Attitudes towards biculturalism in New Zealand: Social dominance and Pakeha attitudes towards the general principles and resource-specific aspects of bicultural policy

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Two studies examined Pakeha (New Zealanders of European descent) attitudes towards biculturalism in New Zealand. In Study one, Pakeha who were lower in Social Dominance Orientation (SDO) expressed increased support for an affirmative action policy providing postgraduate scholarships for ethnic minorities only in the absence of material self-interest (i.e., only when they themselves would not be competing for scholarships). In contrast, Pakeha higher in SDO opposed this policy regardless of self-interest. Study two used qualitative responses evoked in the first study to develop a scale distinguishing between attitudes towards (a) biculturalism in principle (general acceptance of a partnership between Maori (the indigenous peoples of New Zealand) and Pakeha as a central aspect of social representations of New Zealand identity) and (b) resource-specific biculturalism (support for policies to redistribute resources in favour of Maori on a categorical basis). In Study two, a majority of Pakeha students supported biculturalism in principle (53% support, 3% opposition) but were opposed to resource-specific biculturalism (3% support, 76% opposition). As expected, SDO moderated this effect. Pakeha low in SDO (and to a lesser extent Right-Wing Authoritarianism) supported biculturalism in principle; however, they were relatively opposed to resource-specific biculturalism regardless of SDO. Consistent with integrated threat theory, we argue that symbolic threats to identity and values must be distinguished from realistic threats to material interests, especially in contexts like New Zealand where biculturalism is part of the national ideology for governance. This distinction is critical for understanding how values, such as group equality, influence perceptions of policy relating to minority-majority group relations.

The emergence of biculturalism has been one of the most important social and political developments in New Zealand in the last half century (Belich, 1996). The idea of a partnership between Maori (the indigenous peoples of New Zealand) and Pakeha[1] (New Zealanders of European descent) was enshrined in the Treaty of Waitangi, signed in 1840. The Treaty, declared as a legal "nullity" in 1877 and without legal standing for most of the 20th century, began its rehabilitation in the late 1960's as part of the civil rights movement (see Vaughan, 1978). It is now considered to be the most important event in New Zealand history for both Maori and Pakeha (Liu, Wilson, McClure, & Higgins, 1999). The Treaty is regarded as the legal foundation for New Zealand's sovereignty (Orange, 1992), and must be taken into account in all areas of social policy. Although the development of biculturalism as a general principle of New Zealand governance has proceeded quickly since the early 1970's (Ritchie, 1992; Spoonley, Pearson, & Macpherson, 1996), its implementation in specific areas of policy has been slower and the subject of considerable controversy (Barclay & Liu, 2003; Wetherell & Potter, 1992). This investigation focuses on the distinction in attitudinal support among members of the majority group (i.e., Pakeha) for (a) the general principles of biculturalism (termed 'biculturalism in principle'), as a high-minded ideal of egalitarian values and symbol of national identity; and (b) the implementation of bicultural policy influencing the distribution of resources to Maori (termed 'resource-specific biculturalism').

There is reason to believe that this distinction will be central to majority-minority relations in New Zealand in a way that it is not the case in literature emanating from the United States of America (USA). In New Zealand, biculturalism has emerged as a viable (though frequently contested) ideology organising national identity. The Treaty of Waitangi is central and prominent in institutions ranging from the national museum to educational curricula in public schools. Hence, we predict high mean levels of support for the general (i.e., non-resource-specific) principles of biculturalism. No comparable ideology exists in the USA (see for example, Abramowitz, 1994; Sears, Van Laar, Carrillo, & Kosterman, 1997).

Flowing from this general principle, policies to redress historical and current

injustices against the main minority group in New Zealand (i.e., Maori) are not piecemeal. They have increased, not decreased since the rise of civil rights movements in the late 1960s. For example, a portion of the profits from fisheries around New Zealand have been reserved for Maori tribes. Recently, Maori have made a claim to the foreshore (the land between the high and low tide) of New Zealand, resulting in considerable public debate, mainly opposition from Pakeha. Hence, although there is support for some of the general principles of biculturalism from both government and the general populace, there is also a realistic concern that this might mean special privileges that advantage Maori at the expense of other New Zealanders at the level of resource allocations. Of course, these 'realistic' concerns must be evaluated in the context of overall negative statistics indicating that Maori lag behind Pakeha in all social indicators of value from income to life expectancy.

The distinction between the general principles and resource-specific aspects of biculturalism is important psychologically because it provides insight into the nature of racism. Current theories from the USA (Henry & Sears, 2002; Sears, 1988; Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986; McConahay, 1986) have claimed that a blend of appeal to traditional values, denial of negative affect towards, and discrimination against, minorities, and attributing responsibility to minorities for their own plight constitutes "modern racism". The implication of these theories is that the various facets of modern racism provide a system of justification for practices of discrimination and prejudice. Work on discursive practices in New Zealand has further identified the specific formulations that are used in discourse to justify Pakeha privilege and undermine Maori claims (Wetherell & Potter, 1992; Nairn & McCreanor, 1990, 1991; Liu & Mills, 2004).

Drawing from these theories, we expect opposition to biculturalism to correlate with the two main individual difference measures of intergroup ideology and attitudes in the international literature (Altemeyer, 1998; Duckitt, 2001; Duckitt, Wagner,

du Plessis, & Birum, 2002): Social Dominance Orientation (SDO, Sidanius & Pratto, 1999) and Right-Wing Authoritarianism (RWA, Altemeyer, 1996). Duckitt and Fisher (2003; see also Duckitt, 2001) argued that SDO and RWA are most appropriately defined as measures of social attitude and ideological belief. According to Duckitt and Fisher (2003, pp. 200-201), items in the RWA and SDO scales "express evaluative beliefs about the nature, structure and organization of society and about individuals' proper roles, conduct and place within and in relation to society and other important social groups". Altemeyer (1998, p. 75), offered the following outline describing these two constructs: Right-Wing Authoritarians, he argued, "seem to be highly prejudiced mainly because they were raised to travel in tight, ethnocentric circles; and they fear that authority and conventions are crumbling so quickly that civilization will collapse and they will be eaten in the resulting jungle. In contrast, high SDOs [i.e., high social dominators] *already* see life as "dog eat dog" and – compared with most people – are determined to do the eating". In other words, high social dominators' predisposition to perceive the world as a competitive place leads to their endorsement of group-based social hierarchies justifying inequality. Between them, these two relatively global ideological/sociological positions (i.e., an inclination towards group-based dominance, competition and power reflected by SDO on the one hand, and a inclination towards social control and the need for security through group membership and conformity reflected by RWA on the other) predict a majority of the variance in various forms of prejudice (cf. Schmitt, Branscombe and Kappen, 2003).

