

# Politics and Post-Colonial Ideology: Historical Negation and Symbolic Exclusion Predict Political Party Preference

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The Dark Duo Model of Post-Colonial Ideology proposes that two core ideologies (Historical Negation and Symbolic Exclusion) play a key role in shaping intergroup relations in post-colonial society. Using a longitudinal panel study of New Zealanders (N = 3,769), we examined the effects of these ideologies on political party preferences from 2009 to 2010. Historical Negation (denying the relevance of historical injustice) and Symbolic Exclusion (discounting indigenous peoples as representative of the national category) uniquely predicted cross-lagged changes in support for conservative (versus liberal) political parties. Testing these models in reverse showed that political party support also predicted the uptake of these ideologies. These effects held after controlling for a host of demographic factors, including socio-economic status, gender, ethnicity, religious affiliation, employment and education. We argue that Historical Negation and Symbolic Exclusion legitimize social inequality in post-colonial societies by shaping political party support, and that change in political support also leads to the endorsement or rejection of these ideologies over time. These findings demonstrate the importance of considering culture-specific ideologies when predicting changes in political attitudes and voting behaviour.

Keywords: Political Attitudes, Ideology, Party Identification, Symbolic Politics, Longitudinal Panel Study

It has long been argued that ideology shapes how people interpret and attend to information in their social world (Marx & Engels, 1846/1970; Rokeach, 1968). This perspective assumes that ideologies are both created and shared by people, while also suggesting that they frame the ways in which people think about politics. Accordingly, we define ideology as a shared set of beliefs that shape people's cognitive, affective and behavioural responses to the environment (also see Jost, 2006; Tedin, 1987). As such, ideologies can be seen as an important influence on the political party preferences of the voting public (Rokeach, 1968; Jost, Federico & Napier, 2009). Consistent with this premise, research indicates that various ideologies are correlated with both voting behaviour and support for different political systems and parties (Jackman, 1994; Jost, 2006; Sidanius

& Pratto, 1999). Likewise, ideologies are reliably associated with intergroup attitudes (Altemeyer, 1998; Duckitt, Wagner, du Plessis & Birum, 2002; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999), personality traits (Carney, Jost, Gosling & Potter, 2008; Chirumbolo & Leone, 2010; Jost, Glaser, Kruglanski & Sulloway, 2003; Sibley & Duckitt, 2008), existential needs (Jost, 2006) and even bedroom décor (Carney et al., 2008).

In something of a call to arms for scholars of ideology, Jost (2006) reported that people's self-placement as liberal versus conservative explained 85% of the variance in vote choice for United States' Presidential Elections held between 1972 and 2004. While these findings demonstrate that ideology and voting behaviour are strongly linked, the vast majority of research in this area focuses exclusively on specific policies and/or intergroup

attitudes (e.g., Sibley & Duckitt, 2010). Likewise, these studies typically rely on a single liberal to conservative dimension (e.g., Jost, 2006). Such a unidimensional approach to ideology may capture how parties are *generally* organised in multi-party systems, but it makes it difficult to examine nuanced differences in support *between* multiple parties (Bartels, 2012; Green, Palmquist, & Schickler, 2002; Jost, 2006). Perhaps most importantly, the literature on the ideological correlates of political attitudes is often based on cross-sectional data at one time point, so the research is unable to even infer the direction of causation (Jost, Federico & Napier, 2009). As such, there is an absence of evidence looking at the idea that ideology might affect political party attitudes and voting behaviour over time. Indeed, it is possible that voting behaviour affects ideology over time.

Here, we examine the link between context-specific ideologies and political party support in a large, nationally representative longitudinal sample of New Zealanders. In doing so, we focus on two ideologies that are particularly relevant to socio-political attitudes in the New Zealand context: Historical Negation and Symbolic Exclusion (Sibley, 2010). These two ideologies comprise what has been referred to as a Dark Duo of Post-colonial Ideology in New Zealand, as they are posited to work together to maintain systemic inequality between New Zealand Europeans and the indigenous Māori people. These ideologies may, to some extent, reflect conservatism, the other side of the dimensions – Historical Recognition and Symbolic Projection may reflect liberalism (Sibley, 2010). However, these ideologies are specific to New Zealand and perhaps for other post-colonial societies. Their specificity and

suitability to the New Zealand context is what makes them different to typical measures of ideology across cultures.

According to Sibley (2010), Historical Negation indexes the extent to which past injustices perpetrated against indigenous peoples by European colonisers are seen as relevant to resource allocation in contemporary society. A low score on Historical Negation is referred to as Historical Recognition, or believing that reparations for these historical injustices are relevant to modern day New Zealand politics. Symbolic Exclusion, on the other hand, captures the degree to which indigenous culture is excluded from the identity of a nation. The other side of this ideology is Symbolic Projection, or those who embrace Maori culture as a key part of New Zealand's culture. Sibley argued that the dark side of these ideologies arise from two unique features of the intergroup history between Māori and European settlers (Pākehā) in New Zealand: *the undeniable nationality* of Māori as the indigenous group and the *objective historical injustice* perpetrated against Māori by European colonists. Sibley further proposed that these two ideologies operate in tandem as a Dark Duo that delegitimizes claims against the former perpetrators of historical injustices and minimises the place of the indigenous culture in contemporary society.

Since Historical Negation and Symbolic Exclusion are ideologies that help maintain the status quo in post-colonial nations (namely, in New Zealand; Sibley, 2010), endorsement of these belief systems should be associated with support for conservative political parties (cf. Jost, 2006; Jost et al., 2003). That is, supporters of right-leaning parties should endorse Historical Negation and Symbolic Exclusion more than supporters of left-leaning parties. Whereas left leaning parties may support historical reparations and a greater role for Maori culture in New Zealand society. In this paper, we utilize the unique aspects of the New Zealand Attitudes and Values Study (NZAVS) to test whether these two ideologies might affect political party support over a one-year period and begin to investigate plausible causal directions for this, also examining the possibility that this

relationship is bidirectional.

### *Ideology and Politics*

There has been much debate over the definition of ideology and its role in explaining voting behaviour (e.g., Converse, 1964; Shils, 1968). However, in his review of the literatures in sociology, psychology and political science, Jost (2006) found that most definitions of ideology share several common elements. Namely, they describe ideology as “a belief system of the individual that is typically shared with an identifiable group and that organises, motivates and gives meaning to political behaviour” (Jost, 2006, p. 653). That is, ideologies are shared systems of meaning that influence people's cognitive, affective and motivational responses to the environment (Tedin, 1987). In this sense, ideologies differ from individual attitudes or opinions in that the former are a set of consensually held beliefs subscribed to by a large group of people (Tedin, 1987). Some scholars have added that ideologies are prescriptive beliefs in that they tell people about how the world *should* be, particularly in the domain of intergroup relations (Cohrs, 2012). This implies that ideologies have the potential to shape public opinion (Jost, Federico, & Napier, 2009). This raises questions of whether changes in ideology can lead to changes in voting behaviour and political party support, or vice versa.

At a group level, ideologies arise from external authority or elite discourses about history and culture (Marx & Engels, 1846/1970; Federico & Goren, 2009; Rokeach, 1968; Zaller, 1992) and are specific to different socio-structural conditions and historical periods, which provide a kind of “ideological climate” (Cohrs, 2012). Ideologies change over time, especially in response to changes in socio-structural conditions. These socio-structural conditions include the historical context of intergroup relations in a given society, as well as contemporary power and status differentials between groups, thus in addition to general measures of ideology, there is a need for measures of ideology to be context-specific (Jost, 2006; Sibley & Liu, 2012). For example, issues considered “left-wing” (or “right-wing”) depend on whether

or not someone is looking at a given policy in the US or Canada (also see Jost, 2005). Elite discourses both add and reshape the content of the ideology depending on what political responses are required to specific intergroup tensions of the day.

At an individual level, the degree to which someone subscribes to an ideology depends on multiple factors. Converse (1964) argued that people vary in terms of the consistency of their political beliefs. The modern legacy of his work informs the study of ideology by suggesting that people vary on how knowledgeable they are on political matters (Jost, 2006). Individual differences in personality and world-views also imply that there will be individual differences in the uptake of an ideology (Duckitt, 2001; Duckitt & Sibley, 2009; Federico & Goren, 2009). For example, when people feel their ingroup is under economic threat from another group, ideologies that foster prejudice are adopted (Duckitt, 2001).

