

Pluralistic and Monocultural Facets of New Zealand National Character and Identity

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The study explored the content and hierarchical structure of representations of New Zealand national character and identity. We argue that at the most abstract level perceived elements of New Zealand national character reflect a tension between two different domains. The first reflects an Anglicized monocultural representation of what it means to be a “true New Zealander” derived primarily from dominant majority (NZ European or Pākehā) groups’ symbols and values. The second reflects an inclusive recognition, albeit tokenized, of symbolic aspects of Māori culture and pluralistic intergroup relations. Exploratory Factor Analysis identified five distinct sub-factors of national character nested within these two broader exclusive (Anglicized monocultural) and inclusive (pluralist) factors (or overall representations). Monocultural aspects of national character included representations of rugby/sporting culture, citizenship and ancestry, and to a lesser extent patriotic values. Pluralistic aspects of national character, in contrast, included representations of cultural/bicultural awareness and liberal democratic values, but also patriotism. The socio-cultural geneses of this hierarchically-organized representational structure are discussed.

What is the content of a national identity? Is being a New Zealander, for instance, seen as being determined primarily by demographic characteristics, such as being born in New Zealand and having ancestral ties to New Zealand, or are other markers of national identity perceived as equally, perhaps even more, important? By assessing opinions concerning the extent to which different characteristics are perceived to define a ‘typical member of a nationality’, we can make broad claims about national character in much the same way that personality researchers use trait ratings to identify the dimensions underlying individual differences in personality. Empirical research mapping the representational structures of national character is sorely lacking, however (cf. Citrin, Reingold, & Green, 1990; Terraciano et al., 2005; Smith, 2001; Pehrson, Vignoles, & Brown, 2009).

The present research provides a first step in addressing this lacuna in the New Zealand context. Specifically, we employ Exploratory Factor Analysis to investigate the hierarchical structure and content of the dimensions most commonly perceived as contributing to and defining *New Zealandness*. Toward this goal we first offer a sociocultural analysis of the ways in which New Zealand identity and national character have been (re-)presented in national consciousness. Based on this analysis we argue that social representations (Moscovici, 1988) of New Zealand national character are hierarchically structured.

At the most abstract (higher-order) level, we propose that subjective elements of New Zealand national character reflect a tension between two different content domains, one reflecting Anglicized monocultural

representations of what it means to be a New Zealander that are derived primarily from representations of the dominant majority (White European) group’s symbols and values; the other reflecting a recognition, albeit tokenized, of symbolic aspects of Māori culture and bicultural (pluralistic) intergroup relations (Liu, 2005). We argue that this should parallel a more general distinction made in the international literature between *civic nationalism* and *ethnic nationalism* (Smith, 2001). Civic nationalism tends to define membership in the national category in terms of participation, citizenship and commitment—aspects that any citizen can (arguably) engage with. Ethnic nationalism, in contrast, tends to define membership in the national category in terms of a specific ancestry or distinct cultural heritage that cannot be readily shared or adopted by others.

Constitutive factors in New Zealand identity

New Zealand has a relatively short formal national history of less than 200 years. The signing of the Treaty of Waitangi 1840 was presumed by the colonizers to have ceded the sovereignty of New Zealand from Māori (the indigenous peoples of New Zealand) to the British Crown (Orange, 2004). The Treaty emphasized a ‘partnership’ between Māori and the Crown which was subsequently neglected, thus contributing to the expropriation of Māori land and a decline in their overall population throughout the 19th Century (Belich, 2002). This effectively

led to a suppression of Māori culture and, at times, forced assimilation into the dominant White European culture (Savage, 2001). There have been lasting socio-economic effects on the Māori population who in almost every social, health and economic category or measure fall behind the majority European group (Howden-Chapman, 1999). In 1975, the Māori Renaissance became publicly visible, with the Māori land march, the establishment of the Waitangi tribunal, and a Māori cultural renaissance challenging Anglo-European hegemony (King, 2003).

Today, Māori constitute some 15% of the NZ population while the majority European group form 66-67% of the population. The majority European group are often referred to as 'NZ Europeans' or using the Māori term Pākehā (see Sibley, Houkamau, & Hoverd, in press). Here we used the term Pākehā to refer to New Zealanders of European descent or ancestry. Māori are substantially overrepresented in a wide range of negative social and economic statistics. These include higher levels of unemployment, lower life expectancy, lower median income, and increased rates of incarceration (NZ Ministry of Social Development, 2009) as well as lower levels of subjective wellbeing and life satisfaction (Sibley, Harré, Hoverd, & Houkamau, 2011). In this regard, NZ is similar to many other post-colonial and/or arguably multicultural nations in that minority ethnic groups tend to be systemically disadvantaged.

The reintroduction of the principles of The Treaty of Waitangi into the auspices of New Zealand Government and legislation led to a reemphasis of a bicultural understanding where the Crown acknowledges a partnership with Māori. The social construction of identity is then a key resource that is employed (by both Māori and Pākehā) to negotiate and position intergroup relations (Kirkwood, Liu, & Weatherall, 2005; Liu, McClure, Wilson, & Higgins, 1999; Sibley & Liu, 2004; Sibley, Liu, & Kirkwood, 2006). Recent political events like the Foreshore and Seabed Act of 2004 (and its subsequent repeal) have continued to draw upon these resources in ways that have done little to settle the bicultural contestations between Maori and Pākehā.

