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***Stereotypes About New Zealand:
Culture, Contact, and National Identity***

**A thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Management in Communication Management
at Massey University, Palmerston North, New Zealand.**

Mischa Sander

2004



Stereotypes About New Zealand: Culture, Contact, and National Identity

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Abstract

From a sociocultural perspective, this study aims to describe stereotypes about New Zealand and New Zealanders and to compare them to New Zealanders' self-perceptions. Objectives are to determine whether differences across cultures exist that relate to stereotypes and how stereotype use and content relate to the amount of contact with New Zealanders. An extensive review of literature introduces general and intercultural concepts of stereotypes and links them to the national identity of New Zealanders. Focus group interviews and a qualitative pilot study are conducted in order to prepare and test an online survey targeted to young, educated people from selected Western cultures. More than 1,100 people participated, including New Zealanders, tourists, international students studying in New Zealand, and people who had not been to New Zealand at all. Results indicate that increased contact with New Zealanders may increase stereotype use. People who have not been to New Zealand mainly hold traditional stereotypes, whereas New Zealanders differentiate more between reality and stereotypical myths. As such, contact is closely related to stereotype use and content. By contrast, cultural membership shows no relation to stereotyping. Further, a theoretical framework, adapted from the Johari window, is developed that links stereotypes, national identity, and national image. As the study is limited because of non-random sampling techniques, its findings cannot be generalised to a larger population. Indications for future research opportunities include the use of larger random samples, particularly of alternative cultures, the application of qualitative measures, and the suggestion to replicate the theoretical framework.


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Preface

Research Background

Before I came to Aotearoa/New Zealand as an international student from Germany, I did not know much about the country and its people at all – apart from the odd stereotypes, of course. During my stay in that beautiful land of the long, white cloud, on the other side of the world, my perceptions about New Zealand changed, grew, and changed again several times. Now, I am left with a bag full of experiences collected in one and a half years. Not surprisingly, my own encounters are the starting point of this research about stereotypes of New Zealand.

From the beginning, I had contact with people from a wide range of cultures: Americans for a start, Asians, a couple of Germans, and, not the least, Kiwis. Thus, it came as no surprise that from my classes at Massey University in Palmerston North, I enjoyed Cross-cultural Communication very much. As someone from another culture, many topics applied to my own situation in some way. Accordingly, although the German and the New Zealand culture appeared not to be totally different, I encountered a lot of exciting variations. Therefore, as it was obvious that New Zealand differed a lot from, say, Asian cultures, I became particularly interested in variations across Western cultures. This interest explains the focus of the study on Western cultures as targets of participants.

Further, the choice of target groups reflects my own development from someone who has not been to New Zealand, to a tourist during the breaks, and eventually, to a sojourner for more than a year. The fact that I eventually stayed longer than expected almost gave me the feeling of starting to become something of a resident. This final

stage of my time in New Zealand offered me the chance to observe the effect of intercultural contact with New Zealanders from a distance. Hence, I aimed to conduct the study objectively in an empirical way, and not driven by my own emotions.

I am not a New Zealander, which may have both helped and hindered me in making claims about the New Zealand identity. Nevertheless, I aimed to make up for the lack of knowledge of and involvement in New Zealand society by presenting an extensive review of the literature. In fact, by conducting this kind of study, I learned a lot more about Aotearoa, its society, history, and cultural challenges, than I could have by just staying there. As such, the thesis about stereotypes of New Zealand is also a personal vehicle to identify myself with and understand the land and the people with whom I spent an important and joyful part of my life.

Acknowledgements

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In addition, I greatly appreciate the help of Judith Bernanke, adviser to the thesis, who got involved at very short notice, and made important comments, particularly in the field of tourism images. Prof. Frank Sligo, the supervisor of the pilot study, gave me valuable advice on research methods. I also owe thanks to Dr. Heather Kavan for helping me find the right words, and the team of the Department of Communication and Journalism for the friendly backing and encouragement.

Needless to say, I could not have achieved the results without the more than 1,100 participants of the survey. In addition, some of my friends had to test and re-test the questionnaire, I acquired them for pilot studies and focus groups, asked them to proofread parts of the thesis, and still, they seldom complained. From these friends, I would like to mention some who contributed the most, and with whom I also shared the great time I had in New Zealand: Cheers to Sophie Borchert, Hanna Diehl, Anna Finn, Kane Hopkins, Kathrin Ludewig, Aaron Oliver, Jan van Remmen, and Rebecca Smith. Furthermore, I say thank you to my family, who had to wait longer and longer until I eventually got home, and who supported me throughout.

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***STEREOTYPES ABOUT NEW ZEALAND:
CULTURE, CONTACT, AND NATIONAL IDENTITY***

1 Introduction

Perceptions about groups of people are often based on stereotypes, and researchers are interested to examine how these are formed, how accurate they are, and whether they differ among people in content and intensity. In particular, as a country focused on immigration and tourism, the stereotypes of New Zealand held by people from other cultures are an area of interest. Nelson (2002) reports that more than 3000 articles have been published on stereotypes in the last 25 years, which shows the general interest in the field. However, the lack of academic literature dealing with the New Zealand context demonstrates a need to conduct this kind of study.