### *Voting Behaviour*

Traditional theories of voting behaviour are often divided between two schools of thought (Visser, 1994). One tradition argues that vote choice is largely determined by demographic characteristics such as age, income, ethnicity and religion (e.g., Berelson, Lazarsfeld & McPhee, 1954). The other perspective, in contrast, posits that psychological factors such as party identification affect policy preferences and voting behaviour (e.g., Campbell, Converse, Miller & Stokes, 1960; Sears, Lau, Tyler, & Allen, 1980). Modern incarnates of these schools of thought still exist, as demonstrated by the literature on the personality correlates of voter preferences (e.g., Barbaranelli, Caprara, Vecchione & Fraley, 2007; Caprara, Schwartz, Capanna, Vecchione & Barbaranelli, 2006; Caprara & Zimbardo, 2004; Chirumbolo & Leone, 2010; Osborne & Sibley, in press; Sibley, Osborne & Duckitt, 2012; Vecchione et al., 2011).

In terms of the relationship between ideology and voting behaviour, findings such as those by Jost (2006) imply that ideology should be a key antecedent in this relationship.

However, the particular causal direction—that is, whether ideology *develops* as a result of people's voting preferences or if ideology *causes* voters to prefer certain political parties and/or candidates (Bartels, 2012)—remains unknown. Recently, Vecchione, Caprara, Dentale and Schwartz (2013) found a reciprocal causal relationship between voting and core political values. Over 2 studies, they used a set of structural equation models to test basic and core political values at Time 1 as predictors of voting behaviour, which was then used to predict values at Time 2, and also the reverse model. Vecchione and colleagues found that the effects of values on voting and the effect of voting on values were roughly equal for the majority of the values they examined. Nevertheless, the possibility that the pathway between *specifically* ideology and vote choice is bidirectional remains unexamined.

Because experimental manipulations of ideology are generally unfeasible, most research has relied on cross-sectional data (Jost, Federico, & Napier, 2009). Unfortunately, cross-sectional data limits the field's ability to even suggest the potential causal directions of these relationships. Our research seeks to directly address this problem by using longitudinal data to estimate bidirectional cross-lagged regression models. These models will allow us to assess whether changes in ideology over time lead to changes in political party support. We will also be able to examine the possibility that changes in political party support over time lead to changes in ideologies. Although falling short of being able to unequivocally demonstrate causation, this design allows us to test plausible causal models with greater precision than cross-sectional designs (Jost, Federico & Napier, 2009).

### The New Zealand Political System

To understand the relevance of particular political attitudes in New Zealand and the current situation of the indigenous Māori, a brief overview of New Zealand politics is needed. Accordingly, we provide an overview of the electoral system in New Zealand paying particular attention to the multi-

party makeup of New Zealand politics. We then discuss the nature of intergroup relations in New Zealand by highlighting the various deleterious outcomes encountered by Māori relative to the numerical majority group of people of European descent. Though necessarily brief, this section helps contextualize the nature of our investigation.

In recent years, there have been two main political parties in New Zealand: the National Party and the Labour Party. The National Party sits on the centre right of the political spectrum as evidenced by their support for conservative social and fiscal policies, as well as their emphasis on personal responsibility (The New Zealand National Party, 2012). In contrast, the Labour Party sits on the centre left by advocating for liberal social values such as social justice and equality. Indeed, the Labour Party describes itself as “democratic socialist” (The New Zealand Labour Party, 2010). Together, the National and Labour parties captured 74% of the popular vote in the 2011 general election (New Zealand Electoral Commission, 2011).

Although the National and Labour parties are the most widely-supported political parties in New Zealand, the electoral system is set up such that neither party can have an unequivocal voice in politics. This is because, since 1996, New Zealand politics has been based on a Mixed Member Proportional (MMP) electoral system. Critically, MMP provides each political party a seat in parliament that is proportional to their share of the popular vote. As such, though the National and Labour parties receive more votes than the remaining political parties in the country, they must form a coalition with one (or more) of the minor parties to create a majority-led government (Miller, 2010; New Zealand Electoral Commission, 2011). Thus, New Zealand politics is predicated on often-times tenuous relationships between one of the two major parties (i.e., the National Party or the Labour Party) and one (or more) of the minor parties.

When data were collected for the current study, there were three crucial minor parties in the New Zealand parliament: the Māori Party, the ACT Party and the Green Party of Aotearoa. The Greens fall to the left of Labour

on the political spectrum as evidenced by their platform of environmentalism and social equality (Green Party of Aotearoa, 2010), whereas the ACT Party falls to the ideological right of the National party on economic issues by running on a platform of personal choice and individual responsibility (ACT New Zealand, 2011). Finally, though ideologically ambiguous, the Māori Party aim to represent Māori constituents and uphold various principles of the Treaty of Waitangi—a founding document that established New Zealand as a sovereign British territory. Despite their emphasis on social equality for Māori (see The Māori Party, 2012), the Māori Party, along with the ACT Party, formed coalitional governments with the National party in both 2008 and 2011.

### Disparities between Māori and Pākehā

In terms of the demographics of the New Zealand electorate, those who identify as Māori currently make up 15% of New Zealand's total population of 4.4 million, compared with 70% who identify as the European majority (Ministry of Social Development, 2010). Although there is some evidence to suggest that the gap is narrowing, the average life expectancy for Māori women is 7.9 years shorter than their non-Māori counterparts, whereas the life expectancy for Māori men is 8.6 years shorter than non-Māori men (Ministry of Social Development, 2010). Additionally, Māori earn less per hour and are less educated than their European counterparts and are also overrepresented in suicide, negative physical and mental health, and prison statistics (Ministry of Social Development, 2010). In sum, Māori trail Europeans in most positive outcomes in New Zealand society.

### Ideology in New Zealand: The Dark Duo Model

Sibley's (2010) Dark Duo model of Post-colonial ideology argues that ideologies in post-colonial societies consist of two interrelated beliefs—Historical Negation and Symbolic Exclusion—that have different roots and distinct effects. These twin ideologies differ from simple intergroup attitudes because they *subsume* values, attitudes

and norms (Cohrs, 2012; Jost, 2006; Sibley, 2010). In terms of the origins of these ideologies, Sibley (2010) argues that the first building block to any functional post-colonial society is to establish an ethnic prototype of the most legitimate citizen in terms of representing the national category. This is based on the Ingroup Projection model by Mummendy and Wenzel (1999) which states that, though every citizen within a society makes up the superordinate group of citizens, the degree to which someone is discriminated against critically depends on how representative they are of the given national prototype. When a group is seen as representative of the nation, it gains status and value. In contrast, if a group is considered unrepresentative of the nation, it is devalued by society and its members are judged more harshly than people from groups perceived as representative (Waldzus, Mummendy, Wenzel, & Weber, 2003; Wenzel, Mummendy, Weber, & Waldzus, 2003). Within New Zealand, those high on Symbolic Exclusion do not believe that Māori culture is/should be representative of the superordinate category of "New Zealander." Thus, Symbolic Exclusion delegitimizes Māori despite their long standing history with the land and their indigenous status (Bar-Tal & Hammack, 2012; Sibley, 2010).

In New Zealand, Māori's nationality is undeniable as they are the first people to have settled in the country (King, 2003). Thus, unlike recently-arrived immigrants, Māori cannot be discriminated against on the basis of objective national category fit. This poses a problem to those who wish to project the European ingroup as the national prototype. Symbolic Exclusion is thus promoted by the dominant group as a way to claim ownership of the national category in post-colonial societies where there is an inability to factually deny that indigenous peoples "belong" to the nation (*undeniable belongingness*).

Sibley (2010) argued that claims to resources based on historical grievance, pose a threat to descendants of the European colonisers of New Zealand, by challenging their monopoly over the power and resources in contemporary society. Pākehā must therefore

reconcile their ownership and rights to resources with the undeniable injustices perpetuated against Māori. Rather than deny that injustices occurred in the past, Pākehā can claim ownership of the nation's resources through Historical Negation: the belief that historical injustices perpetrated against the indigenous peoples in the colonial era are irrelevant in modern society. Sibley, Liu, Duckitt and Khan (2008) argued that this ideology manifests itself through motivations to protect the history of the European ingroup. Historical Negation is based upon System Justification Theory which posits that people will adopt ideologies that justify the status quo to soothe cognitive uneasiness (Jost & Banaji, 1994; Jost & Hunyady, 2005). Thus, by subscribing to an ideology that deems past injustices as irrelevant, current generations of European settlers can claim freedom from the obligation to redress past harms (Sibley, 2010; Sibley & Liu, 2012).

