

# Values and Political Ideology: Rokeach's Two-Value Model in a Proportional Representation Environment

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The study presented here provides support for Rokeach's (1973) contention that followers of different political viewpoints may be differentiated by their relative endorsements of the values of Freedom and Equality. A previous test of the hypothesis in New Zealand (in 1975) proved inconclusive and this was argued as reflecting the homogeneous two-party political environment of the time. Since 1996, however, New Zealand has implemented a proportional representation electoral system that allows a degree of political heterogeneity absent from earlier tests of the hypothesis. The present paper describes a content analysis of parliamentary speeches by representatives of five ideologically distinct political parties. Contrary to previous local findings (but consistent with overseas research) the parties were classifiable in their differential endorsement of the target values. The classification related systematically to the parties' positions in the current political climate, with left-wing parties endorsing Equality over Freedom, while the reverse was increasingly true of parties of the right.

Rokeach proposed that the minimum number of independent (theoretically uncorrelated) dimensions necessary to describe different ideologies was two, and outlined a programme of research intended to show that proponents of different political philosophies differ in their relative support for the two values of Freedom and Equality. For example, adherents of liberal democratic or socialist doctrine should endorse both values equally highly while the reverse is true of Nazist or fascist sympathisers who should endorse neither. Differential endorsement of the two values is illustrated by Republican or right-wing supporters valuing Freedom over Equality and communists favouring Equality over Freedom.

The most frequently cited definition of what constitutes a human value (psychologically defined) is offered by Rokeach (1973) as an "enduring belief that a specific mode of conduct or end-state of existence is personally or socially preferable to an opposite or converse mode of conduct or end-state of existence" (p.5). Rokeach argued that, considered together, values form values systems where a value system is "an enduring organisation of beliefs concerning preferable modes of conduct or end-states of existence along a continuum of importance" (1973, p.5). Thus the importance of different values should co-vary with the importance of others in the value system. Human values are strongly prescriptive in nature and form the core around which other less enduring beliefs are organised. As such they are important in a range of

other processes. For example, the formation of specific attitudes is theoretically predicated upon more general values. Rokeach's conceptualisation of values, and the conceptualisation of a finite set of values as the foundation for an infinite set of attitudes continues to be a focus of research (e.g., Allen, Ng & Wilson, 2002; Allen, Wilson, Ng & Dunne, 2000; Barnea & Schwartz, 1998; Braithwaite, 1997, 1998; Schwartz, 1992; Thannhauser & Caird, 1990).

If attitudes are predicated upon value systems then by extension political attitudes are also predicated upon values. Indeed, Rokeach (1973) contended that the traditional left-right (liberal-conservative) continuum was not sufficient to differentiate (or make comparisons) between all the varieties of political ideologies active in the political environment. In its place,

In this respect, Rokeach's (1973) emphasis on Freedom and Equality has proven durable. These two values continue to be implicated in a range of social and political issues, and have been shown to reflect basic attitudinal dimensions. For example, based on his cross-cultural values analysis, Hofstede (1980) suggested that power-distance (Equality versus hierarchy) and individualism-collectivism (Freedom versus interdependence) represent two primary psychological dimensions. Katz and Hass (1988) identified individualism (Freedom) and communalism (Equality) as the two core values in American society. Closer to home, based on multidimensional scaling of Wellington residents' responses to the Rokeach Values Survey, Allen (1994) reports that values (taken

together) reflect two dimensions of self-direction (Freedom) and power values (opposition to Equality).

