

## **“Integrating paradigms, methodological implications”: Using history to embody Breakwell’s (1993) theoretical links between Social Identity Theory and Social Representations Theory**

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This paper examines Breakwell’s (1993) chapter on “Integrating paradigms, methodological implications” that encourages researchers to create more powerful explanatory models of action by measuring the endorsement of social representations at the individual level and examining their relationship to social identity. The chapter’s most interesting and powerful claims are the role of social identity in a) the salience of social representations at the group level, and exposure and acceptance of social representations at the individual level; and b) the function of social representations at the group level and their use at the individual level. We tested these proposals through social representations of history, where relationships between ethnic identity, representations and behaviour are apparent. Based on an exploratory qualitative study across three ethno-cultural groups, cognitive and affective measures of the endorsement of social representations of history by individuals were developed: Representations of Ethno-historical Consciousness (EHC) encompasses narratives of ethnic group integrity, suffering and survival; Representations of Vicarious Experience (VE) captures empathetic involvement in ethnic history. These scales were validated against measures of Collective Self-Esteem, Perceived Collective Continuity and Perceived Group Entitativity. EHC and VE demonstrated structural equivalence, good reliability, and had strong, positive, significant correlations with ethno-cultural identity across samples of Jewish, Māori and Chinese New Zealanders (n=300). An explanatory model of action applying Breakwell’s theoretical connection is proposed, testing the hypothesis that stronger ethno-cultural identity is related to greater exposure to and salience of social representations of ethnic history, which in turn predict greater motivation to ensure continuity and engagement in continuity-enhancing behaviour such as mate selection.

Glynis Breakwell begins her chapter by commenting the dearth of research on Moscovici's hypotheses concerning how social groups generate representations which serve group purposes. In an attempt to address this lacuna and develop "a more powerful explanatory model of action" (1993, p. 182), Breakwell draws upon Social Identity Theory as the logical complement of Social Representations Theory. While Social Representations Theory (1963) is primarily descriptive, examining the content and structure of representations, and the social process of sharing of representations, Social Identity Theory (Tajfel, 1978) is an explanatory theory, interested in how interpersonal and intergroup behaviour can causally result from an individual need for positive social identity. Breakwell's intuition is that both SIT and SRT theories can benefit from the association, and indeed the proposals that follow in her chapter suggest that this alliance will: (i) expand the descriptive and explanatory power of SIT beyond a narrow focus on intergroup conflict; and (ii) test the function of social representations at the group and individual levels by developing a series of hypotheses based on their rapport with social identity.

Breakwell discusses issues such as how group dynamics might influence representational production and content, and how individual characteristics and personality traits in particular might influence adherence to representations. However, some of the most interesting and important ideas in her chapter concern the role of Social Identity Theory in explaining the following phenomena and processes:

- a) The salience of social representations at the group level, and exposure and acceptance of social representations at the individual level;
- b) The function of social representations at the group level and their use at the individual level.

Breakwell proposes that the significance of a representation to the group and its functioning, which can change over time and across different contexts, will affect individual engagement with the representation such that: "the more significant the social representation is to the group, the more likely it will be that group membership will affect the individual's involvement with the representation". For the purpose of this review, this theoretical proposal will be known as the **salience hypothesis**. Breakwell discusses how salience of a social representation at the group level will impact exposure at the individual level, whereby groups ensure that members are informed about or engaged with social representations that are central to the group's objectives. Group membership leads to opportunities to interact with and accept/reject such representations, and establish the

credibility of sources. Research by Augustinos (1991) is cited whereupon differences in representations diminished with age, the latter being an indicator of the length of group membership and consequent exposure to salient representations. Breakwell acknowledges diversity in representations within groups, although through the lens of social identity theory, a rejection of salient representations could result in censure and rejection from the group.

Breakwell also addresses the functions of social representations at the group level, re-presenting the three intergroup functions of stereotypes as conceived by Tajfel – causality, justification and differentiation, as consistent with the functions of social representations. Such objectives include attributing responsibility for an event, justifying a certain social position and securing a positive group identity. In addition, Breakwell proposes intra group functions such as identity formation and developing a common consciousness. We refer to this second theoretical proposal as the **function hypothesis**. Research on environmental movements is cited (Ashford & Breakwell, 1992), where newcomers are actively exposed to social representations that serve such intra group functions. As stated by Moscovici and Hewstone (1983), a shared identity is an outcome of sharing a representation and the outlook it entails. Indeed, Philogène (1999) notes the acceptance of an emerging African American representation, moving beyond a Black identity, which plays a key role in creating a more positive future for the collective.