Contemporary constructions of New Zealand identity contend with and must negotiate this historical bicultural social conflict (Sibley, Liu, Duckitt and Khan, 2008). Moreover, since the 1970's New Zealand's population has become increasingly ethnically diverse with large amounts of immigration creating, amongst others, significant Pacific Nations, Asian and Hindu populations. As a result, there are certain stereotypes of New Zealand identity which, because they predate the 1970s, might be deemphasized in certain situations today. In a society increasingly dominated by an educated urban population, New Zealand Europeans' romanticised identification with the outdoors, farming, and a bush populated by 'good keen men' (Crump, 1960, Philips, 1996), supported by hard working, scone baking 'sheilas' is no longer widely resonant. "Good Keen Men" and New Zealand blokes, typified by the late mountaineer Sir Edmund Hilary, have been replaced by newer stereotypes of maleness such as sporting role models, youth beer drinking culture and the metro-sexual male (Philips, 1996). Most women eschew archaic images of the kiwi sheila which have been shattered by emphasizing rights, egalitarian values and anti-discrimination law (Waring, 1985, Kedgley & Cederman, 1972).

We argue that representations of what it means to be a New Zealander should also include a prototypical dimension reflecting patriotic and perhaps nationalistic values (Billig, 1995; Kosterman & Feshbach, 1989). To be a 'good' citizen, one should have an emotional attachment to one's country, identify with its symbols, and partake in the practices and rituals that demonstrate commitment to the nation (such as standing when the national anthem is sung, or in the American context, reciting the pledge of allegiance). This aspect of national character is interesting in that it might be derived from both monocultural and pluralist aspects of national identity (Smith, 2001; Sibley, 2010). On the one hand, the expression of pride in one's nation may be inclusive because it represents an aspect of identity defined fundamentally in relation to the other nations. On the other hand, many of the rituals and symbols

used to express patriotism and national pride seem to be derived from a fusion of (primarily) Anglo-European culture with Māori culture. For instance, the Union Jack, but not Māori symbols or icons, are included on the New Zealand flag; yet the Haka is performed before all international rugby tests, and the national anthem is sung firstly in Māori and then English.

Inclusionary and exclusionary features of national character and identity

Based on this socio-historical analysis, we argue that the above factors are interwoven to form two broad strands of national character representation, those relating to pluralistic facets of national character, and those reflecting mono-cultural (or Anglicized) facets of national character. Bicultural, multi-cultural, or pluralistic facets refer to those that are—fundamentally—about the pro-social inclusion, respect, and tolerance for diversity and different groups of peoples. This should closely relate to Smith's (2001) concept of civic nationalism, and include general concepts and values, such as pro-egalitarian beliefs, respect for other cultural groups, as well as knowledge of the treaty of Waitangi and *symbolic* support for biculturalism. Importantly, this higher-order dimension is *not* characterized solely by socially desirable values that could refer to numerous cultures, but rather includes specific inclusionary factors relating to the bicultural awareness, at least at the symbolic level.

The aspects of national character included in the monocultural (Anglicized) factor reflect those elements of New Zealand identity that are fundamentally about the expression and adherence to certain social norms that define a New Zealand identity through dominant group culture. This should closely relate to Smith's (2001) concept of ethnic nationalism and include elements such as having a New Zealand accent and being born in New Zealand, as well as aspects of male sporting nationalism and identification with the male drinking culture (liking rugby and beer).

Mummendey and Wenzel's (1999) Ingroup Projection Model provides a

useful framework for understanding how this traditional White male dominant set of images can be hegemonic and exclusionary. The Ingroup Projection Model begins with the premise that superordinate categories, by definition, include all constituent groups. In the case of the national category, this would include all citizens, regardless of their specific ethnic group identification. The model states that tolerance versus discrimination is in turn predicted by the extent to which a group is seen to 'fit' or be representative of the national or inclusive category. In Mummendey and Wenzel's (1999) own words, social discrimination may therefore occur as a result of the "generalization of ingroup attributes to the inclusive category, which then become the criteria for judging the outgroup" (p. 158).

Thus, while all groups or citizens are seen to constitute members of the national category, The Ingroup Projection Model states that not all groups will be seen as equally representing the values and character of the national prototype. Indeed, as predictions derived from System Justification Theory (Jost & Banaji, 1994) also emphasize, consensual representations of the prototypical features of the inclusive category—that is, the characteristics that are seen as most typical for defining members of the category—should be unduly determined by the majority or dominant group within society (see also Sidanius & Petrocik, 2001). This model is well supported by experimental data, which show that groups that are seen as less representative of superordinate categories tend to be judged more harshly than groups seen to fit the national prototype (e.g., Waldzus, Mummendey, Wenzel, & Weber, 2003; Wenzel, Mummendey, Weber, & Waldzus, 2003).

In the context of ethnic group relations in New Zealand, the Ingroup Projection Model would therefore predict that the dominant ethnic group (New Zealand Europeans or Pākehā) would exert considerably more influence than Māori and other minority ethnic groups in determining the perceived prototypical features of the inclusive category "New Zealander". Thus, although the social category "New Zealander" includes all peoples who call New Zealand

home, social representations of the prototypical dimensions defining New Zealand national character and identity will over emphasize those features that are perceived as most prototypical of the dominant ethnic majority. Moreover, as System Justification Theory predicts, social representations of the features seen as most prototypical of the inclusive category "New Zealand" should over time tend to become consensually shared by minority groups to the extent that such minorities are motivated to perceive the political and social system as legitimate and fair (Jost & Banaji, 1994).

Overview of analytic strategy

The present research provides an initial exploratory assessment of the subjectively perceived dimensions and hierarchical structure of national character. In order to generate initial item content assessing national character, we first conducted focus groups (using university undergraduates) to identify qualities people perceived as most important for defining what it means to be a New Zealander. We used this set of items to develop a survey assessing the different qualities perceived to define New Zealand identity and character, which we administered to an independent community and undergraduate sample. We then used Exploratory Factor Analysis to examine how different qualities and attributes describing national character clustered together to form (or act as indicators of) underlying latent dimensions summarizing representations of New Zealanders national character and identity.

