



14th International Lab Meeting  
15th Edition of the International Summer School

European Ph.D. on  
Social Representations and Communication  
At the Multimedia LAB & Research Center, Rome-Italy

Social Representations in Action and Construction  
in Media and Society



"Cultural and cross-cultural  
approaches to social representations:  
The implications of the globalised/localised cultural scenario"



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# **Social Representations and Culture: A European-Asian Approach to Symbolic Meaning**

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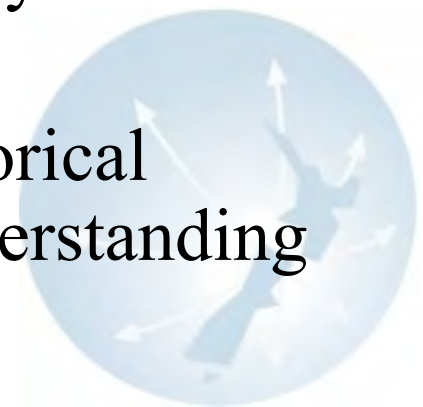
School of Psychology

Victoria University of Wellington



# OVERVIEW

- What is Culture and How can we study it in psychology?
- Social Representations of History: A Moving Feast of Cultural (Group-Based) Symbols
- How Cultural Symbols are used in Discourse
- Operationalizing relevant symbol systems as legitimizing myths or ideologies within Cultures
- Developing a universal language of human symbols from World History in the global era
- Knowing what is culture-specific about historical meaning and likely to be a source of misunderstanding





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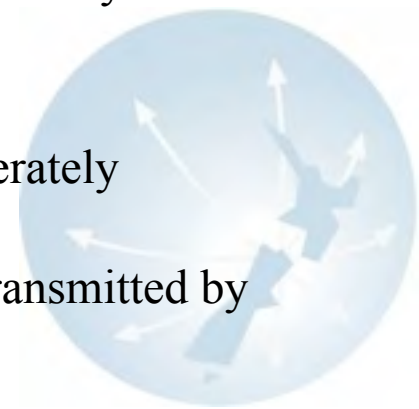
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# Definitions of Culture

- Like the Blind Men and the Elephant, Culture eludes simple & common definition:
  - TOTALIZING DEFINITIONS (typical of classic anthropology)
    - the cumulative deposit of knowledge, experience, beliefs, values, attitudes, meanings, hierarchies, religion, notions of time, roles, spatial relations, concepts of the universe, and material objects and possessions acquired by a group of people in the course of generations through individual and group striving.
    - cultivated behavior; that is the totality of a person's learned, accumulated experience which is socially transmitted, or more briefly, behavior through social learning
  - VALUE BASED DEFINITIONS (psychology, e.g., Schwartz, Hofstede)
    - a way of life of a group of people--the behaviors, beliefs, values, and symbols that they accept
  - SYMBOLIC DEFINITIONS (Clifford Geertz, 1973)
    - symbolic communication, whose meanings are learned and deliberately perpetuated in a society through its institutions
    - patterns, explicit and implicit, of and for behavior acquired and transmitted by symbols





# Culture and Representations

- Psychology's analytical empiricism makes ethnography unattractive as a methodology.
- Cross-Cultural Psychology has developed as a dialogue between North Americans interested in generalizing their theories, and East Asians interested in delimiting the boundary conditions of Western theory.
- So cc psychologists focus their attention on particular measures of culture that are transportable (like values— Schwartz) and assess variations across culture on these value dimensions.

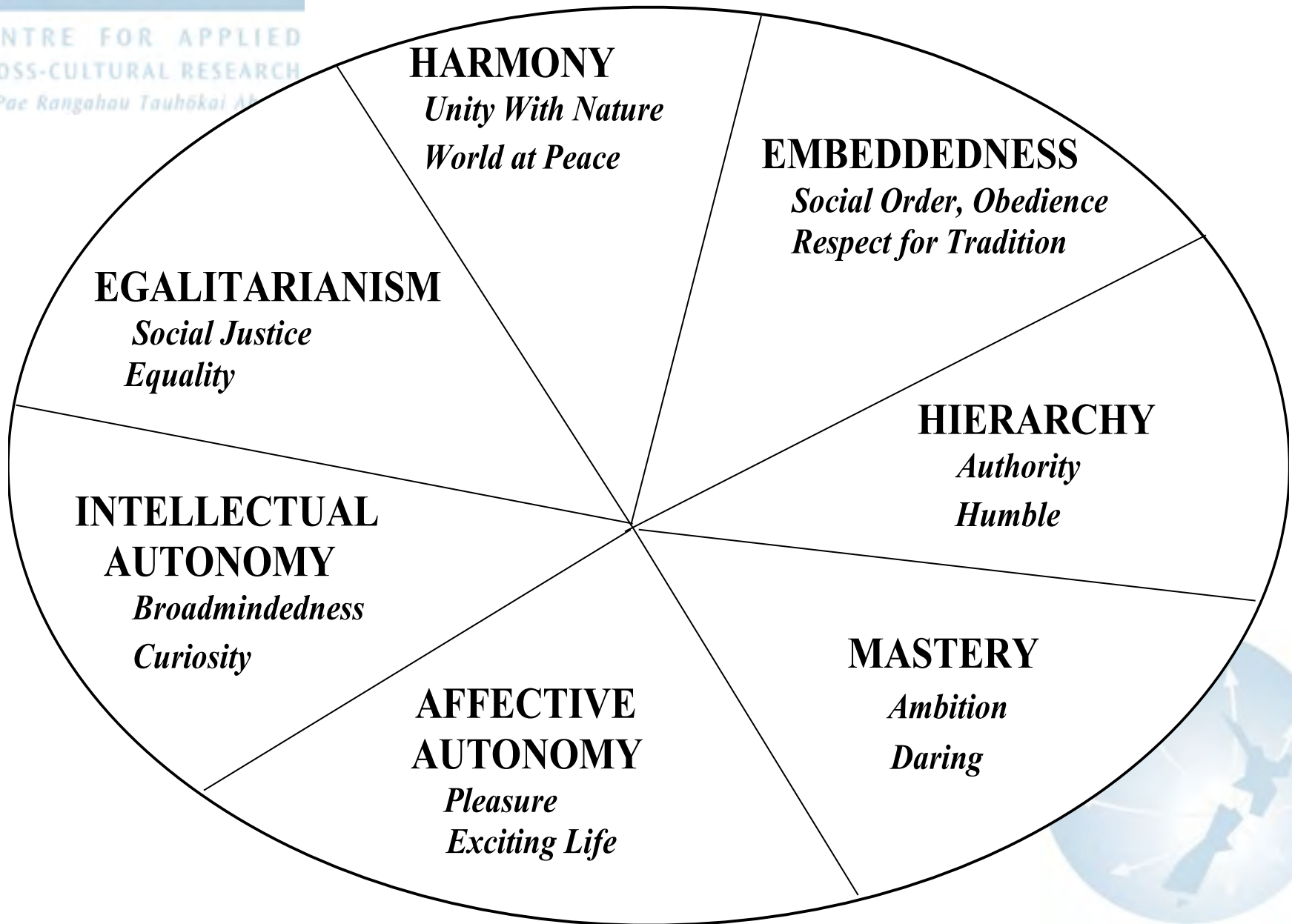




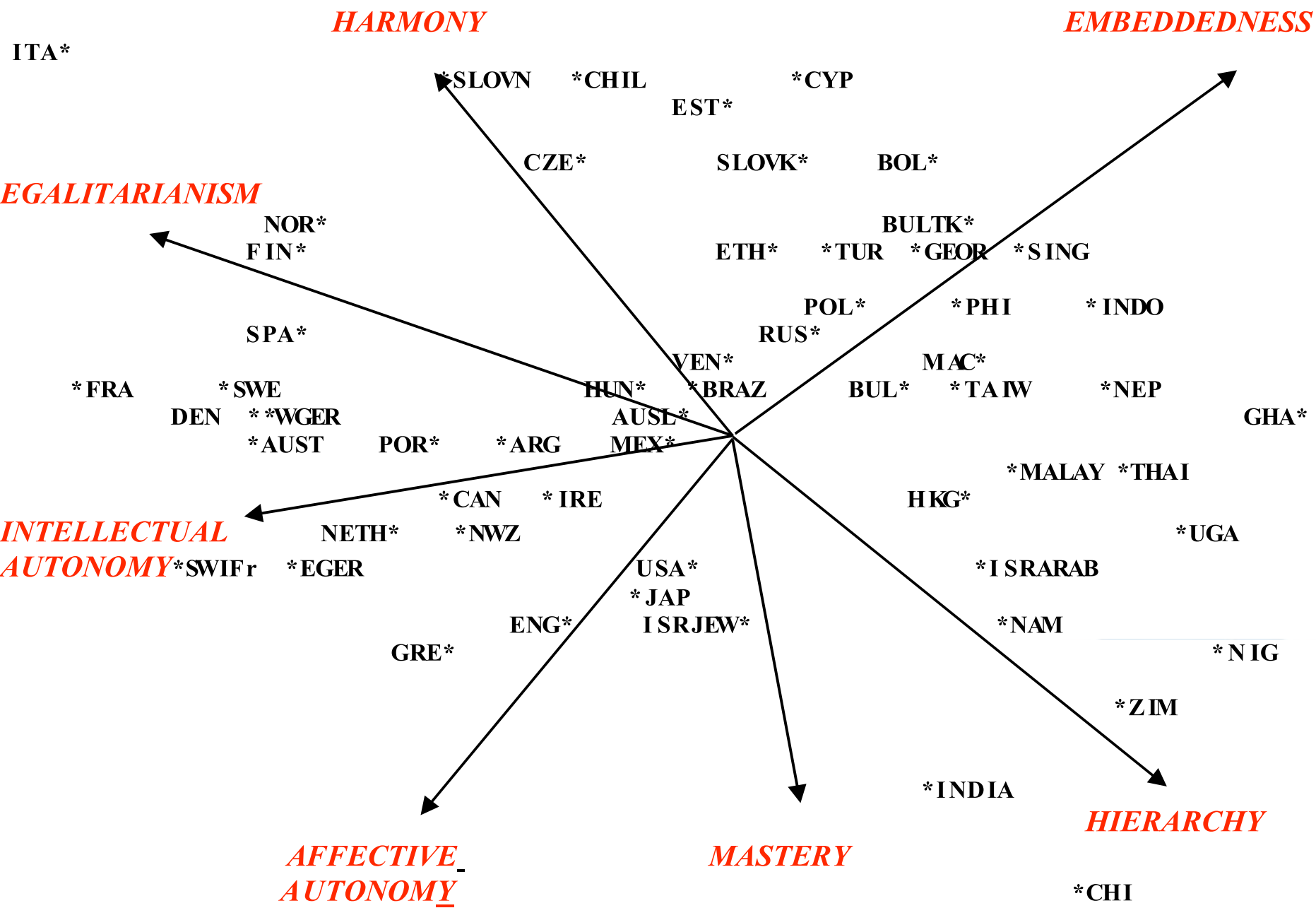
# CULTURAL DIMENSIONS: PROTOTYPICAL STRUCTURE

