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Differential effects of societal anchoring and attitude certainty in determining support or opposition to (bi)cultural diversity in New Zealand

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In the context of bicultural race relations in New Zealand (NZ) between indigenous Maori people and the dominant group NZ Europeans, standard societal discourses for talking about (bi)cultural diversity render illegitimate actions to rectify the disadvantaged position of Maori. However, Maori have considerable symbolic power in NZ to recognize or validate the ethnic identity of the dominant group because the foundation of the nation's sovereignty is based on the Treaty of Waitangi between Maori and NZ Europeans. Based on content rich analysis of previous discursive work in this area, we hypothesized that "attitude strength" (ratings of certainty of opinion about an issue), and what we refer to as "societal anchoring" (the degree to which an issue is talked about interpersonally and debated in media) would exert differential effects on support for bicultural policy and related issues. Hierarchical Linear Modeling showed that intrapersonal attitude certainty had positive associations and societal anchoring had negative associations with support for bicultural policy in a sample of NZ European undergraduates. The importance of the distinction between attitude certainty and societal anchoring for social representations theory and the core and peripheral elements within a representation is discussed in relation to discourse analysis and attitude theory.

A critical domain of worldwide social change is the increasing prevalence of cultural diversity (including ethnic and "racial" diversity), even in nations and regions traditionally conceived as mono-cultural (Prentice & Miller, 1999). Globalization brings together mainstream social psychological research on prejudice and discrimination (e.g., Altemeyer, 1996; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999) with more cross-culturally derived research on attitudes toward immigration and tolerance of diversity (e.g., Berry, Kim, & Boski, 1987). Such

research, particularly that emanating from Australia and New Zealand, has identified culture-specific content in discourses of racism (e.g., Augoustinos, Tuffin, & Every, 2005; Augoustinous, Tuffin, & Rapley, 1999; Kirkwood, Liu, & Weatherall, 2005; Nairn & McCreanor, 1991; Wetherell & Potter; 1992) and representations of history (Liu, McClure, Wilson, & Higgins, 1999; Walker, 2001). The wealth of information available in New Zealand (NZ; Liu, 2005; Sibley & Liu, 2004) on both the *content* of attitudes toward cultural diversity together with the *theory* of biculturalism between Maori (the indigenous people of New Zealand) and NZ Europeans (white settlers mainly from Great Britain) as the basis for the nation's sovereignty (Orange, 1987) makes it an ideal site to advance a social representations theory (SRT) approach to understanding the universals and specifics of cultural diversity (see Echebarría Echabe, 1997).

Research identifying the culture-specific and more universal discourses of racism is conducive to SRT's conception of attitudes as embedded within social representations (Moscovici, 1961)—that is, a system of interconnected knowledge with intrapersonal, interpersonal, and institutional aspects. SRT provides an intermediate position between social cognition's intrapersonal approach to attitudes (locating them *within* the individual) and discourse analysis' interpersonal/societal view of attitudes as purely verbal expressions of societally available repertoires of talk (see Augoustinos & Walker, 1995; Billig, 1990; De Rosa, 2003; Echebarría Echabe, 1997). SRT views attitudes as *anchored* to not only an intrapersonal cognitive and emotional structure of concepts (Abric, 1993; Flament, 1994; Wagner, Valencia, & Elejabarrieta, 1996), but also to an interpersonal and institutionalized structure that provides the (biased) means through which knowledge is transmitted and attitudes are communicated (Moscovici, 1988; Huguet, Latané, & Bourgeois, 1998; Echebarría Echabe, Fernandez Guede, & Gonzalez-Castro, 1994). The utility of this *complementarity* between anchoring at the intra- and extra-personal levels is the theoretical focus of our investigation.

Attitude strength and the anchoring of social representations

We aim toward a synthesis of two literatures. The first is the social cognitive literature on attitude strength (Petty & Krosnick, 1995). Attitude strength, according to social cognition theorists, is indexed by measures such as the importance, certainty, and accessibility of an attitude. It is conceived as a second aspect of attitudes that improves the prediction of the main aspect of evaluations; that is, strong attitudes (i.e., important, certain, crystallized attitudes) are more stable and predictive of behaviour. The concept of attitude strength or importance suggests that an attitude should be internalized to have a consistent and significant influence on behaviour.

The second is a more societally oriented literature including SRT and to a lesser extent discourse analysis. SRT in principle agrees with discourse analysis that attitudes emerge out of everyday behaviour such as talk (e.g., Billig, 1990), and hence are embedded within social networks and discursive practices, some of which are institutionally or societally mediated (see Castro & Gomes, 2005; Wagner et al., 1996). It is clear that communication and its practices provide a basis for holding attitudes complementary to (and at least partially independent from) intrapersonal attitude strength.

