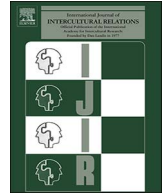




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## A dual process model of post-colonial ideology

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## ABSTRACT

We present an integrative model outlining how the threat and competition-based motives identified in the Dual Process Model of Ideology and Prejudice are linked to the context-specific ideologies of historical negation and symbolic exclusion identified by the Dark Duo Model of post-colonial ideology. Using nationally representative data from the New Zealand Attitudes and Values Study ( $N = 12,586$ ), we found reasonable support for the integrative model. Social dominance orientation and right-wing authoritarianism were each independently and positively associated with historical negation and symbolic exclusion. These post-colonial ideologies in turn were associated with greater resource-specific policy opposition, and mediated associations between social dominance orientation and right-wing authoritarianism with policy attitudes. The results show that broader ideological motives that maintain inequalities may also act as antecedents to culturally specific ideologies which provide more effective, context-specific means to legitimise inequalities faced by Indigenous groups.

## Introduction

The ideologies shared by groups in society play an important role in the way particular prejudices are expressed and inequalities are maintained. Ideologies, however, are also likely to differ in their content as a function of both present and past social factors in a particular context, as well as the groups they concern. The Dark Duo Model of post-colonial ideology describes a duo of ideologies hypothesised to maintain social hierarchy and justify intergroup inequality within modern-day, post-colonial societies (Sibley, 2010; Sibley & Osborne, 2016). Rooted in the socio-historical contexts of such nations, these ideologies centre on two common features; an Indigenous population who have experienced objective historical injustice, and who possess undeniable nationality (Sibley, 2010). The first of these, historical negation, reflects the tendency to acknowledge that past injustices occurred but regard them as irrelevant to intergroup relations in the current day. The second, symbolic exclusion, captures the tendency to disregard an Indigenous group's culture as a relic of the past, and therefore not important to present as part of the national character (Sibley, 2010). Together, these ideologies foster resistance toward policies aimed at redressing inequalities experienced by Indigenous peoples, thus serving to maintain them.

Here, we consider whether these context-specific ideologies act as legitimising myths for those high in social dominance orientation and right-wing authoritarianism, as conceptualised in Duckitt's (2001) Dual Process Model of Ideology and Prejudice, serving to justify resistance to resource-specific bicultural policy. We therefore test a structural equation model which integrates the Dual Process Model with the Dark Duo Model of post-colonial ideology, modelling the full set of proposed causal pathways from Big-Six personality traits, dangerous and competitive worldviews, social dominance orientation and right-wing authoritarianism, historical negation and symbolic exclusion, and finally, attitudes toward resource-specific bicultural policies (for example, Māori ownership of the seabed, and reserving places for Māori students in education). The model is tested using a large cross-sectional

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sample from the New Zealand Attitudes and Values Study, a nationally representative study of New Zealand adults.

### *The dark duo model*

Research testing the Dark Duo Model thus far has been grounded in the New Zealand context, using samples from the New Zealand population (as is the case for the present study). Through the process of colonisation, Māori, the Indigenous peoples of New Zealand, have faced numerous injustices particularly with regard to the loss of land and sovereignty. This has been in despite of, and in contrast with the agreements laid out in the Treaty of Waitangi signed in 1840, which was intended to determine British governance and ability to obtain land, while maintaining Māori sovereignty over their land and possessions (Orange, 2012). While Māori have sought reparation for these injustices over the years, these reparations and forms of general affirmative action have often been controversial and contested by other New Zealanders, noted often in public discourse (for example, debate over the foreshore and seabed act; Kirkwood, Liu, & Weatherall, 2005, and university scholarships for Māori students).

In post-colonial contexts such as in New Zealand, Sibley (2010) argues that specific ideologies must be formed in response to public discourse on attaining equality between Indigenous peoples and the majority group. In response to objective historical injustices experienced by Māori, an individual can either accept the need for reparation and support equality enhancing policies, or deny the relevance of these injustices to the present day, therefore justifying resistance to such policies (as indexed through historical negation). Research on collective guilt shows that those who experience guilt about their ingroup's past acts of injustice are more supportive of reparation for those injustices (Brown, González, Zagefka, Manzi, & Čehajić, 2008), but many people will seek to avoid feelings of guilt through a multitude of ways (Ferguson & Branscombe, 2014). Indeed, historical negation can be seen as reflecting a context-specific measure of an individual's propensity to deny the relevance of past injustice (toward Māori) to the present day.