It is therefore predicted that Pakeha who (a) endorse *hierarchical intergroup relations* justifying group inequality (high SDO) and/or (b) perceive policies supporting biculturalism, as a threat to their in-group identity and values (high RWA) should oppose bicultural policy that seeks to equalise power relations between Maori and Pakeha in New Zealand and incorporate aspects of Maori culture and values into mainstream New Zealand identity.

We further contend that although opposition to the general principles of biculturalism may be predicted by measures of ideology and social attitude, such as SDO and RWA (see Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth & Malle, 1994); opposition to the resource-specific aspects of bicultural policy may also be motivated by a realistic concern that one's own (group) interests are under threat (see Bobo, 1983, 1988; 1998; Bobo & Kluegel, 1993; Konrad & Spitz, 2003). Consistent with this perspective, Sidanius, Pratto and Bobo (1996; see also Pratto et al., 1994; Arriola & Cole, 2001) reported that SDO was only moderately positively correlated with opposition to affirmative action policies for Blacks in the United States that referred specifically to resource allocation ($r = .27$). As Sidanius et al. (1996, p. 487) concluded, "it would be a serious mistake to assume that Whites' opposition to redistributive policies such as affirmative action are primarily driven by either racism or group dominance motives".

The distinction between attitudes towards the resource-specific aspects and general principles of biculturalism is akin to the distinction between symbolic and realistic threats posited by integrated threat theory (Stephan & Stephan, 2000; see also Zarate, Garcia, Garza & Hitlan, 2004). According to integrated threat theory, "Symbolic threats concern group differences in morals, values, norms, standards, beliefs, and attitudes. Symbolic threats are threats to the world-view of the in-group", whereas "realistic threats typically arise as a result of competition for scarce resources such as land, power, or jobs" (Stephan, Ybarra, Martinez, Schwarzwald, & Tur-Kaspa, 1998, p. 560).

Integrated threat theory has received only modest support in the USA because research indicates that the measurement of symbolic and realistic threats appear to be conflated in the assessment of Whites' attitudes towards Blacks at both a general level and with regards to affirmative action programs in particular. Stephan et al. (2002), for example, reported that measures of realistic and symbolic threat were highly correlated ($r = .70$) in American samples. Stephan et al.,

(2002) furthermore reported that levels of in-group identification and perceived intergroup conflict predicted both symbolic and realistic threats at similar magnitudes, and therefore failed to differentiate these two types of threat. Similarly, Saucier and Miller (2003) assessed racism in the USA by measuring participants' agreement with a series of short arguments supporting positive or negative conclusions towards Blacks. Drawing upon integrated threat theory, some of these arguments appeared to be symbolic in nature, whereas others referred to resource-specific issues, such as affirmative action policies. However, Saucier and Miller (2003) operationalized support for the racial arguments as a unidimensional construct.

This conflation between perceptions of symbolic and realistic threats in the USA may explain why material self-interests (as an indicator of degree of realistic threat) have shown only a limited ability to predict whites' attitudes to such policies as busing (e.g., Kinder & Sears, 1981; Konrad & Spitz, 2003; cf. Bobo, 1983). Sears et al., (1997), for example, reported that symbolic racism had an average .39 correlation with opposition to affirmative action and equal opportunity policies for Blacks across a range of national samples in the USA. Self-interest (e.g., actually living in a district affected by busing), in contrast, has tended to have a notably weaker effect on Whites' attitudes to busing (Kinder & Sears, 1981), and affirmative action in general (Kluegel & Smith, 1983; Jacobsen, 1985; see Crosby, Ferdman, & Wingate, 2001 for a review). These results may be culture-specific and grounded in the history of race relations in the USA and the national ideology of liberalism (see for example Kinder & Sanders, 1990; Bobo, 1998).

In countries where biculturalism is part of the national ideology for governance, such as New Zealand and Canada, we argue that symbolic and realistic (resource-based) threats may be more clearly differentiated (see for example, Fletcher & Chalmers, 1991; Tougas & Veilleux, 1992 for a discussion of attitudes towards affirmative action programs in Canada). For Pakeha low in ideology legitimizing

group inequality (i.e., low levels of SDO), support for biculturalism in principle allows Maori symbols and values (e.g., the haka, marae greetings, singing the national anthem in both languages) to be incorporated into the national identity as a win-win (non-zero sum) situation for both groups. On the other hand, Pakeha high in SDO and/or RWA may be more likely to perceive the incorporation of the general principles of biculturalism into mainstream Pakeha culture as a threat to their group's status in the social hierarchy on the one hand (SDO), and as a threat to their identity and values on the other (RWA). This may in turn foster opposition from Pakeha high in SDO and/or RWA towards the general principles of biculturalism even in the absence of material self-interest. Consequently, SDO and RWA should predict a large proportion of the variance in opposition to the general principles of biculturalism.

In contrast, we argue that in New Zealand it is not necessarily social attitudes or ideological beliefs such as SDO and RWA which are the key factor motivating resistance to the resource-specific aspects of biculturalism, but a realistic concern that one's own material interests are being threatened. Pakeha attitudes towards resource-specific biculturalism should therefore be relatively low regardless of SDO or RWA. In a country where biculturalism has been incorporated into systems of governance at every level, and where substantial amounts of the nation's resources have been transferred to Maori in compensation for historical grievances, resource-allocations perceived as favouring Maori may be quite a potent concern.

Two studies are presented which examine the relationship between SDO, RWA, and Pakeha attitudes towards the resource-specific aspects and general principles of biculturalism in New Zealand. Study one focuses on the effects of SDO on support for an affirmative action policy for ethnic minorities in the presence or absence of material self-interest. Study two then extends this research by incorporating measures of both SDO and RWA in the assessment of attitudes towards both the resource-specific and more general aspects of biculturalism in New Zealand.