At the individual level, Breakwell expounds that the stability and centrality of a social identity will influence individual levels of exposure to social representations, because social identity motivates the individual to be in contact with representations salient to the group; their acceptance of such representations, and use in guiding individual action. Breakwell (1993) develops these notions further in her paper “Social Representations and Social Identity”, where she presents identity process theory. Understanding an individual’s engagement with Social Representations is facilitated by applying a cognitive perspective, distinguishing between memory and evaluation systems, and four principles that shape desirable end-states for individuals. Furthermore, Breakwell’s (2001) chapter “Social Representational constraints upon Identity Processes” presents five dimensions that capture individual heterogeneity and use of what she eventually terms ‘personal representations’.

The application of social representations at the individual level as discussed above also constitutes a part of the function hypothesis that we have extracted. Breakwell suggests that differential use of social representations is an outcome of the contextual

nature of social identity, where the salient identity motivates an individual to select available and relevant representations. Since an individual has access to multiple social identities, several identities with their relevant repertoire can play a role in guiding action. Variation in adherence to social representations can also be understood by personal adaptation of representations to suit individual goals. Breakwell notes that the acceptance and use of social representations that have a potential negative impact on individual social identity can be understood in the context of serving group goals and collective action.

Consistent with a more recent general formulation by Wagner and Hayes (2005), Breakwell outlines a cyclical relationship between SIT and SRT, where an individual's social identity impacts an individual's representational repertoire, and vice versa where holding a representation shapes an individual's social identity by defining the content of a group's outlook and interests. Cinnirella (1997) investigated these relationships in the context of an emerging European political representation. Representations of the European entity were perceived as threatening British positive distinctiveness and this was reflected in a negative correlation between national identity strength and European identity. In contrast to this competing relationship, a complimentary association was found among Italian respondents, as well as among French speaking Belgian respondents in a separate study (Licata, 2003).

In her chapter, Breakwell also highlights the power of emotion as a potential intervening variable, whereby identity and social identity processes impact individual affect that in turn motivates behaviour. In particular, fear is suggested as an important determinant that translates social representations into action. Measures of emotional states are suggested to examine such relationships.

By marrying these two paradigms, Breakwell opened up a new realm of scientific investigation that calls for researchers to use diverse empirical approaches to obtain data at the individual level to test these relationships, and to note when and how they predict individual behaviour. The salience and function hypotheses that we have extracted from Breakwell's chapter are powerful and unique, emphasising that adherence and use of social representations shape and are shaped by social identity. We feel that Breakwell's proposals can best be examined through the lens of social representations of history, a field where collective identity and representations are organically intertwined, and whose potential applications address one of today's major social concerns, endurance of cultural heritage in an age of globalisation.

### **Using Social Representations of History to embody Breakwell's proposals**

Ethno-cultural groups can be considered as communities of memory – communities that are shaped by their shared history, that in order to not forget their past, retell their constitutive narrative (Bellah, Masden, Sullivan, Swidler & Tipton, 1985). Collective memory also provides nourishment for the ethno-cultural group to mobilise and move forward (Cattell & Climo, 2002). It can be operationalised by examining the content and meaning of historical representations, defined as shared meanings of objective events, transformed with the passage of time into a network of concepts and symbols (Liu & Goldstein-Hawes, et al., 2005). In line with Breakwell's function hypotheses, social representations of history are vital for intra-group dynamics, playing an important role in constructing group values and norms, fostering social cohesion, and the development of a people's identity where "in-group ontogeny" refers to a collective narrative that serves self-verification and group navigation: "History is the story of the making of an in-group" (Liu, Wilson, McClure & Higgins, 1999, p.1023). Research in New Zealand, a bicultural society, has demonstrated that social representations of history constitute a resource for culture-specific understandings of inter-group relations and guide inter-group dynamics on a national level (Liu, 2004; Sibley, Liu, Duckitt, & Khan, 2008).