For instance, Huguet et al. (1998) found that over a 2.5 week period, interpersonal communication led to spatial clustering of opinion and a more coherent (i.e., inter-correlated) factor structure of opinions about human rights. More recently, Visser and Mirabile (2004) reported that an individual's attitude strength was increased by being located within a homogenous social network of opinion, that is, a network of like-minded others. Liu, Ikeda, &

Wilson (1998) and Ikeda, Liu, Aida, & Wilson (2005) found that homogenous networks of opinion were crucial in predicting both the vote and stability of party identification.

Doise and colleagues' seminal work (e.g., Doise, Spini, & Clémence, 1999) shows very clearly the complementarity of intrapersonal and interpersonal/societal factors in anchoring attitudes: both intrapersonal factors such as values, and societal factors as nation of residence were important in determining important representational features of human rights across cultures.

The purpose of this paper is to show that *both* intrapersonal and interpersonal/societal measures of the anchoring of social policy attitudes in the domain of biculturalism influence evaluative opinion, and moreover that they do so in unique ways that cannot be reduced to derivations of one another. In one sense, we thus seek to examine the relationship and divergences between conceptually different levels of effect (both within-individual attitude certainty, and extra-personal-level indices of anchoring) within a unified framework (see Doise, 1986).

Because we are attempting a synthesis of literatures, we adopt terminology and measures in accordance with the dominant rather than precise usages common in the respective literatures. In order to assess attitude strength, referred to here as intrapersonal attitude certainty, we use ratings of the certainty and importance individuals placed on their ratings of support for different aspects of bicultural policy. Such terminology locates the holding of an attitude within the individual, whereas classic work on SRT focuses on distinguishing not between attitudes held by individuals, but between central and peripheral elements of a representational *system* (containing cognitive elements and individuals as nodes within the system, see Abric, 1992, Flament, 1993, Guimelli, 1993; Wagner et al., 1996). As an indicator of societal anchoring, we used measures assessing the degree to which the individual has been exposed to media coverage of each aspect of bicultural policy and discussed each aspect of policy with peers. Thus, we operationalized societal anchoring as the degree to which the individual had been exposed to (inter-personal and societal-level) discussion and debate surrounding each issue with others, be they peers or the media.

Predicting support and opposition for (bi)cultural diversity in New Zealand

Over the last few years, research has begun to map out the different themes underlying New Zealand (NZ) Europeans' discourse and attitudes toward biculturalism and bicultural policy in NZ. This literature (see McCreanor, 1993; Nairn & McCreanor, 1991; Wetherell & Potter, 1992) has emphasized how the dominant white majority uses discursive repertoires that render the ethnic majority as the norm, while portraying ethnic minorities as unnatural, strange, or deviant (Kirkwood, Liu, & Weatherall, 2005). McCreanor (1993), for instance, identified the following themes: 'If Maori agitators ('stirrers') would stop stirring up trouble where none actually exists, race relations would be harmonious'; 'Maori have special privileges which are unfair and racist'; 'All people in New Zealand are New Zealanders and should be treated the same' and challenges to the legitimacy of Maori claims to inherited rights by discrediting the ideal of the ethnic group itself: 'There are few 'real' Maori left'. Similarly, Wetherell & Potter's (1992) common interpretive repertoires of race talk in NZ included: 'Everybody should be treated equally'; 'You cannot turn the clock backwards'; 'Present generations cannot be blamed for the mistakes of past generations'; and 'You have to be practical'.

Sibley et al. (2006) have recently argued that NZ European justifications of opposition toward affirmative action for Maori draw upon two interrelated frames that encompass many of the aforementioned themes and repertoires. The first frame positions equality as being

based solely on individual merit, and justifies expressions of opposition to the provision or allocation of resources to Maori as a group on the basis that such allocations are unfair to other individuals who do not belong to that group. The second frame positions history as irrelevant, and justifies expressions of opposition to remedial resource-allocations for Maori on the basis that those injustices occurred so long ago as to be irrelevant to contemporary policy decisions.

In sum then, the ways that Maori are represented in popular talk among non-Maori effectively renders illegitimate actions to rectify their disadvantaged position in NZ society. The 200-years of colonization through which Maori were deprived of land and social status in NZ is portrayed as a thing of the past, not the present. Such discourses appear to be hegemonic in mainstream NZ media, and indeed qualitative research in this area has commented upon the scarcity of socially elaborated discourses that may be used to promote biculturalism in everyday talk (but see Kirkwood et al., 2005; Sibley et al., 2006; Tuffin, Praat, & Frewin, 2004). Liu (2005) argues that this discursive marginalization of Maori concerns is focused at the instrumental level, preventing or retarding the categorical re-allocation of resources in favour of Maori through such policies as affirmative action or the settlement of Treaty grievances.