STUDY ONE

Overview and Guiding Hypotheses

Study one examined the relationship between SDO and Pakeha students' support for an affirmative action policy in which targeted scholarships were provided for minority (Maori and Pacific Nations) students studying postgraduate psychology. The policy was justified by referring to the principles of biculturalism and New Zealand's progressive stance towards improving outcomes for indigenous peoples. However, students were also informed that scholarship funds were a limited resource and that the introduction of such a policy would therefore decrease the number of scholarships available to non-minority group members. *Hypothesis 1a* predicted that Pakeha students with a lower level of SDO would express increased support for an affirmative action policy aimed at increasing equality between minority (Maori and Pacific Nations peoples) and majority group members (i.e., Pakeha) through the allocation of limited resources (i.e., scholarship). However, the magnitude of this effect would be reduced among Pakeha participants with a vested self-interest (i.e., those who were intending to enrol in postgraduate study in psychology and would therefore be competing with Maori and Pacific Nations peoples for limited scholarship resources). *Hypothesis 1b* therefore predicted that Pakeha participants intending to enrol in post-graduate study in psychology would be relatively opposed to targeted scholarships regardless of their SDO. Participants were also asked to write a response to the proposal expressing their opinions about policies supporting biculturalism in New Zealand. These responses were used to generate item content for a New Zealand specific scale assessing attitudes towards biculturalism expressed in everyday written discourse.

Method

Participants

Forty six undergraduate psychology students born in New Zealand who identified as New Zealand European/ Pakeha participated for partial course credit (8 males, 37 females, 1 unspecified). Participants ranged from

17 to 23 years of age ($M = 18.63$, $SD = 1.08$).

Procedure and Materials

A survey assessing demographic information on ethnicity and Social Dominance Orientation (SDO) was administered as part of a larger survey battery during the first week of term. SDO was measured using the 16 items developed by Pratto et al., (1994), for example, "some groups of people are simply inferior to other groups", and "to get ahead in life, it is sometimes necessary to step on other groups". Participants were asked to rate each item on a 7-point Likert scale anchored by the endpoints strongly disagree and strongly agree. Item ratings were averaged to calculate an overall SDO score for each participant. A higher scored indicated higher levels of SDO. Descriptive statistics for this scale are presented in Table 1.

The following week, participants who completed this survey and who identified as New Zealand European/ Pakeha were contacted and invited to participate in a study conducted by the School of Psychology examining students' opinions of different teaching methods that may be used to increase diversity in psychology. These participants did not differ in SDO from those who completed only the initial pretest survey ($F(1,363) = .87$, $p = .35$, $\eta^2 < .01$). Participants' survey data were matched using confidential student identification numbers.

The 46 Pakeha students who participated in this research first rated their intention of applying for postgraduate study in psychology at the New Zealand university where the research was conducted. This was assessed using a 7-point semantic differential item (certain not to apply for postgraduate study in psychology at Victoria University – certain to apply for postgraduate study in psychology at Victoria University). Participants were then provided with a written overview of policy informing them that 1 of 3 masters scholrships and 1 of 4 PhD scholarships for postgraduate study in psychology were currently reserved for an appropriately qualified Maori or Pacific Nations student. The document continued to outline a proposal to

change to this policy, in which targeted scholarships for Maori and Pacific Nations students would be expanded to include the honors year. This proposal stated that scholarship funds, at both honors and further postgraduate levels, were a limited resource and that increasing the number of targeted scholarships for ethnic minorities would decrease the number of general (non-targeted) scholarships available to other students studying at these levels (refer to Appendix A). This information was factual in nature and accurately represented proposed changes to current university policy. Participants then read a proposal which emphasized the bicultural nature of New Zealand society, the importance of promoting biculturalism in New Zealand, and the need for an indigenous (Maori) perspective in psychology (Appendix B). Both documents were read aloud by a male Pakeha research assistant who was blind to the theoretical predictions of the research.

Participants were then asked to write a response to the targeted scholarships proposal, expressing their opinions about bicultural policies in New Zealand and the relevance of such policy to targeted scholarships for Maori and Pacific Nations students. Participants were informed that grouped anonymous comments from their written responses would be used in a report that would be considered by school of psychology when deciding future scholarship allocations.

This procedure encouraged participants to take the exercise seriously and provided detailed discursive information on students' opinions. Participants were allowed 15 minutes to complete this task. Participants then

completed an additional 2 items assessing support for targeted scholarships for Maori and Pacific Nations students in psychology: How fair would you consider targeted scholarships for Maori and Pacific Nations students in psychology to be?; How strongly would you support targeted scholarships for Maori and Pacific Nations students in psychology?. All items were rated on 7-point scales ranging from 1-7. Descriptive statistics for these scales are reported in Table 1. Upon completion participants were fully debriefed and consented to their data being used in additional research. All procedures were approved by the School of Psychology Human Ethics Committee where this research was conducted.

Results

Correlations between SDO, support for targeted scholarships for Maori and Pacific Nations students in psychology, and participants' likelihood of enrolling in postgraduate study in psychology are displayed in Table 1. As can be seen in Table 1, support for postgraduate targeted scholarships was uncorrelated with both SDO (r -.19) and participants' likelihood of enrolling in postgraduate study ($r = -.17$).

Consistent with Aiken and West (1991), in order to test for moderation (i.e., an interaction) between SDO and participants' likelihood of enrolling in postgraduate study in psychology, these scale scores were centered (i.e., converted to deviation scores by subtracting the mean from each participant's score) and an SDO by likelihood of enrolling in postgraduate psychology interaction variable was computed (the multiplicative product of these two scores). Support for

Table 1. Correlations between Social Dominance Orientation (SDO), support for targeted scholarships, and likelihood of enrolling in postgraduate study (n = 46)

Scale	1.	2.	3.
1. Social Dominance Orientation (SDO)	-	-.19	-.08
2. Support for targeted scholarships in psychology		-	-.17
3. Likelihood of enrolling in postgraduate study in psychology			-
M	2.58	3.54	2.63
SD	.84	1.73	1.89
α	.88	.87	-

All coefficients were non-significant.

postgraduate targeted scholarships for Maori and Pacific Nations students in psychology was then regressed against both SDO and likelihood of enrolling in postgraduate study (entered as a block), and the interaction variable (entered as a second block). Such an analysis indicates moderation if the interaction variable achieves statistical significance after the entry of the first two (main effect) variables (see Baron & Kenny, 1986; Aiken & West, 1991, for further details on procedures for assessing moderation using multiple regression). As can be seen in Table 2, neither SDO nor participants' likelihood of enrolling in postgraduate study in psychology predicted support for postgraduate targeted scholarships for Maori and Pacific Nations students in psychology (R^2adjusted = .03; F (2,43) = 1.63, p = .21). However, the interaction between SDO and likelihood

of postgraduate study proved a significant predictor of support for targeted scholarships (ΔR^2 = .11; $F(1,42)$ = 5.44, p = .02).