Cross-sectional evidence shows that Symbolic Exclusion and Historical Negation have independent relationships with party support, political preferences and intergroup contact (Sengupta, Barlow, & Sibley, 2012; Sibley, 2010; Sibley, Liu, Duckitt, & Khan, 2008). This is believed to occur because each ideology is rooted in distinct aspects of conservatism. Historical Negation is primarily associated with people's concerns over resources (i.e., economic conservatism versus economic liberalism). While Symbolic Exclusion taps into people's ideas about the cultural values of the country (i.e., social/symbolic conservatism vs social/symbolic liberalism; Sibley, 2010; Sibley, Liu, Duckitt, & Khan, 2008).

In the paper that established the Dark Duo model, Sibley (2010) performed two analyses, including one that showed the link between these ideologies and support for the two major political parties in New Zealand. Firstly, Sibley (2010) validated the Dark Duo model by performing both Exploratory and Confirmatory factor analyses on data from a sample of 372 undergraduates. Secondly, Sibley (2010) used a community sample ( $N = 447$ ) of New Zealand voters recruited from public places, to investigate the links

between Symbolic Exclusion, Historical Negation, demographic variables, personality, system justification, support for New Zealand's two major parties (the Labour and National Parties) and support for a publicly funded Māori television channel. The paper showed that higher Historical Negation and Symbolic Exclusion meant higher levels of support for the centre-right, National Party and lower support for the left-wing, Labour Party. Historical negation was also associated with System Justification and both Dark Duo ideologies were negatively correlated with Openness to Experience. These analyses suggest that Historical Negation and Symbolic Exclusion are more associated with political conservatism than liberalism. Additionally, both ideologies predicted decreased support for government funding of a free-to-air Māori language channel.

Critically, the Dark Duo ideologies still predicted political party support after controlling for demographic and personality variables, as well as individual differences in the endorsement of system justifying beliefs. Similarly, Sibley, Liu, Duckitt and Khan (2008) found that Historical Negation explained around 60% of the variance in resource-policy support for Pākehā. This indicates that Symbolic Exclusion and Historical Negation capture unique variance in political party and policy preferences in New Zealand that is unexplained by other standard measures of ideology.

Both Right-Wing Authoritarianism (RWA; adherence to moral values and tradition) and Social Dominance Orientation (SDO; an individual desire to maintain the current group hierarchy) have been examined within the framework of the Dark Duo model of ideology. Sibley and Liu (2012) have found that RWA predicted Historical Negation, but the effect of RWA on resource-based policy is mediated by Historical Negation. In study 2, Sibley and Liu (2012) used a cross-lagged panel design with 183 undergraduates over a 9 month period. They found that RWA predicted longitudinal change in Historical Negation and Historical Negation also predicted change in resource-based policy opposition. This provided support for the idea

that Historical Negation mediates the effect that RWA has on resource-based policy opposition longitudinally. Showing that Historical Negation is a different construct to RWA – in that Historical Negation may be providing a legitimizing myth – giving people a context specific ideology that directly rejects these historically based resource claims.

Furthermore, Sibley and Liu (2012) suggested that RWA predicted Historical Negation because RWA is rooted in a threat-driven motivation for social cohesion. In this sense, the rocky history between Pākehā and Māori leads Pākehā to adopt a “rose-tinted” view of their in-group’s history. To acknowledge prior injustices would mean that Pākehā would have to recognise the negative actions of their group—something that people who are high in RWA tend to overlook (Sibley et al., 2008). By contrast, SDO has been shown to more directly predict increased opposition to symbolic and resource specific social policy measures, independent of the Dark Duo ideologies (Sibley et al., 2008). Sibley et al. (2008) theorised that those high in SDO had little concern for perception of historical sin and culture. Instead, they were likely to support policies maintaining the social hierarchy, regardless of the reason.

### Overview and Guiding Hypotheses

This study aims to provide a longitudinal test of political ideology and its effects on political party preferences using data from a large, nationally representative sample in New Zealand. As noted above, New Zealand is a modern democracy that elects public officials via a MMP system, meaning that the two major parties – the National and Labour Parties – require the support of one (or more) of the minor parties to form a government (Miller, 2010). Since 2008, the right-leaning National Party has been in power by forging a coalitional government with the ACT Party and the Māori Party. The National-led government’s major political opponents are the Labour Party and the rapidly-growing Green Party (Miller, 2010).

Because Symbolic Exclusion and Historical Negation are two related, albeit distinct, ideologies developed

to maintain the status quo in post-colonial societies (Sibley, 2010); we predicted that these two ideologies would *independently* predict change in support for the various political parties in New Zealand over a one-year period. On the one hand, increases in Symbolic Exclusion and Historical Negation should have significant cross-lagged relationships with increased support for *conservative* political parties (the National Party, the ACT Party) because these ideologies satisfy the motivational bases of conservatism (i.e., motivations to maintain majority group status and system justification, respectively; Hypothesis 1). On the other hand, we predicted that increases in Symbolic Exclusion and Historical Negation over the same one year period would lead to decreased support for *liberal* political parties (the Labour Party, the Green Party and the Māori Party; Hypothesis 2). We also predicted that the effects would be bidirectional, in that changes in political support would, over the course of a year, predict the endorsement of Historical Negation and Symbolic Exclusion. Namely, increases in support for conservative parties should increase people’s endorsement for these ideologies, whereas increases in support for liberal parties should correspond with a rejection of Historical Negation and Symbolic Exclusion (Hypothesis 3). Finally, we predicted that these relationships would remain robust after adjusting for other demographic factors typically studied in the voting literature (e.g., gender, age, ethnicity, religion, education and socio-economic status; Hypothesis 4).

We tested these predictions using a series of cross-lagged regression models in which Time 2 levels of Symbolic Exclusion and Historical Negation were used to predict Time 2 support for each political party (after adjusting for Time 1 support and controlling for a number of demographic factors). We also tested the reverse of these models where Time 1 political party support was used to predict Historical Negation and Symbolic Projection at Time 2. These analyses thus provide one of the first formal tests of the *possible* causal effects of culture-specific ideologies on political party support, as well as a test of the possible bi-directionality

of political support on ideology. Moreover, we use data from a national probability sample in New Zealand and assess support for numerous political parties that range along the liberal-to-conservative spectrum. This provides us with the unique opportunity to assess the robustness of our findings using a built-in replication across the different political parties present in New Zealand politics.

## METHOD

### Sampling procedure

The Time 1 (2009) NZAVS contained responses from 6518 participants sampled from the 2009 New Zealand electoral roll. The electoral roll is publicly available for scientific research and in 2009 contained 2,986,546 registered voters. This represented all citizens over 18 years of age who were eligible to vote regardless of whether they chose to vote, barring people who had their contact details removed due to specific case-by-case concerns about privacy. The sample frame was spilt into three parts. Sample Frame 1 constituted a random sample of 25,000 people from the electoral roll (4,060 respondents). Sample Frame 2 constituted a second random sample of a further 10,000 people from the electoral roll (1,609 respondents).

Sample Frame 3 constituted a booster sample of 5,500 people randomly selected from meshblock area units of the country with a high proportion of Māori, Pacific Nations and Asian peoples (671 respondents). Statistics New Zealand (2013) define the meshblock as “the smallest geographic unit for which statistical data is collected and processed by Statistics New Zealand. A meshblock is a defined geographic area, varying in size from part of a city block to large areas of rural land. Each meshblock abuts against another to form a network covering all of New Zealand including coasts and inlets, and extending out to the two hundred mile economic zone. Meshblocks are added together to ‘build up’ larger geographic areas such as area units and urban areas. They are also the principal unit used to draw-up and define electoral district and local authority boundaries.” Meshblocks were selected using ethnic group proportions

based on 2006 national census data. A further 178 people responded but did not provide contact details and so could not be matched to a sample frame.