At the symbolic level, however, the relative recency with which NZ Europeans have begun thinking of themselves as a sovereign and independent people separate from the United Kingdom, and the status of the Treaty of Waitangi as the foundation of that independent nation's sovereignty (Orange, 1987; Liu et al., 1999) provides Maori with a much more powerful position. For example, the ethnic identity of some NZ Europeans is tied up with recognition by Maori, as indexed - by the self-identification of a substantial minority of New Zealanders of European descent as "Pakeha", a Maori word signifying non-Maori bearing a relationship with Maori. Self-identified "Pakeha" see their relationship with Maori as important to their own sense of cultural identity; they also see bicultural issues and righting the wrongs of the past as important, even though they are a minority within their ethnic group (Liu, 2005). For example, research shows that knowledge of Maori culture, knowing at least a few Maori words, and identifying with Maori culture were rated by young NZ Europeans as among the most important features defining what it means to be a 'true' New Zealander (Sibley & Liu, 2006). Indeed, they ranked such features as more central to defining 'New Zealandness' than having been born in NZ, or having lived in NZ for most of one's life. Furthermore, young NZ Europeans show only extremely weak implicit associational advantages between the nation's symbols and images of white compared to Maori faces (Sibley & Liu, 2006). This is in marked contrast to whites in the United States, who show strong implicit associations between symbols of America and White people, be they faces of unfamiliar White Americans (relative to faces of unfamiliar African and Asian Americans), faces of famous White Athletes (relative to faces of African American athletes), or first and last names of White celebrities known to be European (relative to names of Asian celebrities known to be American) (Devos & Banaji, 2005).

Hence, we contend that whereas heavy societal anchoring of opinion regarding biculturalism in NZ will tend to push individual attitudes in the direction of opposition given the limited societally available ways of talking about these issues, the intrapersonal certainty of opinion will predict a pattern of results that does not necessarily mirror such societal-level discourses. Instead, we contend that the certainty attached to levels of support and opposition for different aspects of bicultural policy may function like an index of commitment to bicultural issues, whereas listening to issues through mass media and talking about them to others may act like a weather vane or social barometer, tapping into the neo-liberal "backlash" against "political correctness" (Liu & Mills, 2005). This prediction is culture-and

domain-specific, based on the dominance of anti-Maori discursive repertoires reported in the literature on race talk in NZ, and the more recent and innovative nature of biculturalism, both of which are expected to produce biased distributions of opinion. For attitudes with more balanced distributions, we would expect an importance-extremity correlation instead (Liu & Latané, 1998: high importance is correlated with *either* strong support or opposition to an issue).

Similar effects have been observed in the domains of coping with biotechnology (Wagner, Kronberger, & Seifert, 2002) and belief in scientific "legends" (Bangerter & Heath, 2004). In all three cases, it seems that the public has some sort of collective anxiety about social or technological change that emergent discourses and representations seek to assuage and cope with.

The measurement of support for bicultural policy in New Zealand

Sibley and Liu (2004) developed a scale assessing support/opposition for two different aspects of bicultural policy. The first theme referred to the symbolic principles of biculturalism, defined as the degree to which people are supportive of the incorporation of Maori values and culture into mainstream (primarily NZ European) NZ culture and national identity. The second theme referred to resource-specific aspects of bicultural policy, defined as the degree to which people are supportive of policies that aim to redistribute resources in favour of Maori on a categorical basis. These may be considered as *themata* (Moscovici, 2001), or contrasting pairs of ideas for managing political and conceptual tension in bicultural diversity in New Zealand. Previous research using both student and general population samples indicated that although the majority of NZ Europeans supported the symbolic principles of bicultural policy (e.g., Maori language, Marae greetings, the Haka dance, etc), support for its resource-specific aspects (e.g., land claims, resource-allocations favouring Maori, affirmative action programs) was dramatically lower (Sibley & Liu, 2004; Sibley, Robertson, & Kirkwood, 2005). It could be argued that differentiating between these two forms of biculturalism acts as a form of symbolic coping for the dominant group, as they deal with collective guilt symbolically (Branscombe, Slugoski, & Kappen , 2004) while trying to avoid paying for it in realistic terms.