Representations of history have been examined at the individual level among in-group members through the construct of Perceived Collective Continuity (Sani, Bowe, Herrera, Manna, Cossa, Miao & Zhou, 2008). The PCC scale measures perceived cultural continuity and the inter-generational transmission of cultural content and norms, and perceived historical continuity regarding the causal interconnection of events in the group's history. PCC has been established as a precursor of Perceived Group Entitativity, a perception of tangible collective existence. PCC was found to have a strong, significant and positive correlation with social identity ( $r=.25^{**}$ ) and with collective self-esteem ( $r=.39^{**}$ ). These results support to Breakwell's bidirectional hypotheses, where adherence to representations of collective continuity increase as a function of in-group identification, and where social representations of the group as a continuous entity shape an individual's social identity. Sani and colleagues examined the latter, where PCC is a precursor to collective identification and collective self-esteem, mediated by Perceived Group Entitativity. Overall, while PCC is important in understanding group cohesion, because it is largely a content-free construct, it does not capture all the potential power of social

representations of ethnic group history and its functional role in the process of ethno-cultural continuity. As such, we conducted three studies in an attempt to answer Breakwell's call to obtain data at the individual level to examine how (i) salience of social representations of history at the group level influence adherence to these representations at the individual level, (ii) individual adherence to social representations of history is shaped by ethnic identity, (iii) social representations of history predict individual behaviour that serves in-group interests, specifically ethno-cultural continuity.

Ethno-cultural groups have their unique acculturation journey and manner of preserving and recalling ethnic history, which may impact the awareness of social representations of ethnic history by its individual members (Gezentsvey, 2008). Of particular interest is the experience of 'small peoples' who have undergone existential uncertainty and cannot take continuity for granted (Kundera, 1993). It is likely that 'small peoples' hold on tightly to their history, remembering their struggles and achievements to find strength for future survival: "The smaller the group, the greater the interest members have in these events" (Halbwachs, 1980, p.78).

Jews are the archetypal 'small people' surviving for 2,000 years as a collective in exile. The Old Testament and canonized sacred texts provide an integrated narrative of history, from the creation of the world until the first centuries CE, serving as a family record of the Jewish people and as a constitutional and prophetic document. Transmission of collective memory occurred through recital and ritual (Yerushalmi, 1982). From a psychological perspective, these mechanisms can be divided into cognitive and behavioural components. The latter stimulates participants to undergo an affective, vicarious experience of history, as commanded in the Passover Haggadah: "In every generation one must look upon himself as if he personally had come out from Egypt".

Māori are indigenous to New Zealand and are also a 'small people' engaging in the process of cultural revitalization and increased self-determination after 200 years of European colonization. Māori history prior to colonization was based on a strong oral tradition and is heterogeneous across tribes, encompassing cosmic mythology, narratives of ancestral canoe migrations, tribal genealogy and inter-tribal warfare, interweaving the supernatural and physical worlds, the people and the land (Walker, 1996 ; Durie, 1997). Collective memory was preserved in place names, embodied in traditional carved ancestral houses, genealogy staffs and traditional songs (Bateman, 2000; Te Ara, 2008; Durie, 1997). History is central to the perpetuation of Māori cultural identity "As whakapapa

(ancestry) is told and retold [...] the shaping of individual and collective Māori identity is set within the context of the personal, the collective and the total environment” (Durie, 1997, p. 147).

Chinese history records ancient mythologies of creation, the origins of humankind and the influence of manifold Emperors and dynasties, subdivided into the Ancient, Imperial and the Modern Eras (Shaughnessy, 2005). Unlike Jews and Māori, Chinese are a prototypical large people. The past is greatly venerated in Chinese culture – that of the immediate collective (family) as well as the broader collective (civilization). While archaeology is used to gain a sense of distant history, rituals of ancestor worship are a culturally institutionalised means for remembering clan history, preserved in genealogical records, temples, and burial grounds. Affect and a vicarious experience of history is enhanced through autobiographical memoirs (Zarrow, 2004). Clan history is particularly emphasized by overseas Chinese communities that have lived away from China for multiple generations like the one we examined in New Zealand.

Overall, while all three groups are grounded in the past, Jews emphasise group history, Māori emphasise tribal history, and long-term overseas Chinese emphasise clan history. The multiplicity of methods of transmission in conjunction with qualitative differences in group size lead us to our first empirical hypothesis based on Breakwell’s theoretical salience hypothesis: social representations of history will be more salient for the Jewish and Māori than for overseas Chinese and that consequently a greater adherence to social representations of ethnic history will be found among Jewish and Māori participants compared to Chinese participants. Our second empirical hypothesis also based on Breakwell’s salience hypothesis is that across all three groups, ethnic identity and adherence to social representations of history are positively correlated. In order to test these empirical hypotheses, following Breakwell’s theoretical and methodological encouragements, individual-level cognitive and affective measures of social representations of ethnic history were developed, validated and tested in qualitative and quantitative studies. A model is then proposed testing the functional role of social representations of ethnic history in the process of ethno-cultural continuity, based on Breakwell’s theoretical function hypothesis.