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# COMPARATIVE CULTURAL PROFILE OF 60 NATIONAL GROUPS IN 1990s (based on teachers)



# Cross-Cultural Psychology as Representations without using the word representations

- Rather than talk of these as representations, influential people like Hofstede, Schwartz, Bond, and Triandis use terms like attitudes, values, orientations, beliefs, stereotypes, the apparatus of North American psychology, even though they apply them to culture-level, group-based comparisons.
  - Theory has developed about levels of analysis, e.g. (Triandis):
  - Culture level=individualism-collectivism
  - Individual level=ideocentrism-allocentrism
- (Without the intervening level of society, as institutions that mediate culture)







# **Why do we need an analysis of Social Representations in Cultural Psychology?**

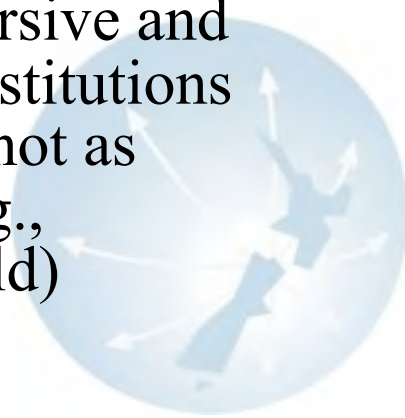
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## **1) Universality vs Culture Specificity:**

Not all Cultural Meanings can be arrayed on universal dimensions of variation; the Treaty of Waitangi has symbolic meaning in New Zealand only, but without it, you cannot understand NZ intergroup relations. There is a cost to forcing agreement on the structure/meaning of measures across cultures

## **2) Culture is Dynamically Constructed through Communication in Society:**

Cultural Meanings are embedded within discursive and representational practices mediated through institutions and individuals and their families. Culture is not as static as cross-cultural psychology implies (e.g., Hofstede's measures are more than 40 years old)



# How may we use the Theory of Social Representations in examining Culture?

- A social representation can be defined simply as system of shared knowledge and belief that facilitates communication about social objects.
- You can study “social representations of x” as cultural or cross-cultural phenomena (more typical)
- You can use theoretical propositions like anchoring and objectification, core and peripheral components, themata, etc. to study cultural phenomena and their change.



# **What is the relationship between Culture and Social Representation?**

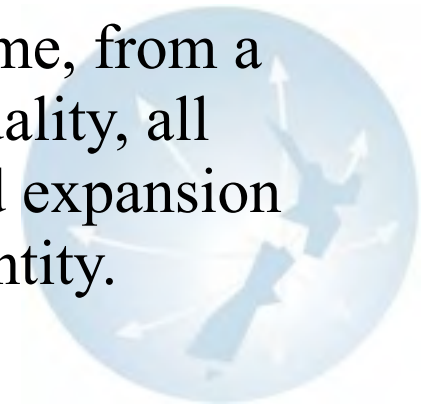
- If Culture is defined not as a group value profile or as an all-encompassing totality, but as a system of symbolic meaning, then culture can be conceptualized by a gigantic meta-system of SRs mediated by language, symbols, and their carriers. But at this level, little is added to the definition “system of symbolically communicated meaning” by calling it a set of SRs.
- We need something more specific that still penetrates many aspects covered by the idea of culture





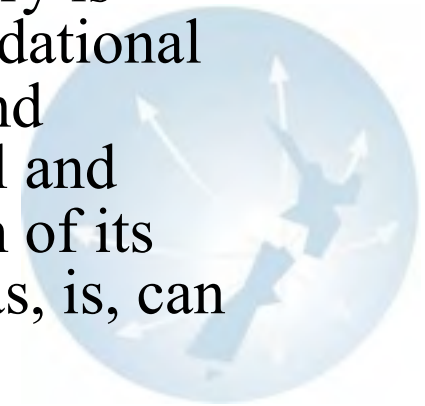
# History an essential ingredient in constructing the “imagined community” of nationhood

- “Peoples”, like ethnic or national groups, seek to establish norms and traditions for governance that allow the maintenance of temporal continuity between past, present, and future. History “confers immortality” to events and people, it weaves them into stories with temporal form referred to by Malinowski (1926) as *narratives of origin*.
- Clifford Geertz (1973) has argued for defining culture through its symbols, and B. Schwartz (1996) has used archival methods to demonstrate how the collective remembering of Abraham Lincoln changed over time, from a symbol of defence of the union to one of racial equality, all within an overall narrative of the rise of liberty and expansion of the franchise that defines American national identity.



# History as a Symbolic Reserve

- How to select appropriate symbols from the buzz and confusion of cultural life?
- Select a discrete representation present in daily life and discussion. Evident in talk, buildings, constitutions, museums, and holidays/commemorations.
- History is the story of the making of an ingroup. “A group’s representation of its history is *constitutional*: it can serve the function of a foundational myth or “charter” for a society, defining rights and obligations for a group and legitimizing its social and political arrangements... A group’s representation of its history will thus condition its sense of what it was, is, can and should be...” (Liu & Hilton, BJSP 2005)







## **History as a source of a foundational myth or “historical charter”**

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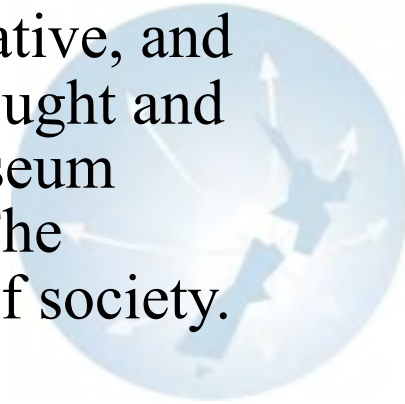
- Narratives “grasp together” or configure meanings for the raw events and figures of history in a way that responds to the challenges of today. Historical symbols can be mobilized by political and cultural elites who try to use them to justify their agendas for the present and future (Reicher & Hopkins, 2000). They do not stand in isolation from dominant discourses that frame the major issues of the day.
- Social psychology’s contribution is to provide a quantitative, verifiable approach to complement sociology and anthropology’s more qualitative approaches. How do we begin to measure a symbolic system for the political aspects of a culture? Liu, Wilson, McClure & Higgins (1999) began with open-ended nominations of the most important events in a people's history.





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## STEP 1: Identifying Historical Representations

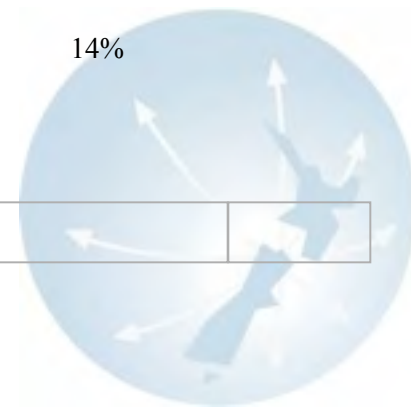
- Two simple, open-ended questions: What are the most important events in World/Your Nation's history? And What are the most important or influential figures in World/Your Nation's history, both good and bad?
  - Across societies, we have found that the main people and events in a national history are shared across subgroups in society (NZ: Liu, Wilson, McClure & Higgins, EJSP 1999; Taiwan: Huang, Liu, & Chang, AJSP 2004) even among young and ethnically/regionally diverse nations (Malaysia/Singapore: Liu, Lawrence, Ward, & Abraham, AJSP 2002; Philippines: Liu & Gastardo-Conaco, in prep).
  - The sociology of collective remembering is qualitative, and argues that this consensus is evident not only in thought and discourse, but buildings, educational curricula, museum exhibitions, and commemorations (Olick, 2003). The consensus is actively *produced* by the institutions of society.
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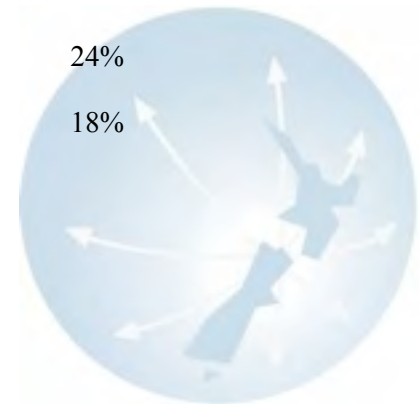
# 10 MOST IMPORTANT EVENTS IN NEW ZEALAND HISTORY ACCORDING TO GENERAL SAMPLE OF MAORI AND PAKEHA/NZ EUROPEANS