Rokeach (1973) found support for the two-value hypothesis in content analyses of the written works of ideologues accepted (at the time) as typifying different political persuasions. Rokeach and his colleagues selected as representative of communist, capitalist, fascist, and socialist orientations the writings of Lenin, Goldwater, Hitler, and a number of socialist writers (the argument being that no one individual was sufficiently prototypical). A number of raters content analysed these four 25,000 word excerpts (each representing a different ideology), making frequency counts of the occurrence of sentences containing synonyms for all of Rokeach's terminal and instrumental values. The final analysis compared the relative frequency rankings of all the values for each of the exemplars. The overall importance of Freedom and Equality was illustrated by the finding that they accounted for 45 percent of all terminal value occurrences. The relative frequencies seemed to support Rokeach's two-value model with the Freedom and Equality being ranked first and second (out of seventeen terminal values) most frequent respectively in the socialist excerpts, sixteenth and seventeenth for the Hitler (fascist) excerpts, first and sixteenth for Goldwater (capitalist), and seventeenth and first for Lenin (communist). Later studies by Rous and Lee (1978) using samples of American ideologues, and Mahoney, Coogle, and Banks (1984) using American presidential inaugural addresses, were consistent with the contention that Freedom and Equality defined two basic dimensions underlying the themes of the presenters. A more recent example of the application of the two-value model is an analysis of political party advertising in the first democratically free election in Hungary in 1990 (Sayre, 1994), which differentiated the four main Hungarian parties in terms of the frequency of references to Freedom and Equality.

Levine (1975) applied the two-value model in a content analysis of a selection of New Zealand political party programmes. Simple frequency counts

of the eighteen terminal values, including Freedom and Equality, specified by Rokeach (1973) were calculated. Given the variations in the amount of campaign material for the different parties, Levine rank ordered the frequency counts of the eighteen values for each party. National ranked Freedom first and Equality second, while Labour ranked Equality first and Freedom third. The smaller parties sampled were differentiated to a greater extent with Social credit citing Freedom and Equality first and third, Socialist Unity fourth and first, and the Values Party endorsing the two values second and eighth respectively. Given the lack of parliamentary representation of the smaller parties, Levine (1975) suggested that the middle ground of NZ politics at the time was characterised by Labour and National as system-supporting centre parties.

The difference in relative endorsement of the two values by National and Labour found by Levine (1975), which was expected to be greater than found, lead Levine (1975) to categorise both National and Labour as approximately equally socialist in ideological orientation (high Freedom, high Equality). While in retrospect this might be consistent with the political styles of the parties at the time, it suggests that the two-party political environment in New Zealand was too homogeneous to make a thorough test of the two-value hypothesis (the same argument adopted by Rokeach (1973) to justify his use of non-American ideologues), with both major parties contesting for as much of the same ground as possible. This is no longer the case - as the result of a change of electoral system in 1993, New Zealand now elects parliamentary representatives using a proportional representation system under which the allocation of parliamentary seats reflects the percentage (exceeding 5%) of the nationwide vote attained by each party (Harris, 1997; Vowles, Aimer, Banducci & Karp, 1998). The immediate consequence of this change was that 26 political parties contested the 1996 election and six were successful in gaining parliamentary representation.

A second consequence of the

electoral system adopted, Mixed Member Proportional (MMP), was that parties and politicians tended to ideologically differentiate themselves more than had been the case under the previous electoral system (Vowles et al., 1998). In the decade preceding the change of system the traditional party of the left (the New Zealand Labour party) fractured to produce the parties that would become the left-wing Alliance, the centrist party United New Zealand and the ACT party, which is perceived by voters as even more right-wing than the traditional party of the right, National (Vowles et al., 1998). Prior to the 1996 election, National had suffered slightly less with a few solitary defections to United, the ill-fated Conservative party, and most importantly the ejection of former National cabinet minister Winston Peters, whose New Zealand First party rocketed to a 1996 pre-election high of second most popular party (Vowles et al., 1998). Of particular relevance to this research is the ideological classification of the parties (Boston, Levine, McLeay, & Roberts, 1996; Vowles, Aimer, Catt, & Lamare, 1995), which shows the parties are perceived by voters to be spread across a left-right continuum from the Alliance (left), Labour (left), New Zealand First and United (marginally left of centre), National (centre-right), and Act (Far-right). While this represents the approximate perceived relationship between the parties, Vowles et al (1998) reported that the perceived ideological positions of Labour and the Alliance were statistically indistinguishable, while New Zealand First was perceived in 1993 as positioned to the centre-right, but as centre-left in 1996. Similarly, Wilson (2001) reported that Labour and Alliance supporters were statistically indistinguishable in terms of ideological self-identification. So, while there is broad agreement as to the approximate ideological positions of the New Zealand parties in 1996, with parties representing a variety of positions, the traditional left-right, liberal-conservative, ideological dimension does not on its own differentiate between parties with different political platforms. The heterogeneity of the political climate, and the equivocal success of traditional ideological