Overview and guiding hypotheses

This paper advances a new measure of the distinction between the symbolic and resource-specific aspects of bicultural policy, using ratings of support for specific policy issues rather than the more general wordings used in previous research. It also makes the novel prediction that societal anchoring is related to increased levels of *opposition* to biculturalism whereas intrapersonal attitude certainty is related to increased levels of *support*, as outlined in the following hypotheses. These hypotheses are restricted to members of the ethnic majority group in NZ.

Hypothesis One (Differentiating between the symbolic and resource-specific aspects of biculturalism). Hypothesis one predicted that different aspects of bicultural policy would form two distinct groupings, one of which reflected those aspects of policy that aim to redistribute resources in favour of Maori on a categorical basis (e.g., land claims, resource-allocations favouring Maori, affirmative action programs), and the other of which reflected those aspects relating to the incorporation of Maori values and culture into mainstream (primarily NZ European) NZ culture and national identity. This hypothesis is tested using multidimensional scaling (MDS) of ratings of support for different aspects of biculturalism.

Hypothesis Two (Differential effects of societal anchoring and attitude certainty). Hypothesis two predicted that the degree to which peoples' opinions of different examples of bicultural policy are (a) anchored in societal discourses and (b) high in intrapersonal attitude certainty would exert differential effects on support for bicultural policy. Stated formally, it was hypothesized that the degree to which peoples' knowledge and beliefs about a given aspect of bicultural policy have undergone processes indicative of societal anchoring (e.g., exposure to media coverage, discussion with peers) would predict increased levels of *opposition* toward that specific issue. By contrast, the degree to which people are certain of their opinions about different aspects of bicultural policy was hypothesized to have the opposite pattern of results, and predict increased levels of *support* for that issue. It is further expected that people will display higher levels of overall support for the symbolic, relative to the resource-specific, aspects of biculturalism. However, the differential effects of intrapersonal attitude certainty and societal anchoring on support for biculturalism are expected to remain significant when the (dummy coded) distinction between the symbolic and resource specific aspects of bicultural policy is controlled.

In order to address questions regarding the differential effects of societal anchoring and intrapersonal attitude certainty on support for the multiple specific examples of bicultural policy rated by each participant, we used Hierarchical Linear Modeling (HLM; Raudenbush & Bryk, 2002) to examine patterns in within-, rather than between-person, variation. In this sense, ratings of the support, attitude certainty, and societal anchoring of specific examples of bicultural policy (level 1) were operationalized as nested within individuals (level 2). The first (i.e., lower) level comprised ratings of each example of bicultural policy recorded by each participant, whereas the second (i.e., higher) level referred to the participants themselves.

A key strength of HLM is that unlike Ordinary Least Squares-based analyses, HLM does *not* assume that level 1 observations within one level 2 unit are independent. In the current context, HLM may be thought of as calculating a separate regression slope for the associations between ratings of the certainty of opinion and societal anchoring of opinion with levels of support for each of the different examples of bicultural policy (rated by each person), and then calculating the averages for these slopes between persons which are weighed according to their reliability (Hox, 2002). In the current context, HLM thus allowed us to examine the associations between ratings of intrapersonal attitude certainty (measured using items assessing importance and certainty of ratings) and societal anchoring (measured using items assessing media exposure and degree to which issue had been discussed) and support for *each* of the 17 specific examples of bicultural policy while accounting for non-independence in ratings of these different examples of policy *made by each person.* HLM is superior to traditional Ordinary Least Squares-based analyses of this type as it provides methods for simultaneously modeling the error involved with sampling observations at multiple levels, that is, both within-person (level 1) and between-person (level 2) error (refer to Raudenbush & Bryk, 2002, for technical discussion of this issue).

Method

Participants

Participants were 100 undergraduate students who received partial course credit for participation and who self-identified as solely NZ European in ethnicity. Participants (39 males and 61 females) ranged from 18-55 years of age (M = 21.97, SD = 6.41).

Procedure

Support for bicultural policy. Participants completed an anonymous survey assessing each of the 17 examples of biculturalism and bicultural policy listed in Figure 1. These examples were garnered from a variety of sources within New Zealand, including references in political speeches, lists of proposed and actual aspects of policy on political party websites, and informal focus groups using student participants. The survey was administered using the following instructions:

> Below are a number of specific issues relating to New Zealand and the relationship between Maori and NZ Europeans/Pakeha. Please rate each issue on the following scales. Note that the items 'have talked about this issue with friends or colleagues' and 'are aware of debate surrounding this issue in the media' assess the overall degree to which you have talked/heard about these issues over the years, rather than just in the last few months.

Participants considered each of the 17 examples of bicultural policy in turn, which were presented in one of three random orders. Support for each of the 17 issues was assessed using the item "Please rate your *personal opinion* of this *specific* issue", which was rated on a scale ranging from -4 (strongly oppose) to 4 (strongly support).