The research project is conducted as a 75-point Master's thesis in Communication Management in the area of Cross-cultural Communication. From a sociocultural perspective, the study aims to describe stereotypes about New Zealand and New Zealanders and to compare them to New Zealanders' self-perceptions. Objectives are to determine whether stereotypes differ related to the amount of contact with New Zealanders and related to knowledge about New Zealand. In terms of stereotype use, it is sought to encounter how reluctantly stereotypes are disclosed, and why they may be inhibited. The study further aims to examine whether differences across cultures exist with regard to stereotype content and use. Moreover, a theoretical framework is developed that links stereotypes, national identity, and national image.

In the part Research Field, a comprehensive literature review outlines the boundaries of the study. Based on the findings of the literature review, a theoretical framework is developed to combine identity, image, and stereotypes. The so-called *Image-Identity-Reality grid* uses Luft and Ingham's (1955, cited in Luft, 1979) *Johari*

window as a starting point. Furthermore, three tourist publications are reviewed in detail in order to reveal stereotype content in tourism image promotions. The part concludes with an overview of the literature review findings, leading to a broad description of the research problem, which is then narrowed down to six research questions.

The instruments of the study are presented in the part Instruments and Preparation. Starting-point of the research project is a qualitative pilot study, including focus group interviews and a small web-based survey. The methodology and results of the pilot study are presented and discussed in a chapter of its own. The pilot study complements and prepares a quantitative online survey targeted to young, educated people from Western cultures. More than 1,100 people participated, including New Zealanders, tourists, international students studying in New Zealand, and people who had not been to New Zealand at all. The Methodology chapter focuses on the attributes of the sample and the procedures of the online survey. Ethical concerns are presented as well. In addition, the questionnaires are attached as Appendices.

In the part Data Analysis and Interpretation, firstly the results of the online survey are presented, mainly using frequency charts and proportions. Differences between samples have been examined with chi-square tests and one-way ANOVAs. Graphs, mainly bar charts, help visualising important results, which are also included in tables in the main body of the thesis. In the Discussion, the results are interpreted with respect to the research questions and referring to the literature. Limitations of the study are discussed in a separate chapter. Finally, the main findings are summarised in the Conclusion, and directions for future research are shown.

Only few notes have been made, which are included as footnotes to increase the lucidity of the thesis. Important terms are defined in the main body of the text. However, secondary important definitions are demarcated in notes (particularly in the Literature Review). Tables and Figures are numbered subsequently in each chapter, starting with the number of the chapter in which they occur. Moreover, in the text, anchors of a scale are italicised, whereas variable or category names are put into quotation marks. In general, the thesis is designed along the guidelines of the

American Psychological Association (APA style). The Bibliography includes, in separate chapters, the cited references and additional literature that has been used during the research process but has not been cited in the text.

While it is controversially discussed in the literature as to how intercultural contact influences stereotype use and content, this study will add new results to the debate. In addition, the focus on the New Zealand context allows for a critical analysis of New Zealand's national identity and national image promotion. As such, the results are meaningful to the New Zealand public, who can reflect on themselves in order to seek a common identity. In addition, the study is of interest to sociocultural scholars and practitioners in tourism and marketing.



RESEARCH FIELD

2 Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

The literature review defines the boundaries and bases of the study.¹ General concepts of stereotypes are introduced first and are further discussed with regard to ethnic stereotypes, social identity, and national identity. Some examples of cross-cultural and intercultural studies in stereotype research are presented. For the purpose of this paper, I use the term *cross-cultural* for differences across cultures; such as different travel motivations of German tourists compared to those of US-American tourists. In contrast, I refer to relationships between members of different cultures as *intercultural*; for example, when travellers interact with locals.

In addition, the relationship of national image with tourism and marketing is explored. As a result, the study offers a theoretical framework that links national image, national identity, national characteristics, and stereotypes. Finally, parts of the theoretical framework are applied to the New Zealand context. The New Zealand struggle to find a national identity is reviewed mainly from an historical perspective, dealing with the myths and icons of New Zealand life. Moreover, non-academic

¹ By choosing the literature, I foremost used the collection of the Massey University Library. In addition, I had access to important sources outside the Massey Library by Interlibrary Loan. Journals are also not restricted, but they are mainly obtained from databases accessible through the Massey Library webpage, such as EBSCO Megafire and Web of Science. The language restriction is English. Moreover, I have not included a year restriction as some older literature has set milestones in the debate.

sources are taken into account in collecting information on contemporary attributes and stereotypes of New Zealanders.

2.2 General Concept of Stereotypes

In order to understand what stereotypes are and how they work, it is necessary to review features of the general concept of stereotypes, to define related terms, and to identify relevant theories. Of special interest are questions surrounding whether stereotypes can be inhibited, how accurate they are, and particularly, how stereotype use changes with intergroup contact.

Origins and Meaning of the Term Stereotype

The term *stereotype* literally means “fixed form” and was first used in the 18th century to describe the equivalent copy of a printing type, allowing printers to identically reproduce one impression thousands of times (Southward, 1882/1980; Updike, 1937; see also J. Harding, 1968). After Lippmann (1922/1961) introduced the term stereotype in the social science context, Allport (1954) put the concept into a theoretical background, and many of his findings are still supported today.