In sum, postal questionnaires were sent to 40,500 registered voters or roughly 1.36% of all registered voters in New Zealand. The overall response rate (adjusting for the address accuracy of the electoral roll and including anonymous responses) was 16.6%.

The Time 2 (2010) NZAVS contained responses from 4442 participants. The Time 2 (2010) NZAVS retained 4423 from the initial Time 1 (2009) NZAVS sample of 6518 participants, and included an additional 20 respondents who could not be matched to the Time 1 participant database (a retention rate of 67.9% over one year). Participants in the initial Time 1 (2009) sample were randomly selected from the New Zealand electoral roll (a national registry of registered voters). The response rate in the initial Time 1 sample, adjusting for the accuracy of the electoral roll and including anonymous responses was 16.6%. Participants were posted a copy of the questionnaire, with a second postal follow-up two months later. Participants who provided an email address were also emailed and invited to complete an online questionnaire if they preferred.

### Participant details

Out of the 4,423, our models were limited to the participants who reported support for the relevant party at both time points. As such, the five cross-lagged models predicting support for the five parties – the National, Labour, Green, ACT, and Maori parties – differ slightly based on the participants' responses. These samples are briefly described below.

The largest response rate was for support for the National party across both time points which were provided by 3,998 participants (2,455 women and 1,543 men). However, sample size for the models varied from. This represented 84% of the available Time 2 sample. The majority of missing data were for the New Zealand deprivation index and occurred because we could not determine the meshblock area unit (and hence level of neighbourhood deprivation) for some participants. Of

the sample analyzed here, participants' mean age was 49.09 (SD = 49.44). Of those providing complete data for our variables of interest, 75.7% were New Zealand European (n = 3,028), 14.4% were Māori (n = 575), 3.5% were of Pacific Nations descent (n = 141), 3.9% were Asian (n = 1454) and 2.5% reported another ethnicity or did not answer (n = 100).

With regard to other demographic variables, 44.7% of the sample (n = 1,789) identified as religious. In terms of parental status, 77.6% had at least one child (n = 3,102). Those in paid employment made up 75% of the sample (n = 2,997). As for educational status, 20% did not report their highest level of education or said they had no education (n = 801), 28.6% reported at least some high school (n = 1,142), 16.4% reported having studied towards a diploma or certificate (n = 654), 24.6% reported having studied at undergraduate level (n = 984) and 10.4% reported having pursued post-graduate study (n = 417). The majority (79.9%) of participants were born in New Zealand (n = 3,196).

### Materials

A short version of the Post-Colonial Ideology Scale developed by Sibley (2010) was used to assess the Dark Duo ideologies. This short scale consisted of 3 items for Historical Negation ( $\alpha = .79$ ) and 3 items for Symbolic Exclusion ( $\alpha = .81$ ). For Historical Negation, participants were asked to rate their level of agreement with the following statements on a scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree): "We should all move on as one nation and forget about past differences and conflicts between ethnic groups", "We should not have to pay for the mistakes of our ancestors" and "People who weren't around in previous centuries should not feel accountable for the actions of their ancestors." The three items assessing Symbolic Exclusion were "I think that Māori culture helps to define New Zealand in positive ways" (reverse coded), "I reckon Māori culture should stay where it belongs—with Māori. It doesn't concern other New Zealanders" and "New Zealand would be a better place to live if we forgot about trying to promote Māori culture to everyone."

The participants indicated their

level of party support for the National, Labour, Green, ACT and Māori parties separately on a scale from 1 (strongly oppose) to 7 (strongly support). Socioeconomic status was assessed using the NZDep2006 index (see Salmond, Crampton, & Atkinson, 2007), a measure of regional/neighborhood deprivation based on access to transport and communication, levels of unemployment, income, property ownership, family support and residential overcrowding. Each participant's address was thus coded for level of deprivation on an ordinal scale of 1 (the ten percent who are least deprived) to 10 (the ten percent who are most deprived).

### Model Estimation

To test our predicted effects of ideology on political party preference over time, we constructed a series of path models in which the combined set of demographic covariates, and measures of Historical Negation and Symbolic Exclusion were used to predict levels of support for each political party separately one year later. Thus, we constructed a set of five separate, cross-lagged, bi-directional models, each of which assessed the cross-lagged effects of ideology on political party support for a particular political party. Our models were saturated (that is, we estimated all possible cross-lagged effects in and thus controlled for all other demographic covariates in the model). Because of this, our models do not provide fit statistics.

The model also included Time 1 support for a given political party as a covariate when predicting Time 2 ratings of that same party. We allowed the residual variance of support for the outcome measures to correlate (support for the party being predicted, as well as historical negation and symbolic exclusion) and estimated model parameters using Maximum Likelihood estimation. Missing for our endogenous variables were estimated Full Information Maximum Likelihood Estimation (or FIML). We estimated bias corrected bootstrap confidence intervals for all parameters using 5000 resamples.

Each model also included the reverse effects of support for a given political party on both Historical

Negation and Symbolic Exclusion over the same time frame. We calculated univariate Wald tests of parameter constraint to assess whether Historical Negation and Symbolic Exclusion had stronger effects on support for a given political party than support for that party had on Historical Negation and Symbolic Exclusion.

Our path model allows us to assess whether Historical Negation and Symbolic Exclusion predict significant residualized variance in support for each political party over the one year time-frame. If significant, this provides good evidence for the effect of ideology on political party attitudes. Including

various demographic factors allowed us to test if these predicted cross-lagged effects also held while controlling for other plausible alternative explanations that might covary with rates of residualized change in our outcome variables.

**RESULTS**

Bivariate correlations for all measures included in our study are presented in Table 1. As shown, support between Time 1 and Time 2 was reasonably stable for the National Party ( $r=.79$ ), the Labour Party ( $r=.75$ ), the Greens ( $r=.75$ ), the ACT Party ( $r=.63$ ) and the

Māori party ( $r=.68$ ). We estimated the models, as above, for each of the five parties. A conceptual overview of the path model we tested is presented in Figure 1. Table 2 presents unstandardized beta and Wald tests for each of the models tested. Parameters for the reverse effects of support for each political party on HRN and SPE are reported in text and in Table 2 (along with reported tests of parameter constraints comparing whether the effects were stronger in one direction relative to the other). Cross-lagged models predicting residualized change in respective levels of support for the National Party, the Labour Party, the Green Party, the ACT Party and the Māori Party are presented in Tables 3 and 4.