In order to better illustrate the nature of this moderated relationship, the interaction between SDO and likelihood of postgraduate study was plotted (refer to Figure 1) using software developed by Jose (2003; see also Aiken & West, 1991). Consistent with Hypothesis 1, the results displayed in Figure 1 suggest that Pakeha students displayed relatively limited support for postgraduate targeted scholarships for Maori and Pacific Nations students studying psychology when they themselves were planning to enroll in postgraduate study in psychology. This was true regardless of their SDO. In contrast, SDO did predict opposition to targeted scholarships when the

allocation of resources (in this case scholarship grants) did not affect them personally (because they were not planning to enrol in postgraduate study in psychology). In other words, Pakeha students who were low in SDO displayed increased support for targeted scholarships for Maori and Pacific Nations students, but only when they themselves did not risk losing out due to the limited number of scholarships.

Discussion

Results confirmed that in New Zealand, self-interest moderated the effect of SDO on individual differences in support for an affirmative action policy aimed at providing postgraduate scholarships for minority students. Not only was the predicted moderation obtained, but SDO had no effect on the dependent measure of resource allocation when personal self-interest was high.

As can be seen from the following examples, the quality of Pakeha students' written arguments for and against biculturalism and affirmative action in general provided a rich source of materials to develop a general measure of attitudes towards biculturalism grounded in everyday language and consistent with common social representations (Wetherell & Potter, 1992; Moscovici, 1988)[2].

The following three excerpts were randomly selected from Pakeha students who were not intending to enrol in postgraduate study in psychology (i.e., certainty scores ≤ 2 on a 7-point scale ranging from 1-7) with varying levels of SDO. Pakeha students who were low in SDO and who were not intending to enrol in postgraduate study in psychology expressed relatively pro-bicultural attitudes (Example 1). As can be seen in Examples 2 and 3, Pakeha with higher levels of SDO also expressed supportive attitudes towards the general principles of biculturalism (Example 2), or at the least identified the potential inequality due to circumstances (Example 3); however, these participants then proceeded to express opposition to an affirmative action policy for Maori and Pacific Nations students.

Excerpts from Pakeha students *not intending to enrol* in postgraduate study

Table 2. Summary of hierarchical regression of Social Dominance Orientation (SDO), likelihood of applying for postgraduate study in psychology, and the SDO by likelihood interaction.

		B	β	R^2
Step 1	Social dominance orientation (SDO)	-.42 (.29)	-.20^{ns}	
	Likelihood of applying for postgraduate study in psychology	-.20 (.13)	-.22^{ns}	.07^{ns}
Step 2	SDO X Likelihood of postgraduate study interaction	.35 (.15)	.33*	.18*
	Constant	3.59 (.25)		

* = p < .05; ^{ns} = non-significant; ΔR^2 = .11, p = .02

Figure 1. Effects of SDO and self-interest (i.e., participants likelihood of enrolling in postgraduate study) on support for postgraduate targeted scholarships for ethnic minorities.
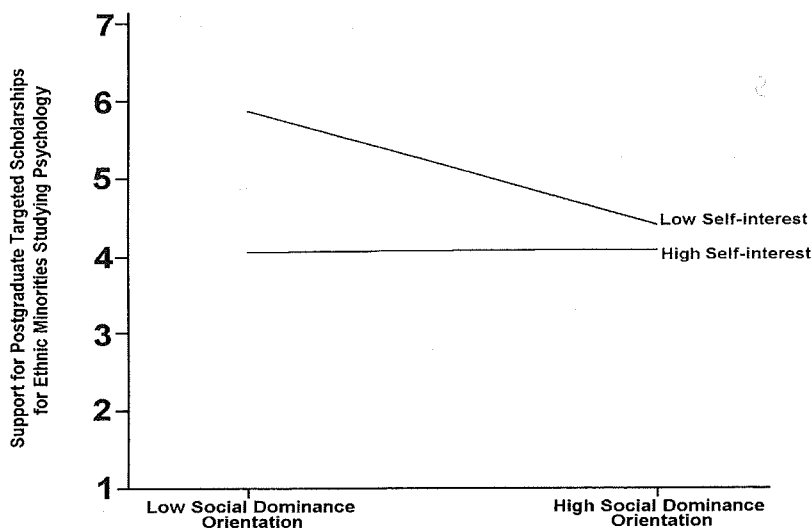
in psychology:

Example 1 (SDO = 1.69): My opinion on this matter is that we need to have a Maori perspective in psychology rather than just concentrating on Western views. Maori need to be encouraged to take psychology as they would be discouraged based on the fact the approaches in psychology are primarily American and European ones.

Example 2 (SDO = 2.5): I agree that it is very important to have a Maori perspective in psychology. I base my opinions on the fact that our social problems/issues are very much relevant to our cultural diversity, and in order to make progress we must have a good understanding of other cultures. However, I would suggest that a better way to reach this understanding would be by incorporating those viewpoints into our lectures and learning. I do not think it is fair to target one minority group for scholarships.

Example 3: (SDO = 4.19): Maori and Pacific Nations students sometimes suffer inequalities when it comes to academic work due to home situations. However, many European New Zealanders have the same problems. I think that all individuals have the opportunity to learn and achieve to the highest of their ability – and if they can't reach the standard required for scholarships then they shouldn't be given one – regardless of ethnicity.

The following three excerpts were randomly selected from Pakeha students who were intending to enrol in postgraduate study in psychology (i.e., certainty scores ≥ 5) with varying levels of SDO. All three excerpts express support (Examples 4 and 5) or at least acknowledge biculturalism in New Zealand (Example 6). However, all three excerpts also express opposition to affirmative action policies for minority groups, such as Maori, studying psychology.

Excerpts from Pakeha students *intending to enrol* in postgraduate study in psychology:

Example 4 (SDO = 1.96): I feel it is important to gain a Maori perspective in psychology but Maori students receive much funding from iwi scholarships and the government already. I feel scholarships should be based on grades. I have to use a student loan to pay for my education – is this not unfair because I am not a minority?

Example 5 (SDO = 3.13): Admittedly Maori have been disadvantaged in the past. However, even though it seems fair to give these disadvantaged people a better chance, why should other students, who may have better grades and worked just as hard, be disadvantaged for something that happened 150 years ago?

Example 6 (SDO = 4.00): Because "we" are a bicultural national we should all be treated the same. Maori can apply for the same jobs as Europeans. Yet even now there are jobs in which only people of a Maori background can apply. We are one nation and we should all be treated the same.