After first identifying and describing the factors of national character that most parsimoniously described our set of national character qualities, we employed a novel method for exploring the hierarchical structure of a set of rotated factors derived from the top-down factor analytic method recently proposed by Goldberg (2006). Goldberg's (2006) method allowed us to generate a structural representation of how different dimensions of national identity and character are related to one another within a hierarchical structure. Goldberg's (2006) method has been applied to model the structure

of personality (by Goldberg) and, closer to home; it has also been used to model Māori identity (Houkamau & Sibley, 2010). We argue that the method should also be useful for research examining the content of social representations in general, because it provides important information on the ways in which different content dimensions relate to one another at different levels of abstraction. We used this method in the present study to model how different dimensions of national character are structured and subsumed under more global and abstracted representations at different levels of the representational hierarchy.

Method

Item development using focus groups

In order to develop an initial item pool, 27 structured focus groups examining perceptions of New Zealand identity were conducted. Each focus group consisted of between 5-8 participants. Focus groups were of mixed ethnicity, and included roughly Pākehā (approx 70%), Māori (approx 10%), Pacific Nations (approx 10%), and Asian-born (approx 10%) New Zealanders. Participants were given the following instructions (adapted from Citrin et al., 1990; Citrin, Haas, Muste, & Reingold, 1994 in their research in the US):

Some people say there are certain qualities that make someone a true New Zealander. In groups write down a list of what you think some of these qualities might be.

Participants were encouraged, as a group, to write down whatever qualities they deemed appropriate for describing what they thought it meant to be a true New Zealander. Participants were allowed 15 minutes in which to complete this task. Example items describing what it might mean to be a New Zealander were not provided. Twenty seven independent groups participated, generating a total of 246 items.

A shortened set of items were selected based on two criteria: (a) items did not refer to emotional states, such as feeling happy or sad, and (b) items described qualities that could be validly

applied to individuals, rather than to New Zealand society or culture. This procedure yielded 47 items deemed by the first author and two independent raters to refer to unique individual-level qualities or characteristics. Three additional items were added from Citrin et al.'s (1990, 1994) research in America ('vote in elections', 'believe in god', and 'be a Christian'). This yielded a final pool of 50 qualities or attributes that defined to varying degrees what it means to be a "true" New Zealander.

Self-report assessment of New Zealand national character

Participants were approached in public places on and around the campuses of two large North Island New Zealand universities (Auckland and Victoria) and invited to complete a survey containing the 50 aforementioned items. The majority of participants were university students and people in the central business districts of these two cities (Auckland and Wellington). Two hundred people participated, all of whom were born in New Zealand (150 New Zealand European, 18 Māori, 15 Pacific Nations, and 17 Asian peoples). Participants (64 male and 136 females) ranged from 18-73 years of age ($M = 21.15$, $SD = 6.41$).

Consistent with previous research in the US (Citrin et al., 1990, 1994), the survey was administered with the following instructions:

Some people say there are certain qualities that make someone a 'true' New Zealander, while others say that there is not anything that makes one person more of a New Zealander than another. Please rate the extent to which you personally believe that each of the following qualities is an important attribute of being a 'true' New Zealander.

Participants rated each of the 50 items on a Likert-type scale ranging from 0 (not at all important), through the midpoint of 3 (somewhat important) to an endpoint of 6 (extremely important). Two versions of the survey presented the items in a different random order.

Results

The Structure of Perceived National Character

Exploratory Factor Analysis with varimax rotation was used to examine the factor structure of perceived national character. This analysis was performed in systematic stages. We first examined the number of factors that emerged from analysis of all 50 items assessing perceived national character. Analyses of the eigenvalues for this initial solution suggested a strong five-factor solution, with a weak sixth factor containing the items 'believe in God, and 'be a Christian'. We proceeded to systematically remove items (in sequential steps) that did not load on any of these factors (loadings $< .40$) or that cross-loaded on more than one factor (loadings $> .40$ on two more factors), re-calculating the factor loadings for the remaining items at each step. Given that the sixth 'orthodox religiosity factor' was extremely weak and contained only two items; these items (and this factor) were removed from the analysis. Following this process, the results converged upon a clear and consistent five-factor solution, which included 37 items.

Analysis of the eigenvalues for this final solution strongly supported a five-factor model of social representations of New Zealand national character, with each additional factor predicting unique variance until the fifth factor was reached. This five-factor solution explained 61.18% of the variance. The solution leveled out after the fifth factor, and the sixth and subsequent factors contributed only minimally to the variance explained (eigenvalues: 10.76, 5.03, 3.10, 2.05, 1.70, 1.14, 1.08, 1.00, .96, .78). In terms of variance explained by each factor, these eigenvalues translated as follows: 29.09%, 13.58%, 8.37%, 5.53%, 4.60%, 3.08%, 2.91%, 2.69%, 2.58%, 2.10%). Parallel analysis conducted using the procedure developed by O'Connor (2000) validated this interpretation, and indicated that only the first five eigenvalues were greater than those generated by chance from random data using the same number of items and participants (generated eigenvalues: 1.93, 1.81, 1.72, 1.64, 1.57, 1.51, 1.46, 1.40, 1.35, 1.30). Item content and factor

loadings for the final five-factor solution are presented in Table 1.