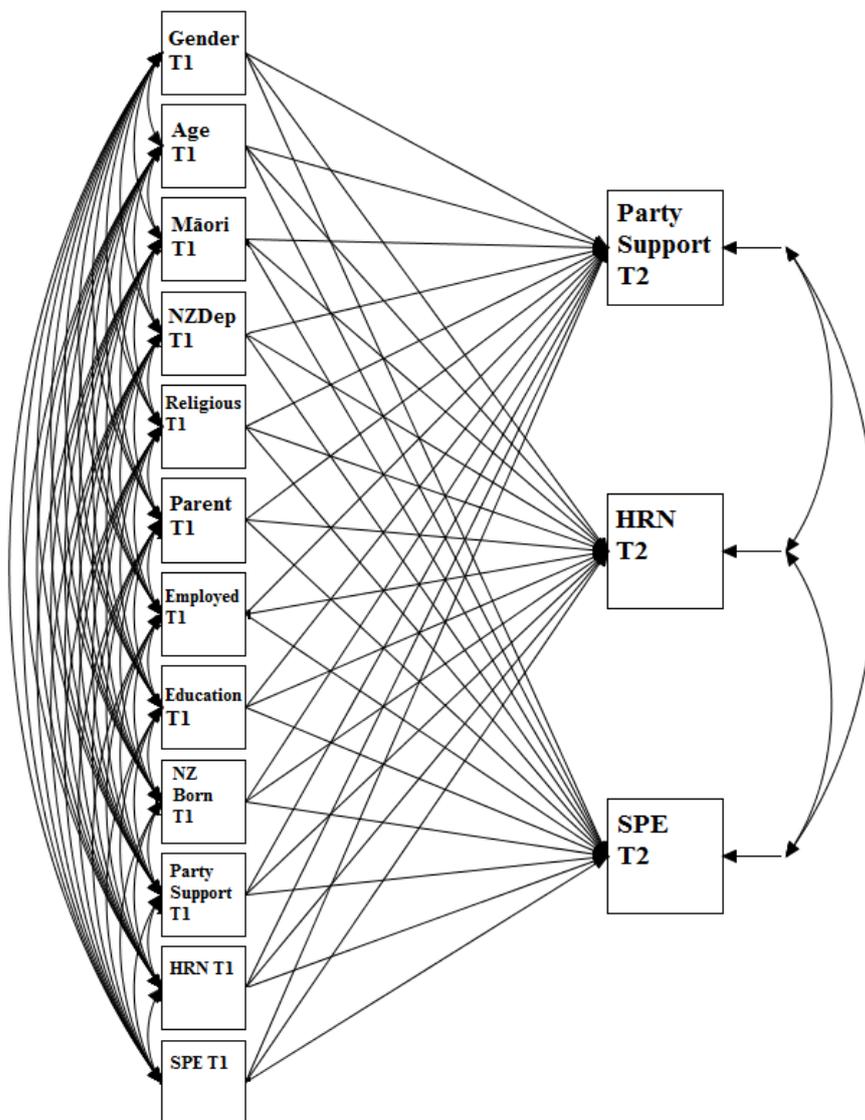


Figure 1. A visual depiction of the models tested

Table 1. Descriptive statistics and bivariate correlations between all variables

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.	14.	15.	16.	17.	18.	19.	20.	21.	22.	23.	
1. T2 National																								
2. T2 Labour	-.56*																							
3. T2 Greens	-.38*	.49*																						
4. T2 ACT	.33*	-.21*	-.10*																					
5. T2 Māori	-.17*	-.23*	.40*	.11*																				
6. T2 HRN	.26*	-.16*	-.29*	.15*	-.41*																			
7. T2 SPE	.22*	-.24*	-.37*	.11*	-.51*	.49*																		
8. T1 Gender	.04	-.08*	-.17*	.02	-.08*	.04	.19*																	
9. T1 Age	.05*	-.04	-.14*	-.15*	-.03*	.14*	.17*	.12*																
10. T1 Māori ethnicity	-.14*	.08*	.05*	-.04*	.27*	-.18*	-.23*	-.02	-.11*															
11. T1 Deprivation	-.20*	.17*	.07*	-.07*	.10*	.00	-.01	.01	-.02*	.20*														
12. T1 Religious	.03	-.01	-.07*	.03	.07*	-.01	-.02	-.06*	.18*	.02	.02*													
13. T1 Parent	.06*	-.07*	-.13*	-.02	.01	.05*	.05*	-.04	.42*	.01	-.01	-.09*												
14. T1 Employment	.04	-.05*	.04*	.07*	.01	-.11*	-.12*	.04*	-.37*	-.00	-.09*	-.09*	-.13*											
15. T1 Education	-.05*	.02	.16*	-.02	.12*	-.25*	-.25*	-.09*	-.15*	-.13*	-.18*	-.01	-.09*	.21*										
16. T1 Born in NZ	.00	-.05*	-.04*	-.03	.02	-.07*	-.10*	-.04*	-.06*	.19*	.03	-.06*	-.02	.01	-.08*									
17. T1 National	.79*	-.57*	-.42*	.33*	-.21*	.26*	.24*	.06*	.07*	-.13*	-.18*	.04*	.08*	.03*	-.06*	-.01								
18. T1 Labour	-.54*	.75*	.42*	-.25*	.19*	-.17*	-.23*	-.07*	-.06*	.07*	.17*	-.03	-.08*	-.04*	.04	-.05*	-.56*							
19. T1 Greens	-.39*	.43*	.75*	-.14*	.34*	-.29*	-.38*	-.16*	-.19*	.07*	.06*	-.06*	-.14*	.06*	.18*	-.04*	-.39*	.49*						
20. T1 ACT	-.38*	-.30*	-.20*	.63*	-.05*	.18*	.15*	.04	-.14*	-.10*	-.11*	.03	-.03*	.08*	.01	-.03*	.42*	-.28*	-.10*					
21. T1 Māori	-.20*	.19*	.33*	-.00	.68*	-.41*	-.51*	-.05*	-.05*	.28*	.09*	.08*	-.02	.02	.13*	.04*	-.18*	.20*	.40*	.07*				
22. T1 HRN	.24*	-.17*	-.30*	.15*	-.42*	.73*	.47*	.04	.13*	-.17*	-.01	-.03	.05*	-.12*	-.25*	-.06*	.26*	-.17*	-.30*	.17*	-.43*			
23. T1 SPE	.23*	-.22*	-.35*	.11*	-.47*	.44*	.78*	.14*	.13*	-.23*	.00	-.01	.03	-.10*	-.24*	-.08*	.24*	-.23*	-.37*	.14*	-.53*	.48*		
M	4.50	4.01	3.71	2.48	2.94	5.21	3.20		49.30		4.84					4.55	4.05	3.63	2.70	3.03	5.22	3.21		
SD	1.80	1.72	1.71	1.43	1.58	1.43	1.55		14.78		2.79					1.75	1.72	1.74	1.50	1.61	1.47	1.55		

Correlations represent bivariate r-values with pair-wise deletion. N=4047 \* p < .01

**Support for the Major Parties**

Change in support for the National Party from 2009 to 2010 was jointly predicted by both Symbolic Exclusion ( $\beta = .033$ ) and Historical Negation ( $\beta = .023$ ). These effects were small in magnitude, which is not surprising because we were examining change over only a single year. Despite this, we nevertheless show that both ideologies predicted a subtle, though nonetheless reliable, change in levels of support for the National Party. Moreover, these effects held, not only after controlling for Time 1 support for the National Party, but also after adjusting for numerous demographic covariates known to correlate with voting behaviour. Consistent with demographic research on voting preferences in New Zealand (reviewed in Mulgan & Aimer, 2004), our model also showed that people who were more affluent (i.e., lower in deprivation) and those in paid employment, were more supportive of National than their less affluent and unemployed counterparts.

The reverse cross-lagged effects of Historical Negation and Symbolic Exclusion on subsequent support for the National Party were also significant. As shown in Table 2, support for the National Party significantly predicted

ideology. Wald tests of parameter constraint indicated that the opposing cross-lagged effects of Historical Negation and National Party support did not differ in size, nor did the opposing cross-lagged effects of Symbolic Exclusion and National Party support on one another over time. These tests indicate that the effect of support for the National Party on ideology was roughly equivalent (i.e., did not significantly differ) to the effect of ideology on support for the National Party.

The ideological antecedents predicting support for the Labour Party (i.e., the other major political party in New Zealand politics) differed from those of the National Party in the predicted direction. As can be seen in the right hand columns of Table 3, residualized change in support for the Labour Party was associated with changes in Symbolic Exclusion ( $\beta = -.053$ ) and Historical Negation ( $\beta = -.025$ ). Increasing levels of support for the inclusion of Māori in the national identity (Symbolic Exclusion) predicted increased levels of support for Labour. However, increased beliefs about the relevance of historical injustices experienced by Māori (Historical Negation) had marginal significance when predicting increased support for the Labour Party. The fact that Symbolic Exclusion played a relatively stronger role than Historical Negation

in predicting changing levels of support for the Labour Party suggests that symbolic ideologies may exert a more of an influence on support for center-left political parties, whereas ideologies relating to realistic threat and resource distribution are associated with support for center-right political parties. This may reflect a core distinction in the ideological antecedents of left-right differences in voter preferences. Additionally, higher levels of deprivation tended to predict support for the Labour Party, as did being of Pacific Island descent, both key traditional voting blocs for the Labour Party in New Zealand.

As with the National Party model, the reverse cross-lagged effects of Symbolic Exclusion on support for the Labour Party was also significant. The results of the tests for a bi-directional effect are shown in Table 2. These tests indicate that the effect of support for the Labour Party on ideology was roughly equivalent (i.e., did not significantly differ) to the effect of ideology on support for the Labour Party.

Table 2. Test statistics for the models of ideology predicting party support and party support predicting ideology, by political party.