	Maori (N=37)				Pakeha (N=94)	
1.	<b>Treaty of Waitangi</b>	54%	1.	<b>Treaty of Waitangi</b>	69%	
2.	<b>The Land Wars</b>	35%	2.	World Wars	66%	
3=	<b>Maori/Polynesian Arrival</b>	30%	3.	<b>Maori/Polynesian Arrival</b>	41%	
3=	<b>European Arrival</b>	30%	4.	<b>European Arrival</b>	40%	
3=	World Wars	30%	5.	<b>The Land Wars</b>	35%	
6	Women's Suffrage	19%	6.	Women's Suffrage	29%	
7.	Colonisation	16%	7.	Arrival of James Cook	28%	
8=	Education Act passed providing free education.	14%	8.	Colonisation	16%	
8=	NZ became independent state.	14%	9=	The Depression	14%	
8=	Musket Wars between Tribes	14%	9=	1981 Springbok Tour	14%	
8=	NZ Government formed	14%				
8=	1981 Springbok Tour	14%				



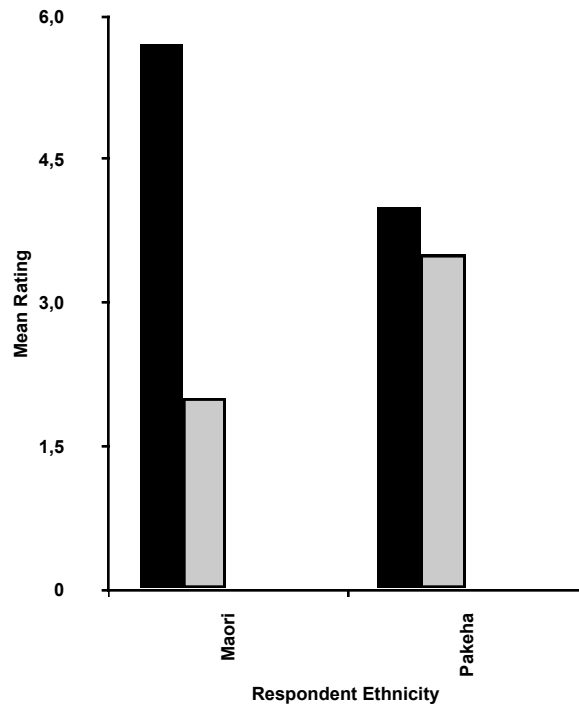
# 10 MOST IMPORTANT EVENTS IN NEW ZEALAND HISTORY ACCORDING TO MAORI AND PAKEHA/NZ EUROPEAN STUDENTS

	Maori (N=24)				Pakeha (N=87)	
1.	<b>Treaty of Waitangi</b>	100%	1.	<b>Treaty of Waitangi</b>	94%	
2.	<b>Land Wars</b>	71%	2.	<b>European Arrival</b>	67%	
3.	Maori Declaration of Independ.	58%	3.	<b>Land Wars</b>	53%	
4.	<b>European Arrival</b>	54%	4.	Women's Suffrage	49%	
5.	Kupe's Arrival	50%	5.	World War I	48%	
6.	<b>Maori Arrival</b>	46%	6.	World War II	47%	
7.	Maori Language Revival	33%	7.	<b>Maori Arrival</b>	44%	
8.	Abel Tasman's Voyage	24%	8.	European Settlement	42%	
9=	Maori Land March	21%	9.	Springbok Tour	24%	
9=	Horouta Waka Arrival	21%	10.	Great Depression	18%	
9=	Maori Resource Payoffs	21%				

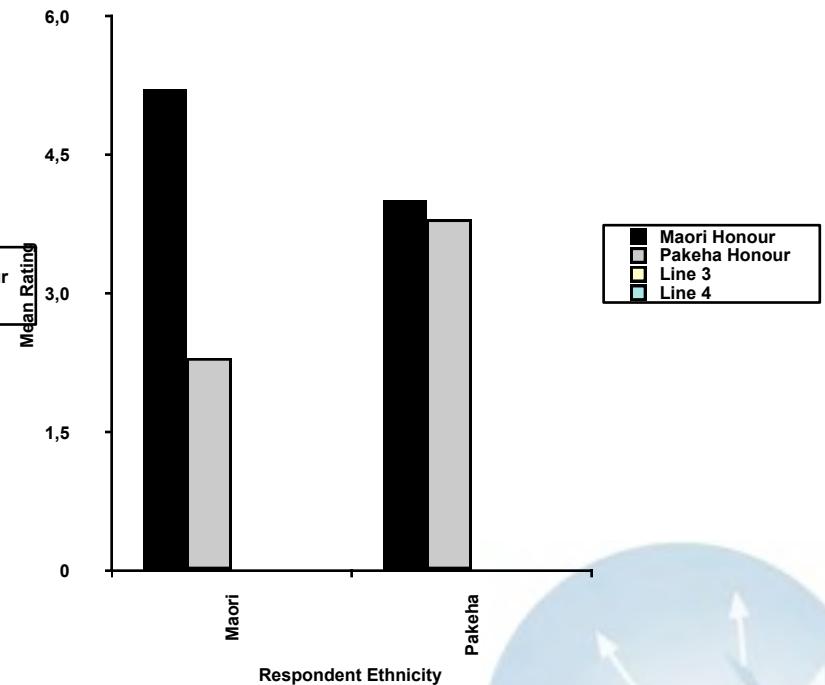




# How well have Maori and Pakeha/Europeans honoured the Treaty of Waitangi? (Liu et al., EJSP 1999)

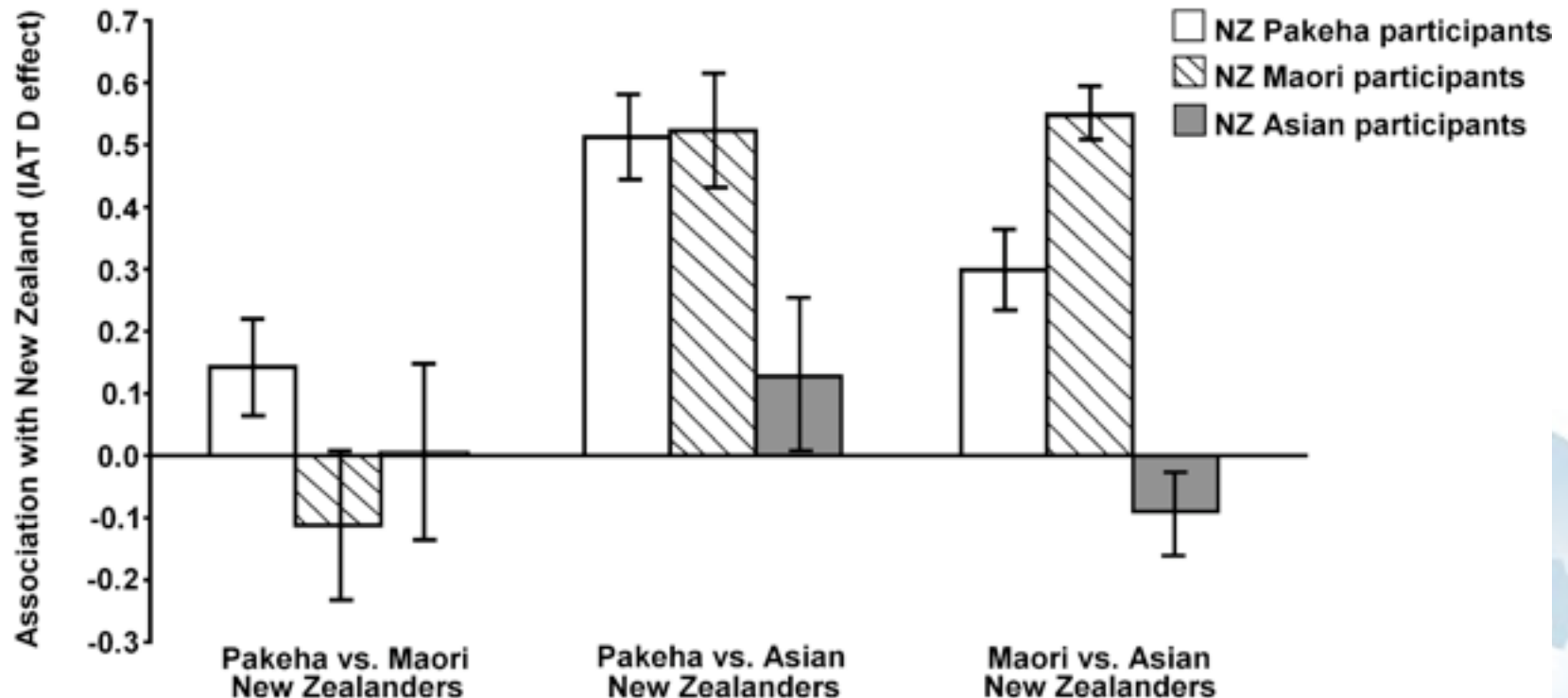


Student Sample



General Sample

# At the symbolic level (IAT), Maori and Pakeha are partners in the national identity (Sibley & Liu, EJSP 2007)



# Bicultural Representation of NZ anchored in the Treaty

- Treaty of Waitangi enshrined in Law and regarded as many as the basis for the sovereignty of the contemporary NZ state
- The Treaty signing is commemorated as a National Holiday, and is taught as part of the public school curriculum
- Progressive historians (Belich, King) at the forefront of producing bicultural narratives of history
- Te Papa, the national museum is structured and visually presented as a bicultural institution



## **STEP 2: Discursive Practices Relevant to the Symbolic Construction of a People**

- How is it then that there is significant disparity between Maori and other NZers on all indicators of health, prosperity, and well being?
- Use qualitative methods to examine discursive repertoires that draw upon historical symbols to warrant or justify current practices and beliefs (Sibley & Liu, NZJP, 2004; Kirkwood, Liu & Weatherall, JCASP, 2005; Liu & Mills, JCASP, 2006; Rata, Liu, & Hanke, NZJP almost in press).