labels in differentiating parties, allows for a more complete test of the two-value hypothesis. It also represents a different sample from that used by Rokeach (1973) to validate his two-value theory, in that Rokeach (1973) selected a number of ideologues from relatively different time periods and backgrounds. While being excellent exemplars of the ideologies of interest, they were drawn from different nations, whereas subsequent tests of the two-value model have typically focused on elites of different political persuasions, but the same time and place, against each other.

Previous content analyses have been analytically limited in that, typically, examples of discourse are selected from only a few sources (however representative those sources may be of particular political viewpoints). This has meant that sophisticated statistical techniques have not been employed in analysis as samples fail to meet important assumptions. For example, Rokeach's (1973) analysis of political writings involved examination of the relative rankings of terminal and instrumental values, limiting the range of possible statistical analyses. Similarly, Levine's (1975) test of the model in New Zealand was based on single case studies of the platforms of the parties, and was therefore limited to descriptive, rather than inferential statistical analysis. For the purposes of this study a more flexible approach was desirable, and the selection of samples from a number of sources (representing the different political parties) was intended to allow for more rigorous investigation of the Freedom-Equality hypothesis. Specifically, a sample of speeches collected immediately following the formation of the governing coalition following the 1996 election.

Based on Rokeach's (1973) argument it was expected that, in a politically heterogeneous, environment representatives of different parties should be differentiable in terms of their use of Freedom and Equality. Parties of the right (National, Act) should value Freedom over Equality, while the reverse should be true of parties of the left (Labour and Alliance). In turn, though undifferentiable in terms of

traditional ideological labels, these parties should show distinctly different patterns of endorsement of the values of Freedom and Equality. Failure of the two-value model would be shown if one, or both of the values failed to discriminate between speakers from different parties, or if the values predicted party membership in a way inconsistent with the typology (e.g., Freedom was endorsed more by Labour or Alliance, or Equality was endorsed more by National or Act members).

## Method

### Data Collection

Data for this exercise comprised the 93 (13 Alliance, 28 Labour, 17 NZ First, 27 National, 8 Act) Address-in-Reply speeches given at the opening of the parliamentary session following the 1996 election (late 1996 to early 1997). The 1996 election was selected as it represented New Zealand's first election under a proportional representation electoral system (just as Sayre, 1994, analysed political advertisements from an historically important European election). One of the arguments in favour of changing from a simple plurality system was that it would allow voters to cast an effective vote for parties other than Labour and National without fear that it would be 'wasted' (previously 'third' parties in New Zealand had garnered up to 20% of the nationwide vote, but achieved only 2% of the parliamentary seats because their support was so diffuse as to win few electorates outright; see Catt, Harris, & Roberts, 1992, and McRobie, 1993, for detailed accounts of the rationale behind the electoral change). As only one United New Zealand candidate, Peter Dunne, had survived the election, that one speech was omitted from further analysis.

The Address-in-Reply debate contests the motion that the proposed government has the confidence of a majority of the elected party representatives in the House. Each speaker is allowed 15 minutes (with the possibility of extension if there is no objection) to present a contribution, the content of which is relatively open (and indeed need not strictly follow party ideology). The Address-in-Reply speeches are commonly used to outline

the members' vision for the term of their office as well as vilify the opposition, and have the advantage that they do not all address the same issue(s). This is desirable because it has been shown that specific issues may relate to a range of value priorities, not just Freedom and Equality (Tetlock, 1986).