Attitude certainty and societal anchoring of opinions about bicultural policy. After rating their support for a given example of bicultural policy, participants then completed two items assessing the intrapersonal certainty of their opinion for that specific policy example: "Please rate the extent to which you are certain of your opinion about this issue" and "Please rate the extent to which you consider this an important issue". These two items were rated on scales ranging from 4 to 4, and were anchored by the respective endpoints 'uncertain – certain' and 'unimportant – important'. These two items were averaged to give a composite attitude certainty rating for each of the 17 examples of bicultural policy rated for each of the 100 participants included in the study.

Participants then completed two items assessing the degree to which the given example of bicultural policy was anchored in societal discourse: "Please rate the extent to which you are aware of debate surrounding this issue in the media", and "Please rate the extent to which you have talked about this issue with friends or colleagues". These two items were also rated on scales ranging from -4 to 4, and were anchored by the endpoints 'not at all – a lot'. These two items were also averaged to give a composite anchoring rating for each of the 17 examples of bicultural policy for each of the 100 participants included in the study.

Each participant thus provided ratings of support, intrapersonal attitude certainty, and perceived societal anchoring for each of the 17 examples of bicultural policy included in the survey. In order to assess the reliability of the aggregate measures of attitude certainty and societal anchoring, separate Cronbach's alphas were calculated for each participant's ratings of these measures across ratings of each policy issue. The weighted alpha across participants was then calculated for items assessing intrapersonal attitude certainty, *weighted* α =.56, and societal anchoring, *weighted* α = .71, using the standard *r*-to-*z* transformations described by Rosenthal (1991).

Results

Hypothesis One (Differentiating the symbolic and resource-specific aspects of biculturalism)

Multidimensional scaling (MDS) was used to provide a descriptive assessment of the similarities between support for different aspects of biculturalism and bicultural policy. Ratings of support for various aspects of biculturalism were first converted to distances. Analyses were conducted using the ALSCAL routine in SPSS.

To assess dimensionality, stress and RSQ (squared multiple correlation) values were calculated for solutions ranging from one to five dimensions. Trends in these two goodness-of-fit measures may be interpreted in a manner similar to that of a scree plot of eigenvalues in factor analysis. Stress indices displayed a steep drop-off (or 'elbow') after two dimensions (.19, .10, .07, .05, .04). Changes in the RSQ displayed a comparable reduction in the proportion of additional variance explained by more than two dimensions (.91, .96, .97, .99, .99). Given these trends, a two-dimensional solution was adopted. This solution explained 96% of the variance in distances between unstandardized ratings of support for different aspects of bicultural policy. This two-dimensional configuration is presented in Figure 1.

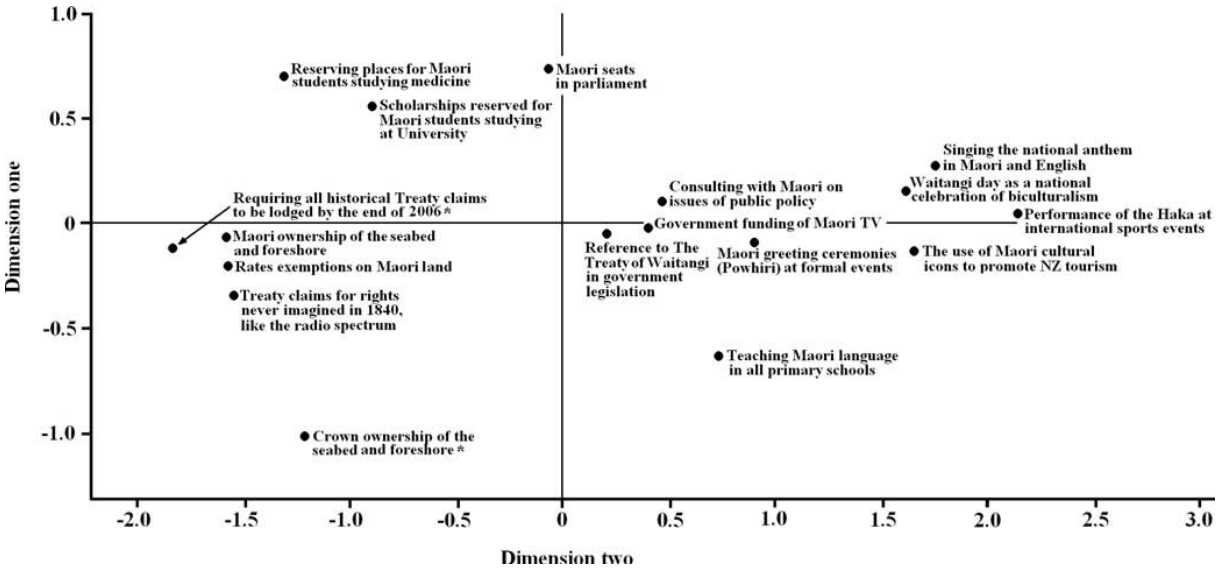

Figure 1

Multidimensional scaling plot of differences in the level of support for various specific aspects of biculturalism and bicultural policy in New Zealand (*Note.* * item was reverse scored, n = 100).