Consistent with the results presented in Figure 1, these qualitative responses reflect a trend suggesting that Pakeha who risked losing out due to the allocation of limited resources to minority groups such as Maori and Pacific Nations peoples tended to express opposition to affirmative action policies regardless of their SDO (refer to Examples 4-6). In contrast, Pakeha who were low in SDO and who did not risk losing out due to the allocation of limited resources (contrast Example 1 with Example 4) tended to express support for an affirmative action policy for Maori and Pacific Nations students studying psychology.

STUDY TWO

Overview and Guiding Hypotheses.
The above Pakeha students' written responses to the proposed affirmative action policy were used in Study two to develop a scale assessing attitudes towards biculturalism in New Zealand. Study two then sought to replicate and extend the results of the first study using correlational analyses of attitudes towards the resource-specific aspects and general principles of biculturalism. Study two further improved upon Study one in two ways: (a) by incorporating a measure of RWA in addition to SDO, and (b) by referring explicitly to biculturalism in the question wording and therefore examining Maori-Pakeha relations specifically, rather than the more general minority-majority group relations assessed in Study one (i.e.,

Maori and Pacific Nations peoples).

Hypothesis 2 predicted that there would be two distinct factors underlying attitudes towards biculturalism in New Zealand: (a) biculturalism in principle, and (b) resource-specific biculturalism. *Hypothesis 3* then predicted that Pakeha would be more supportive of biculturalism in principle than of the resource-specific aspects of bicultural policy. The relationship between Pakeha students' levels of SDO/RWA and biculturalism in principle/resource-specific biculturalism was then assessed. *Hypothesis 4* stated that SDO and RWA would be significantly better predictors of Pakeha opposition towards the general principles of biculturalism (i.e., biculturalism in principle) than they would of opposition to resource-specific aspects of biculturalism when the interests of oneself and one's in-group were at stake (i.e., resource-specific biculturalism).

Method

Participants

Participants were 59 New Zealand born Pakeha undergraduate psychology students (16 males, 43 females) who participated in a study on perceptions of New Zealand history for partial course credit. Participants ranged from 18 to 31 years of age ($M = 19.24$; $SD = 2.40$). On average, Pakeha participants' families had been in New Zealand for 3.03 ($SD = 2.17$) generations on their mothers' sides, and 3.33 ($SD = 1.99$) generations on their fathers' sides.

Procedure and Materials

Participants first completed a measure of self-perceived knowledge of the Treaty of Waitangi, which was assessed using a semantic differential item (I know very little about the Treaty of Waitangi – I know a lot about the Treaty of Waitangi).

Consistent with Study 1, SDO was measured using the 16 items developed by Pratto et al., (1994), for example, "some groups of people are simply inferior to other groups", and "to get ahead in life, it is sometimes necessary to step on other groups". RWA was measured using 16 balanced items from the scale developed by Altemeyer (1996), for example, "the *real* keys to the "good life" are obedience,

discipline, and sticking to the straight and narrow", and "the only way our country can get through the crisis ahead is to get back to our traditional values, put some tough leaders in power, and silence the troublemakers spreading bad ideas".

Ethnic and national identity were also assessed (following Luhtanen & Crocker, 1992). Reliability estimates and descriptive statistics for these scales are displayed in Table 4. All items were rated on 7-point scales ranging from 0-6. Item ratings for each scale were averaged to calculate a score for each participant. A higher score indicated higher levels of the construct in question.

A group of three researchers familiar with the development of Likert-type attitude items reviewed all qualitative responses to the targeted scholarships proposal collected in Study one. These researchers extracted an initial pool of 57 statements which referred to either (a) biculturalism in New Zealand or (b) Maori/Pakeha relations (for example, 'a standard must be set that is equal for all people regardless of ethnicity', 'many people in New Zealand have their hands out expecting help but not willing to do the work in order to achieve their goals', 'because "we" are a bicultural national we should all be treated the same'). This pool of statements was then reviewed by the authors and statements that were deemed redundant because of near

identical wording or which made direct reference to the targeted scholarships proposal or to Maori and Pacific Nations students studying psychology were excluded due to their high level of specificity and limited relevance in other contexts, yielding a total of 29 attitude statements. These 29 items were then included in the survey as Likert-type items rated on a 0-6 scale anchored by the endpoints 'strongly disagree' and 'strongly agree'.

Results

Scale Development

A principal components exploratory factor analysis with varimax rotation was performed on the 29 items assessing attitudes towards biculturalism. Consistent with Hypothesis 2, two factors were extracted, which explained 28.07% of the total variance. Although a number of factors with eigenvalues greater than 1 were reported, the eigenvalues displayed an initially steep trend that became more gradual after the second value, thus supporting a two-factor solution i.e., 7.11, 4.20, 1.66, 1.57, 1.30 (Fabrigar, Wegener, MacCallum, & Strahan, 1999). The first factor contained items assessing attitudes towards the allocation of resources to ethnic groups in New Zealand, whereas the second factor contained items assessing more general attitudes towards biculturalism in principle. Items that did not load adequately on either of these dimensions

or cross-loaded on both were removed and a second exploratory factor analysis was performed on the five highest loading items assessing each dimension. A two-factor solution (eigenvalues = 4.07 and 2.19) accounted for 62.63% of the total variance in this reduced item pool. Item content and factor loadings are displayed in Table 3.

Attitudes towards biculturalism in New Zealand.

Consistent with Hypothesis 3, a repeated measures ANCOVA suggested that Pakeha displayed significantly more support for biculturalism in principle ($M = 3.89$; $SD = 1.00$) than for resource-specific biculturalism ($M = 1.27$; $SD = 1.20$; $F(1,57) = 240.44$; $p = .001$, $\mu^2 = .81$). This main effect remained significant when the effects of SDO had been controlled for ($F(1,55) = 57.96$, $p = .01$, $\mu^2 = .51$). RWA, in contrast, did not covary with the main effect ($F(1,55) = 1.76, p = .19, \mu^2 = .03$).