Transcripts of the speeches are reproduced in the New Zealand weekly Hansard, the official record of New Zealand parliamentary debates. Parliamentary debates are transcribed from audio recordings of the parliamentary session, and are authorised as accurate by each speaker before printing (Mulgan, 1994). These transcripts were first photocopied, and then converted into a computer readable format using optical scanner and optical character recognition software. The final product comprised a word processed file of 218,349 words, with speeches averaging just over 2300 words.

### Coding

Synonyms for Freedom and Equality were located from a number of sources. Appropriate synonyms were taken from Billig's (1978) value content analysis of fascist propaganda and Rokeach's (1973) original content-analytic tests of the two-value model. Additional synonyms were obtained from prominent authors on the topics of Freedom and Equality: (e.g., Berlin, 1958), and from dictionaries and thesauri (e.g., dictionary.com). Example synonyms for Freedom were (in the appropriate context) "independence", "autonomy", "choice", "opportunity", "able to", "allowed", "unhindered". Examples for Equality might be "equal", "same", "equivalent", "uniform", "balanced", "comparable", "even", "fair".

Prior to coding, the names of speakers were removed (as were explicit references to the names of the parties themselves). Values and their related synonyms were located in the text of each speech and a tally kept of their occurrence for each speaker. Each synonym was considered in the context in which it occurred and was only counted towards the speaker's tally if it represented endorsement of the value, or opposition to the negation of a value (e.g., depriving people of Freedom is

bad, inequality is bad). Reliability of coding was evaluated by a second naïve (non-New Zealand national) rater who coded a sample of 10 speeches blind, using the same list of value synonyms. The second rater identified and agreed on 93% of value classifications (*Cohen's Kappa* = .88). Discussion resulted in agreement on the remainder, and the main body of the corpus was re-examined to accommodate changes to the original coding system. This is not to say that the coding was accomplished with entire objectivity but that every attempt was made to reduce this possibility – definitions and synonyms for the two values were drawn from as diverse sources as possible, a second naïve coder was employed to check reliability of a sub-sample of the corpus, and every attempt was made to delete labels and names that would explicitly identify speakers and parties.

## Results

Though the inferential statistics in this study focus on the frequency of two values, Freedom and Equality, it is appropriate to devote some time to the actual context and usage of these values. In both cases these values were referred to in two ways- the endorsement of the value, and criticism or the negation of the value. For example, those MPs who endorsed Equality and fairness (positive Equality) were also likely to criticise favouritism, exploitation, and discrimination (negative Equality). Similarly, those who endorsed Freedom, autonomy, voluntary participation, and choice (positive Freedom) were likely to criticise the use of compulsion, force, and legislative restriction (negative Freedom). There were very few examples of MPs being critical of Freedom or Equality; in fact the only examples of criticism of positive values came from ACT and the Alliance. For example, Act speakers denounced the teacher pay regime in which, it was argued, bad teachers were able to earn as much as good teachers, while Alliance speakers decried the Freedom availed to overseas investors by the government to purchase shareholding in state resources, thereby depriving the people of New Zealand of the future value of these resources. Many references were couched in evocative

terms. As the examples give above show, Freedom became liberty, Equality became fairness. Deprivation of Freedom became slavery and compulsion. Deprivation of Equality became discrimination and exploitation.