Mummendey and Wenzel's (1999) Ingroup Projection Model states that ingroup members will view their own group as being more reflective of the national category and discriminate against those seen as being less reflective. However, the dominant group's (e.g., New Zealand Europeans) projection as being most reflective of the national category conflicts with Indigenous peoples' (e.g., Māori) undeniable nationality in post-colonial contexts. Thus, the context-specific ideology of symbolic exclusion resolves this issue by positing Māori culture and values as archaic and not relevant in defining the national character in the modern-day (as opposed to projecting that culture as part of the national character), therefore justifying the unequal status of Māori in society in general relative to the dominant group (New Zealand Europeans; Sibley, 2010). More generally, these context-specific ideologies are in many ways similar to, and are linked to similar outcomes as modern conceptions of racism in the United States (such as symbolic racism; Kinder & Sears, 1981; Sears & Henry, 2005, or aversive racism; Dovidio, Gaertner, & Pearson, 2017) that have evolved out of changing social conditions.

Indeed, historical negation and symbolic exclusion have been shown to predict the propensity to vote for different political parties, independent of the effects of personality and political ideology (Greaves, Osborne, Sengupta, Milojev, & Sibley, 2014; Sibley, 2010; Sibley & Osborne, 2016). Both historical negation and symbolic exclusion have also been found to independently, and relatively strongly, predict greater opposition to numerous resource-specific policies (such as reserving places to study medicine for Māori students) while controlling for age, gender, colour-blind ideology, system justification, and numerous other variables (Newton, Sibley, & Osborne, 2018). Furthermore, cross-lagged analyses have shown that both historical negation and symbolic exclusion dampen Māori and New Zealand Europeans' support of engagement in collective action for Māori (Osborne, Yogeeswaran, & Sibley, 2017). As such, historical negation and symbolic exclusion have a considerable impact on the types of policies people tend to endorse and the extent to which they feel motivated to challenge inequality.

While the Dark Duo Model highlights how historical circumstances in many post-colonial nations lead to the development of dual, modern day ideologies, a key question remains: what predicts individual differences in historical negation and symbolic exclusion? That is, within the same context, why might some individuals endorse these ideologies to a greater or lesser extent than others? Past research has theorized that the two ideologies specified by the Dark Duo Model should be related to Duckitt's (2001) broader Dual Process Model of Ideology and Prejudice, with social dominance orientation and right-wing authoritarianism predicting individual differences in historical negation and symbolic exclusion (e.g. Sibley, 2010; Sibley & Osborne, 2016). However, while these links have been argued theoretically in past research, analyses that formally integrate and simultaneously test these two aspects of the theory within a single unified statistical model has yet to be provided.

### *The dual process model of ideology and prejudice*

The Dual Process Model (Duckitt, 2001) anchors the expression of prejudice and ideologies which maintain inequality in dual threat and competition-based motives, expressed through the individual difference variables right-wing authoritarianism (Altemeyer, 1998) and social dominance orientation (Pratto, Sidanius, Stallworth, & Malle, 1994) respectively. Individual differences in these ideologies are thought to originate from personality traits and worldviews. In the case of right-wing authoritarianism, punitive early socialization experiences are thought to lead to the development of personalities high in social conformity (Duckitt, 2001).<sup>1</sup> Those high in social conformity will then be predisposed to adopt a dangerous worldview, whereby the world is seen as a dangerous and threatening place to live in. These perceptions foster the motivational goal to uphold social cohesion, stability, and in-group norms in response to this threat, which is indexed through right-wing authoritarianism.

<sup>1</sup> Social conditions themselves are also thought to play a direct role in the development of competitive and dangerous worldviews (see Duckitt & Sibley, 2017).

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