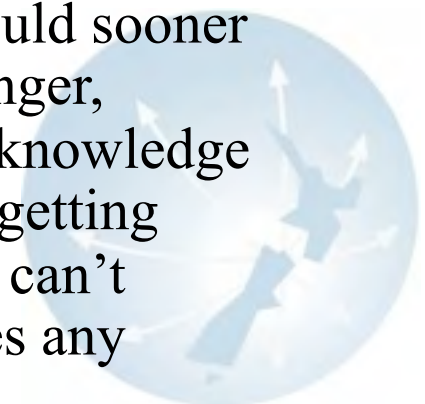




# Kirkwood et al. (2005) Seabed and Foreshore Legislation Submissions

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- Dear Helen I am writing to you as a concerned kiwi, with regard to recent events attempted maori ownership of our sea bed and coastline of our country. Are we to dispell the myth to the world that we as a nation celebrate our multi-cultrual belief that segrgation is alive and well in New Zealand. It appears there are too many that prefer to hold onto the past, rather than as a nation move forward together. I am tired of paying for my forefathers mistakes. 20 years on my own children are being subjected, to something that happend back in 1840. We are reminded periodicallythat maori own this land; Yet on the rugby field / netball court we are a proud nation all cultures come together, but as soon as the land is mentioned we would sooner not discuss it, for with this subject comes so much anger, segrgation, huge set backs, I want to feel safe in the knowledge that the beaches belong to all who visit there, this is getting ridiculous. When will it all end? I cannot see it, why can't people just get along. Maori are not doing themselves any justice by being greedy.





## Seabed and Foreshore Submissions: Challenges to the Standard Story

• I wish to make a submission on the Government's proposals [...]. I do so as a third-generation pakeha New Zealander who has a passionate commitment to the building of a strong and harmonious national society, based on the recognition and protection of the rights and interests of all New Zealanders, including the special rights and interests of Maori as the tangata whenua [...] There are also two other, over-arching principles that must be applied if any solution involving legislation is to have any prospect of being accepted and honoured. They are: The principle of respect for property rights: the Government must respect the property rights of all New Zealanders, without discrimination. The principle of acceptability to Maori: Principle ought not to enact *legislation affecting things of particular importance to Maori unless its terms* are generally acceptable to Maori. [...] If they are not observed, Maori are likely to claim, in the New Zealand courts and internationally, that they have been deprived of their property in an arbitrary and discriminatory fashion. Today's grievances are likely to become tomorrow's new claims before the Waitangi Tribunal.

# Discursive Functions

- Formulation of Identity: Imposed Superordinate vs Ethnically Marked
- Formulation of the Past: Relevant or Irrelevant to the current situation
- Formulation of Special Cases/Special Privileges: Pakeha vs Maori as the privileged group demanding extras

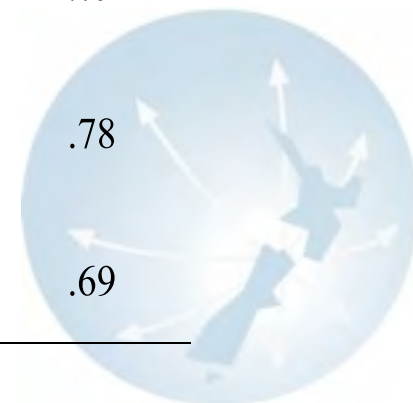


# STEP 3: Operationalizing one aspect of Historical Reps as a culture-specific legitimizing myth or ideology

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The Historical Negation Scale	Loading
Grievances for past injustices should be recognized and due compensation offered to the descendants of those who suffered from such injustices. (r)	.86
New Zealand law needs to recognize that certain ethnic minorities have been treated unfairly in the past. People belonging to those groups should be entitled to certain benefits and compensation. (r)	.84
I believe that I should take part in the efforts to help repair the damage to others caused by earlier generations of people from my ethnic group. (r)	.83
We as a nation have a responsibility that see that due settlement is offered to Maori in compensation for past injustices. (r)	.82
We should not have to pay for the mistakes of our ancestors.	.81
We should all move on as one nation and forget about past differences and conflicts between ethnic groups.	.79
It is true that many things happened to Maori people in the past that should not have happened, but it is unfair to hold current generations of Pakeha/NZ Europeans accountable for things that happened so long ago.	.78
People who weren't around in previous centuries should not feel accountable for the actions of their ancestors.	.69

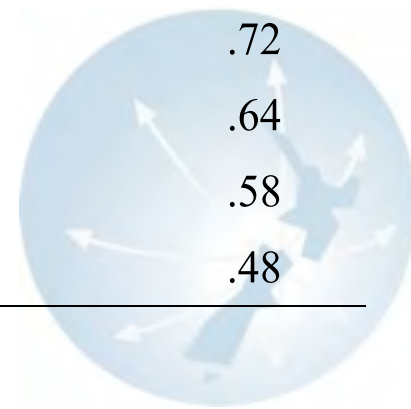
(r) = Item is reverse scored.



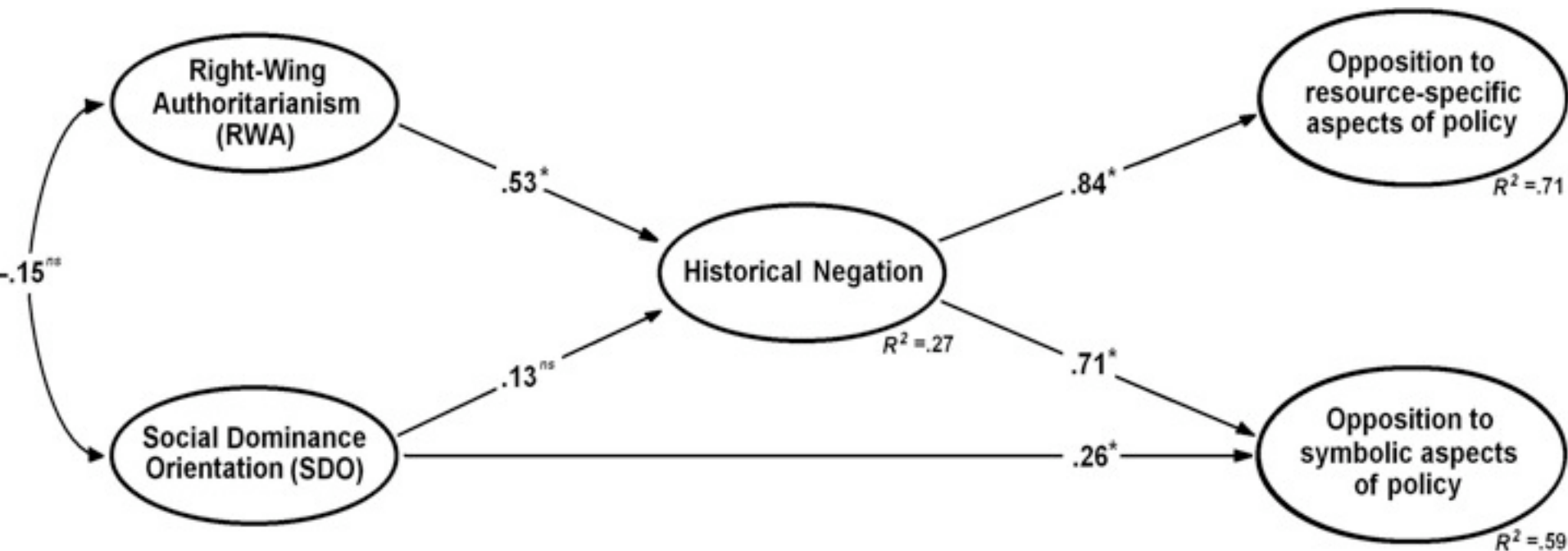
# Dependent Measures: Symbolic and Resource-based policy issues

	Factor 1	Factor 2
<b>Attitudes toward the symbolic aspects of bicultural policy</b>		
Performance of the Haka at international sports events.	.81	
The use of Maori cultural icons to promote New Zealand tourism.	.80	
Maori greeting ceremonies (Powhiri) at formal events.	.72	
Teaching Maori language in all New Zealand primary schools.	.68	
Singing the national anthem in Maori and English.	.59	
Waitangi Day as a national celebration of biculturalism.	.55	
<b>Attitudes toward the resource-specific aspects of bicultural policy</b>		
Maori ownership of the seabed and foreshore. (r)		.90
Crown ownership of the seabed and foreshore.		.72
Rates exemptions on Maori land.		.64
Treaty claims for rights to the radio spectrum.		.58
Requiring all Treaty claims to be lodged by the end of 2006. (r)		.48

Loadings < .30 are not shown. (r) = Item is reverse scored.



# Historical Negation mediates the effect of ind-diff measures on policy preferences (Sibley, Liu, Duckitt, & Khan, EJSP 2008)





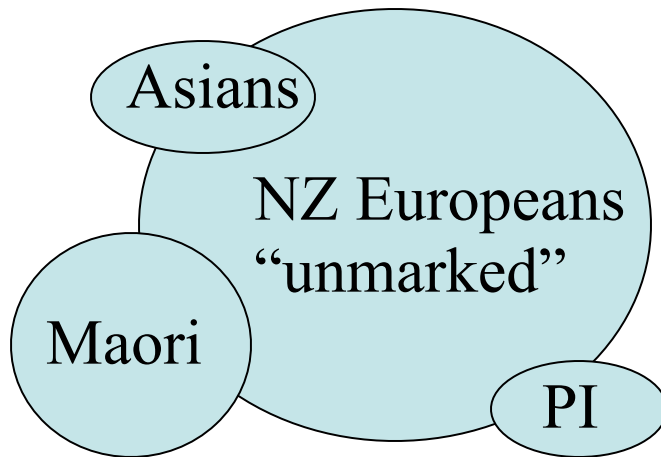
# Prejudice and social identity as the end result of a cultural belief system

- NZers who adopt a liberal democratic narrative of history (an enlightenment story favoring the rights of the individual, private property ownership, and free trade under a national identity that leaves ethnicity unmarked) view indigenous claims for resources and group recognition as illegitimate; they are *prejudiced* against these claims.
- NZers who adopt a bicultural narrative of history (partnership & interaction between two peoples anchored in the Treaty) view the same claims as reasonable and legitimate.