		Ideology Predicting Political Support		Political Support Predicting Ideology		Wald $\chi^2$ test of difference	
		<i>b</i>	<i>se</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>se</i>	$\chi^2$	<i>p</i>
National Party	HRN	.029*	.014	.048*	.010	1.241	.265
	SPE	.038*	.015	.029*	.009	.325	.569
Labour Party	HRN	-.027*	.010	-.029	.014	.009	.925
	SPE	-.044*	.010	-.058*	.015	.742	.389
Green Party	HRN	-.069*	.015	-.041*	.010	2.693	.101
	SPE	-.073*	.016	-.064*	.011	.259	.611
ACT Party	HRN	.040*	.014	.046*	.011	.129	.720
	SPE	.014	.015	.043*	.010	2.870	.090
Māori Party	HRN	-.123*	.016	-.068*	.013	8.201	.004
	SPE	-.110*	.016	-.110*	.013	.000	.998

\*  $p < .05$ , HRN = Historical Recognition vs. Negation, SPE = Symbolic Projection vs. Exclusion.

**Support for the Minor Parties**

Table 4 presents comparable regression models predicting support for the three minor parties in New Zealand politics. The model for the largest of New Zealand’s minor parties, the Green Party, is presented on the left of the table. The Green Party was set up to promote environmentalism and social justice. In recent years, they have been the only party outside of National and Labour to reach double-digit support among the electorate. In terms of policy positions, the Green Party tends to unofficially side with the Labour Party in opposition to the National government (Green Party of Aotearoa, 2010).

As expected, residualized change in support for the Green Party was associated with changes in both Historical Negation ( $\beta = -.060$ ) and Symbolic Exclusion ( $\beta = -.066$ ). Moreover, these effects held when controlling for demographic factors. This indicates that those who support the most left-wing (i.e., liberal) party analysed here tend to both support the symbolism of Māori culture and Māori people’s claims to resource reparation. These results are notably similar to the analyses used to predict support for the Green Party’s relatively centrist ally, the Labour Party. Table 3 also shows that lack of religious affiliation was the main demographic predictor of Green

Party support.

The center of Table 4 shows the regression model for support of the ACT Party at Time 2. The ACT Party was founded on the principle of individual responsibility and can be thought of as a broadly libertarian party. Their ideals have led to the promotion of policies advocating flat or lower tax rates and personal or social freedom (ACT New Zealand, 2011). In contrast to the other parties, residualized change in support for the ACT Party was only associated with changes in Historical Negation ( $\beta = .041$ ) and not significantly by Symbolic Exclusion ( $\beta = .015$ ). This indicates that support for the most fiscally conservative, albeit socially liberal, ACT Party is more centered around resource based claims by Māori than their symbolic claims. The two main demographic predictors of ACT Party support were increased age and parental status. Interestingly (and in contrast to the results for National Party support), affluence was unassociated with support for the ACT Party.

The right of Table 4 shows the model of support for the Māori Party at Time 2. Both ideologies, Historical Negation ( $\beta = -.11$ ) and Symbolic Exclusion ( $\beta = -.11$ ), predicted support for the Māori Party at Time 2. Out of the five models we ran, Historical Negation and Symbolic Exclusion had the largest

effect size on Māori Party support. This was as expected, given that the Māori Party was established to promote and support both symbolic and resource based Māori issues (The Māori Party, 2012). Reparation for historical injustice and support for symbolic cultural representations are an integral part of the Māori Party platform, unlike the other parties analyzed here. This was also backed up by the strongest demographic predictor for the Māori Party, which was identifying as ethnically Māori, a sign that the Māori Party is capturing the support of the ethnic group they aim to represent.

Table 3. Regression models predicting Time 2 support for The National Party and The Labour Party. Ideology effects printed in bold. Party Support T1 refers to Time 1 ratings of support for the same political party predicted at Time 2

Model predicting Time 2 Support for The National Party					
	<i>b</i>	95% CI	<i>se(b)</i>	$\beta$	<i>t</i> -value
Constant	.678		.129		5.270*
Party Support T1	.782	[.760, .806]	.012	.759	67.480*
<b>Historical Negation</b>	<b>.029</b>	<b>[.001, .058]</b>	<b>.014</b>	<b>.023</b>	<b>1.970*</b>
<b>Symbolic Exclusion</b>	<b>.038</b>	<b>[.009, .067]</b>	<b>.015</b>	<b>.033</b>	<b>2.581*</b>
Gender (0 women, 1 men)	-.061	[-.132, .011]	.037	-.017	-1.641
Age	.001	[-.003, .004]	.002	.005	.360
Māori (0 no, 1 yes)	-.102	[-.220, .007]	.058	-.020	-1.756
NZ Deprivation Index (1 low to 10 high)	-.039	[-.053, -.026]	.007	-.061	-5.737*
Religious (0 no, 1 yes)	.028	[-.041, .097]	.036	.008	.794
Parent (0 no, 1 yes)	-.025	[-.119, .068]	.048	-.006	-.511
Employment (0 no, 1 yes)	.127	[.037, .221]	.048	.031	2.661*
Education (-2 low to 2 high)	-.005	[-.034, .026]	.015	-.003	-.311
Born in NZ (0 no, 1 yes)	.069	[-.023, .161]	.047	.015	1.462

*N* = 3998, \* *p* < .05, [R<sup>2</sup> = .625, *se* = .009, *p* < .001]. Model results excluding co-variables are Historical Negation *b* = .026, *se* = .014,  $\beta$  = .021, *p* = .060; and Symbolic Exclusion *b* = .035, *se* = .013,  $\beta$  = .030, *p* = .008

Model predicting Time 2 Support for The Labour Party					
	<i>b</i>	95% CI	<i>se(b)</i>	$\beta$	<i>t</i> -value
Constant	1.495		.146		10.208*
Party Support T1	.717	[.694, .740]	.012	.720	60.339*
<b>Historical Negation</b>	<b>-.029</b>	<b>[-.057, .001]</b>	<b>.015</b>	<b>-.025</b>	<b>-1.962<sup>a</sup></b>
<b>Symbolic Exclusion</b>	<b>-.058</b>	<b>[-.088, -.027]</b>	<b>.016</b>	<b>-.053</b>	<b>-3.730*</b>
Gender (0 women, 1 men)	-.096	[-.170, -.025]	.038	-.027	-2.534*
Age	.001	[-.002, .004]	.002	.006	.451
Māori (0 no, 1 yes)	.031	[-.084, .140]	.058	.007	.547
NZ Deprivation Index (1 low to 10 high)	.026	[.012, .040]	.007	.042	3.805*
Religious (0 no, 1 yes)	.003	[-.071, .079]	.038	.001	.086
Parent (0 no, 1 yes)	-.070	[-.164, .023]	.048	-.017	-1.470
Employment (0 no, 1 yes)	-.065	[-.159, .031]	.048	-.016	-1.342
Education (-2 low to 2 high)	-.027	[-.058, .002]	.016	-.021	-1.720
Born in NZ (0 no, 1 yes)	-.117	[-.212, -.024]	.048	-.027	-2.438*

*N* = 3970, \* *p* < .05, [R<sup>2</sup> = .434, *se* = .010, *p* < .001].  
<sup>a</sup> = The effect of Historical Negation was marginally significant.  
 Model results excluding co-variables are Historical Negation *b* = -.021, *se* = .014,  $\beta$  = -.018, *p* = .135; Symbolic Exclusion *b* = -.054, *se* = .014,  $\beta$  = -.048, *p* = .008

Table 4. Regression models predicting Time 2 support for The Green Party, and The ACT Party. Ideology effects printed in bold. Party Support T1 refers to Time 1 ratings of support for the same political party predicted at Time 2

Model predicting Time 2 Support for The Green Party					
	<i>b</i>	95% CI	<i>se(b)</i>	$\beta$	<i>t-value</i>
Constant	1.959		.154		12.712*
Party Support T1	.677	[.652, .700]	.012	.691	54.971*
<b>Historical Negation</b>	<b>-.069</b>	<b>[-.099, -.039]</b>	<b>.015</b>	<b>-.060</b>	<b>-4.618*</b>
<b>Symbolic Exclusion</b>	<b>-.073</b>	<b>[-.103, -.041]</b>	<b>.016</b>	<b>-.066</b>	<b>-4.565*</b>
Gender (0 women, 1 men)	-.161	[-.239, -.086]	.039	-.046	-4.139*
Age	.003	[.000, .006]	.002	.027	2.038*
Māori (0 no, 1 yes)	-.076	[-.184, .043]	.058	-.016	-1.312
NZ Deprivation Index (1 low to 10 high)	.017	[.004, .030]	.007	.028	2.504*
Religious (0 no, 1 yes)	-.122	[-.197, -.045]	.038	-.035	-3.167*
Parent (0 no, 1 yes)	-.163	[-.256, -.069]	.048	-.040	-3.417*
Employment (0 no, 1 yes)	-.029	[-.120, .063]	.047	-.007	-.631
Education (-2 low to 2 high)	.004	[-.027, .035]	.016	.003	.250
Born in NZ (0 no, 1 yes)	-.097	[-.190, -.004]	.047	-.023	-2.065*