According to Lippmann (1922/1961), stereotyping is the tendency of people to use a single “picture in their heads” (p. 4) when describing other groups (such as Germans, the Ku Klux Klan, or women). This means, people who share one characteristic are put into a category, assuming that they share other characteristics as well. Allport (1954) points out that this assumption may be rational (for example, “British citizens speak the English language”) or irrational (for example, “women are bad drivers”). Thus, social categorisation is fundamental to stereotyping (Tajfel, 1969), with race, gender, and age being the most important categories (Nelson, 2002). Stereotypes are normally adopted from second-hand sources within the own culture; for example, parents, peer groups, or the mass media (Allport, 1954). In addition, they may be shared among one’s own group, and they may vary to certain degrees across situations, concepts, and people (J. Harding, 1968).

Stereotypes in the Context of Other Concepts

Stereotypes are inherent in the schema concept (Whitney, 2002; see also Carlston & Mae, 2002; Fiske & Taylor, 1984) and closely related to the group concept of sociology (J. Harding, 1968), differentiating one's own in-group to out-groups (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). These group differences are usually described by traits or behaviour of people (Duckitt, 1992; Kobrynowicz & Biernat, 1998; Leyens, Yzerbyt, & Schadron, 1994).

As stereotypes are the cognitive part of an attitude, they deal with beliefs and knowledge about social groups. In contrast, prejudice relates to emotions, and discrimination relates to behaviour (Nelson, 2002). Peabody (1967, 1985) shows that stereotypical traits carry not only a descriptive, but also an evaluative component; that means, stereotypes can have a positive, negative, or neutral connotation. By contrast, inherent in prejudice are values such as preference or liking (Allport, 1954). For example, a stereotype might be to think that Germans are hard-working and ambitious; then, a prejudice is to hate them because of this (or, conversely, to admire them because of this). Discrimination, finally, describes the actions resulting from stereotypes and prejudice, for example in the form of racism. These three components are closely related (Allport, 1954); prejudice and discrimination are often based on and justified by stereotypical group differences (Duckitt, 1992). However, this study deals explicitly with stereotypes.

Stereotype Activation and Inhibition

Allport (1954) states that generalising is natural to humans, as it fulfils the important role of navigating people through the complexity inherent in life. Thus, while mass media and peer groups socially support and constantly repeat them, stereotypes help to keep the world predictable, save cognitive effort and time, and limit uncertainty and insecurity (Fiske & Taylor, 1984). Therefore, psychological cognition theorists assume that stereotypes are an automatic and implicit process (Fiske & Taylor, 1984; Hamilton, 1981; S. E. Taylor, 1981). As it is an unconscious mental manipulation, people usually do not recognise that they stereotype (Bodenhausen & Macrae, 1998b; see also Nelson, 2002).

Nevertheless, this cognitive model has been criticised because it cannot explain why the degree of stereotyping differs due to factors of motivation, personality, value system, and personal contact. Moreover, as Devine (1998) states, the question arises as to whether the functional use is desirable, as stereotypes are the foundation of discrimination (see also Berry, Poortinga, Segall, & Dasen, 2002; Pickering, 2001). Already Gilbert (1951, in a replication study of Katz & Braly, 1933) not only shows how stereotypes can change in content over time due to contemporary issues, but he also reports a greater reluctance to use stereotypes than 20 years before (see also Tusting, Crawshaw, & Callen, 2002). Likewise, members of a target group see it as unfair or inappropriate to be stereotyped even with positive attributes (Bodenhausen & Macrae, 1998a). However, one has to distinguish between activating and applying stereotypes; that means, people may hold stereotypes, but may not express them in particular instances (Nelson, 2002).

Social psychology emphasises the process of how stereotypes are formed and why (Banaji, 2002), whereas psychological experiments show that stereotyping decreases in relation to several factors. These factors include the availability of information contradicting the stereotype, the importance of accuracy, egalitarian goals (Bodenhausen & Macrae, 1998b), in-group characteristics (such as heterogeneity), the level of knowledge about the target group (Allport, 1954), and even mood (Bodenhausen, 1993, cited in Nelson, 2002; see also Berry et al., 2002). However, each of these factors has to be very strong to overcome the automatic tendency to stereotype.

In addition, Tajfel (1969) questions whether individual experiments can measure social stereotyping at all. In contrast, the sociocultural perspective, which is concerned with stereotype content and differences across social groups, holds that social factors influence individuals (Ashmore & Del Boca, 1981; Leyens et al., 1994; Nelson, 2002). Therefore, it comes to no surprise that the interest in sociocultural studies has grown again in the last decade (Oakes & Reynolds, 1997). As such, the sociocultural approach is important to cross-cultural communication scholars and to this study in particular.

Intergroup Contact and Stereotype Use

From a sociocultural view, how intergroup contact affects stereotype use and quality is of interest (see Liberman, Newman, & Chaiken, 1998). Already Allport (1954) argues that meeting the target group increases information and, thus, can decrease stereotypes and prejudice – but only under certain conditions (see also Nelson, 2002; Rose, 1981). According to Berry et al. (2002), research has generally supported this *contact hypothesis* (Williams, 1947, cited in Nelson, 2002). Consequently, Schneider and Barsoux (2002) suggest using stereotypes as a starting point in interaction, followed by observing the real situation and adjusting beliefs according to the information gained from the contact made.