### **Construction and Validation of individual-level measures of Social Representations of ethnic history**

Three exploratory focus groups were conducted with samples of New Zealand Jews (n = 8), Māori (n = 5) and Chinese (n = 5) between 19 and 26 years of age were subject to interpretative analysis using the coding tools of Grounded Theory (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). The first theme that emerged was narratives of *ethnic integrity*, referring to the historical or putative origins as a people: the Exodus from Egypt and receiving the Ten Commandments for the Jewish sample, the Polynesian discovery and migration to New Zealand for the Māori sample, and familial historical achievements related to being Chinese in New Zealand for the Chinese sample. The second theme captured narratives of *suffering*: the Holocaust and the destruction of the Second Temple for Jews, colonization and the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi for Māori, and the Poll Tax and immigration restrictions as well as the Cultural Revolution for Chinese. Narratives of *survival* encompass the third theme, referring to collective resilience and strength: self-determination in the land of Israel for Jews, the resistance-revitalization movement and Land Occupations for Māori, and the Poll Tax apology and restitution package for Chinese.

The Ethno-historical Consciousness (EHC) scale was specifically developed as culture-general in order to measure a shared cognitive awareness of ethnic history across minority group members. Given that historical content can differ between and also within cultures, culture-specific references were removed from the scale so that EHC can be used across cultures and national groups. Statements from all three focus groups on the themes of integrity, suffering and survival were reworded, with culture-specific vocabulary (Holocaust, Colonization, Poll Tax) exchanged for culture-general vocabulary (discrimination). As this scale was designed to tap into a cognitive knowledge base, phrases such as 'I know', 'I remember' and 'I am aware' were incorporated. From an initial pool of 84 items, questions were selected to represent each historical theme: ethnic integrity (7), suffering (8) and survival (7), forming a 22-item scale consisting of 12 positive and 10 negatively-worded items on a 7-point scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree). Sample item: "*I know what historical events have defined Jews/ Māori /Chinese as a people*".



The Vicarious Experience (VE) scale was also developed as culture-general in order to measure a shared affective involvement in ethnic history. A personalised, vicarious experience of ethnic history was evident by the use of adjectives such as being proud, and first person plural pronouns. Jewish and Māori participants tended to use the word “we” when describing past collective experiences: “we were able to defend *ourselves* against anybody.” In contrast, the language used by Chinese participants was more impersonal: “The struggles that *they* had to go through”. Statements that referred to a connection between the self and the experiences of their ethnic ancestors were selected, providing a pool of 20 items from which 7 were selected, including 4 positively and 3 negatively-worded items on a 7-point scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree). Sample item: “*I can imagine being a part of the journeys my Jewish/ Māori /Chinese ancestors made*”.

Three criterion measures that relate to social representations of ethnic history were selected to validate the EHC and VE scales.

*Collective Self-Esteem.* A test of convergent validity, positive valuing of ethnic group membership should increase adherence to group historical representations. Collective Self-Esteem is expected to correlate positively with EHC and VE. The private, public and identity subscales of the Collective Self-Esteem scale (Luhtanen, & Crocker, 1992) were used, with a total of 12 items measured on a 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree) scale. Sample item: “In general, I’m glad to be a part of the Jewish people”. Scale  $\alpha = 0.66$ .

*Perceived Collective Continuity.* Also a test of convergent validity, EHC and VE are expected to correlate positively with the perception of one’s ethnic group as a continuous entity and the belief in the intergenerational transmission of cultural content. Both subscales of the 12-item Perceived Collective Continuity scale were used (Sani, & Bowe, 2004; Sani et al., 2007): causal interconnectedness and norms transmission, measured on a 7-point scale from 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree). Sample item: “Jewish people have maintained their values across time”. Scale  $\alpha = 0.83$ .

*Perceived Group Entitativity.* A final test of convergent validity, EHC and VE are expected to correlate positively with perceiving one’s ethnic group as an entity. A 10-item scale was used (Castano, Sacchi, & Gries, 2003), measured on a 7-point scale from 1

(strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree). Sample item: “Jews have many characteristics in common”. Scale  $\alpha = 0.82$ .