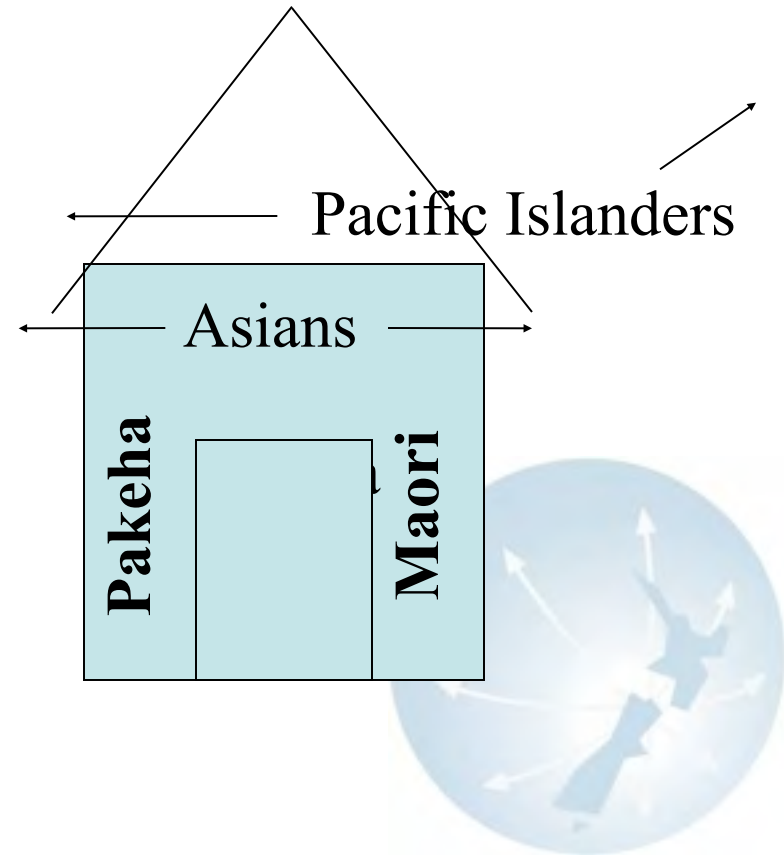


# Visioning the Future

## Liberalism



## Biculturalism



# Selected References on NZ Identities

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- Kirkwood, S., Liu, J.H., & Weatherall, A. (2005). Challenging the standard story of indigenous rights in Aotearoa/New Zealand. *Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology*, 15, 493-505.
- Sibley, C.S., Liu, J.H., Duckitt, J., & Khan, S.S. (2008). Social representations of history and the legitimation of social inequality: The form and function of historical negation. *European Journal of Psychology*, 38, 542-565.



# History as a culture specific symbolic resource for political legitimacy and identity

- Shared representations of national history accumulate society's wisdom about how it has dealt with issues of concern in the past, and these have legitimate power in debating its future. Each culture has evolved a system of symbols for legitimizing political positions and warranting debate based on its own history and experiences.
- They can be of use in reifying local systems of meaning as indigenous psychologies, but viewed in interaction with modernization and globalization rather than as a static system.



# Culture and Globalization

- Our work on Social Representations of World History examines to what extent events and figures in world history have universal vs culture/region specific symbolic meaning. We are developing a symbolic vocabulary for global culture capable of embracing pluralism in the meaning system.
- Certain events and figures may have only culture specific meaning, but others may have global or universally shared meaning, which forms the basis for better cross-cultural understanding and greater potential for world peace



# Open Ended Questions used

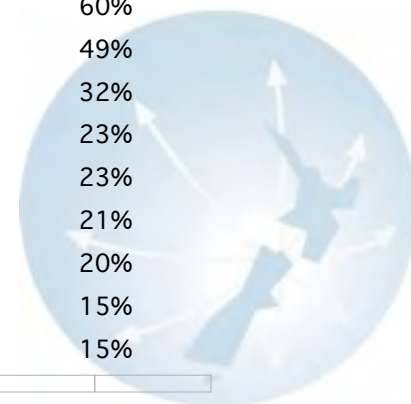
- Write down the names of the 5 people born in the last 1,000 years whom you consider to have had the most impact, good or bad, on World History.
- Imagine that you were giving a seminar on world history. What 7 events would you teach as the most important in World History?





# Most Important Events in World History according to Western Samples

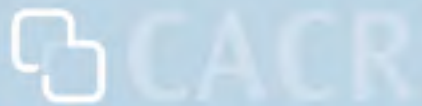
Rank	USA (N=82)	Pct	Great Britain (N=39)	Pct	France (N=99)	Pct
1	WW II	86%	WWII	77%	WWII	64%
2	WW I	50%	WW I	64%	French Rev	54%
3	American Indep	38%	Vietnam War	28%	WW I	30%
4	Sept 11 Terrorism	27%	Man on the Moon	26%	US History	28%
5	Discov Americas	26%	Birth of Christ	26%	Colonization	27%
6	Vietnam War	20%	Industrial Rev	18%	Atomic Bombing	20%
7	American Civil War	20%	Discov. Of America	18%	German Reunification	19%
8	French Rev	14%	Roman Empire	18%	Man on the Moon	16%
9	Birth of Christ	14%	Atomic Bombing	15%	Decolonization	14%
10	Breakup of USSR	12%	Slavery	13%	Nazism/Facism	12%
			Gulf War	13%		
Rank	Australia (N=98)	Pct	New Zealand (N=107)	Pct	Germany (N=81)	Pct
1	WWII	68%	WWII	73%	WWII	68%
2	WW I	60%	WW I	64%	WW I	60%
3	Man on the Moon	24%	Man on the Moon	37%	French Rev	49%
4	Holocaust	21%	Women's Suffrage	21%	Discov. Americas	32%
5	Atomic Bombing	21%	Birth of Christ	21%	German Reunification	23%
6	Industrial Revolution	19%	Industrial Rev	20%	Russian Rev	23%
7	Vietnam War	18%	Roman Empire & Fall	19%	Cold War	21%
8	Discov. Of Australia	16%	German Reunification	16%	Vietnam War	20%
9	Women's Suffrage	16%	Discov. Of America	16%	Crusades	15%
10	Birth of Christ	15%	French Revolution	15%	Colonialism	15%



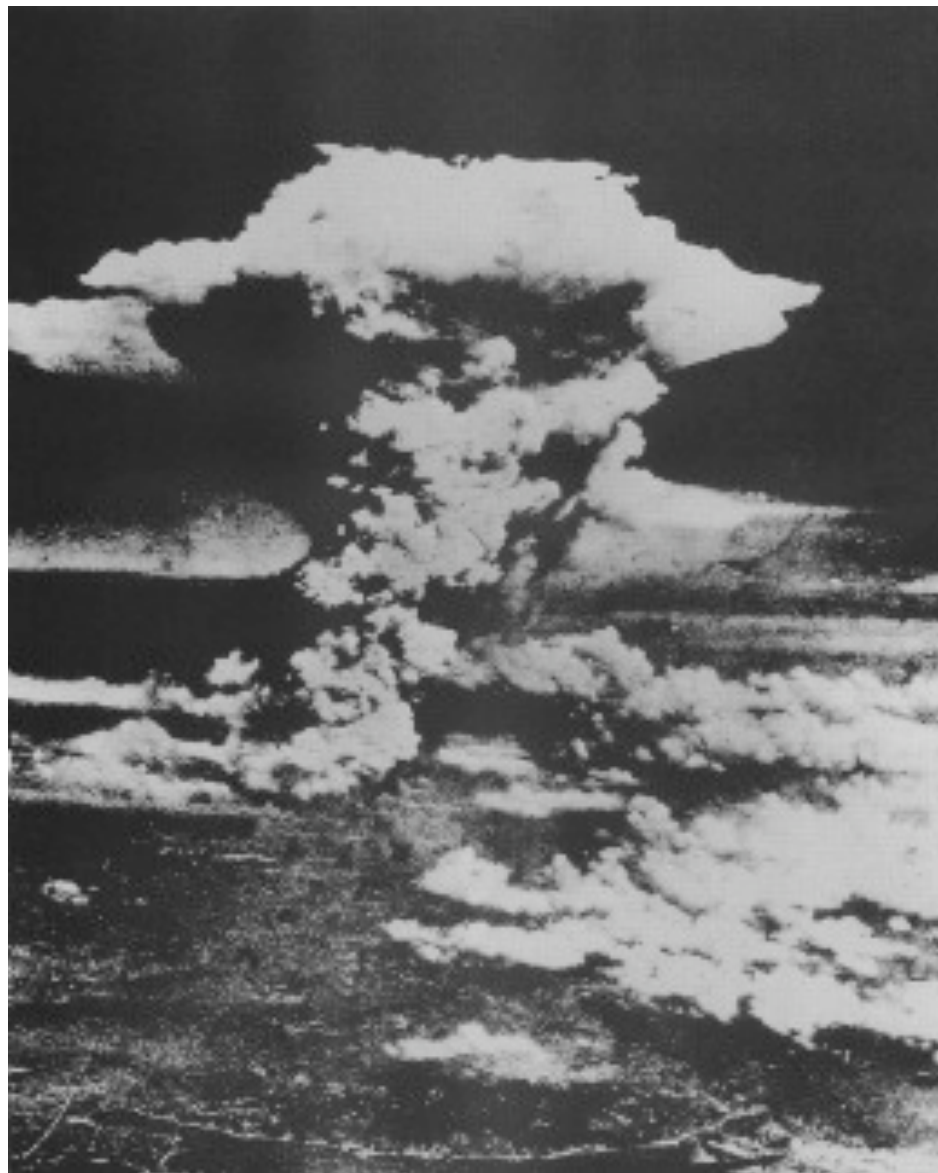
# Most Important Events in World History according to East Asian Samples