Factor 1: Liberal Democratic Values. We labelled the first dimension *Liberal Democratic Values*, as it described a general set of egalitarian and pro-social pro-environmental values held by the individual. The content of this dimension closely resembles that of a Liberal Democratic Narrative identified by Liu (2005), who argued that this discourse, drawing upon themes of fairness and equality, forms a central social representation for the organization of political discourse in New Zealand. A general pro-social disposition combined with an emphasis on a clean green image provides fertile ground for the New Zealand tourism industry (Perkins & Cushman, 1993). As shown, the highest loading items in this factor included 'friendly and approachable' and 'respect for other cultures and ethnic groups'. As such, this dimension reflects the most readily accessible content of a relatively generic pro-social self-image of what it means to be a New Zealander. Ideas of equality are undoubtedly linked into New Zealanders' understandings of themselves as friendly and would find antecedents in earlier socialist myths of New Zealand as a (Anglicized monocultural) classless society. This factor also contained a number of other qualities referring to general egalitarian values and predispositions, such as the belief in equality and a stated tolerance of other cultures reminiscent of the discourses of equality positioning identified by Sibley and Wilson (2007) in their research on political ideology. The positive tenor of New Zealander's self-perceptions has been more recently added to with newer and remade romanticized myths of New Zealanders' work habits (Bell, 1997) representing the No.8 fencing wire mentality in modernized capitalist terms of working hard and being 'entrepreneurial' (Hunter, 2007).

It is also worth noting that when we forced a six-factor solution to the data, this factor separated with items assessing pro-environmental attitudes forming a weak sixth factor. However, as emphasized by the trend in eigenvalues and parallel analysis described above, our data indicated that these items were more appropriately modeled as part of a more general

Table 1. Items content and factor loadings for prototypical dimensions of New Zealand national character and identity.

	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5
Liberal Democratic Values					
Friendly and approachable	.83				
Be friendly	.80				
Respect other cultures and ethnic groups	.77				
Be environmentally friendly	.75				
Egalitarian - believe in equality	.74				
Treat all people of all races equally	.73				
Be tolerant of other cultures	.71				
Have a 'clean and green' attitude	.67				
Be a hard worker	.65				
Appreciate nature and the outdoors	.64				
Support a nuclear-free New Zealand	.63				
Try to get ahead on own efforts	.61				
Be innovative and creative	.59	.37			
Rugby/Sporting Culture					
Like beer and rugby		.83			
Enjoy sports		.80			
Like rugby		.79			
Feel a sense of rivalry with Australia		.70			
Support New Zealand sports teams		.62			.38
Have strong ties with The Commonwealth		.54			
Cultural/Bicultural Awareness					
Have a knowledge of Māori culture			.81		
Know about the Treaty of Waitangi			.80		
Identify with Māori culture			.74		
Have a knowledge of New Zealand history			.74		
Know at least a few Māori words			.69		
Have an opinion about the Treaty of Waitangi			.64		
Identify with Pacific Nations cultures			.53		
Citizenship and Ancestry					
Born in New Zealand				.81	
Have lived in New Zealand for most of one's life				.76	
Have a parent born in New Zealand				.64	
Have New Zealand citizenship				.63	
Have a New Zealand accent		.39		.61	
Speak English				.59	
Patriotic Values					
Defend New Zealand when it is criticized					.70
Be patriotic					.66
Respect New Zealand laws	.36				.66
Recognize the New Zealand flag					.65
Know the New Zealand national anthem					.62

Note: Factor loadings < .35 are not shown.

Liberal Democratic Values factor, rather than as a distinct pro-environmental factor in their own right. This reflects the interrelatedness of the liberal democratic values of being friendly, valuing equality, environmentalism, and an individual work ethic within a single unified representation of national character.

Factor 2: Rugby/Sporting Culture. We labelled the second factor Rugby/Sporting Culture, as the item content in this factor played heavily on the pre-1975 male cultural label of ‘*Rugby Racing and Beer*’, popularized in the 1960s by the folk song of the same name. This factor acknowledges a distinct facet of cultural stereotypes regarding certain male-dominated, and often competitive, practices within national identity relating sport, particularly rugby union, with drinking beer—which was the highest loading item defining this factor (Phillips, 1996). Apparently, notions of the Anglicized Kiwi bloke may have shifted from the ‘Good Keen Man’ or Farmer stereotypes towards more marketed stereotypes associating beer with sport and also, in some cases, regional identity. For example, Speight’s Beer emphasize the idea of the ‘southern man’, Waikato Draught associates closely with regional rugby support and the pervasively marketed Tui Beer is closely associated with young New Zealand males and a degree of hooliganism (see McCreanor, Moewaka Barnes, Gregory, Kaiwai, & Borell, 2005, for discussion of alcohol and youth identity in New Zealand).

Interestingly, the remaining stereotype of racing did not feature in this factor (an item assessing this was included in the initial item pool, but did not load reliably on any of the five factors we identified). While many of these items emphasize rugby, this factor also relates to a wider appreciation of sport, and support for the British Commonwealth (Palenski, 2003).

Factor 3: Cultural/Bicultural Awareness. We labelled the third factor to emerge as *Cultural/Bicultural Awareness*. This dimension represents the more recent bicultural understandings of New Zealand with a diffuse South Pacific and pluralist awareness, as represented in the item assessing identification with Pacific Nations cultures. This cluster

of items emphasizes awareness of the influence of the re-emergence of the partnership between the Crown and the Māori peoples formed in the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840 and contemporary support for symbolic elements of biculturalism in society (Sibley & Liu, 2004). We suggest that this (bi)cultural understanding integrates two central concepts: one emphasizes the inclusion of generalized aspects of Māoritanga into what it means to be a New Zealander (King, 2004), whereas the other less saliently represents an acknowledgement of the differences between Māori and other New Zealanders, and how this has played out in terms of historical contestations.