In order to present these results in more simplistic terms, Pakeha scoring 2 or below on a 7-point scale ranging from 0-6 were classified as disagreeing, and Pakeha scoring 4 or above were classified as agreeing[3]. When expressed in these simple terms, 53% of the Pakeha students in our sample expressed support for the general principles of biculturalism and only 3% were opposed (the other 44% may be classified as relatively neutral as they scored in the midpoint of the scale). In

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Table 3. Attitudes towards biculturalism in New Zealand

	Factor 1	Factor 2
Resource-specific Biculturalism		
1. We are all New Zealanders, and no one ethnic group should get special privileges. (r)	**.91**	.16
2. It is racist to give one ethnic group special privileges, even if they are a minority. (r)	**.89**	.01
3. I feel that although Maori have had it rough in past years, they should still be treated the same as everyone else. (r)	**.88**	.01
4. No one group should be given privileges on the basis of ethnic or racial background. (r)	**.83**	-.15
5. I find the idea of giving priority or special privileges to one group appalling, minority or otherwise. (r)	**.83**	.24
Biculturalism in Principle		
6. Maori language should be taught in all New Zealand schools.	.24	**.74**
7. The New Zealand national anthem should be sung in both Maori and English.	.03	**.71**
8. New Zealand should be known and seen as a bicultural society, reflecting an equal partnership between Maori and Pakeha.	.11	**.68**
9. If New Zealand were to change to a republic, then the Treaty of Waitangi should be used as a foundation for our constitution.	-.10	**.67**
10. New Zealand should embrace its cultural diversity.	.04	**.55**

Item loadings > .3 are printed in bold. Items are sorted by magnitude of factor loading.

Table 4. Correlations between attitudes towards biculturalism in New Zealand, Social Dominance Orientation (SDO), Right Wing Authoritarianism (RWA), perceived knowledge about the Treaty, and ethnic and national identity (n = 59).

Scale	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.
1. Resource-specific biculturalism	-	.31*	-.15	-.25	.08	-.24	-.01
2. Biculturalism in principle		-	-.59**	-.35**	.36**	-.05	.17
3. Social Dominance Orientation (SDO)			-	.56**	-.22	.12	-.22
4. Right Wing Authoritarianism (RWA)				-	-.10	.10	-.05
5. Perceived knowledge about the Treaty					-	.04	.13
6. Ethnic identity						-	.28*
7. National identity							-
M	1.27	3.89	1.77	2.01	3.54	3.91	4.62
SD	1.20	1.00	.87	.93	1.10	1.11	.91
α	.91	.70	.90	.89	-	.87	.85

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

contrast, only 3% of Pakeha students expressed support for resource-specific biculturalism, whereas 76% were opposed, and 21% scored in the midrange 'neutral' part of the scale.
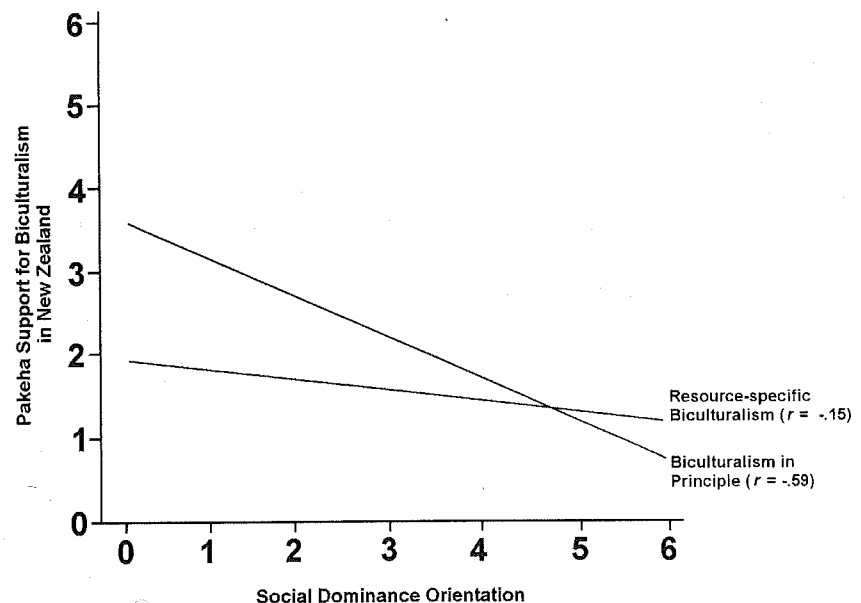
Correlations between Pakeha attitudes towards biculturalism in principle and resource-specific biculturalism, SDO, RWA, perceived knowledge about the Treaty, and ethnic and national identity are displayed in Table 4.

Consistent with Hypothesis 4, the negative correlation between SDO and Pakeha support for biculturalism in principle (r = -.59) was greater in magnitude than the negative correlation between SDO and Pakeha support for resource-specific biculturalism (r = -.15). Williams' (1959) test for differences in non-independent correlation values supported this interpretation (t = 3.39(56), p < .01). Hence, SDO predicted opposition to biculturalism in principle better than it predicted opposition to resource-specific biculturalism. The regression slopes for these two correlations are displayed in Figure 2.

RWA was also significantly negatively correlated with Pakeha support for biculturalism in principle (r = -.35) but not resource-specific biculturalism (r = -.25). However, these correlations did not differ in magnitude (t = .68(56), p > .05). Hypothesis 4, that SDO and RWA would be more strongly negatively correlated with attitudes towards biculturalism in principle than with resource-specific biculturalism, was supported for SDO but not RWA.

As can also be seen in Table 4, self-reported knowledge about the Treaty of

Figure 2. Regression slopes for the correlations between SDO and Pakeha support for biculturalism in principle; and SDO and Pakeha support for resource-specific biculturalism.

Waitangi was uncorrelated with SDO (r = -.22), RWA (r = -.10) and Pakeha support for resource-specific biculturalism (r = .08). However, perceived knowledge about the Treaty was significantly correlated with Pakeha support for biculturalism in principle (r = .36). Pakeha levels of ethnic and national identity were uncorrelated with SDO, RWA, attitudes towards biculturalism in principle and resource-specific biculturalism.

Additional Analyses

Exploratory analyses were performed examining the relationship between SDO and intra-individual variation in Pakeha attitudes towards

biculturalism in New Zealand. In order to address this issue, the inter-item standard deviation of each participant's scores for attitudes towards biculturalism in principle and resource-specific biculturalism was calculated (i.e., how much each item for a given individual differed from that individual's mean score). SDO was uncorrelated with variation in attitudes towards biculturalism in principle when mean levels of biculturalism in principle were partialled out of the correlation (r (56) = -.08, p = .55). SDO was also uncorrelated with variation in attitudes towards resource-specific biculturalism when mean levels of resource-specific biculturalism had been partialled out of

the correlation (r (56) = .04, p = .80).