Rank	Japan (N=75)	Pct	Taiwan (N=646)	Pct	Hong Kong (N=119)	Pct
1	WWII	52%	WW II	69%	WWII	81%
2	WW I	29%	WW I	60%	WW I	52%
3	French Revolution	23%	Man on the Moon	25%	Tien An Men	45%
4	Industrial Rev	17%	Industrial Rev	23%	Sino-Japanese War	39%
5	Vietnam War	17%	American Indep	22%	USSR Breakup	23%
6	Cold War	12%	Discov. of Americas	20%	Cultural Revolution	19%
7	Crusades	11%	USSR Breakup	15%	German Reunification	16%
8	Atomic Bombing	9%	Crusades	15%	Gulf War	15%
9	Discov. of Americas	9%	Renaissance	14%	American Indep	14%
10	Korean War	7%	French Revolution	10%	French Revolution	14%
	American Indep	7%				
Rank	Singapore (N=196)	Pct	Philippines (N=272)	Pct	Malaysia (N=145)	Pct
1	WWII	94%	WWII	68%	WWII	60%
2	WW I	84%	WW I	54%	WW I	60%
3	Gulf War	32%	Gulf War	23%	Industrial Rev	28%
4	Cold War	24%	French Rev	16%	Rise of Islam	23%
5	Great Depression	22%	Industrial Rev	15%	Atomic Bombing	17%
6	Industrial Rev	19%	Nazism	15%	Chinese history	14%
7	Vietnam War	11%	Renaissance	15%	Islam v.Christian Wars	13%
8	USSR Breakup	10%	People Power (EDSA)	14%	Opium War	12%
9	Rise of Communism	10%	Atomic Bombing	13%	Renaissance	12%
10	French Revolution	9%	Man on the Moon	11%	Japanese colonialism	11%
	German Reunification	9%				





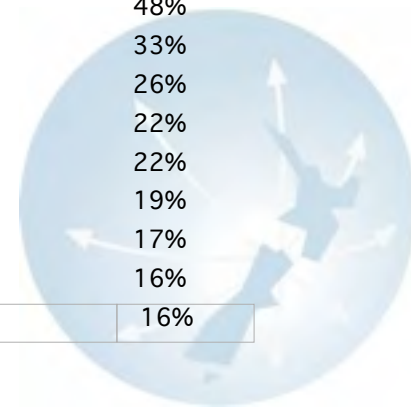
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# Most Important Figures in World History in last 1000 years according to Western Samples

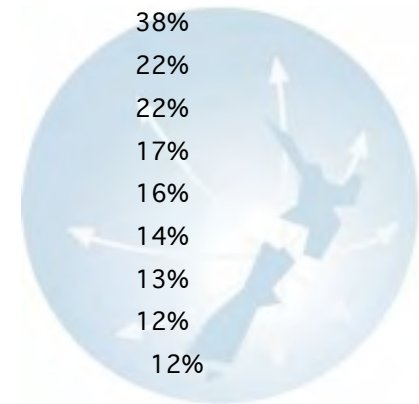
Rank	USA (N=85)	Pct	Great Britain (N=40)	Pct	France (N=100)	Pct
1	Hitler	79%	Hitler	100%	Hitler	86%
2	Gandhi	36%	M.L. King	33%	Napolean	30%
3	M.L. King	32%	Churchill	30%	De Gaulle	24%
4	Napoleon	22%	Thatcher	23%	Einstein	21%
5	Columbus	16%	Einstein	23%	Gandhi	19%
6	Marx	15%	Princess Diana	20%	Columbus	18%
7	Lincoln	14%	Mandela	20%	Freud	18%
8	Washington	14%	Mother Theresa	18%	Mandela	15%
9	Einstein	13%	Saddam Hussain	18%	Marx	14%
10	Kennedy	12%	Kennedy	13%	Kennedy	14%
10=	Stalin	12%				
Rank	Australia (N=101)	Pct	New Zealand (N=111)	Pct	Germany (N=69)	Pct
1	Hitler	85%	Hitler	88%	Hitler	91%
2	Mandela	23%	Einstein	36%	Napolean	48%
3	Einstein	22%	Gandhi	22%	Martin Luther	33%
4	M. L. King	21%	Napolean	14%	Gandhi	26%
5	Gandhi	19%	Churchill	13%	Einstein	22%
6	Kennedy	16%	M.L. King	12%	Stalin	22%
7	Capt Cook	15%	Mandela	11%	Gorbachev	19%
8	Marx	14%	Mother Teresa	11%	Bismarck	17%
9	Freud	12%	Newton	10%	Lincoln	16%
10	Churchill	11%	Columbus	9%	Kennedy	16%
			Shakespear	9%		
			Thatcher	9%		



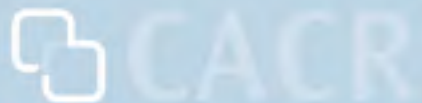
# Most Important Figures in World History according to Asian Samples

Rank	Japan (N=78)	Pct	Taiwan (N=663)	Pct	Hong Kong (N=122)	Pct
1	Hitler	54%	Hitler	41%	Mao	63%
2	Napolean	26%	Lincoln	26%	Sun Yat-sen	58%
3	Edison	19%	Einstein	22%	Hitler	49%
4	Mao	15%	Napoleon	22%	Einstein	38%
5	Lincoln	15%	F.D.Roosevelt	19%	Deng Xiaoping	29%
6	N. Oda	14%	Sun Yat-sen	19%	Newton	17%
7	Kennedy	14%	Edison	19%	Napoleon	11%
8	H. Toyotomi	13%	Mao	17%	Qin Emperor	9%
9	Einstein	10%	Washington	16%	Bill Clinton	9%
10	Columbus	10%	Jesus Christ	14%	Edison	9%

Rank	Singapore (N=196)	Pct	Malaysia (N=131)	Pct	Philippines (N=265)	Pct
1	Hitler	77%	Hitler	44%	Hitler	57%
2	Gandhi	42%	Gandhi	27%	Gandhi	38%
3	Mao	32%	Mao	26%	Jose Rizal	22%
4	Churchill	20%	Mohammed	19%	Einstein	22%
5	Saddam Hussain	17%	Marx	16%	Mao	17%
6	Lee Kuan Yew	16%	Lincoln	15%	Mother Teresa	16%
7	Mother Teresa	15%	Stamford Raffles	13%	Andres Bonifacio	14%
8	Einstein	15%	T. Abdul-Rahman	12%	Lincoln	13%
9	Napolean	11%	Sun Yat-sen	11%	Ferdinand Marcos	12%
10	Stalin	11%	Mahathir	11%	Marx	12%



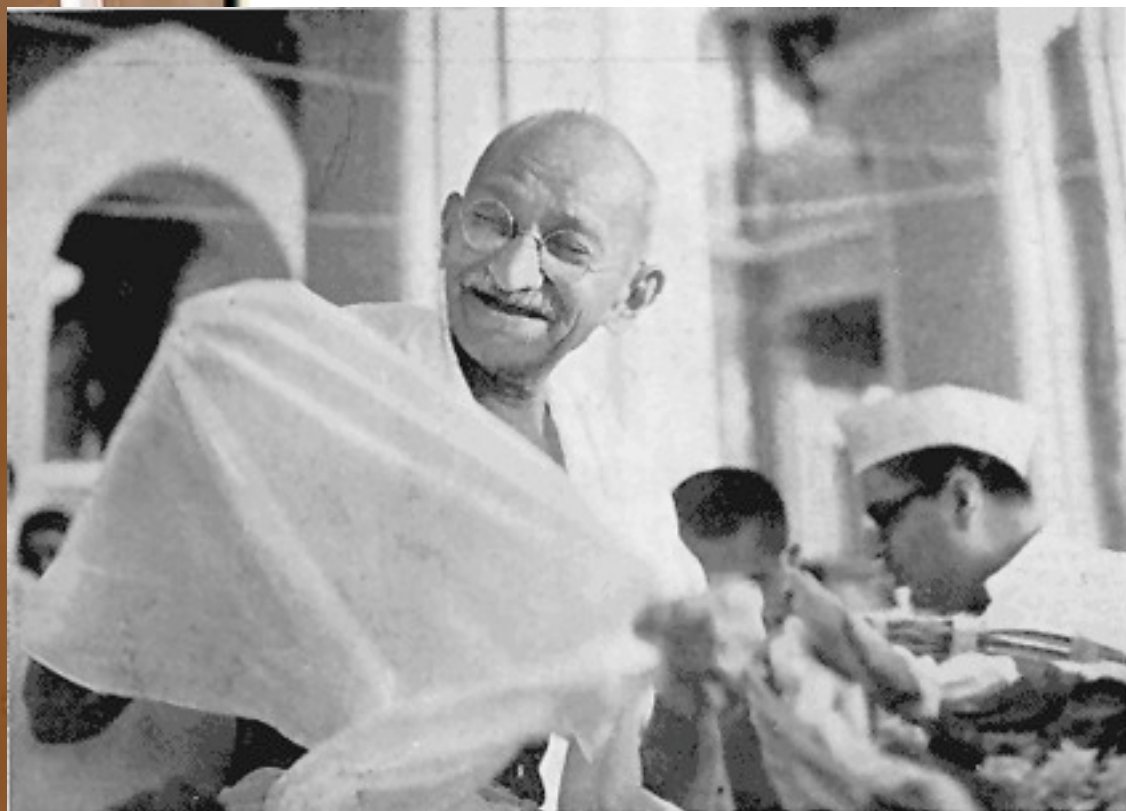




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# Summary – Representations of World History

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- (1) Focused on the recent past, with the 20<sup>th</sup> century, with sample averages of 63% of events and 72% of persons
- (2) Centered around politics and war, which accounted for sample averages of 67% of events and persons.
- (3) Dominated by the events of the World Wars, and
- (4) the individual Hitler, who was perceived as negative.
- (5) Representations were more Eurocentric than ethnocentric especially for Events, with nominations from Western nations generally exceeding nominations from Asia even amongst Asian samples.
- (6) The importance of economics and science/technology was severely under-represented.
- (7) The Democratic Revolutions (French and American) and the Cold War were the most important clusters of events after the World Wars



# **World History and the Emergence of Global Consciousness**

- Representations are globalized, with Asian samples seeing world history as emanating from the West. No dichotomy of “cultural differences”, just more or less Eurocentrism.
- Asian peoples do not acknowledge one another’s contributions to world history
- These representations can be used by Western powers to justify their political and military actions where they conflict with other groups. Not only military and economic might, but representational resources are part of the pre-eminence of Western powers.





