your participation in this study is voluntary

The survey considers how aspects of attitudes towards achievement may vary between different ethnic groups. This research may help us to understand levels of support provided for achieving individuals. The findings of this research may be used for academic presentations and publications.

The questionnaire is open to everyone of Korean descent. Your participation in this research will neither advantage nor disadvantage you with respect to any study you may or may not be undertaking. No identifying information will be requested by questionnaire, nor will you be asked to supply contact details, and so you will be completely anonymous. You don't have to answer a question if you don't want to, but appreciable omissions may mean your responses will be excluded from analysis. By clicking this survey url you are consenting to participate. You can stop doing the survey at any time but as this is an anonymous survey removal of your data will not be possible once you have submitted your responses.

All you need to do is complete the online questionnaire at your convenience and then your part is completed. We will not be collecting your IP address or any information that could identify you. Nor will there be any form of follow-up. And the data will only be used for the purpose of understanding attitudes towards achievement. The data will be destroyed after six years.

The questionnaire will be available until a reasonable number of questionnaires have been completed (around 200). The survey will close on September 30th. If you do not want to continue then you can just close the survey in the web browser. Clicking on the next link and completing the questionnaire, indicates your consent. Upon completion we will eventually put a summary of the overall results on this website.

What are the benefits?
By sharing your experiences, you can help research that could inform the support of achieving indivudals.

What are the costs of participating in this research?
There are no known risks associated with this project, and the only real cost will be about 15-20 minutes of your time.

Any concerns regarding the nature of this project should be notified in the first instance to the Project Supervisor, James Phillips, james.phillips@aut.ac.nz, 921 9999 ext 6252.

Concerns regarding the conduct of the research should be notified to the Executive Secretary of AUTEC, Carina Meares, ethics@aut.ac.nz , 921 9999 ext 6038.

For further information about this research you can contact us at:
James Phillips, james.phillips@aut.ac.nz, 921 9999 ext 6252.
Approved by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee on 19th May 2020, AUTEC Reference number 20/112.

By continuing with this survey you are consenting to participate. You can stop doing the survey at any time but as this is an anonymous survey removal of your data will not be possible once you have submitted your responses

Appendix B: Questionnaire

Your gender?

O Male
O Female
O Other

Please enter your approximate age

[   ]

Instructions: People differ in how comfortable they feel about making decisions. Please indicate how you feel about making decisions by ticking the response which is most applicable to you.

I feel confident about my ability to make decisions

O True for me
O Sometimes true for me
O Not true for me

I feel inferior to most people in making decisions

O True for me
O Sometimes true for me
O Not true for me

I think that I am a good decision maker

O True for me
O Sometimes true for me
O Not true for me

I feel so discouraged that I give up trying to make decisions

O True for me
O Sometimes true for me
O Not true for me

The decisions I make turn out well

O True for me
O Sometimes true for me
O Not true for me

It is easy for other people to convince me that their decision rather than mine is the correct one

O True for me
O Sometimes true for me
O Not true for me

Please indicate the extent to which you AGREE or DISAGREE with the following statements.

People who are very successful deserve all the rewards they get for their achievement.

Disagree very much	Disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Agree	Agree very much
O	O	O	O	O	O

It's good to see very successful people fail occasionally.

Disagree very much	Disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Agree	Agree very much
O	O	O	O	O	O

Very successful people often get too big for their boots.

Disagree very much	Disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Agree	Agree very much
O	O	O	O	O	O

People who are very successful in what they do are usually friendly and helpful to others.

Disagree very much	Disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Agree	Agree very much
O	O	O	O	O	O

At school it's probably better for students to be near the middle of the class than be the very top student.

Disagree very much	Disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Agree	Agree very much
O	O	O	O	O	O

People shouldn't criticise or knock the very successful.

Disagree very much	Disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Agree	Agree very much
O	O	O	O	O	O

Very successful people who fall from the top usually deserve their fall from grace.

Disagree very much	Disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Agree	Agree very much
O	O	O	O	O	O

Those who are very successful ought to come down off their pedestals and be like other people.

Disagree very much	Disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Agree	Agree very much
O	O	O	O	O	O

The very successful person should receive public recognition for his/her accomplishments.

Disagree very much	Disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Agree	Agree very much
O	O	O	O	O	O

People who are "tall poppies" should be cut down to size.

Disagree very much	Disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Agree	Agree very much
O	O	O	O	O	O

One should always respect the person at the top.

Disagree very much	Disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Agree	Agree very much
O	O	O	O	O	O

One ought to be sympathetic to very successful people when they experience failure and fall from their very high positions.

Disagree very much	Disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Agree	Agree very much
O	O	O	O	O	O

Very successful people sometimes need to be brought back a peg or two, even if they have done nothing wrong.