Consistent with Hypothesis one, the MDS analysis presented in Figure 1 indicated that specific examples of biculturalism and its proposed and actual implementation in social policy formed two distinct groupings arranged in two-dimensional space. One grouping consisted of those aspects of policy that aim to redistribute resources in favour of Maori on a categorical basis, which comprised the following items: 'Requiring all historical Treaty claims to be lodged by the end of 2006', 'Maori ownership of the foreshore and seabed, rates exemptions Maori land', 'Treaty claims for rights never imagined in 1840, like the radio

spectrum', 'Scholarships reserved for Maori students studying at university', 'Reserving places for Maori students studying medicine', and 'Maori seats in parliament'. The other grouping reflected those aspects relating to the incorporation of Maori values and culture into mainstream NZ culture and national identity, which comprised the following items: 'Singing the national anthem in Maori and English', Waitangi day as a national celebration of biculturalism', 'Performance of the Haka at international sports events', 'The use of Maori cultural icons to promote NZ tourism', 'Maori greeting ceremonies (Powhiri) at formal events', 'Teaching Maori language in all primary schools', 'Consulting with Maori on issues of public policy', 'Reference to the Treaty of Waitangi in government legislation', and 'Government funding of Maori TV'. These latter three items appeared to sit on the borderline between the symbolic and resource-specific, and were included as items assessing the symbolic aspects of biculturalism in further analyses[1].

Hypothesis Two (Differential effects of societal anchoring and attitude certainty).

We then used HLM to examine the degree to which each individual's ratings of support for different *specific* examples of bicultural policy were predicted by ratings of the certainty of opinion and degree of societal anchoring of that *specific* issue. This analysis was based on a total of 1694 ratings (level 1) recorded by 100 participants (level 2). Following HLM conventions, the association between support for specific aspects of biculturalism and intrapersonal attitude certainty and societal anchoring of such aspects of biculturalism was examined using the following mixed model:

$$\text{Support for bicultural policy} = \gamma_{00} + \gamma_{10}(\text{Resource-specific vs. symbolic}) + \gamma_{20}(\text{Intrapersonal attitude certainty}) + \gamma_{30}(\text{Societal anchoring}) + r_0 + e$$

where $\gamma 00$ represented the intercept, $\gamma 10$ represented the effect of the (dummy coded) distinction between whether each specific example of bicultural policy was classified as resource-specific (0) or symbolic (1). Thus, this coefficient tested the prediction that people express higher overall mean levels of support for examples of bicultural policy classified as representing symbolic issues than those that were classified as resource-specific in nature. $\gamma 20$ was a coefficient testing whether, on average, ratings of the intrapersonal certainty of opinions about bicultural policy were associated with increased levels of support for bicultural policy. $\gamma 30$ was a coefficient testing whether, on average, ratings of the societal anchoring of bicultural policy was associated with decreased levels of support for bicultural policy. $r0$ and e represented between-and within-person error, respectively.

The γ *coefficients* from the equation outlined above are presented in Table 1. These coefficients are functionally equivalent to unstandardized regression coefficients and may be interpreted along similar lines[2].

As shown in Table 1, there were significant differences in the overall levels of support for the symbolic and resource-specific instances of biculturalism, $\gamma = 2.79$, r = .49. This result indicates that support for examples of bicultural policy classified as symbolic in nature were, on average, rated 2.79 units higher (ratings were on a 9-point scale), than those aspects of bicultural policy classified as resource-specific in nature (controlling for intrapersonal attitude

[1] All further analyses remained comparable regardless of whether the three items 'consulting with Maori on issues of public policy', 'Reference to the Treaty of Waitangi in government legislation', and 'Government funding of Maori TV' were coded as items assessing the symbolic or resource-specific aspects of bicultural policy.

[2] All results remained comparable when gender and age were entered as additional level two predictors in order to control for their effects.

certainty and societal anchoring). This difference translated to an effect size of r = .49, which may be described as moderate to large in magnitude.