This factor is strongly reminiscent of the discourses of *Biculturalism in Principle* identified by Sibley and Liu (2004). It also mirrors findings by Sibley and Liu (2007), who demonstrated that Pākehā displayed strong automatic associations in which they implicitly represented both members of their ingroup (faces of Pākehā) and Māori as equally representative of the general (superordinate) concept “New Zealander”. More generally, the content of the cultural/bicultural awareness factor is consistent with Sibley’s (2010) theory of post-colonial ideology. The theory states that many New Zealanders of European descent endorse an ideology of symbolic projection while negating the relevance of claims for resources and reparation for historical injustice experienced by Māori at the hands of European colonials. The ideology of symbolic projection is a widely shared prescriptive belief that that markers and symbols of Indigenous culture provide a meaningful addition to representations of national identity and the national category. Support for the symbolic projection of Māori culture in national identity, according to this model, acts as a means by which many New Zealanders of European descent may achieve a positively distinct national identity while also legitimizing continued opposition towards claims for material reparation under the Treaty of Waitangi.

Factor 4: Citizenship and Ancestry. The fourth dimension identified in our factor analysis of national character contained items referring to *Citizenship*

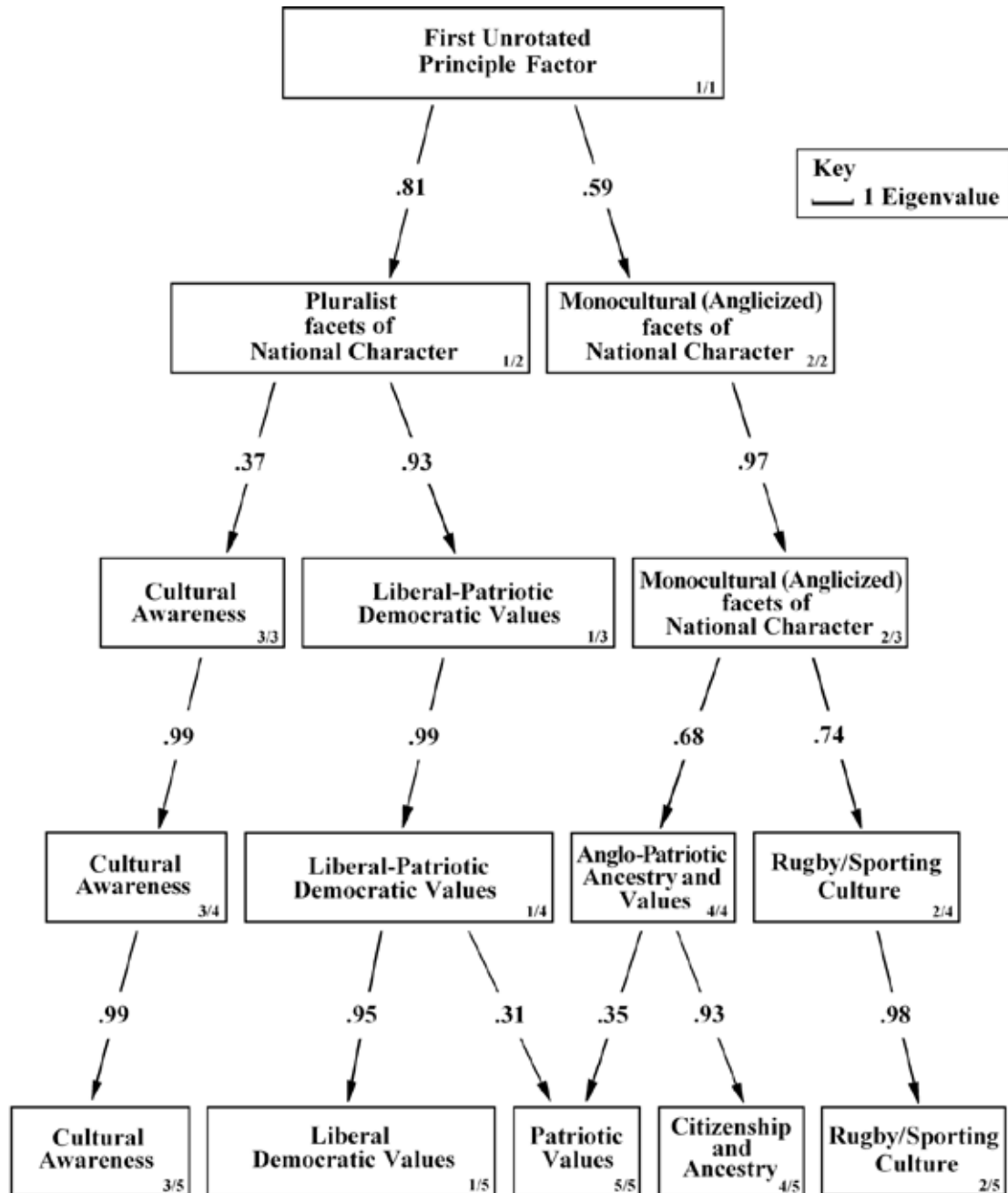
and Ancestry. Three of these items are arguably essential for integration within New Zealand civil society: citizenship, accent, and speaking English. The other three allow individuals to *claim belonging* based on historical factors, namely, having been born in New Zealand, lived most of one’s life in New Zealand, and having a parent that was born in New Zealand. This cluster of items has been employed (see King, 2004) to emphasize a sense of belonging especially for Pākehā, politically mobilizing a distinction between ‘*new-New Zealanders*’ and ‘*authentic-New Zealanders*’, that is, a perceived difference between those born here and 1st generation non-White immigrant New Zealanders (Ward & Liu, in press).