# Most Imp Events in WH post 9-11

Rank	China (N=115)	Pct	Ev	Rank	India (N=100)	Pct	Ev	Rank	East Timor (N=98)	Pct	Ev	Rank	Indonesia (N=104)	Pct	Ev
1	WW II	81%	2.0	1	WW II	61%	2.8	1	Iraq War	56%	2.1	1	WW II	79%	2.8
2	Found PR China	48%	5.3	2	9-11 WTC	49%	3.1	2	WW II	39%	1.5	2	9-11 WTC	60%	2.6
3	WW I	40%	2.2	3	Indian Independenc	42%	6.3	3	9-11 WTC	36%	1.4	3	Asian Tsunami	43%	2.4
4	Industrial Rev	36%	5.2	4	WW I	37%	2.8	4	Terrorism	28%	1.3	4	WW I	24%	2.5
5	Technological Dev	33%	5.5	5	Cold War	20%	4.0	5	Bali Bombing	20%	1.4	5	Iraq War	32%	1.9
6	Fall of Communism	24%	3.2	6	India-Pakistan War	18%	3.7	6	Dili Massacre	19%	1.4	6	Crusades	24%	3.8
7	Man on Moon	20%	5.5	7	both World Wars	15%	2.5	7	Timorese Indepen.	15%	7.0	7	Industrial Revolutio	22%	4.9
8	Colonization	20%	4.3	8	Partition India-Pak	15%	2.6	8	Israel-Palest. Conflic	12%	2.7	8	Bali Bombing	21%	1.5
9	Sino-Japanese War	17%	4.2	9	Iraq War	14%	2.7	9	Timor Invasion by Ir	8%	1.5	9	Israel-Palest. Conflic	21%	3.0
10	Atomic Bomb	16%	3.0	10	Asian Tsunami	14%	2.4	10	HIV	8%	1.7	10	Atomic Bomb	20%	2.8
10=	Opium War	16%	2.2						Human Rights Decl.	8%	6.6				

Rank	Russia (N=60)	Pct	Ukraine (N=84)	Pct	Poland (N=102)	Pct	Turkey (N=227)	Pct
1	WW II	57%	4.0 WW II	100%	1.4 WWII	73%	1.3 WW I	44%
2	WW I	46%	4.1 WW I	71%	1.8 WW I	54%	1.4 Turkish War of Inde	42%
3	Great Patriotic War	45%	4.1 Chernobyl Melt down	69%	1.6 9-11 WTC	29%	1.3 WW II	41%
4	Christian. Of Russia	33%	4.2 Orange Revolution	52%	5.6 Fall of Communism	26%	6.3 Conquest of Istanbul	35%
5	Chechnya War	32%	3.7 Great Hunger 1932-34	47%	1.1 Discovery of America	21%	5.8 9-11 WTC	26%
6	Kulikovo Battle	28%	4.2 Iraq War	33%	2.4 Polish Pope	14%	7.0 French Revolution	22%
7	Fall of Soviet Union	27%	4.4 Fall of Soviet Union	33%	6.7 Creation of EU	14%	5.5 Found. Turkish Rep.	19%
8	Russian Revolution	23%	4.0 Atomic Bombing	31%	2.1 Death of Polish Pop	12%	4.2 Iraq War	20%
9	Atomic Bomb	18%	2.7 Ukraine Independence	23%	6.3 Beginning Commun	12%	2.2 Discovery of America	13%
10	Afganistan War	18%	4.0 9-11 WTC	22%	1.8 Birth of Christ	12%	6.6 Industrial Revolutio	12%

# New World Order Post 9-11?

- Bush perceived as more negative than Hitler in 4 of 6 samples where they were both perceived as important. Severe decline in the representational prestige of the West due to the Iraq War following 9-11, which have replaced the Cold War and Democratic Revolutions as the second most important cluster of events after the World Wars.
- The Iraq War fits less well with a liberal enlightenment narrative than the Democratic Revolutions and Cold War, and may fuel greater confidence among Asian nations in the moral value of their own places and forward trajectory in history. Decolonization part of the process.





# New World History Survey

- Moving from open-ended nominations to closed-ended evaluations.
- An attempt to derive cross-cultural dimensions of historical evaluation
- Data collected from 40 societies
- Initial analyses focused on the rewards & costs of forcing agreement (or structural equivalence) on survey items across cultures
- Developing a global language of historical symbols: Importance and evaluation of 40 prominent historical events and figures across cultures





# Costs and Benefits of Forcing Agreement on CC Data

- Previous cross-cultural research on dimensions of cultural variation (Hofstede, Schwartz, House, Leung & Bond, etc.) investigated domains where universal meaning was presumed (e.g., values, orientations, social axioms).
- There is no reason to expect the meaning of historical events and figures to be shared across all cultures. So we need techniques of measuring rewards and costs of forcing structural equivalence on events and figures of world history



# Item Selection

- Any event or figure nominated by more than 1 society in either the 2004 or 2009 papers were included.
- Additional items included for theoretical purposes (e.g., 30 years war because it was the most important European event of the 1600s, but totally forgotten now, topical events like global warming and recent figures like Bill Gates to examine recency effects)
- Item pool was biased against Africa and Arabic societies because they were absent from previous research.





# Evaluation of Most Imp Events in WH

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1. Islam-Christian Wars/Crusades  
(11<sup>th</sup> -14<sup>th</sup> c)

2. Abolition of Slavery (19<sup>th</sup> c)

3. Sept 11 Bombing

4. Iraq War (2005)

5. Discovery of Americas

6. Renaissance (15<sup>th</sup> c)

7. 30 Years War (17<sup>th</sup> c)

8. French Revolution

9. American (war of) Independence

10. Industrial Revolution

11. American Civil War

12. Terrorism (terror bombings)

13. Opium War (China, 19<sup>th</sup> c)

14. World War I

15. World War II

16. Creation/Evolution of Humanity

17. Rise of Ancient Civilizations

18. Sino-Japanese War (1930s)

19. Atomic Bombings

20. Cold War

21. Women's Emancipation & Suffrage

22. Holocaust

23. Russian Revolution (1917)

24. Fall of Berlin Wall/End of USSR

25. Cultural Revolution (China)

26. Man on the Moon / Space Travel

27. Decolonization

28. Great Depression (1930s)

29. Rise of European Union

30. Global Warming

31. Foundation of United Nations

32. Foundation of the major religions

33. Vietnam War

34. Invention of Printing Press

35. Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

36. Age of Discovery / Colonization

37. Rise of Islamic Civilization

38. Partition of India and Pakistan

39. Asian Tsunami (2004)

40. Digital Age (Computers, Internet)



# Data Samples: 30 societies, N=5800

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Country	N	Gender		Age
		Female	Male	
Australia	183	138	45	27,26 (12,10)
Austria	195	113	82	25,06 (4,62)
Belgium	141	115	24	20,53 (4,409)
Brasil	212	156	56	24,11 (7,51)
Bulgaria	239	202	36	19,4 (1,1)
Canada	196	133	62	19,55 (4,61)
China	186	103	83	19,76 (1,17)
Colombia	159	78	81	21,26 (2,86)
Fiji	196	102	94	22,19 (3,00)
Germany	151	78	73	23,92 (3,31)
Hong Kong	152	98	51	--
Hungary	185	119	65	21,36 (2,21)
India	202	100	102	21,24 (2,83)
Indonesia	199	93	106	20,68 (2,38)
Italy	142	78	64	24,22 (7,75)
Japan	113	60	53	21,06 (1,52)
Korea	224	123	101	20,98 (2,37)
Malaysia	198	159	39	23,64 (4,37)
Mexico	198	100	98	20,19 (2,04)
Netherlands	201	163	38	19,74 (2,91)
New Zealand	161	--	--	--
Norway	181	118	62	22,43 (3,54)
Philippines	330	218	112	18,96 (1,65)
Portugal	198	135	63	19,87 (2,67)
Russia	214	101	113	20,97 (3,61)
Singapore	220	162	58	20,89 (1,45)
Switzerland	145	107	37	21,41 (3,44)
Taiwan	291	140	151	20,66 (1,84)
Tunisia	135	109	24	22,61 (5,18)
USA	253	145	108	19,67 (1,22)
	Σ = 5800			



# Multi-Dimensional-Scaling to detect Dimensions of Meaning

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- Non-metric MDS on Euclidean distances using standardized z-scores between the 40 events and figures separately (MDS between variables) across all countries using individual-level data. This procedure is useful to detect underlying dimensions of meaning. Generalized Procrustes Analysis assesses agreement between configurations from different societies. GPA rotates the coordinates of all configurations in such a way that they maximally correspond to one another.
- Poor Fit Across 30 societies
- Only the first dimension of meaning Positive – Negative is stable. There is a lot of contestation around the meaning of some items as either representing Progress or Imperialism