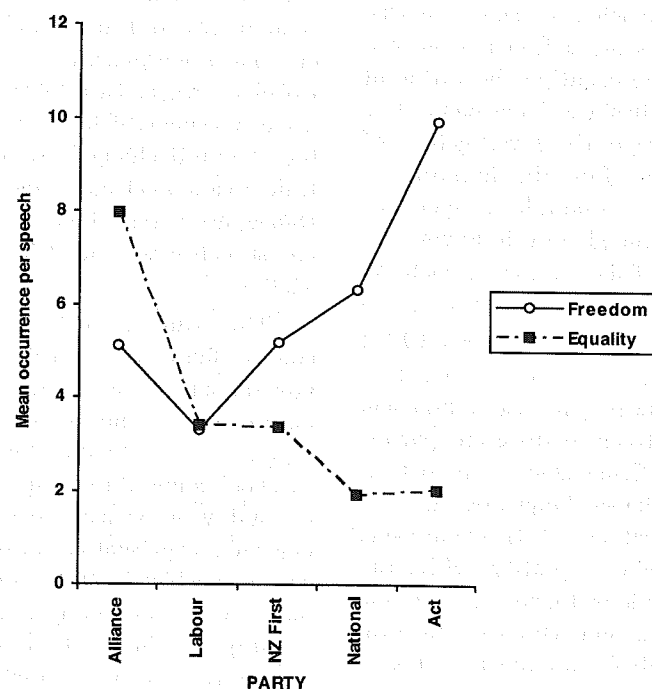
Throughout, speakers represent themselves as champions of positive value, and opponents of the negative. To different degrees (as illustrated in the inferential results below) MPs tend to stand for positive usage of a value and oppose the negation of these values. For example, if National represents Freedom then National MPs denounce Labour, the Alliance, and New Zealand First as wishing to deprive New Zealanders of their Freedom to decide and to earn. Where the Alliance represents fairness and Equality, National, New Zealand First (and even Labour) are criticised as seeking to deprive New Zealanders of a "fair go". In some cases the lines become blurred- where does Equality of opportunity stop being the Freedom to achieve? Though few examples arose in the discourse used, it is apparent that these two values are not as distinct in their usage as they are in psychological theory. Attention needs to be paid not only to the frequency of usage, but also the manner of usage of potent values such as Freedom and Equality.

## Statistical analyses

Frequencies of Freedom and Equality were uncorrelated ( $r = .02, p = .44ns$ ). The frequencies of each value for speakers from each party were analysed using MANCOVA, with length of speech (in words) included as a potential covariate (to control for the possibility that increased frequencies of value references simply reflect longer speeches). Speech length proved to be a significant covariate ( $F(1, 85) = 8.66, p < .01$ ) and, after variance associated with speech length was controlled for, there were main effects for party ( $F(4, 85) = 2.70, p < .05$ ) and value type ( $F(1, 85) = 5.32, p < .05$ ), as well as a significant party by value interaction ( $F(4, 85) = 5.77, p < .01$ ). Overall, Freedom value references occurred more frequently than Equality values ( $\text{mean}_{\text{Freedom}} = 5.97, \text{mean}_{\text{Equality}} = 3.74$ ) and Tukey post-hoc tests indicated that Act speakers used Freedom values more frequently than their Labour counterparts ( $\text{mean}_{\text{Act}} = 9.93, \text{mean}_{\text{Labour}} = 3.30$ ), with Alliance, NZ First and National falling in between. Similarly, Alliance speakers used Equality values more frequently than all other parties.

Figure 1 plots the (adjusted for speech length) mean frequency of mention for the two values by each party, where the parties are presented

Figure 1. Average occurrence of Freedom and Equality value references for each party



in the order of their ideological classification from left to right (Boston et al, 1996; Vowles, 1996).

There was a general trend for increasing reference of each value to follow the common perception of the party's places on the left-right dimension. For example, as mean frequency of Equality references increased the parties were increasingly left wing, while (with the exception of the Alliance) the pattern was reversed for Freedom references.

In order to test the relative discriminatory power of the two values, the frequency of Freedom and Equality references were divided by speech length. These proportional Freedom and Equality values were then used as predictors of political party representation using discriminant analysis (see Tabachnick & Fidell, 1996). The two discriminant functions obtained both achieved statistical significance with the first accounting for 78.6% of the between-groups variance ( $\chi^2(8)=37.15, p<.001$ ) and the second accounting for 21.4% ( $\chi^2(3)=8.70, p<.001$ ). Freedom references correlated significantly with only the second canonical discriminant function (with a discriminant loading of .95), while Equality reference correlated significantly only with the first (with a discriminant loading of .93).