The validation survey was administered to a convenience sample of 152 unmarried Jews from Sydney, Australia; 94 females and 58 males with a mean age of 25.62 years. Participation was through a voluntary and anonymous pen-and-paper survey, and an online survey<sup>1</sup>. The total number of participants satisfied the recommended subjects-to-variables ratio of at least 5 for factor analysis (Bryant & Yarnold, 1995). Exploratory Factor Analyses were conducted to examine the structure of the EHC and VE measures to see if the qualitative domains that emerged in the three focus groups could be reproduced in the quantitative measures.

Ethno-Historical Consciousness scale. The Exploratory Factor Analysis using maximum likelihood estimation with oblique rotation found that a 3-factor solution was not a good fit. Items cross-loaded and there was no clear elbow in the scree plot. A one factor solution explained a total of 33.41 percent of the variance. The three qualitative historical narratives of ethnic integrity, suffering and survival were highly interrelated and functioned quantitatively as a whole. The original 22 item scale was thus reduced to 12 items with 4 items in each conceptual domain (see Table 1 for items and factor loadings). The EHC scale exhibited excellent reliability  $\alpha = 0.88$ , and convergent validity with Collective Self-Esteem  $r = 0.34^{**}$ , Perceived Collective Continuity  $r = 0.38^{**}$ , and Perceived Group Entitativity  $r = 0.16^*$ . The greater the individual levels of Collective Self-Esteem, perceptions of collective continuity and group entitativity, the greater the cognitive remembrance of ethno-historical representations.

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<sup>1</sup>Initial data collection took place at the Jewish learning conference Limmud in Sydney, Australia and the online questionnaire was distributed through Hillel, Network and the Australasian Union of Jewish Students.

Table 1: Ethno-Historical Consciousness scale item loadings, 1-factor structure 12-item scale, MLE (4 iterations)

<i>No.</i>	<i>Item</i>	<i>Loading</i>
1	I'm NOT really aware of Jewish people being treated differently by the larger society*	0.36
2	I celebrate the points in history when Jews fought to maintain our culture	0.63
3	Discrimination against Jewish people is something I do NOT know much about*	0.54
4	I have difficulty remembering basic historical events that shaped Jews as a people*	0.42
5	I remember the injustices that have happened to Jews	0.51
6	I do NOT know which events in history gave Jews a common identity*	0.53
7	I appreciate the historical survival of Jews	0.67
8	I remember the founding fathers and mothers of Jewish traditions	0.62
9	The survival of Jewish people throughout history is NOT something I remember much about*	0.77
10	I do NOT know much about the cultural heroes of Jewish tradition*	0.59
11	I celebrate events in history where Jews have demonstrated resistance to forces from the larger society	0.59
12	I remember how Jews have been discriminated against by the larger society throughout history	0.59

\* Reverse-scored items.

Vicarious Experience scale. An Exploratory Factor Analysis was conducted where the items were subjected to a Principal Components Analysis. The 1-factor solution explained a total of 42.83 percent of the variance, with item 3 omitted from these analyses as this did not significantly load on the factor (see Table 2 for items and factor loadings). As expected, the 6-item vicarious experience scale exhibited good reliability  $\alpha = 0.78$ , and convergent validity with Collective Self-Esteem  $r = 0.46^{**}$ , Perceived Collective Continuity  $r = 0.37^{**}$ , and Perceived Group Entitativity  $r = 0.28^{**}$ . The greater an individual's Collective Self-Esteem, perceptions of collective continuity and group entitativity, the greater their affective involvement in ethnic group history.

Table 2: Vicarious Experience scale item loadings, 1-factor structure 6-item scale, PCA (4 iterations)

<i>No.</i>	<i>Item</i>	<i>Loading</i>
1	I can imagine being a part of the journeys my Jewish ancestors made	0.63
2	I do NOT have emotional connections to the struggles that Jewish people have gone through*	0.66
3	When I look back in history to Jewish ancestors, I do feel that I am a part of something great	0.70
4	It's hard for me to feel linked to the experiences of my Jewish ancestors*	0.75
5	The historical achievements of Jewish people have little to do with me on a personal level*	0.77
6	I feel proud when I learn about the struggles and battles of our Jewish ancestors to keep our heritage alive	0.67

The EHC and VE scales were positively correlated  $r = 0.55^{**}$ , demonstrating that cognitive remembrance and affective involvement in ethnic group history coincide. Thus far, research on social representations of ethnic history had only been centred on narratives of inter-group conflict (Liu, 1999; Liu & Goldstein-Hawes et al., 2003; Sen & Wagner, 2004). However, the development of the EHC construct and scale has demonstrated that narratives of inter-group conflict and suffering are accompanied by positive inter-group narratives of ethnic integrity and survival. Note that this cross-cultural structure mirrors the origin, rise and fall narratives previously outlined by Schwartz, Zerubavel and Barnett (1986).