However, when stereotypes come into conflict with evidence, this does not automatically modify them, especially when the generalisations work satisfactorily. In fact, research also shows that people try to confirm stereotypes in real encounters rather than accept that they are wrong (see Banaji, 2002; Worchel & Rothgerber, 1997; see also Tajfel & Billig, 1974). Allport (1954) states that the tendency to confirm stereotypes is particularly marked in casual contact, which may actually increase the use of stereotypes (as the need for accuracy is low). For example, from a group of people only the one with the stereotyped attributes will be (unconsciously) recognised, or sub-categories will be created for the “exceptions from the rule” (see also Nelson, 2002). Lippmann (1922/1961) explicitly refers to travellers, who come back from abroad with exactly the experiences they expected – because they choose to only see and do what they knew about beforehand (see also Allport, 1954).

Lippmann’s observations about travellers are consistent with cognitive dissonance theory (see Festinger, 1957), which holds that people avoid information that contradicts stored attitudes and beliefs. The same argument explains why people with *intense* intergroup contact tend to rely on individual information rather than generalisations (see Wyer & Hamilton, 1998). However, Nelson (2002) reports that stereotype researchers rejected cognitive dissonance theory, as it fails to explain inconsistent cases.

In contrast, under some conditions, intergroup contact does lead to a more positive view of the other group and finally to decategorisation; that is, making judgements using individual attributes rather than stereotypes. These conditions include equal status of members, common goals, cooperation, friendship potential, and favourable climate; whereas (expected) hostility or conflict leads to negative stereotyping (Nelson, 2002; see also Sherif & Sherif, 1979). It is even possible for decategorisation to lead to recategorisation, forming a new in-group with oneself as a member (Nelson, 2002). For example, temporary residents in New Zealand may start to perceive themselves as New Zealanders after a while. Nevertheless, research findings on this point are somewhat ambiguous, and, although the amount and quality of contact seems to influence stereotype use (Rose, 1981), further research in this field is necessary.

Accuracy of Stereotypes

Stereotypes are a simplification of reality; Lippmann (1922/1961), for example, describes them as nonprobability samples. As such, they are almost always erroneous in the sense that not every member of a group shares the same traits; although *some* members may, especially for rational stereotypes. Notwithstanding, authors often believe that a normal curve distribution of group members with a stereotyped attribute applies to all group differences (such as Schneider & Barsoux, 2002); that is, although not all members of a group A may share an attribute compared to a group B, some authors believe that at least the mean of attributes in group A is higher than in group B. This *kernel-of-truth hypothesis* assumes that there is always *some* truth in any stereotype (see Oakes & Reynolds, 1997). However, Allport (1954) reports that one person may comfortably hold contradictory stereotypes about others. From the cognitive perspective, in most situations efficiency is more desirable than accuracy (Fiske & Taylor, 1984; see also Nelson, 2002), which explains why contradictory beliefs are not questioned.

Accordingly, Allport (1954) shows that the kernel-of-truth hypothesis may not be correct for irrational stereotypes. He distinguishes four types of group differences to explain the distribution of attributes within a group: from J-shaped distributions with

a high number of people possessing an attribute (for example, “US-Americans speaking English”), to normal curves, and to rare-zero differentials with little or nil accumulation whatsoever (for example, “Turks are polygamous”). Consequently, it is possible to calculate a level of probability as to how accurate a stereotype is (see Allport, 1954; Oakes & Reynolds, 1997).

Kobrynowicz and Biernat (1998) mention three ways to examine the level of accuracy: objective measurements (such as statistics), expert judgements, and self-ratings by the target group. Nevertheless, it is often impossible to make objective statements about the actual classification of characteristics within a group (see Brigham, 1971). Therefore, Peabody (1985) compares stereotypes to national characteristics as defined by historians, sociologists, and philosophers. This is not convincing, however, as these are still only generalisations. Likewise, Abate and Berrien (1967) fail to measure reality with a personality measurement instrument (see also Oakes & Reynolds, 1997).

Oakes, Haslam, and Turner (1994) further add that the researcher’s values influence the conclusion of accuracy. Accordingly, as Allport (1954) notes, there is no such thing as clear group characteristics, which is why Oakes and Reynolds (1997) call all criterion-based accuracy tests biased. Therefore, when evaluating the accuracy of stereotype content, any results have to be viewed critically.

2.3 Concepts of Self-perceptions and Identity

As seen, one way to evaluate stereotype use is to focus on self-perceptions of the target group (J. Harding, 1968); that is, how members conceive their in-group. From a sociocultural perspective, this section links self-perceptions to social identity theory, and further to ethnic and national identity concepts.

Self-perceptions and Social Identity

Self-perceptions of the in-group form a social identity, which is part of the group concept. Just as the individual’s identity distinguishes one person from others, social

identities distinguish a person as a group member from people in other groups; that is to say, others are described and judged compared to one's own group (Tajfel, 1972b, cited in J. C. Turner & Brown, 1978; Tajfel, 1978; Tajfel & Turner, 1979; J. C. Turner, 1975; J. C. Turner & Brown, 1978; see also Allport, 1954; Festinger, 1954; Hogg & Abrams, 1988; Kobrynowicz & Biernat, 1998; Leyens et al., 1994). As a result, in order to link group members, the in-group is often perceived more positively than out-groups (Abrams & Masser, 1998; Oakes, Haslam, & Turner, 1994; Tajfel & Turner, 1979; J. C. Turner, 1978), which can lead to negative stereotypes and prejudice towards others (Allport, 1954). This link between negative perceptions of out-groups and social identity relates the concept to ethnocentrism (Tajfel, 1978).