Based on this analysis, Equality defines the first function while Freedom defines the second. Therefore the relative endorsement of Equality and, to a lesser extent, Freedom successfully differentiated between the party representatives. Figure 2 shows the group centroids (the group average on each function), indicating that the first (Equality) function discriminates most strongly between the parties, with the parties falling in approximate right-left ideological order. The Alliance is most clearly delineated by this function. There is less spread on function two (Freedom), which is consistent with the lesser amount of classification variance accounted for.

Additionally, the two significant functions derived accurately predicted 50% of the cases. This may be compared with the classification rate we might expect to occur at a chance level. If all

five parties were equally represented that would be 20%, however as this is not the case it is appropriate and conventional to use the proportional chance rate (Hair, Anderson, Tatham, & Black, 1995; Tabachnick & Fidell, 1996), which weights the chance according to the unequal group sizes. In this case the proportional chance criterion is 23.9 or approximately 24%. Thus, the obtained classification rate is more than double, and significantly better than that expected at, the chance level (*Press's Q* = 42.24,  $p<.001$ ). Hair et al (1995) state that in order to be practically useful, classification accuracy should not only be significantly better than chance, but also at least 150% better than chance, a condition this analysis satisfies.

The classification table is reproduced in Table 1 and shows the number of representatives that were correctly classified to the right party (note that the bold diagonal indicates the speakers correctly classified). Column percentages represent actual party membership, and sum to 100%, while row percentages represent predicted membership do not. For example, the Labour column illustrates that 57% of Labour speakers were correctly classified (using the discriminant

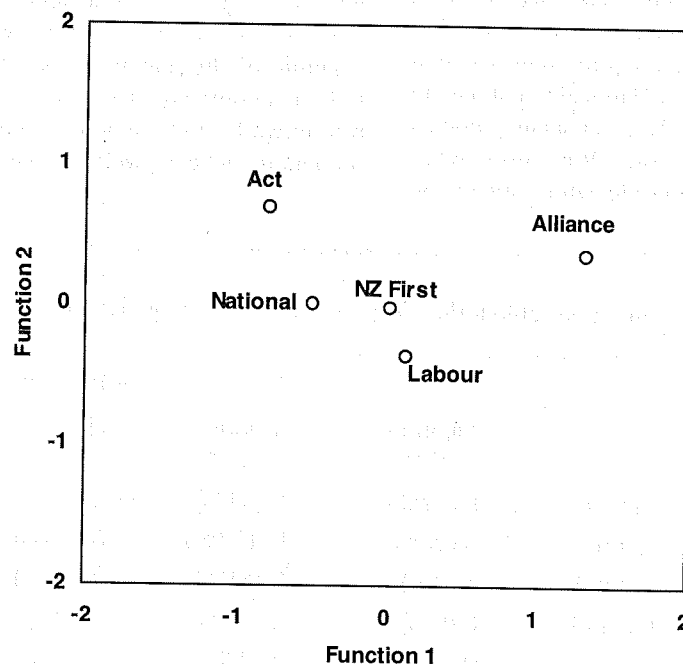
functions obtained) as Labour speakers, while (in contrast) 51% of NZ First speakers were mis-classified as Labour speakers. The discriminant functions obtained provide equal or better than 50% classification of Alliance, Labour and Act speakers while there is confusion in the classification of National and NZ First speakers. National speakers are spread across the parties and more than half of the NZ First speakers were misclassified with the parties of the left (and 51% to Labour).

### Discussion

The results of this content analysis support the contention that elite members of New Zealand's political parties differ in their endorsement of the key values of Freedom and Equality, and that endorsement varies as a function of the value type as well as speaker affiliation. While both values are related to political affiliation, Equality is the primary dimension of difference in this analysis. The lack of correlation between endorsement of the two values supports Rokeach's (1973) contention that the two represent independent dimensions.

Table 1 is useful in interpreting the value orientations of the political

Figure 2. Discriminant map derived from MDA analysis of Freedom/Equality references



parties. Just as Billig and Cochrane (1979) found that there was little overlap in the value profile of ideologically opposite political extremists, this was the case for Act and the Alliance. Billig and Cochrane (1979) argued that extremist parties rely heavily on the symbolic aspect of values to mobilise their constituency, by drawing more heavily on value-based rhetoric.