Factor 5: Patriotic Values. The final factor to emerge contained those items referring to Patriotic Values. Unlike the previous factors, this dimension defines an aspect of New Zealandness derived from supporting and upholding the nation and its shared symbols. This factor provides a discourse that includes all those who claim New Zealandness through an externalized social comparison with foreign nations and peoples (defending New Zealand when it is criticized). It also incorporates respect for monocultural symbols of New Zealand, such as the flag and European laws. Despite their differences, people come together in a sense of New Zealandness when their values are perceived to come under threat. It is under these conditions that New Zealanders should most strongly uphold local norms, defend themselves patriotically, and identify with national icons such as the flag and national anthem.

The Hierarchical Structure of Prototypical Dimensions

Having identified and described five prototypical dimensions of national character that parsimoniously describe our set of national character qualities, we next employed Goldberg’s (2006) method to explore the hierarchical structure of rotated orthogonal factors. As described in the introduction, this analysis allowed us to model the ways in which different global and abstracted dimensions of national character emerged depending upon the number of factors extracted, and continued to split

Figure 1. Hierarchical representation of the structure of prototypical dimensions of New Zealand national character using Varimax-rotated Factor Analysis. (Note. only path coefficients [part-whole correlations] between factors $> .30$ are shown. Factors are labelled by their size at each level, for example, 1/2 and 2/2. Box widths are expressed in Eigenvalue units and therefore represent relative factor sizes in terms of proportions of explained variance. Item content and loadings for the fifth level of this hierarchical structure are presented in Table 1).



until a five-factor solution describing the five specific dimensions outlined above were identified. As such, this analysis provides important information on the ways in which social representations of national character are organized within a hierarchical structure containing both global and specific components. The hierarchical structure of prototypical

dimensions of New Zealand national character derived using this analysis is presented in Figure 1.

Following Goldberg (2006), we extracted the first unrotated factor and saved participants' scores for this unidimensional solution. We then calculated and saved the factors scores for a (Varimax-rotated) two-factor

solution using factor analysis, and calculated the correlations between factor scores for the first unrotated factor with each of the two rotated factors extracted at the second level. At the third level we then extracted three (Varimax-rotated) factors and correlated the factor scores for the two-factor solution with scores for the

three-factor solution, and so on until we had extracted five-factors (at which point parallel analysis indicated that the extraction of additional factors did not explain additional variance beyond that predicted solely by chance). As Goldberg (2006, p. 356) commented, one can think of this analysis as providing a representation 'akin to a flow chart of factor emergence' in which the part-whole correlations between factor scores extracted at different 'levels' are akin to path coefficients from factors at one level predicting those at the next more specific level of emergence.¹

Inspection of Figure 1 indicated that, as expected, at two levels of extraction, dual superordinate dimensions emerged which summarized factors relating, on the one hand, to cultural awareness, liberal democratic values, and to a lesser extent patriotic values; and on the other hand, to rugby/sporting culture, citizenship and ancestry, and patriotic values. We therefore labelled these two superordinate dimensions as reflecting a generalized emphasis on the importance of (a) bicultural, multicultural or pluralistic facets of national character, and (b) monocultural or Anglicized facets of national character. At the third level, we see that Cultural Awareness emerges as a distinct facet of pluralist aspects of national character, and remains consistent at the fourth and fifth levels (as indicated by path coefficients of .99). We labelled the other aspect of pluralist identity at this level as Liberal-Patriotic Democratic Values. Peeling back a fourth layer, we observe that monocultural (Anglicized) aspects of national character split into their two primary dimensions: Rugby/Sporting

¹ Hierarchical cluster analysis also provides a useful procedure for examining hierarchical structures. However, as Goldberg (2006) discussed, although hierarchical cluster analysis is extremely useful in certain contexts, it may be less useful for examining the structure of attribute clusters, such as personality or facets of national identity, because the complex structure of relations between attribute clusters may not be adequately represented by unidimensional tree-diagram arrangements such as those implied by cluster analysis (Goldberg, 2006, p. 348). Some readers may nevertheless be interested to know that analysis of the dendrogram generated using hierarchical cluster analysis yielded an extremely similar pattern, with the primary distinction between pluralist and anglicized-monocultural clusters, which then split into the same five clusters identified in Figure 1 in much the same manner.

Culture, and Anglo-Patriotic Values and Ancestry. By this level we see a clear identification of the primary facets that contribute to both multicultural and monocultural (Anglicized) aspects of national character and identity.

Finally, Patriotic Values emerged as a distinct factor at the fifth level of extraction. This dimension emerged jointly from Liberal-Patriotic Democratic Values, and Anglo-Patriotic Values and Ancestry. As such, it is the only content dimension to contain overlapping aspects deriving from both a general multicultural awareness, and an emphasis on monocultural (Anglicized) aspects of national identity. This seems consistent with the idea that patriotism reflects perhaps the most 'pure' expression of inclusion in the national category, as it is fundamentally about the feeling and expression of pride and attachment to the nation *in relation* to other nations. As such, the expression of patriotism can include all peoples who claim belonging. At the same time, however, as the Ingroup Projection Model (Mummendey & Wenzel, 1999) implies, the most salient and readily accessible expressions of patriotism disproportionately include rituals and symbols derived from the dominant majority (New Zealand European or Pākehā) group.

As our analysis indicates, this conclusion is also consistent with the idea of *Exclusionary Patriotism* (Sidanius & Petrocik, 2001), which implies that expressions of patriotism are more readily congruent with expressions of the communal identity of the dominant groups, and thus can often tacitly exclude minority or disadvantaged group members from national identity. The present results are consistent with this perspective to the extent that Patriotic Values emerged as a more specific expression of both multicultural and monocultural (Anglicized) aspects of national identity, rather than for instance, emerging solely from Liberal Democratic facets of the pro-multicultural superordinate dimension.