As a result, social identity is part of an individual's self-concept, and by agreeing to a certain group membership, one adopts the attributes inherent in this identity, categorising or labelling oneself (Deaux & Ethier, 1998; Oyserman & Harrison, 1998).² Turner (1978, see also Hogg & Abrams, 1988) calls this self-categorisation. Stereotypes are the main tools to set the in-group apart from other groups because they are easy to use and do not require any knowledge regarding others. Hartley (1946, cited in Leyens et al., 1994), for example, conducted an experiment with students who stereotyped other ethnic groups that did not even exist (see also Schoenfeld, 1942, cited in Brigham, 1971).

In this context, self-perceptions of one's own group are also generalisations and thus similar to stereotypes (Pickering, 2001). Accordingly, Dann (1993) calls self-perceptions *auto-stereotypes*; Abate and Berrien (1967) use the term *self-stereotypes* (see also Hogg & Abrams, 1988). Therefore, although the group identity may differ

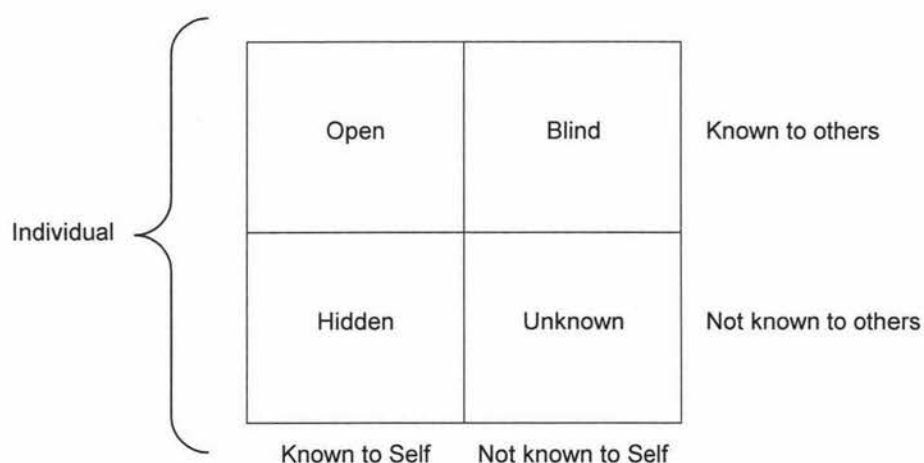
² Dyke and Dyke (2002) distinguish further between *identifiability* (the possession of traits), *identification* (the self-recognition of traits that lead to membership in a category) and *identity* (traits become so dominant that they form a community). However, only the term *identity* is used here.

from the out-group's view, self-perceptions may not reflect the reality more accurately than stereotypes (Oakes & Reynolds, 1997).³

In this context, Schneider and Barsoux (2002) note that it is sometimes easier to describe someone else than oneself. The so-called *Johari window*, a grid that compares self-perceptions and outsiders' perceptions of a person, explains this further. The Johari window has been developed by Luft and Ingham (1955, cited in Luft, 1979; summarised in Luft, 1961). Accordingly, as Figure 2.1 shows, some aspects of the own person may be recognised by others *and* oneself, some only by others, some only by oneself, and some may be not recognised by anyone (Luft, 1970, 1984).

The Johari window is a simple, dynamic psychological model to explain interpersonal interaction. The model is designed for use in psychotherapy. Accordingly, disclosure and feedback change the size of the quadrants in relation to each other (see also Jourard, 1964). Luft (1984) also applied the Johari window to intergroup relations, referring to perceptions of the whole group by other groups. Thereby, he links the concept to stereotypes by saying that stereotypes as group perceptions are a limited view of the target. Schneider and Barsoux (2002) use the model to refer explicitly to cultural groups, explaining how cultural differences can be understood by using the Johari window. In 1984, Luft also added reality as another dimension to the concept, which shows that self-perceptions are not more accurate than others' perceptions, but that both cover different aspects.

³ The concept of self-perceptions is more complex than shown here. For example, Tzeng, Neel, and Landis (1981), who use the expression *self-conceptions*, list five different self-concepts referring to individual personality. However, for the purpose of this paper, the term *self-perceptions* always relates to conceptions about the group, not the individual. As such, *self-perceptions of the in-group* correspond to the term *group-ratings* as used in the online study.



Note. Adapted from Luft (1970).

Figure 2.1 Johari window: Self-perceptions and others' perceptions of a person

Deaux and Ethier (1998) argue that any social identity is dynamic, with attributes changing over time, constantly being negotiated by members of the in-group, and influenced by out-groups. In addition, people can choose from several social identities, as they belong to many different groups (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Consequently, social identities can be completely negated or, on the other hand, enhanced – either consciously or unconsciously (Deaux & Ethier, 1998; see also Cunningham, 2002). For example, an immigrant may hang to his home identity, adopt the new one, or switch the identity when it is appropriate; this relates to the acculturation concept (see Berry et al, 2002).

In addition, the reference point of the comparison is important (Leyens et al., 1994; J. C. Turner & Brown, 1978). One can compare the self to other in-group members, or the in-group to different out-groups, which changes the quality and degree of identity. For example, US-Americans may regard Chileans as poor, but from the reference point of Eritrea, a much poorer country, Chileans appear to be rich. Moreover, an individual poor US-American may not feel rich at all compared to other US-Americans.