Further analyses were also performed in order to test for moderation between SDO and RWA on Pakeha attitudes towards biculturalism in principle and resource-specific biculturalism. SDO and RWA scale scores were centered and an SDO by RWA interaction variable was computed. Attitudes towards biculturalism in principle and resource-specific biculturalism were then separately regressed against SDO and RWA (entered as a block), and the interaction variable (entered as a second block). SDO (B = -.66 (.15), β = -.57, p = .01), but not RWA (B = -.03, β = -.03, p = .81) predicted opposition to biculturalism in principle (R^2adjusted = .32; F(2,56) = 14.88, p = .01). The entry of the interaction between SDO and RWA at step two failed to predict additional variance (ΔR^2 = .01; F(1,55) = .22, p = .64). SDO and RWA failed to significantly predict Pakeha support for resource-specific biculturalism (R^2 adjusted = .03; F(2,56) = 1.91, p = .16). Similarly, the entry of the interaction between SDO and RWA at step two also failed to predict additional variance (ΔR^2 = .02; F(1,55) = .31, p = .58).

Discussion

The trends identified in Study one were replicated using a measure of attitudes towards biculturalism developed using statements from Pakeha written discourse. Results indicated that Pakeha students supported biculturalism in principle but were opposed to resource-specific biculturalism. Furthermore, SDO and to a lesser extent RWA, predicted opposition to biculturalism in principle, but not resource-specific biculturalism.

Exploratory factor analysis identified two factors underlying attitudes towards biculturalism. It should be noted that although this scale is referred to as a measure of attitudes, both factors were firmly grounded in everyday written discourse reflecting social representations of biculturalism. In terms of resource-specific biculturalism, the discourses used by Pakeha to warrant opposition to the category-based allocation of resources to Maori (appealing to egalitarianism, labeling such allocations as a "special

privilege" for one group) are consistent with the framework of the "plausible deniability" of racism in New Zealand media identified by Liu & Mills (2004). This style of discourse is also consistent with the "no preferential treatment" frame identified by Gamson and Modigliani (1987) in media representations in the USA. Biculturalism in principle, on the other hand, is also part of everyday discourse anchored by a social representation of biculturalism (Liu et al., 1999) as the historical foundation of New Zealand as a nation.

General Discussion

One of the most interesting debates in intergroup relations in the last thirty years is the extent to which the inter-linked phenomena variously labeled as modern racism (McConahay, 1986), symbolic racism (Henry & Sears, 2002), aversive racism (Gaertner & Dovidio, 1986), or discourses of racism (Wetherell & Potter, 1992) is "old wine in new bottles". The present research shows that among Pakeha in New Zealand, it is possible to clearly distinguish between two forms of attitude towards biculturalism: biculturalism in principle, and resource-specific biculturalism. These were predicted by different motivational factors. Only attitudes towards biculturalism in principle were predicted by SDO and RWA, two general measures of individual differences that have been shown to account for the lion's share of variance across a variety of different forms of prejudice in the international literature (Duckitt, 2001). Biculturalism in principle falls into what Stephan et al. (1998; Stephan & Stephan, 2000) have termed symbolic threats to the group, whereas attitudes towards resource-specific biculturalism may be more aptly characterized as a type of realistic threat. We found that Pakeha who were lower in SDO were more willing to accommodate Maori on symbolic issues to do with biculturalism, but they were just as opposed as their high SDO counterparts to allocating resources to Maori on a categorical basis. This was true for issues involving material self-interests at both the individual (Study 1) and group levels (Study 2).

These results support the contention put forward by Stephan et al. (1998) and Liu and his colleagues (Huang, Liu, & Chang, in press; Liu & Mills, 2004) that it is essential to consider multiple possible motivations in intergroup situations, especially across cultures. The threat posed by realistic conflict, or the group-based allocation of material resources cannot be reduced to a matter of individual differences in SDO or RWA. In the USA, where ideology and institutional support aimed at improving the standing of minority groups like Blacks is relatively limited, the two factors may tend to be conflated. At the measurement level, this may occur because American researchers frequently include items assessing both symbolic and realistic (resource-specific) factors as indicators of a single construct (see for example Pratto et al.'s (1994) measure of affirmative action). This conflation may also yield inconsistencies in the relationship between SDO, RWA and perceptions of identity threat. Saucier and Miller (2003), for example, reported that overall agreement with their racial argument scale was uncorrelated with RWA. In light of our findings, we wonder if this result may have been confounded because they combined ratings across symbolic and resource-specific arguments.

In New Zealand, support for biculturalism in principle and opposition to resource-specific biculturalism are both framed using egalitarian language. There was a significant, but modest, correlation between the two (r = .31). This contrasts with USA research, which has reported a correlation of .70 between various types of symbolic and realistic threat (Stephan et al., 2002). Our data further suggest that Pakeha draw upon the language of opposition to resource-specific biculturalism irrespective of individual differences in SDO (e.g., drawing upon definitions of equality which frame such practices as privileges or unfair advantages). They appear to be motivated primarily by realistic concerns about threat to self-interest, rather than by individual differences in ideology supporting group-based dominance or social control and conformity.

These results suggest that

discourses that have been labeled as racist (see for example, Wetherell & Potter, 1992) may be more profitably referred to under a separate term. At a practical level, our results suggest that arguments which draw upon remedial frames and consequently imply a racist undertone to Pakeha opposition to affirmative action type policies will be largely ineffective, and may generate indignation against, rather than sympathy for, Maori. The rise of New Zealand First in the 1996 election provides an instructive example of this possibility. The rise coincided with, and was perhaps partially fueled by, rival politicians and the media accusing Winston Peters of racism for his speeches against Asian immigration when Peters had the "plausible deniability" of an argument based on economic self-interest (Liu & Mills, 2004). We suggest that an entirely different frame of argument is needed to persuade a group to accommodate another group when their economic interests are at stake. Such arguments should draw upon the general principles of biculturalism and attempt to frame resource-allocations for minority groups in a way that emphasizes that intergroup relations are not zero-sum (i.e., if Maori win, Pakeha do not necessarily lose). This is true of issues such as affirmative action, for which we believe long-term equity outweighs short-term equity (see Kinder & Sanders, 1990); and immigration, where immigrants have been shown to promote long-term economic growth (see also Domke, McCoy & Torres, 1999; Singer, 1996).

The distinction between attitudes towards the resource-specific aspects and general principles of biculturalism is critical for understanding how values, such as group equality, influence perceptions of policy relating to minority-majority group relations in New Zealand. Our findings suggest that individual difference measures like SDO and RWA will predict symbolic issues better than realistic threat issues even in countries like the USA. This may be because people low in SDO (i.e., high egalitarians) may either *support* category-based resource allocations to minority groups on the basis of long term equity, or *oppose* them on the basis of short term equity, diluting the overall effect. Hence, egalitarianism can be

used to argue either for or against policies such as affirmative action depending on the way in which the issue is framed (Kinder and Sanders, 1990; Fine, 1992; Bobo, 1998; see also Wilson, 2003).