*N* = 3949, \* *p* < .05, [R<sup>2</sup> = .568, *se* = .010, *p* < .001] Model results excluding co-variables are Historical Negation *b* = -.062, *se* = .014,  $\beta$  = -.053, *p* < .001; Symbolic Exclusion *b* = -.069, *se* = .014,  $\beta$  = -.062, *p* < .001

Model predicting Time 2 Support for The ACT Party					
	<i>b</i>	95% CI	<i>se(b)</i>	$\beta$	<i>t-value</i>
Constant	1.080		.124		8.693*
Party Support T1	.575	[.546, .602]	.014	.605	40.106*
<b>Historical Negation</b>	<b>.040</b>	<b>[.013, .067]</b>	<b>.014</b>	<b>.041</b>	<b>2.856*</b>
<b>Symbolic Exclusion</b>	<b>.014</b>	<b>[-.013, .067]</b>	<b>.015</b>	<b>.015</b>	<b>.934</b>
Gender (0 women, 1 men)	.014	[-.060, .089]	.038	.005	.383
Age	-.010	[-.013, -.007]	.001	-.100	-6.500*
Māori (0 no, 1 yes)	.075	[-.030, .184]	.054	.019	1.384
NZ Deprivation Index (1 low to 10 high)	-.005	[-.018, .008]	.007	-.011	-.810
Religious (0 no, 1 yes)	.052	[-.021, .122]	.037	.018	1.427
Parent (0 no, 1 yes)	.113	[.024, .203]	.046	.033	2.446*
Employment (0 no, 1 yes)	-.001	[-.094, .092]	.047	.000	-.011
Education (-2 low to 2 high)	-.019	[-.050, .011]	.015	-.017	-1.199
Born in NZ (0 no, 1 yes)	-.040	[-.134, .052]	.048	-.011	-.841

*N* = 3919, \* *p* < .05, [R<sup>2</sup> = .403, *se* = .012, *p* < .001] Model results excluding co-variables are Historical Negation *b* = .034, *se* = .014,  $\beta$  = .035, *p* = .018; Symbolic Exclusion *b* = .005, *se* = .014,  $\beta$  = .005, *p* = .715

Model predicting Time 2 Support for The Māori Party					
	<i>b</i>	95% CI	<i>se(b)</i>	$\beta$	<i>t-value</i>
Constant	2.173		.153		14.247*
Party Support T1	.540	[.508, .571]	.016	.548	33.722*
<b>Historical Negation</b>	<b>-.123</b>	<b>[-.154, -.093]</b>	<b>.016</b>	<b>-.114</b>	<b>-7.797*</b>
<b>Symbolic Exclusion</b>	<b>-.110</b>	<b>[-.143, -.080]</b>	<b>.016</b>	<b>-.108</b>	<b>-6.893*</b>
Gender (0 women, 1 men)	-.093	[-.166, -.017]	.038	-.029	-2.428*
Age	.001	[-.002, .004]	.002	.013	.917
Māori (0 no, 1 yes)	.321	[.201, .445]	.062	.073	5.178*
NZ Deprivation Index (1 low to 10 high)	.019	[.005, .033]	.007	.033	2.651*
Religious (0 no, 1 yes)	.051	[-.023, .126]	.038	.016	1.347
Parent (0 no, 1 yes)	.081	[-.009, .176]	.047	.021	1.715
Employment (0 no, 1 yes)	-.019	[-.116, .071]	.047	-.005	-.411
Education (-2 low to 2 high)	.008	[-.021, .038]	.015	.006	.521
Born in NZ (0 no, 1 yes)	-.151	[-.240, -.074]	.046	-.038	-3.247*

*N* = 3941, \* *p* < .05, [R<sup>2</sup> = .495, *se* = .012, *p* < .001]; Model results excluding co-variables are Historical Negation *b* = -.121, *se* = .015,  $\beta$  = -.112, *p* < .001; Symbolic Exclusion *b* = -.117, *se* = .015,  $\beta$  = -.115, *p* < .001

For the three minor parties, the reverse cross-lagged effects of Historical Negation and Symbolic Exclusion on subsequent support for were also significant. As shown in Table 2, support for all three of the minor parties also significantly predicted ideology. Wald tests of parameter constraint indicated that the opposing cross-lagged effects of Historical Negation and minor party support did not differ in size (apart from Historical Negation and Māori Party support), nor did the opposing cross-lagged effects of Symbolic Exclusion and minor party support on each other over time. These tests indicate that the effects of support for minor parties on ideology was roughly equal (i.e., did not significantly differ) to the effects of ideology on support for these minor parties.

Above and beyond the effects of demographic factors and previous levels of party support, Historical Negation predicted significant amounts of unique variance in support for the National, Labour, Green, ACT and Māori parties at Time 2. Increases in Historical Negation led to increases in support for both the National and ACT parties (the two center-right parties in New Zealand), but decreases in support for the Labour, Māori and Green parties. Additionally, Symbolic Exclusion predicted significant amounts of unique variance in levels of support for the National, Labour, Green and Māori parties at Time 2. Specifically, a decrease in support for the projection of Māori culture corresponded with increases in support for the National Party. Those who showed increases in support for the Symbolic Projection of Māori culture over time, however, increased their levels of support for the Labour, Green and Māori parties. In contrast, changes in support for Symbolic Exclusion did not affect ACT Party support over time. These effects are also bi-directional in most cases, showing that while these ideologies do predict support for political parties, the support for the political parties also predicts changes in Historical Negation and Symbolic Exclusion.

## DISCUSSION

This is the first study of its kind to model longitudinal change in

political preferences as a function of culturally-specific ideologies in a large, representative national sample. Consistent with our hypotheses, we found that ideology predicted change in political party preferences over time, and also the reverse. These data are consistent with Sibley's (2010) Dark Duo model, previous research on the model (Sibley et al., 2008) and Jost's (2006) thesis on the importance of ideology, by showing that ideology is an important antecedent to political choice. As hypothesized, Historical Negation predicted increased support for conservative political parties (Hypothesis 1) and decreased support for liberal parties (Hypothesis 2). This suggests that endorsing an ideology that denies the relevance of group-based injustices bolsters support for right-leaning parties (i.e., the National Party and ACT). Conversely, acknowledging the continuing importance of historical injustices (indexed by lower Historical Negation) led to increased support for left-leaning parties (the Māori Party and the Greens).

In terms of excluding Māori from the national social category, we found that increases in Symbolic Exclusion led to increased levels of support for the National Party at Time 2. In contrast, increased acceptance of Māori culture as part of the New Zealand identity led to increases in support for New Zealand's more liberal political parties (the Labour, Green and Māori parties; Hypothesis 2). Additionally, the effects of Historical Negation and Symbolic Exclusion on party support both held when controlling for demographic factors (Hypothesis 4). Unexpectedly, changes in Symbolic Exclusion were unrelated with support for the right-leaning ACT Party, as we found a relatively stable relationship between Symbolic Exclusion and support for the ACT Party over time. One explanation for this finding is that the ACT Party, New Zealand's most economically conservative party, is also relatively liberal on social policies. As such, ACT voters may be supportive of preventing the redistribution of resources (i.e., the motivation underlying the ideology of Historical Negation), yet may find Symbolic Projection (i.e., a cultural-based measure of ideology) irrelevant.

Finally, the effects of the model for National Party support were quite subtle, which was most likely the result of controlling for a large number of factors. Together, these results corroborate Jost's (2006) assertion that ideologies are important determinants of political preferences.