The Relative Importance of Different Prototypical Dimensions

The previous analyses focused on the content and hierarchical structure of New Zealand national character and

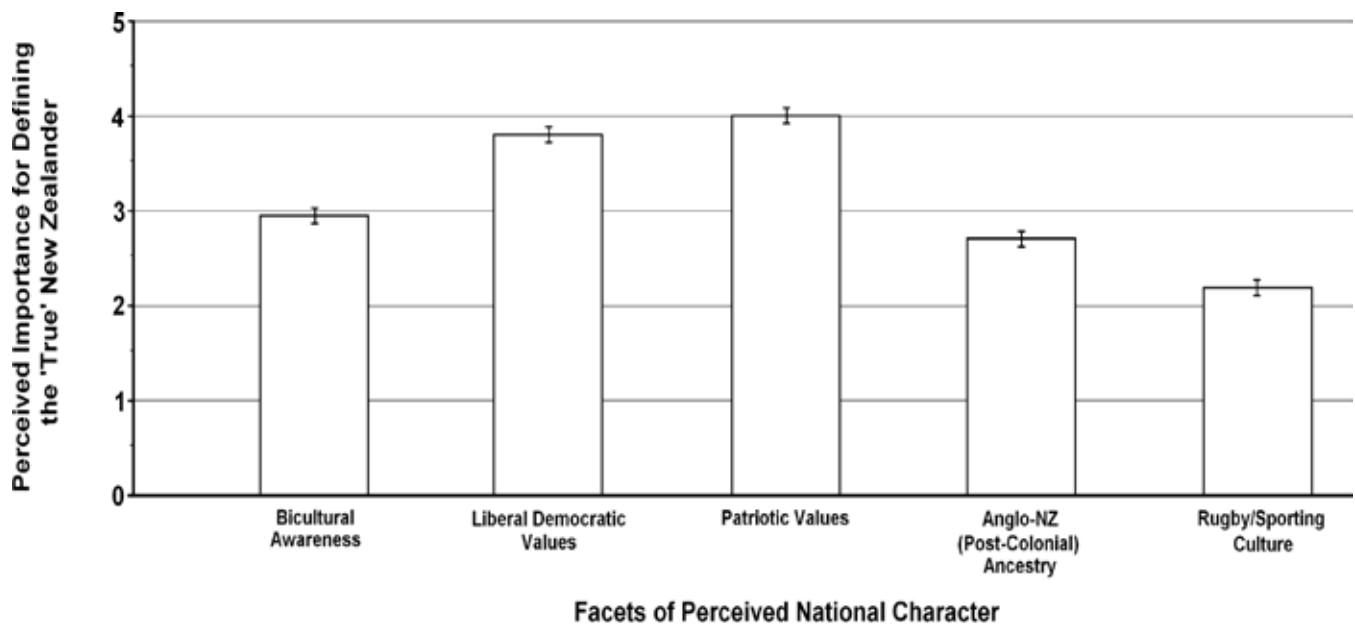
identity. As such, they sought to map out the normative components of a New Zealand national identity. This is not to say that these five prototypical dimensions of national character will not differ in their mean perceived importance for defining or contributing to New Zealandness, but rather that all are important, to varying degrees, in providing a normative map of the different dimensions that contribute to social representations of what it means to be a New Zealander. Having identified the content and structure of these dimensions, our final analyses examined differences in the perceived relative importance of the five dimensions for defining New Zealand national character and identity.

Mean differences in the perceived importance of different dimensions of national character are presented in Figure 2. A repeated measures ANOVA revealed a significant (Greenhouse-Geisser corrected) main effect, thus suggesting that the dimensions of national character differed in their perceived importance for defining New Zealandness ($F(3.60, 715.37) = 123.66$, $p < .01$, partial $\eta^2 = .38$). As suggested in Figure 2, Bonferroni-corrected pair-wise comparisons indicated that Patriotic Values ($M = 4.02$, $SD = 1.21$) and Liberal Democratic Values ($M = 3.86$, $SD = 1.19$) were perceived as the two most important attributes of New Zealand character. These two dimensions were rated as significantly more important than the other three; and moreover, they did not differ from one another in mean perceived importance. Bicultural Awareness ($M = 2.96$, $SD = 1.19$) and Citizenship and Ancestry ($M = 2.79$, $SD = 1.30$) were perceived as the next two most important dimensions of national character, and these dimensions also did not differ from one another in terms of perceived importance. Finally, Rugby/Sporting Culture ($M = 2.11$, $SD = 1.39$) was perceived as less important than the other four dimensions we identified.

Discussion

This study explored the content of the dimensions perceived as most important in describing social representations of New Zealand national character. It should be emphasized at

Figure 2. Mean perceived importance of different facets of national character for defining what it means to be a 'true' New Zealander ($N = 200$; error bars represent the standard error of the mean).



this point that we are not declaring that there is one objective or 'typical' New Zealand identity. Instead we argue that representations of various aspects of national identity are constructed through employing demographic factors, myths and stereotypes. These factors then contribute to perceptions of how people envisage the prototypical or constitutive elements of New Zealand character. Identity is a socially constructed phenomenon that is used strategically in different contexts. Thus, in our view, there is no essential New Zealand identity rather there are mixed sets of tropes of *New Zealandness* that are drawn upon and interwoven into situated constructions of national character. *New Zealandness* should also be understood as dynamic and an evolving form of identity. It is also important to recognize that New Zealanders evince an awareness regarding cultural diversity and pluralism but represent this primarily in terms of bicultural awareness with weaker indicators of multicultural awareness *per se* also present in the factor (as shown by the finding that identification with Pacific Nations cultures also related to this factor).