### **The impact of group-level salience of social representations of history on individual engagement in historical representations**

Samples of unmarried, self-identifying New Zealand Jews ( $n = 105$ , 61 females and 44 males, mean age = 23.7 years ( $SD = 4.44$ )), Māori ( $n = 99$ , 77 females and 22 males, mean age = 26.37 years ( $SD = 5.39$ )), and Chinese ( $n = 102$ , 51 females and 51 males, mean age = 24.55 years ( $SD = 4.78$ )) were recruited for a second study through student and cultural organizations in Auckland, Gisborne and Wellington that emailed the electronic link of the voluntary and anonymous survey to their list of members. A one-way ANOVA demonstrated a significant difference in mean age between the three ethnic groups  $F(2,303) = 8.49$ ,  $p < 0.001$ . A Tukey post-hoc test revealed that the Māori sample was a few years older than the Jewish and Chinese samples, with no significant difference in age between the latter two groups. A chi-squared test revealed a significant relationship between ethnicity and gender  $\chi^2(2, n = 306) = 17.33$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ; with more females than males in the Jewish and Māori samples and a balanced gender ratio for the Chinese sample.

The Ethno-Historical Consciousness scale (12 items) and Vicarious Experience scale (7 items) were completed by participants, with the culture-specific noun or adjective inserted in items for each sample. The EHC scale demonstrated excellent reliability across the Jewish, Māori and Chinese samples ( $\alpha = 0.86 - 0.92$ ). Similarly, the VE scale exhibited excellent reliability across cultures ( $\alpha = 0.81 - 0.84$ ). Prior to examining mean group differences, structural equivalence of the two scales was confirmed using multi-group confirmatory factor analysis. All EHC items loaded significantly on the single factor across all three groups (see Table 3). To remove bloated specifics (items with overlapping content), items 7, 8, 10, and 12 were deleted. The reduced version demonstrated good fit across all three ethnic groups [ $\chi^2(60) = 122.55$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $\chi^2/df = 2.04$ ,  $RMSEA = .06$ ,  $sRMR = .06$ ,  $GFI = .91$ ,  $NFI = .88$ , and  $CFI = .94$ ].

Table 3: Confirmatory Factor Analysis EHC item loadings for Jews, Māori and Chinese

<i>No.</i>	<i>Item.</i>	<i>Jews</i>	<i>Māori</i>	<i>Chinese</i>
1	I remember the founding fathers and mothers of J/M/C tradition	.62	.69	.71
2	I remember the injustices that have happened to J/M/C	.69	.91	.86
3	I celebrate the points in history when J/M/C fought to maintain our culture	.72	.90	.67
4	I have difficulty remembering basic historical events that shaped J/M/C as a people	.63	.51	.49
5	I'm NOT really aware of J/M/C people being treated differently by the larger society	.43	.74	.43
6	I appreciate the historical survival of J/M/C	.54	.59	.60
7	I do NOT know which events in history gave J/M/C their common identity	.55	.72	.53
8	Discrimination against J/M/C people is something I do NOT know much about	.70	.55	.30
9	I remember events in history where J/M/C have demonstrated resistance to forces from the larger society	.59	.79	.55
10	I do NOT know much about the cultural heroes of J/M/C history	.79	.75	.51
11	I remember how J/M/C have been discriminated against by the larger society throughout history	.56	.69	.61
12	The survival of J/M/C people throughout history is NOT something I remember much about	.75	.78	.69

Similarly, all VE items loaded significantly on the single factor across all three groups (see Table 4). Given that indices demonstrated good model fit for the Jewish and Māori samples but poorer fit for the Chinese sample, item 2 was deleted to improve fit<sup>2</sup>. The reduced 6-item scale demonstrated excellent fit across all three ethnic groups [ $X^2(27) = 70.82$ ,  $p < .001$ ,  $X^2/df = 2.62$ ,  $RMSEA = .07$ ,  $sRMR = .06$ ,  $GFI = .93$ ,  $NFI = .89$ , and  $CFI = .93$ ].