Consistent with Hypothesis 2, and as also shown in Table 1, intrapersonal attitude certainty was significantly positively associated with support for specific examples of bicultural policy, γ = .09. Calculation of the effect size suggested that this association was of a small magnitude, r = .06. This result indicated that there was a tendency for people to express *higher* levels of support for those specific examples of bicultural policy that they were more certain of their opinion about.

Societal anchoring displayed the opposite trend, and was significantly negatively associated with support for specific aspects of bicultural policy, γ = -.14. Calculation of the effect size suggested that this association was also small in magnitude, r = -.11. This result indicated that there was a tendency for people to express *lower* levels of support for bicultural policy when they had been exposed to increased levels of media coverage and public debate regarding such policy. Importantly, the differential effects of intrapersonal attitude certainty and societal anchoring on support for bicultural policy occurred despite the observation that intrapersonal attitude certainty significantly *positively* predicted societal anchoring, γ = .53, t = 6.34, p < .001, r = .15, and vice-versa, γ = .29, t = 13.56, p < .001, r = 31.

Table 1

γ coefficients for the effects of intrapersonal attitude certainty and societal anchoring on support for biculturalism

	γ coefficient[a]	*t-value*	*Effect size (r)*[b]
Intercept	-1.01	-6.45**	
Resource-specific versus symbolic (0,1)	2.79	23.19**	.49
Intrapersonal attitude certainty	.09	2.30*	.06
Societal anchoring	-.14	-4.70**	-.11

Note. Analyses were based on 1,694 observations from 100 participants; a. unstandardized γ coefficients; b. Effect sizes were computed using Rosenthal and Rosnow's (1984) formula: r = square root of (t^2 / t^2 + df); * p < .05; ** p < .01.

Additional Analyses

Additional analyses were also conducted in order to explore the unique effects of the individual items assessing intrapersonal attitude certainty (perceived importance of each specific issue, certainty of opinion about each issue) and societal anchoring (awareness of debate surrounding each issue in the media, and extent to which each issue had been discussed with peers) on levels of support for bicultural policy. These analyses were comparable to the mixed model outlined in Equation 1.0, except that the model included five predictors (the dummy coded distinction between symbolic and resource-specific bicultural policy, perceived importance of each specific issue, certainty of opinion about each issue, awareness of debate surrounding each issue in the media, and the extent to which each issue had been discussed with peers) rather than three.

Results indicated that the items assessing both awareness of debate in the media, γ = .06, t = -2.26, p = .03, r = -.06, and the extent to which each issue had been discussed with peers, γ = -.08, t = -2.64, p < .01, r = -.06, were both uniquely associated with lower levels of support for bicultural policy. These effects were in the same direction, and were of a comparable magnitude to the aforementioned analyses of societal anchoring based on the aggregate of

these two items. People who had been more exposed to debate surrounding bicultural policy in the media, and had discussed issues relating to bicultural policy with their peers, tended to be more opposed to pro-bicultural policy.

Consistent with analyses of the aggregate measure of intrapersonal attitude certainty, certainty of opinion about each issue was uniquely positively associated with support for bicultural policy, $\gamma = .08$, $t = 2.26$, $p < .01$, r = .06. However, when considered simultaneously with other predictors, the perceived importance attached to each specific issue was not significantly associated with support for bicultural policy, $\gamma = -.01$, $t = .42$, $p = .67$, r = .01. Thus it appears that certainty of opinion exerted a unique effect of support for bicultural policy that was not shared by ratings of the importance of bicultural policy. People who were more certain of their opinion tended to express increased support for pro-bicultural policy.

Discussion

To summarize, HLM analyses examining support for bicultural policy showed that intrapersonal attitude certainty and societal anchoring produced differential effects on support for bicultural policy. Ratings of attitude certainty and societal anchoring were positively associated with one another. Nevertheless, individuals' certainty of opinion about bicultural policy predicted increased support for biculturalism (*r-equivalent effect size* = .06), whereas the degree to which bicultural policy was societally anchored (i.e., had been discussed with colleagues and friends and portrayed in the media) predicted decreased levels of support (*r-equivalent effect size* = -.11). Furthermore, these effects could not be attributed to simple differences in mean levels of support for the symbolic and resource-specific aspects of biculturalism.

It is important to note that this research sought to untangle the effects of intrapersonal attitude certainty and interpersonal (societal) anchoring on support for biculturalism *within* individuals. It is *not* the case that some people are governed by the effects of societal anchoring and hence tend to express increased opposition to bicultural policy, whereas others are governed solely by intrapersonal attitude processes (such as devoting more time to thinking about the issue), and hence tend to express increased support for bicultural policy. Rather, our results indicate that the differential effects of these two processes are operating simultaneously.