Both NZ First and National speakers were misclassified at a high rate, indicating that these parties (and particularly NZ First) were experiencing a period in which their identities as distinct parties were unstable. As the units of analysis are speeches given by individual speakers, this may reflect that National was a party comprising a number of factions - those who wished to occupy more of the political centre (vying with Labour), those wishing to retain a unique National position, and a smaller number favouring a move further to the right (closer to the position of Act). On the other hand, NZ First had more in common with Labour (with whom they were popularly considered most compatible), with half of the NZ First speakers being misclassified as Labour. This is consistent with the perception (reported by Vowles et al., 1998) amongst voters that NZ First was a centre-left party in 1996, but as centre-right in 1993, and as even more centre-right in 1999 than 1993 (Vowles, Aimer, Karp, Banducci, Miller, & Sullivan, 2002). The dilemmatic nature of NZ First's attempts to position themselves in the centre, but without indicating prior to the election a preference for National or Labour are summed up by British Labour politician Aneurin Bevan; "We know what happens to people who stay in the

middle of the road. They get run down" (1953, quoted in Jay, 1997, p.40).

These results also illustrate the problems faced by the Labour party. Following an abortive coup led by now deputy leader Michael Cullen, Labour poll support fell to the lowest point ever in the months leading up to the election. The traditional party of the left suffered from the popularity of the Alliance, which had been able to carve off the more radical left of the Labour support. The Alliance also attracted the favour of welfare recipients who had been gutted by the welfare reforms of the fourth Labour government, then filleted by the refinement of those policies by National. Labour was unable to satisfactorily position itself in the eyes of voters - unable to claim the left wing without suffering identity conflict with the Alliance and unable to move too far to the centre and retain their traditional identity.

Of the parties analysed, all but Labour showed some preference for Equality over Freedom or vice versa. Sidanius (1990) has argued that it may be impossible to hold Freedom and Equality as equally important without suffering important contradictions, suggesting (for example) that belief in Equality presupposes some negation of individual Freedom. The equal endorsement of Freedom and Equality values by Labour may place them in a position leading to internal inconsistency in publicising their party platform. The most obvious example of this inconsistency is the Labour endorsement of free market reform while at the same time arguing for a more inclusive welfare policy.

The misclassification of NZ First speakers (primarily into Labour) hints at one of the problems faced by a National-NZ First administration. New Zealand First was generally expected to coalesce with Labour, but ultimately co-aligned with National - a decision rendered questionable as National terminated the coalition more than a year out from the 1999 election.

An essential point to remember is that while this study presents a relatively descriptive analysis of the frequency of value references in parliamentary speeches, the implications go considerably further. It is by tradition and design, rather than by chance, that these parties endorse different values. Rokeach (1973) has argued that Equality and Freedom are the foundation of modern political ideology because of the role they play in western democracies. That is to say that Freedom and Equality are not only important in political discourse, it is *because* of their social value that they are manipulated in political discourse.

As Rokeach (1973) has argued, Freedom has characterised western democracy for centuries, and the quest for Freedom has been manifest in any number of conflicts (eg. the American war of independence, free-trade interventions). Similarly, Equality has played a significant role in defining the Australian and New Zealand national identity - those that appear to stand out from the crowd elicit a swift negative response (Feather, 1990).

The social relevance of these values spills over into the political world as well. For the seventy years preceding the 1996 election, the National party has spent more time as government than

Table 1. Classification table indicating speakers correctly classified on Freedom/Equality references