<sup>2</sup> Although this item did not exhibit the weakest factor loadings, its error term was correlated with those of items 5 and 4 in the Māori and Chinese samples.

Table 4: Confirmatory Factor Analysis VE item loadings for Jews, Māori and Chinese

<i>No.</i>	<i>Item</i>	<i>Jews</i>	<i>Māori</i>	<i>Chinese</i>
1	I can imagine being a part of the journeys my J/M/C ancestors made	.64	.75	.63
2	I do NOT have emotional connections to the struggles that J/M/C people have gone through	.77	.76	.63
3	I feel anger and frustration when I think of all the injustices and discrimination experienced by J/M/C	.45	.52	.42
4	When I look back in history to J/M/C ancestors, I do feel that I am a part of something great	.49	.63	.79
5	It's hard for me to feel linked to the experiences of my J/M/C ancestors	.68	.74	.72
6	The historical achievements of J/M/C people have little to do with me on a personal level	.80	.58	.63
7	I feel proud when I learn about the struggles and battles of our J/M/C ancestors to keep our heritage alive	.72	.81	.78

\* Reverse-scored items.

This means that it is psychometrically valid to compare mean levels of EHC and VE across the three ethnic groups. Additional psychometric analyses were conducted to examine item bias, resulting in the exclusion of items 3, 8 and 10 in the EHC scale and item 3 in the VE scale. As such, only the unbiased items that loaded on the multi-group CFA were used (items 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 9 and 11 for EHC and items 1, 4, 5, 6 and 7 for VE). Reliabilities of the revised scales were good across all three groups ( $\alpha = .74 - .85$  for EHC and  $\alpha = .77 - .83$  for VE).

To control for participant differences in age and gender, one-way Analyses of Covariance were conducted where ethnicity served as the independent variable and participant age and gender constituted the covariates. A large significant effect was found for ethnicity on Ethno-historical Consciousness after accounting for the effect of the covariates [ $F(2,301)=85.33, p<0.001, \text{partial eta squared} = .36$ ]. Post-hoc tests demonstrated that Jews [adj. mean = 6.11 (0.11)] had higher EHC levels than Māori [adj. mean = 5.66 (0.11)] and Chinese [adj. mean = 4.21 (0.11)], and that Māori also had higher EHC levels than Chinese. Following Breakwell's proposals, it is likely that higher Ethno-Historical Consciousness observed among Jewish and Māori participants is a reflection of the salience of these historical representations at the group level for small peoples. This salience at the group level then leads to greater exposure to and greater acceptance of representations of history at the individual-level. The finding that Jewish participants

demonstrated greater cognitive awareness of historical representations in this preliminary study can be understood in the context of the canonization of their group history (biblical text) and a set transmission mechanism through both recital of these texts, and rituals that embody historical messages. Similarly, a large significant effect was found for ethnicity on vicarious experience of ethnic history [ $F(2,301)=48.68$ ,  $p<0.001$ , partial eta squared = .24]. Post-hoc tests demonstrated that Māori [adj. mean = 5.77 (0.13)] had greater VE levels than Jews [adj. Mean = 5.36 (0.12)] and Chinese 4[adj. Mean = .11 (0.12)], and Jews had greater VE levels than Chinese. The finding that Māori participants demonstrated greater emotional ties to ethnic group historical representations may be due to the recency of collective historical events, as well as being surrounded by meaningful stimuli that remind them of their familial, tribal and collective history in New Zealand.

### **Confirming a positive association between ethnic identity and individual engagement in historical representations**

In accordance with Breakwell's salience hypothesis, individual adherence to social representations of ethnic history increased with ethnic identification. Among the Jewish sample, strength of Jewish identification had a strong and positive correlation with Ethno-historical Consciousness ( $r = .56^{**}$ ) and with Vicarious Experience ( $r = .68^{**}$ ). Similarly, in the Māori sample, strength of Māori identification was strongly and positively correlated with EHC ( $r = .74^{**}$ ) and VE ( $r = .78^{**}$ ). Finally, in the Chinese sample, strength of Chinese identification was strongly and positively correlated with EHC ( $r = .53^{**}$ ) and VE ( $r = .61^{**}$ ).