Disagree very much	Disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Agree	Agree very much
O	O	O	O	O	O

Society needs a lot of very high achievers.

Disagree very much	Disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Agree	Agree very much
O	O	O	O	O	O

People who always do a lot better than others need to learn what it's like to fail.

Disagree very much	Disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Agree	Agree very much
O	O	O	O	O	O

People who are right at the top usually deserve their high position

Disagree very much	Disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Agree	Agree very much
O	O	O	O	O	O

It's very important for society to support and encourage people who are very successful.

Disagree very much	Disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Agree	Agree very much
O	O	O	O	O	O

People who are very successful get too full of their own importance.

Disagree very much	Disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Agree	Agree very much
O	O	O	O	O	O

Very successful people usually succeed at the expense of other people.

Disagree very much	Disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Agree	Agree very much
O	O	O	O	O	O

Very successful people who are at the top of their field are usually fun to be with.

Disagree very much	Disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Agree	Agree very much
O	O	O	O	O	O

Would you describe yourself as:

○ Korean living in Korea
○ Korean living outside Korea

Please indicate the extent to which you agree with the following saying:

모난 돌이 정 맞는다. A spiked stone gets hammered.

Disagree very much	Disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Agree	Agree very much
○	○	○	○	○	○

Please indicate the extent to which you agree with the following saying:

자랑 끝에 불붙는다. Fire catches at the end of boasting.

Disagree very much	Disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Agree	Agree very much
○	○	○	○	○	○

Please indicate the extent to which you agree with the following saying:

자식 자랑 팔불출. If you boast your child, you're immature

Disagree very much	Disagree	Slightly disagree	Slightly agree	Agree	Agree very much
○	○	○	○	○	○

In general, how much would you say being Korean means to you? How much do you care about being Korean?

It means a great deal to me	It means a lot to me	It means a moderate amount to me	It means very little to me	It means nothing to me
○	○	○	○	○

How proud are you to be Korean?

Extremely proud	Very proud	Moderately proud	A little proud	Not proud
○	○	○	○	○

Would you vote for Korean contestants on reality TV shows like "The Voice" or "Produce 101"?

Yes	No
○	○

Do you vote for Korean contestants on reality TV shows?

Yes	No
○	○

There will be a debrief screen at the end of the survey listing links for further information on Korean achievements. Which links do you think you would consider following? The links providing further information about:

Korean achievements	Korean losses	Neither
○	○	○

Achievements in Korea

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_Korean_inventions_and_discoveries

https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-2010-feb-11-la-sp-olympics-kim11-2010feb11-story.html

https://wenr.wes.org/2018/10/education-in-south-korea

Losses in Korea

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https://www.theguardian.com/music/2019/oct/18/k-pop-under-scrutiny-over-toxic-fandom-after-death-of-sulli

Thank you for your participation

Appendix C: Ethics Approval

Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee (AUTEC)

Auckland University of Technology
D-88, Private Bag 92006, Auckland 1142, NZ
T: +64 9 921 9999 ext. 8316
E: ethics@aut.ac.nz
www.aut.ac.nz/researchethics

19 May 2020

James Phillips
Faculty of Health and Environmental Sciences

Dear James

Re Ethics Application: **20/112 Attitudes Towards Korean Achievement**

Thank you for providing evidence as requested, which satisfies the points raised by the Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee (AUTEC).

Your ethics application has been approved for three years until 18 May 2023.

Standard Conditions of Approval

1. The research is to be undertaken in accordance with the Auckland University of Technology Code of Conduct for Research and as approved by AUTEC in this application.
2. A progress report is due annually on the anniversary of the approval date, using the EA2 form.
3. A final report is due at the expiration of the approval period, or, upon completion of project, using the EA3 form.
4. Any amendments to the project must be approved by AUTEC prior to being implemented. Amendments can be requested using the EA2 form.
5. Any serious or unexpected adverse events must be reported to AUTEC Secretariat as a matter of priority.
6. Any unforeseen events that might affect continued ethical acceptability of the project should also be reported to the AUTEC Secretariat as a matter of priority.
7. It is your responsibility to ensure that the spelling and grammar of documents being provided to participants or external organisations is of a high standard and that all the dates on the documents are updated.

AUTEC grants ethical approval only. You are responsible for obtaining management approval for access for your research from any institution or organisation at which your research is being conducted and you need to meet all ethical, legal, public health, and locality obligations or requirements for the jurisdictions in which the research is being undertaken.

Please quote the application number and title on all future correspondence related to this project.

For any enquiries please contact ethics@aut.ac.nz. The forms mentioned above are available online through http://www.aut.ac.nz/research/researchethics

(This is a computer-generated letter for which no signature is required)

The AUTEC Secretariat
Auckland University of Technology Ethics Committee

Cc: cjk3687@aut.ac.nz; erik.landhuis@aut.ac.nz; Jay Wood