		Actual Party				
		Alliance	Labour	NZ First	National	Act
Predicted Party	Alliance	8 (67%)	3 (11%)	2 (12%)	1 (4%)	0 (0%)
	Labour	3 (25%)	16 (57%)	8 (50%)	9 (32%)	1 (12%)
	NZ First	1 (8%)	3 (11%)	2 (12%)	1 (4%)	0 (0%)
	National	0 (0%)	5 (17%)	1 (7%)	11 (41%)	1 (12%)
	Act	0 (0%)	1 (4%)	3 (19%)	5 (19%)	6 (76%)



any other. At the time of the 1996 election, the National party was completing its second consecutive term in office, marked by a dramatic growth in the number of welfare recipients, growing disparity between the rich and poor in New Zealand, increasing privatisation and sale of state assets to overseas buyers, and many other concerns (Spoonley, Pearson, & Shirley, 1994). It is no surprise that the call for a return to a time of greater Equality defines the political platforms of the opposition parties. Similarly, the National party was appealing to the nation by emphasising the value that has aided past successes, that one should be free to achieve what one desires.

This reflects the finding that people favouring collective responsibility tend to score lower on measures of anti-egalitarianism (e.g. Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994), and favour hierarchy-attenuating social roles (e.g., Sidanius, Liu, Pratto, & Shaw, 1994). This means that National party supporters favour retention of the systems and conventions that perpetuate social division in favour of the dominant group. On the other hand Labour, Alliance, and New Zealand First supporters favour reducing the gap between dominant and non-dominant groups. Sidanius (1993) contends that one mechanism through which perpetuation of a hierarchical social system is justified by the dominant group is the use and propagation of legitimising myths that make social hierarchy seem necessary. One example of such a myth is the meritocratic principle (that greater reward be a reflection of greater effort). Taking such a position allows one to argue that affirmative action policies are unfair not only to those who do not qualify for affirmative action but those who do as well (they may suffer from unfair expectations of which they may not be worthy). Such a position allows one to argue that the CEO of a large company deserves a salary higher than the average wage because they work harder than the average wage earner. Similarly, anyone who works deserves to be paid more than someone who is unemployed. This type of argument is clearly apparent in the discourse analysed here.

Historically, such myths have

proven highly persuasive and notoriously difficult to counter. Opposition to such positions, by necessity, requires the mobilisation of other values; in the above example a potential opposition between the Freedom to earn as much as one is able, and rejection in favour of fair distribution of resources and wealth. Clearly, these values are mobilised through discourse and the simple frequency counts presented in the results of this study illustrate, albeit superficially, such a mobilisation.

This raises the obvious point that political elites do not endorse different values simply because they are valued to some degree by different societal groups. This passive construction leaves elites at the whim of the electorate, and an unpredictable electorate at that. If, as Edelman (1964) points out, "politics is concerned with ... the authoritative allocation of values" (p. 114) then the discourse used in this study is not only reflecting the values perceived to be important, it is an active attempt to advocate for societal endorsement of particular values.

### Postscript

Since 1996, the political landscape has shifted somewhat. The Alliance is no longer represented in parliament, first suffering the decision of the Green party to leave the Alliance umbrella, and then dissolving in a crisis of self-definition (Boston, Church, Levine, McLeay, & Roberts, 2003). In 2002, United Future New Zealand achieved 6.7% of the party vote and, with the Green party (7%) and the post-Alliance Progressive coalition (1.7% and an electorate seat), provided enough support for Labour (41.3%) to govern.

Though the Greens now stand alone as an individual party, they would be expected to fit into Rokeach's (1973) model as strongly endorsing Equality (and to a lesser extent Freedom). The rise of Green parties since the 1980's has been attributed in part to the increasing post-war shift towards the endorsement of postmaterialist (e.g., Freedom of speech, unity with nature, etc.) rather than materialist (e.g., fighting prices, strong national defence force, etc.); social goals (Inglehart, 1990), where postmaterialism has been

shown to reflect an emphasis on both Equality; and (to a lesser extent) Freedom-type values (Braithwaite, Makkai, & Pittelkow, 1996). Therefore, in spite of these changes there is no reason to expect that a similar analysis of more recent parliamentary speeches should show a different pattern of results. Ultimately, this becomes an empirical question – whether the absence of some of the successful 1996 parties, and the presence of new contenders, has led to a change in value endorsement by the survivors, or whether the relative endorsement of Freedom and Equality reported here remains stable regardless of the composition of the New Zealand parliament.

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