Limitations of the studies presented stem from the use of a solely Jewish sample for the initial tests on scale factor structure and validity, although this issue was resolved by conducting confirmatory factor analyses later on with Māori and Chinese samples. The primary limitation of both studies is the issue of representative sampling, as participants were recruited from ethno-cultural organizations in New Zealand. Although the results do not represent the whole spectrum of young ethno-cultural adults, these individuals are precisely the people who would be aware of social representations of ethnic history and engage in continuity-enhancing behavior. Perhaps some predictive power was lost by constructing culture-general vs. culture-specific measures. Note that it would be of interest to examine social representations of history among other Diaspora peoples in various host



societies e.g. the Armenians, whose history has not been 'validated' or recognized world-wide, and investigate how this impacts individual awareness and levels of Ethno-Historical Consciousness and Vicarious Experience.

**Social representations in an explanatory model of action**

Breakwell proposed that social representations have a function at the group level. Like stereotypes, they can be used for social causality, social justification and social differentiation at the inter-group level and identity formation at the intra-group level. Similarly, Liu et al., (1999) distinguish self-enhancement and self-verification as further intra-group functions of social representations of history. We propose that an additional function exists at the intra-group level, that of collective self-preservation where recall of historical positive and negative events enhances cohesion and vigilance to ensure group survival. As such, a model of ethno-cultural continuity is presented that features social representations of history as explanatory variables that predict engagement in continuity-enhancing behaviour.

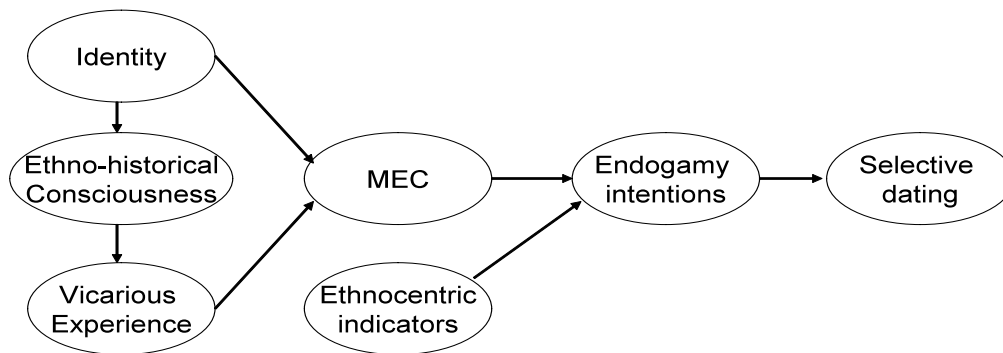


Figure 1: Applying Breakwell’s theoretical connection between Social Identity Theory and Social Representations Theory to attain an explanatory model of action.

Note. Identity = Ethnic identity; MEC = Motivation for Ethno-cultural Continuity Scale; EHC = Ethno-Historical Consciousness (cognitive measure); VE = Vicarious Experience of history (affective measure); Ethnocentric Indicators = Perceived Similarity, Attraction, Social Network Approval.

The predictive model presented in Figure 1 positions Ethno-historical Consciousness and Vicarious Experience as indirect precursors of intentions for endogamy and selective dating behaviour which serve the group-oriented goal of self-preservation. As such, it is hypothesized that a) Ethnic identity predicts Ethno-Historical Consciousness, b) Ethno-Historical Consciousness predicts Vicarious Experience of ethnic history, c) Ethnic identity, through individual engagement in social representations of history, shapes Motivation for Ethno-cultural Continuity that in turn predicts endogamy intentions and selective dating behaviour among small peoples, including Jews and Māori (see Ward, 2008; Gezenstsvy & Ward, 2008). As such, this model incorporates Breakwell's proposal that emotion is a potential intervening variable that translates social representations into action. These relationships were tested by Gezenstsvy (2008), and will appear in future publications.

By developing individual-level measures of social representations of history, our research has tested Breakwell's theoretical and methodological proposals engendered by the union of Social Representations Theory (Moscovici, 1963) with Social Identity Theory (Tajfel, 1978). The salience of social representations at the group level, where historical representations are more significant for small groups, shapes individual exposure and acceptance of social representations. Moreover, cognitive and affective adherence to historical representations increases with group identification at the individual level. Social representations of ethnic history, if not absorbed by the individual and associated with emotion, are of limited use in real life. Following Breakwell's intuitions, by examining representations at the individual level, more powerful explanatory models of action can be developed, as in our model of ethno-cultural continuity.

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