Though we have relatively strong evidence for the direction of our hypothesized relationships, it is important to keep in mind that our results are still based on correlational data. As such, our models (although they only use two time points) might provide support for the idea that political preferences have a causal influence on ideology. To examine this possibility, we conducted additional models testing the reverse cross-lagged effects of support for each political party on Historical Negation and Symbolic Projection over time (Hypothesis 3). In doing so, we tested whether the magnitude of these reverse paths from political party support to ideology differed from those of ideology to political party support by imposing model constraints.

The results from these additional analyses indicated that the relationship between party support and ideology were, for the most part, reciprocal, with party support predicting both Historical Negation and Symbolic Projection at similar magnitudes to the effects of these ideologies on support for each political party (Hypothesis 3). However, in no case did party support have a stronger effect on ideology. Importantly, the effects of ideology were particularly pronounced when predicting support for the Māori Party. In this case, the effect of Historical Negation on party support was significantly stronger than the reverse effect of support for the Māori Party on subsequent levels of this ideology (Wald test of parameter constraint = 8.201,  $p = .004$ ). These results indicate that ideology and political party support tend to have reciprocal effects on one another, but that ideology might exert a stronger causal effect in contexts where party support is highly contested, and where discourse relating to the party is based in representations strongly linked to the content of that specific ideology.

### Demographic Factors

Some of the demographic correlates of political party preference examined here warrant comment, as our results show that some demographic variables were weak, albeit reliable, predictors of political preferences. Two of the liberal parties analysed here, Labour and the Greens, were significantly more likely to be supported by women than men. This supports the idea of a modern ‘gender gap’ in voting in New Zealand and is perhaps a reflection of the educational and health policies championed by the respective parties (Aimer, 1993; Mulgan & Aimer, 2004; Vowles et al., 2002). Although being religious used to be an important predictor of support for the National Party (Vowles et al., 2002), we found no significant effect here for religiosity on support for the National Party. We do, however, provide some evidence for Vowles et al.’s (2002) findings by showing that Green supporters were more likely to identify as non-religious.

Socio-Economic Status (SES), measured here with the New Zealand deprivation index, was another significant predictor of party support. Traditionally, research has indicated that people lower in SES are more likely to vote for Labour, whereas those high in SES are more likely to be National supporters (as reviewed in Mulgan & Aimer, 2004). Consistent with this finding, our results indicate that being from a more deprived area predicted Labour Party support, whereas being from a less deprived area predicted National Party support. This is not surprising when thinking of the fiscal policies advocated by each party, as National and ACT tend to be ‘tax cutters’, whereas the Labour Party support welfare policies that are reliant on taxes (ACT New Zealand, 2011; The New Zealand Labour Party, 2010; The New Zealand National Party, 2012).

In terms of ethnicity, we found that being Māori negatively predicts support for the National Party, but positively predicts support for the Māori Party. This is particularly notable, given that the National and Māori parties have bridged the isle to form part of New Zealand’s last two coalition governments. Prior research indicates that Māori should be more supportive than Pākehā of

Labour (reviewed in Mulgan & Aimer, 2004), an effect that we did not find here. Perhaps their support has since been usurped by the emergence of the Māori Party. Asians, a relatively recent immigrant group, were more likely to support both the ACT and Māori parties, an interesting combination which should be followed up in future research. Pacific Nations peoples were particularly inclined to support the Labour Party, which replicates past research and may be linked to the party’s fiscal and immigration policies (Mulgan & Aimer, 2004).

### Implications, Caveats and Future Research Directions

Our findings have important implications for our understanding of the social and political climate in New Zealand, as these ideologies may have the power to shape elections. Indeed, Sibley (2010) argued that endorsement of Historical Negation and Symbolic Exclusion may legitimize the modern-day inequalities between Māori and Pākehā by dismissing Māori claims for reparation and representation in parliament. A prominent example of the power of Historical Negation can be seen in Don Brash’s infamous Orewa speech in 2004. In his speech, Dr. Brash—who was, at the time, the leader of the National Party—openly dismissed Māori resource-based claims to ownership of the seabed and affirmative action. In the immediate wake of this speech, the National Party received a 17-point bump in the polls (Miller, 2010). This suggests that, as long as Historical Negation is endorsed by a sizeable segment of the population, politicians may reap electoral benefits by drawing on an ideology that denies Māori the rights to material reparations for past injustices.

In terms of the real effects of Symbolic Exclusion, endorsement of this ideology has been found to increase for Māori as they spend more time with Pākehā friends (Sengupta, Barlow, & Sibley, 2012). Ultimately, this could lead Māori to reject their own culture as part of the projected national identity. In contrast, among Pākehā, those who have little contact with Māori are also less likely to endorse Māori culture as legitimately representative of New Zealand’s culture (Sengupta, Barlow,

& Sibley, 2012). These divergent trends could result in the undermining of Māori culture, which, as indicated by the current lack of public support for Māori language programmes (Ministry of Social Development, 2010), is already struggling to retain followers. In fact, Sibley (2010) argued that these ideologies form a dual ideological system that act as proximal legitimising myths that justify existing arrangements of intergroup relations (in the vein of Social Dominance Orientation; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999).

The reason that these two ideologies form a “Dark Duo” has practical implications for intergroup relations in New Zealand. It is possible that endorsing Māori culture as representative of the nation (indexed by low Symbolic Exclusion) could serve as a way to justify rejecting Māori claims to resources (indexed by high Historical Negation). Specifically, the literature on the divide between principles vs. implementation suggest that a large portion of the electorate is supportive of the principle of equality (which may, to some extent, be captured by low levels of Symbolic Exclusion), yet are often opposed to specific policies that may be used to achieve these ends (which may be facilitated by the endorsement of Historical Negation; see Kluegel & Smith, 1986; Schuman, Steeh, Bobo, & Krysan, 1997).

A core strength of our research is that we used a large, national probability, panel sample and modelled change in preferences and ideology over a one year period. Although the results of prior cross-sectional studies are generally consistent with the premise that ideology predicts political party support and policy preferences (e.g., Carney et al., 2008; Jost, 2006; Sibley, 2010), they cannot test proposed causal sequences with the same degree of integrity that longitudinal panel designs can achieve, as we have used here (Jost, Federico, & Napier, 2009). This is particularly important, as it is practically impossible to experimentally manipulate large scale ideologies within the lab. Nonetheless, it is important to remember that longitudinal designs also have their faults; it could still be that an unidentified third variable has influenced outcomes over time.

Although longitudinal designs are an improvement over cross-sectional studies, they still lack the validity that could be provided by growth curve modelling (which requires a minimum of three time points; see Cole & Maxwell, 2003, for a discussion of these and other issues relating to tests of cross-lagged effects using two-wave panel data).

The Dark Duo model proposes that Symbolic Exclusion and Historical Negation have developed as a consequence of unresolved post-colonial tensions. This leaves open the possibility that our model could be used to predict political party support in other post-colonial nations. Future research could also look at specific ideologies that may be particularly relevant in other nations, post-colonial or otherwise, such as meritocracy, capitalism and system justification, as well as investigating the effects of ideologies on other facets of life within New Zealand. It may be that a model of ideology very similar to the Dark Duo model operates in other post-colonial nations, or will in the future as indigenous peoples demand reparations. Broadly one dimension, Historical Negation, refers to opposition to resource based reparations. The rhetoric around reparations and the provision of resources to indigenous people may follow a similar pattern to that found in New Zealand. Similarly, support for indigenous culture as a part of the national culture may also mirror something like the ideology of Symbolic Exclusion in other nations. The theoretical links between the Dark Duo model and certain other relevant ideologies, like symbolic racism and collective guilt, remain unexamined. Additional psychological—and particularly longitudinal—research is needed in order for the literature on political ideology to advance. Such endeavours into research on ideology can help us understand the various belief systems that ultimately underlie most—if not all—democratic societies.

### Concluding Comments

This paper shows that the ideologies of Historical Negation and Symbolic Exclusion are both *unique* predictors of support for various political parties in New Zealand over time. These results suggest that Historical Negation and

Symbolic Exclusion hold power in the New Zealand political system, as these ideologies may contribute to shaping intergroup relations, political discourse and subsequent policies. Our results are even more impressive given that we identified these relationships after controlling for the usual demographic factors that are thought to predict party support. Most importantly, our data provide the first demonstration that ideology shapes political preference reciprocally. As such, this Dark Duo of ideologies ultimately legitimizes social and resource inequality in New Zealand by providing a discourse that shapes political party support.

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