Deaux and Ethier (1998) further state that one acts according to the identity chosen. For example, a New Zealander who believes his social identity includes the love for outdoor activities may go to the mountains more often. Often the reverse example applies; that is, people choose not to do things which are not part of the group identity. Moreover, the view of out-groups, for example through stereotypes, influences identity as well; that means, groups may describe themselves with generalisations adopted from others. Allport (1954) calls this the effect of self-fulfilling prophecies (see also Lanfant, 1995b).

Ethnic and National Identity

According to Rowlands (2002a), having an identity based on heritage and tradition caters to people's need to belong somewhere. The national identity consists of self-perceptions towards one's own nation. According to Pickering (2001), a nation is an imagined framework, within which national identity is emotionally controlled, rather than based on facts (see also D. Mitchell, 2000). Thus, symbols often represent the nation and its characteristics (see also Hofstede, 1997). For example, in the mid 20th century it was popular (especially in the media) to imagine a symbolic person with a "national character" representing the nation; such as John Bull for England (Pickering, 2001). Social cognition theory refers to such an "ideal" category member with the term *prototype* (Leyens et al., 1994). Hofstede (1997) mentions heroes as models that possess typical attributes within a culture or nation.

National identity differs from other identities, as nationality is determined and not easy to change. Bell (1996) argues that national identity is a constructed product influenced by political and economic forces, while the only thing people have in common may be territory and government (see also Lanfant, 1995b). On the other hand, distinguishing nationalities is easy, which explains why holding national stereotypes is common – despite the obvious problems of justifying them. In fact, to claim a united national identity intensifies stereotypes, which must inevitably fall short in reality (Bell, 1996; Spoonley, 1995).

Within a nation, several different sub-cultures may exist. Biculturalism refers to the existence of two cultures within a nation, and multiculturalism to more than two. Here, a majority culture tends to absorb minority cultures, which is why small sub-cultures often try to define themselves by contrast with the majority culture (Dominy, 1990). In this context, ethnic identity refers to the identity of belonging to an ethnic group and sharing cultural, historical, and social attributes with the fellow group members. In practice, ethnic group membership is not easy to determine. Rowlands (2002b), for example, argues that ethnic identity relates to cultural origin, which is open to criticism, as it does not consider acculturation.

Individuals have many identities, as they belong to several groups. These identities are like layers, including sub-identities and possibly opposing each other (Hofstede, 1997). While people may have both a national and a sub-cultural identity, the latter is usually stronger than the former. Accordingly, Pickering (2001) points out that national identity tends to submerge differences inside the nation compared with other nations. Consequently, nationality unites (for example in times of war or international sports events), and society divides (with sub-cultures and minorities often developing their own identities). Much research in this area deals with cultural groups, often minority groups within a society, and most studies deal with Afro-US-Americans in particular (for example, Oyserman & Harrison, 1998). In these cases, researchers examine ethnic identity primarily as a tool to cope with prejudice.

2.4 Stereotypes in Intercultural Encounters

People stereotype all sorts of groups; however, this study focuses on cultural groups, particularly asking how members of one culture stereotype other cultures. Just as the distinction is made between national and ethnic identity, Allport (1954) distinguishes national and ethnic stereotypes. National stereotypes focus on people of a country and ethnic stereotypes on groups bound up with culture, language, tradition, or social ties.⁴ In this section, the interest is in cross-cultural and intercultural studies dealing with cultural stereotypes.⁵ Thus, studies regarding intergroup contact⁶ and the distinction of groups differing by the purpose and the amount of contact is given particular attention.

Cross-cultural Studies

Hofstede (1997) claims that cultures differ from each other in knowledge, emotions, and behaviour, which is apparent in different symbols, values, and rituals. In a famous research project, Hofstede (2001) categorises cultures on five cultural

⁴ In this paper, I use both the terms *culture* and *nation*, as the expressions are not always interchangeable. There are several nations with the same cultural heritage, but also single nations that include more than one (sub-)culture (see also Hofstede, 1997). In the nation context, Dann (1993) further distinguishes between *nation*, *state*, and *country of residence*; nevertheless, this paper mainly uses the term nation without emphasising on those differentiations. In addition, some authors use the expression *racial* stereotypes. However, its application in practice is controversial and sometimes inappropriate. Thus, the use of the term *race* in this paper is restricted.

⁵ The term *cultural stereotypes* is used here as opposed to *individual stereotypes* (Ashmore & Del Boca, 1981). Cultural stereotypes are adopted from the whole group, whereas individual stereotypes are personal beliefs only held by that single person. This distinction is important, as some methods are believed to measure only one of the two concepts. For example, checklists and semantic differentials are supposed to measure cultural stereotypes, whereas psychological experiments focus on the individual.

⁶ Tajfel and Turner (1979) differentiate between *interpersonal* and *intergroup contact*. However, these distinctions are difficult to measure. For reasons of clarity, in this paper all contact between people from different groups is called *intergroup contact* (and likewise, more specifically, all contact between people from different cultures is called *intercultural contact*).

dimensions. Hofstede's study is not concerned with stereotypes, but rather tries to show real cultural differences, using statistical data of an international corporation. However, it is questionable to what extent his analysis of individuals in selected countries is useful to describe characteristics of the whole culture.