One criticism that may be made of the present study is that all the items assessing support for biculturalism in principle were worded in the positive direction, whereas the items assessing support for resource-specific aspects of biculturalism were all worded in the negative direction (refer to Table 3). We acknowledge this as a limitation, but it was purposeful. We chose to be restricted by the discursive materials used for constructing our items. Pakeha discourse about biculturalism in the context of scholarship allocations was dominated by the two repertoires we identified. We did not find statements in the opposite direction, and given our attempt to create scales grounded in culture-appropriate discourse, we chose not to compromise the meaning of these discourses by inventing reverse worded items.

Future research should look at a broader sampling of issues and populations, and go beyond discourses of privilege and entitlement when assessing resource-specific aspects of biculturalism in New Zealand. Research using larger and more representative samples may indeed report a significant relationship between SDO and opposition to resource-specific biculturalism; however, we contend that the magnitude of this relationship will be smaller than the relationship between SDO and opposition to the more general principles of biculturalism, barring drastic changes in New Zealand political discourse and social representations of Maori-Pakeha relations. Future research is also needed in order to develop items assessing Maori attitudes towards biculturalism before a quantitative comparison of Maori and Pakeha attitudes can be performed in a culturally appropriate manner (see Yang, 2000).

Conclusion

In recent years, the political climate in New Zealand has facilitated a distinction between (a) specific issues involving resource allocations that favor

Maori and (b) the more general principles of biculturalism. This type of distinction may be blurred in the USA because political discourse anchors resource-specific issues in more general social representations of symbolic threat which are held at a global level. By anchoring race-based issues that are initially resource-specific in social representations of symbolic threat at a global level, peoples' representations of a given issue may be transformed thus making it more difficult to target a given issue without also targeting the plethora of other more abstract, and thus less easily falsifiable, race-based social representations – representations which our research suggests are intertwined with ideology supporting group-based hierarchies and inequality. We hope that political discourse in New Zealand will continue to foster social representations that distinguish between the general principles and resource-specific aspects of biculturalism in this country and therefore allow different resource-specific issues pertaining to bicultural policy to be considered and judged upon their own merits as they arise. However, we are not optimistic given the trends in current political discourse surrounding debate of issues such as the foreshore.

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Notes

1. There is currently considerable debate in New Zealand regarding the most appropriate name for New Zealanders of European descent. Although New Zealand European is the most popular term (Liu et al., 1999), Pakeha is the term that most strongly implies a relationship with Maori and hence seems most appropriate for this paper.

2. These excerpts are presented for descriptive purposes only. The six excerpts that are presented were all within one standard deviation of the total sample mean in terms of both word count ($M = 73$, $SD = 30$) and Flesch (1948) reading ease ($M = 44$, $SD = 16$).

3. Note that these results are presented for simple descriptive purposes and that these agree/disagree cutoff points were relatively arbitrary.

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APPENDIX A

School of Psychology
Overview of Current Scholarship Criteria

Psychologists study an extremely wide range of topics. In fact, you have only to look through the different chapters in the first year text book to appreciate just how broad an area psychology really is. One aim of the first year psychology courses Psyc 121 and 122 is to provide students with knowledge of many of the different areas that psychologists study. However, the field of psychology is far less diverse than it could be. Most psychologists in the world today are trained in the United States, and among those trained in New Zealand, the vast majority are New Zealand Europeans.

This research project is designed to assess student reactions to different policies that may be used to increase diversity in psychology, and to focus the resources of the university onto particular areas of importance.

The School of Psychology currently has a postgraduate awards policy that targets one of its four Masters scholarships and one of three PhD scholarships to students of Maori or Pacific Nations backgrounds. The first purpose of this research is to get student feedback on this policy, and to provide the School's Research and Student Affairs Committees with detailed information about how students feel about this policy. For instance, do you think it is fair to consider a person's ethnic background as one criterion for which to consider whether they might be eligible for a scholarship?

The second purpose of this research is to ask students how they might feel about a change to current policy that allocates Honours year scholarships solely on the basis of grades. In 2001 students with an A- or higher average in the third year were offered tuition wavers to attend Honours in Psychology at Victoria University. How would you feel if the School were to target a fixed percentage of Honours year scholarships to Maori and Pacific Nations students (e.g., 10%), even if they had a lower grade point average?

Please keep in mind that the total number of scholarships offered by the school would not change, but eligibility for the targeted scholarships would be limited to Maori and Pacific Nations students.

To gather a wide range of opinions from those who are affected by targeted scholarships policy, we are conducting research to assess student reactions to this policy. Before doing so, however, we would like you to consider the following. (See Appendix B)

APPENDIX B

School of Psychology
Targeted Scholarship Proposal

New Zealand is a world leader in developing indigenous people's rights. New Zealanders can be proud of the progress that has been made towards improving outcomes for indigenous peoples, especially when compared to other Western nations such as Australia and the United States which have a history of discrimination towards their indigenous peoples. One has only to consider the appalling conditions of the Aborigines in Australia in order to be proud of the progress that New Zealand has made towards becoming a true bicultural nation. However, although New Zealand has made, and continues to make, considerable progress towards righting past injustices towards Maori, one area of concern is the lack of a Maori perspective in academic and applied areas such as psychology.

Among all Western nations, only New Zealand is formally a bicultural nation. The Treaty of Waitangi, signed in 1840 and written into law in 1975, provides a unique foundation for New Zealanders of European and Maori origins to work together reasonably and in good faith to provide the best possible outcomes for all New Zealanders.

Although both the United States and Australia claim to be multi-cultural, they are actually formally mono-cultural, with no provision for minority groups to be part of the identity of their nation. However, right now the promise of biculturalism in New Zealand has yet to be realized in terms of the development of cultural perspectives in psychology. In this respect, Maori appear to be no better off than Aboriginals in Australia and African Americans and Native Americans in the United States.

Only New Zealanders and Canadians among the English speaking peoples in the world live in formally bicultural or multicultural nations where the importance of minority groups (Maori in New Zealand, French and Native Americans in Canada) in the nation is recognized by law. This gives New Zealanders a unique opportunity to set an example for the rest of the Western World and lead the way forward by continuing to improve outcomes for indigenous peoples in areas such as psychology.

Targeted scholarships are one way to develop more of a Maori perspective in psychology. It would increase the number of Maori academics and practitioners in psychology, and be a step forward in making us a world leader in majority-minority group relations in the area of psychology. It is one way to make New Zealand psychology something unique and special on the world stage.