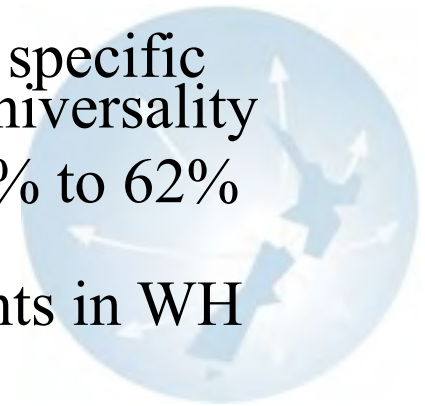


# Eliminated Items with Culture Specific Meaning

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- Items with Goodness of Fit ratios less than 0.50 were eliminated:
- Discovery of Americas, American (war of) Independence, American Civil War,
- Opium War (China, 19th c), Sino-Japanese War (1930s), Cultural Revolution (China)
- Women's Emancipation & Suffrage, Rise of European Union
- Russian Revolution (1917), 30 Years War (17th c)
- Foundation of the major religions, Rise of Islamic Civilization, Islam-Christian Wars/Crusades (11th -14th c),
- Partition of India and Pakistan.
- These 14 events can be understood as culturally specific and add noise to overall solution that aims for universality
- However, the overall fit improved only from 55% to 62%
- In the end, we were unable to uncover universal dimensions of meaning in the evaluation of events in WH



# A cross-culturally reliable historical events scale: Calamities

Table 5 Overall Factor Loadings, Cronbach's alpha, mean inter-item correlation, and Tucker's Phi for "Historical Calamities", "Historical Progress", and "Historical Resistance to Oppression"

Event	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3
"Historical Calamities" ( $\alpha_{\text{overall}} = .85$ ; $\alpha_{\text{western}} = .82$ , $\alpha_{\text{non-western1}} = .82$ ; $\alpha_{\text{non-western2}} = .84$ overall mean inter-item correlation = .32; Tucker's Phi = 1.00, 1.00, .99)			
World War I	<b>0.74</b>	0.01	0.06
World War II	<b>0.73</b>	0.04	0.04
Atomic Bombings	<b>0.62</b>	0.01	-0.05
Vietnam War	<b>0.58</b>	0.00	-0.04
Terrorism (terror bombings)	<b>0.57</b>	-0.21	-0.04
Cold War	<b>0.56</b>	-0.02	0.13
Israeli-Palestinian Conflict	<b>0.56</b>	-0.03	-0.14
Iraq War (2005)	<b>0.55</b>	0.05	-0.09
Asian Tsunami (2004)	<b>0.55</b>	-0.19	-0.07
Global Warming	<b>0.53</b>	-0.03	-0.16
Holocaust	<b>0.51</b>	0.02	-0.21
Great Depression (1930s)	<b>0.46</b>	-0.14	0.10



# Less Agreement on Progress

“Historical Progress” ( $\alpha_{\text{overall}} = .65$ ; $\alpha_{\text{western}} = .65$ , $\alpha_{\text{non-western1}} = .65$ ; $\alpha_{\text{non-western2}} = .65$ ; overall mean inter-item correlation = .24; Tucker’s Phi = .99, .98, .96)			
Digital Age (Computers, Internet)	0.03	<b>0.71</b>	-0.07
Man on the Moon / Space Travel	-0.06	<b>0.64</b>	0.05
Creation/Evolution of Humanity	-0.07	<b>0.54</b>	0.19
Industrial Revolution	0.03	<b>0.53</b>	0.31
Rise of European Union	-0.03	<b>0.53</b>	0.18
Foundation of United Nations	-0.13	<b>0.44</b>	0.21
“Historical Resistance to Oppression” ( $\alpha_{\text{overall}} = .59$ ; $\alpha_{\text{western}} = .50$ , $\alpha_{\text{non-western1}} = .56$ ; $\alpha_{\text{non-western2}} = .57$ ; overall mean inter-item correlation = .19; Tucker’s Phi = .99, .97, .96)			
American Civil War	0.28	-0.07	<b>0.55</b>
American (war of) Independence	0.06	0.22	<b>0.54</b>
Abolition of Slavery (19 <sup>th</sup> c)	-0.20	0.05	<b>0.51</b>
Renaissance (15 <sup>th</sup> c)	-0.10	0.19	<b>0.51</b>
Fall of Berlin Wall/End of USSR	-0.05	0.21	<b>0.50</b>
Decolonization	-0.15	0.12	<b>0.50</b>

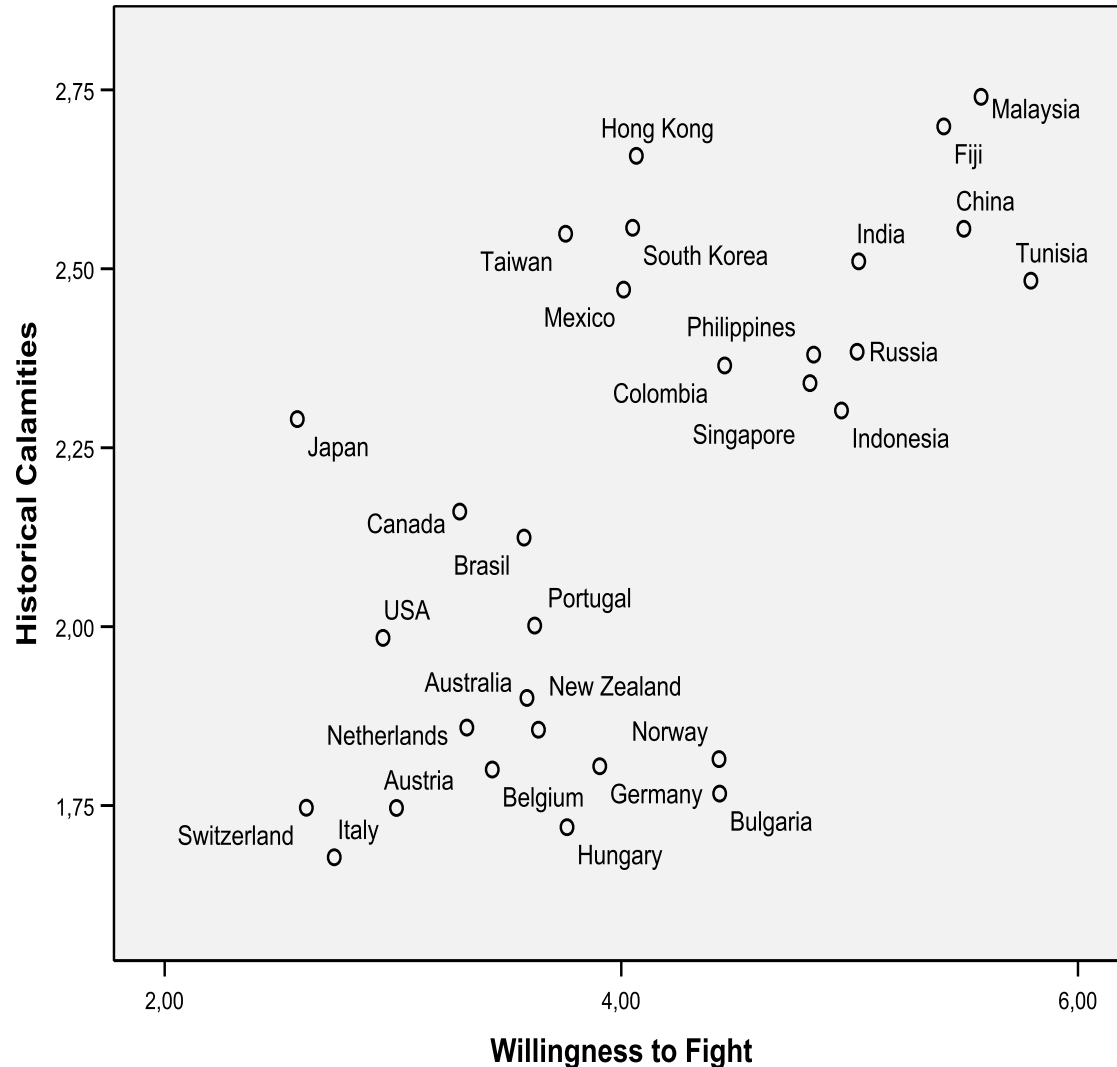


# Impact on Willingness to Fight, a critical aspect of Political Culture

Table 6. Coefficients for the fixed and random components of nested multilevel models assessing the effects of historical evaluations on willingness to fight for one's country across cultures.

		Fixed part			Random part	
		$\gamma$	$se$	$t$	$u$	$\chi^2$
Step 1	Intercept	4.10	.16	25.13*	.78	1467.32*
	WWII	.08	.03	2.83*	.01	89.37*
	September 11 <sup>th</sup>	-.03	.02	-1.43	.01	40.33
Step 2	Intercept	4.14	.16	25.68*	.76	728.05*
	WWII	-.01	.03	-.22	.01	48.52*
	September 11 <sup>th</sup>	-.04	.03	-1.49		50.53*
	Historical Calamities	.27	.11	2.56*	.21	131.39*
	Historical Resistance	.01	.04	.36	.01	44.30
	Historical Progress	.21	.04	4.96*	.04	62.88*

# Country level Data: Western countries don't want to fight and see Calamities as horrific



# Conclusion

- The Symbolic Landscape of Shared Meaning about World History is Limited.
- It is possible to force agreement, but crucial culture specific information is lost.
- There are significant differences between Western and non-Western representations, with certain items completely switching places in terms of nomological meaning: Women's Emancipation, Terrorism, Colonization, etc
- We can construct globally reliable scales focusing on positive/negative concepts
- Both Historical Calamities and Progress contribute independently to Willingness to Fight for Country, an important aspect of Political Culture for nations and for the Global Village





# Conclusion

- As the different peoples of the world rub shoulders within the political framework of the nation-state, the need to manage cultural diversity within and between states is becoming paramount. Social science knowledge that reflects ***both*** universals and culture specifics are needed.
- A marriage between content and process provides an important avenue for the export of social psychological research to larger issues of globalization and the emergence of global consciousness vital to the 21<sup>st</sup> century.



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