The classic sociocultural study of ethnic stereotypes is Katz and Braly's (1933) checklist approach to match traits to ethnic groups, which has often been replicated and modified (J. Harding, 1968; see also Ehrlich & Rinehart, 1965). Katz and Braly are mainly interested in stereotype content and the uniformity of a stereotype within the stereotyping group; that is, the proportion of people holding the same stereotypes regarding another group. The majority of these studies are US-American, use convenient samples of college students as subjects, and deal with majority and minority cultural groups within a nation, particularly Blacks and Whites in the USA. In addition, cross-cultural studies in the area of tourism often focus on non-Western cultures compared to Western cultures (see Berno, Moore, & Raymore, 1998), but not on differences across Western cultures alone.

The tendency of cross-cultural studies to focus on sub-cultures within a country is also apparent for the New Zealand context. Walkey and Chung (1996) use semantic differentials to examine stereotypes of New Zealand school children with a Chinese or European background towards European and Chinese in New Zealand. Moreover, they compare the results to US-American stereotypes of Chinese. In another study, Huang and Singer (1984) report different stereotype content regarding the main ethnic groups within New Zealand (Maori, Samoan, Chinese, and Pakeha). As a noteworthy feature, they found no difference between stereotypes held by students and policemen.

Intercultural Contact

Cross-cultural studies are rather static, as they ask people to rate other cultures from a distance without any interaction between the cultures. In contrast, it is even more important to understand *intercultural* communication, which happens not only in multicultural societies between members of different sub-cultures, but also when

foreigners enter another country. In such intercultural encounters that happen within a larger cultural context, because of cultural distance and stumbling blocks, acculturation and adaptation problems may occur (Barna, 1991; Berry et al., 2002; Spencer-Rodgers & McGovern, 2002; see also Argyle, 1991). In particular, intercultural contact influences the use of stereotypes for several reasons. For example, the need for security, which can be particularly intense in another country, can be met by using a stereotype, as it limits uncertainty (Barna, 1991). Finally, with the amount of time passing after a contact, as H. P. Smith (1957) points out, the effect on stereotype use declines.

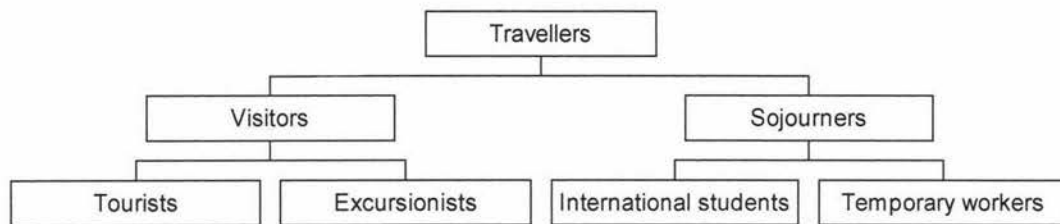
In addition, different types of intercultural encounters influence stereotyping differently. Intercultural contact mainly happens for one of three reasons: international business, travelling and immigration, and anthropology. Most literature dealing with business contacts use anecdotal (and highly stereotypical) “evidence” to give tips for better business negotiations. In contrast, travelling and immigration is an area of greater interest, as most intercultural contacts happen here.

According to Argyle (1991), tourists are the largest group to communicate with other cultures, although interactions are normally casual and brief. Students and temporary workers stay longer, have more direct contact, and are often involved in the host culture in some way. Immigrants become much more deeply involved and adapt more thoroughly to the culture. Although anthropologists also become deeply involved in another culture, their observations are considered by some commentators to often be biased (Leacock, 1992). Crick (1995) argues that tourists and anthropologists are somewhat similar, as they both do field work, produce subjective pictures of other cultures, and deliver them to others at home (see also Yamashita, 2002).

Travellers

As this study focuses mainly on travellers involved in intercultural contact, it is necessary to define related terms. Collier (1999) distinguishes travellers, tourists, and visitors based on the purpose and the duration of people’s stay. Here, travellers are

the main category, including visitors (both tourists and excursionists) and sojourners (that is, temporary students, workers, businesspeople etc. from abroad, see Berry et al., 2002). The classification in this study, as shown in Figure 2.2, modifies and simplifies Collier's (1999) model,⁷ using suggestions of Berry et al. (2002).



Note. Adapted from Collier (1999).

Figure 2.2 Classification of travellers

In addition, it is important to note that travellers from one country are not an homogeneous group (see Jamrozy & Uysal, 1994), and different personalities and motivations influence stereotype activation. In addition, attributes such as age influences travel behaviour (Pearce, 1982), and repeat visitors behave differently from first-time visitors (Oppermann, 1997). Therefore, Wickens (2002) distinguishes between different tourist types who perceive the same destination differently (see also E. Cohen, 1972, cited in Wickens, 2002). This distinction is important, as some tourist types are more likely to get into contact with locals than other (Simmons & Leiper, 1998).

Similarly, overseas students seek contact with the host culture more than tourists (Pearce, 1982), who experience another culture as if staying in a protective “bubble” (Crick, 1995; see also Dahles, 2002). That means, tourists are surrounded by the habits and values of their own culture, and separated from any real encounters with

⁷ Based on guidelines of the World Tourist Organisation, Collier (1999) categorises immigrants as travellers, which is somewhat ambiguous. In this study, although not focussing on immigrants and permanent residents, immigrants would occupy a category separate from travellers within the schema of Figure 2.2.

the host culture, except for constructions that cater for tourists' needs. In this context, J. P. Taylor (1998, 2001) points out that the longer the visit, the more likelihood there is of getting into contact with local communities aside from staged performances.