Making such a distinction in the domain of bicultural relations is useful because there is disjuncture between the societal discourses available for talking about the symbolic and resource-specific aspects of biculturalism, and the intrapersonal, psychological dynamics of identifying with the issues. Mass media, talkback radio, and newspapers are dominated by the ethnic majority in NZ. In recent years, this majority has framed bicultural issues within discourses of equality and reverse racism that emphasize (contrary to the facts of power and income distribution) that Maori receive *categorical privileges* at the expense of other groups (Sibley et al, 2006; Sibley & Liu, 2004). Societal anchoring in this context of everyday discourse tends to bias the individual toward this apparently hegemonic representation of bicultural race relations where the minority is seen as receiving unjust benefits.

However, psychologically, there is appeal in biculturalism from the majority perspective because Maori are viewed as having symbolic power, helping to define the culture of NZ in a positively distinct way (Liu, 2005; Sibley & Liu, 2006). Without Maori, NZ culture would simply be a colonial derivative of Great Britain, a nation that left NZ to its own devices and is no longer seen as an adequate source of identity (Pearson, 2005). It is difficult for majority group New Zealanders to claim their bicultural heritage verbally; this must be given them by acknowledgement from Maori. Liu (2005) refers to this as a "system of checks and balances"

where Maori, the disadvantaged minority in terms of realistic resources, have symbolic power over the majority because they have the ability to validate ethnic identity for many members of this group. In this context, it is understandable that there are differential effects for societal anchoring and attitude certainty, even though the two are positively correlated. Other disjunctures may emerge in other situations and societies. What is apparent, however, is that visible dispute, especially in mass media, is the crucible within which social representations and societal discourses change, perhaps by the very act of attempting to resist change.

In late 2005, it appeared that issues pertaining to biculturalism and Maori-NZ European intergroup relations in NZ were framed by mass media in a manner that expressed opposition to biculturalism, whereas personal conviction was associated with support for biculturalism. Similarly conservative effects were observed by Wagner et al. (2002) in the development of beliefs about biotechnology, where threatening and often false representations of genetically modified organisms (that they were bigger, and "injected" with genes) emerged through media discourses to knock back acceptance of this emerging technology. Thus, while the specific directions in which these factors predicted evaluations are undoubtedly culture-specific, and will depend on the predominant frames (or social representations) prevalent in a given culture at a given time, it appears that often public discourses act conservatively, to counter symbolic anxiety over emergent sources of what are seen as threatening changes, and in doing slow down change. While much of discourse analysis has converged on this conclusion, representational theories' tools of anchoring, objectification, diffusion, and symbolic coping help to explain the psychological manifestations that may drive the emergence of such discourses (see Bangerter & Heath, 2004 for example).

For SRT, on the other hand, the value of the current formulation is that intrapersonal attitude certainty and societal anchoring predict *different and unique* social and cognitive processes, and can be made analytically distinct. This distinction may be useful for understanding dynamics between the central core and the peripheral elements of a social representation (Abric, 1993; Flament, 1994). Wagner et al. (1996) found that some elements of a social representation maintained their relationships with conceptual elements regardless of context. They called this the "hot" (because the words were emotionally charged) stable core. We suggest that for a given individual, a hot stable core may be achieved through a combination of talking about the issues to a range of persons, testing the stability of the conceptual core through dialogue (see Echebarría Echabe et al., 1994; De Rosa, 2003), and through feeling emotional involvement as indexed by the individual's certainty of their attitudes.

Attitudes that are only discussed within a homogenous (like-minded) subgroup of society may be vulnerable to change when faced with potent counter-arguments from another segment of society; in such a situation, attitudes that are held with less certainty should be the most open to change, as in minority influence theory (e.g., Moscovici, 1985; Maass & Clark, 1984). Conversely, attitudes held with a great deal of personal conviction but that have not been debated with alternative views may also be vulnerable to change. Effectively, we propose that both engaging in societal discourse *and* gaining personal emotional involvement with an issue is important in creating the hot, stable core of a social representation. Specific and isolated attitudes not strongly attached to such a representational core should be relatively easy to change (Sibley et al., 2006). Such an idea helps to bring SRT into dialogue with American process models of attitude change, using SRT's knowledge-based approach to provide a new explanation for why some attitudes are more difficult to change than others. Attitude strength does not belong solely to the individual; it is connected to the societal practices and discourses wherein an individual is embedded. The "thinking society" is both a society of talkers, linked to one another through interpersonal and institutional

communication networks in social space (Latané & Liu, 1996), *and* a society of thinkers, attaching emotional significance to psychological structures.

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