In our interpretation, these and other data (Sibley, 2010; Sibley & Liu, 2007) suggest that Pākehā recognize to varying degrees other cultures living in New Zealand. Most strongly, they are aware of

the contribution and grievances of Māori culture to the State and institutions of New Zealand. These data show at least token awareness of a 'Māori cultural contribution' to how people perceive what it means to be a New Zealander (Liu, 2005). However, our data do not necessarily imply an equal partnership between Māori and Pākehā; rather our findings indicate that the two groups share access to certain social, historical and cultural artefacts. Biculturalism is most apparent because Māori rightly demand recognition from Pākehā/Anglo-European culture; whereas Pākehā interaction with other cultures in New Zealand, like Pacific or Asian, tends to be hegemonic thus dictating terms and interactions. Therefore the data supports a bicultural position but from it we can begin to *infer* an attempt toward pluralistic and multicultural directions (Ward & Liu, in press).

The five factors separately reflect influences which contribute to situated constructions of New Zealand identity. We therefore argue that they should come into play in different contexts. In the context of presenting New Zealand as positively distinct on the world stage, aspects of identity relating to the cultural awareness and liberal democratic factors should be most salient. Recognition of Māori culture and its role in defining nationhood is often particularly salient in such contexts. We argue that one reason

research mapping the characteristics that are seen to define New Zealand national identity is important is because it paves the way for further studies examining this issue, such as the degree to which different aspects of New Zealand national identity (once identified and measured, as we have done here) might contribute to general wellbeing, might affect self-categorization and social identity-related processes for different ethnic group residing in New Zealand, and might be employed to achieve positive distinctiveness, to name but a few research examples.

Caveats and future research directions

Future research could extend our analysis of the content of national character to examine the convergence or divergence of how well the different prototypical dimensions we identify are perceived as describing New Zealanders *in general*, one's ethnic group, and the self. This would allow the assessment of questions regarding the extent to which subjectively perceived individual and ethnic group-fit with one or more dimension of national character might predict acculturative wellbeing. Predictions derived from the Ingroup Projection Model, for instance, would suggest that fit with national character representations would be more convergent for dominant group members than for disadvantaged or

minority groups. However, based on our distinction between the multicultural (pluralist) and monocultural (Anglicized) domains of national character, we suspect that such effects might only be observed for prototypical dimensions included in this latter domain.

Research could also elaborate upon our model of national character to examine acculturative outcomes. For instance, our measures of the prototypical dimensions of national character could be used to test whether the level of discrepancy between perceived self and ethnic-group congruence with national prototypes predicts within-nation acculturative stress and wellbeing, and moreover, whether such effects differ across ethnic groups as a function of divergence from different prototypical dimensions. Having identified central dimensions of subjectively perceived national character, future research could also examine how different aspects of New Zealandness are strategically emphasized or downplayed by individuals depending upon their underlying motivational goals. This would further our understanding of how New Zealand national identity is constructed in a fluid manner, and provide further insight into how different ideologies work to position 'New Zealand identity' in ways that may function to legitimate social inequality by implicitly or tacitly excluding minority or disadvantaged groups from conceptions of national identity (see Harding & Sibley, 2011; Sibley & Duckitt, 2010).

Our findings also pave the way for more detailed studies examining the motivational bases underlying the positioning of different prototypical dimensions of national character and identity. Sibley and Liu (2007), for instance, have argued that New Zealand Europeans implicitly associate both their ingroup and Māori as prototypical exemplars of the national category "New Zealand" because of their motivation to achieve positive distinctiveness on the world stage. The incorporation of Māori culture into national identity provides one important mechanism that New Zealand Europeans may employ to achieve this goal. This prediction could be tested by testing whether the emphasis New Zealand Europeans and

Māori place on different prototypical dimensions of national character (and in particular on the cultural awareness dimension) differs systematically depending upon threat from national outgroups. We are currently exploring these interesting possibilities.

Finally we again wish to re-emphasize that this study represents a first attempt to empirically map the content dimensions and representational structure of New Zealand national character. In view of the limited age range of our samples, we do not claim that we have identified every specific facet of perceived national character, but rather view these results as providing an initial empirical sketch of the broad structure and content of subjectively perceived national character derived primarily from Pākehā. We view this study as providing a promising first step in this direction, and look forward to reading future research extending and adding to the content dimensions we have identified and examining consistencies and differences in representational structure across different populations within New Zealand.

Conclusion

In conclusion, we employed a newly developed analytic method for modeling the hierarchical structure of a set of dimensions extracted using exploratory factor analysis (Goldberg, 1996). Using this method, we identified five key content dimensions that we argued reflect pervasive and relatively hegemonic social representations of the prototypical New Zealand national character. At the most abstract level, we argue that perceived elements of New Zealand national character reflect a tension between two different domains, one reflecting exclusive Anglicized monocultural representations of what it means to be a true New Zealanders that are derived primarily from representations of the dominant majority (White European) groups' symbols and values; the other reflecting an inclusive recognition, albeit tokenized, of symbolic aspects of Māori culture and bicultural (pluralistic) intergroup relations. Our results indicated that monocultural (Anglicized) aspects of national character included representations of rugby/sporting

culture, citizenship and ancestry, and to a lesser extent patriotic values. Pluralist aspects of national character, in contrast, included representations of cultural/bicultural awareness and liberal democratic values, and also patriotism. These results are important not only for providing a first empirical sketch of how New Zealanders (primarily Pakeha New Zealanders) represent national character; but also pave the way for detailed psychological research examining the form and function of national character in a number of domains, including the strategic contextual emphasis of different dimensions of national character, and the possible links between ethnic-nation and person-nation identity fit with acculturative stress and wellbeing.

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