As the classification of tourist types differs for every destination (Pearce, 1982; Simmons & Leiper, 1998), the New Zealand Tourism Board (NZTB; 1997b) developed a schema of travel styles for the New Zealand market, differentiating backpackers, independent travellers, and coach tour travellers; with independent travellers having more contact with locals as opposed to coach tour travellers, for example. However, Uriely, Yonay, and Simchai (2002) show that not even backpackers are a homogeneous travel group.

Moreover, Simmons and Leiper (1998) highlight that travel patterns differ depending on the travellers' culture. Jamrozy and Uysal (1994) study motivations of German travellers, showing that their interests involve contact with local people in the host country. Similarly, the NZTB (1996a, 1996b, 1996c, 1997a, 1997b) examines travel motivations, purpose, and knowledge about the host country for their key tourist markets. For example, US-Americans are in general on a tight schedule trying to see tourist attractions, but do not want to get involved in the New Zealand culture. In contrast, a large number of British travellers stay with friends or relatives in New Zealand.

Studies Involving Intercultural Contact

From the many intercultural studies dealing with stereotypes, this section presents some examples. Unfortunately, no studies were available focusing on the New Zealand context. In a longitudinal study, Coleman (1998) examines perceptions of British language students who were sent abroad on the assumption that residence would lead to positive attitudes towards the host country and, consequently, to enhanced learning motivation. However, Coleman shows that students held strong stereotypes about their host society regardless how much time they spent there. Moreover, 30 % of them showed even more negative stereotypes after they came

back. Similarly, in a longitudinal study distinguishing groups of travellers by the time spent abroad and the type of contact (tourism, summer camp, two months residence), H. P. Smith (1955, 1957) reports stronger ethnocentrism and nationalism after the visit.

On the contrary, Spencer-Rodgers and McGovern (2002), examining prejudice and stereotypes of US-Americans towards foreign students, report that little contact leads to a higher use of stereotypes. However, while differentiating between quantitative and qualitative social contact, they state that enhanced contact alone is not likely to improve intercultural communication, as affective threats also increase with contact. In another study with varying levels of contact, Triandis and Vassiliou (1967) also get ambiguous results; nevertheless, they believe that more contact leads to clearer stereotypes and agreement between stereotypes and self-perceptions of the target group.

In addition, Tusting et al. (2002) focus on the reluctance to use stereotypes by British students who spent a couple of months abroad. Using discourse analysis of deep interviews and diaries, Tusting et al. found that most of the students try to disguise generalisations and to hedge by using noncommittal modifiers. However, they do stereotype when encouraged. In particular, Tusting et al. report that students often use personal experience as a legitimisation for generalisation. In terms of wording, students state *cultural differences* more favourably than negatively associated *stereotypes*. This distinction shows that stereotyping, especially in the context of ethnic groups, is socially undesirable (Devine, 1998).

2.5 National Images, Tourism, and Marketing

Because travellers are the main group having intercultural contact, it is important to examine how tourist destination marketing influences stereotypes. As tourism relies on the promoted image of the host country, this chapter introduces the term national image in contrast with national identity and stereotypes. The relationship between tourist destination marketing and national image is outlined first in general, and then with a focus on New Zealand's national image.

National Image

The national image of a country includes characteristics of the land, history, politics, economy, and society, which further contains attributes of the people of a nation (see Echtner & Ritchie, 1991/2003). Unfortunately, some authors do not clearly differentiate between national image, national identity, and stereotypes. Andsager and Drzewiecka (2002) state that an image consists of cognitive and affective aspects of a place; such as perceptions, knowledge, and feelings. In addition, J. R. Gold (1994) defines stereotypes as generalisations about people *or places*, thereby opening the terminology to include characteristics of the land as well.

As a result, stereotypes are one fundamental aspect of generating a national image (Andsager & Drzewiecka, 2002); Pearce (1988, cited in Echtner and Ritchie, 1991/2003) even defines image as the stereotype of the destination. Representations of an image are portrayed in the media, promoted by tourism institutions, or developed through personal experience. As such, image formation is a dynamic process (Gallarza, Gil Saura, & Calderón García, 2001). Andsager and Drzewiecka show how an image changes in the process of visiting a place, from the initial image based on media representations or general knowledge, to the image influenced by tourism marketing, to the final stage, when personal experience adds to the picture (see also Gunn, 1988, cited in Echtner & Ritchie, 1991/2003). Further, the stereotypes built up in the first stages serve as an evaluation tool for direct experience, which in turn supports the image.

Echtner and Ritchie (1991/2003) provide a useful model to illustrate the dimensions of an image. Although an image is often described with attributes, it also includes imagery, a holistic dimension of the image that goes beyond single parts and portrays the image as a whole. Moreover, Echtner and Ritchie refer to Martineau (1958, cited in Echtner & Ritchie, 1991/2003) when further highlighting the functional/psychological dimension of an image. Accordingly, this dimension explains how measurable or observable the components of an image are. Echtner and Ritchie, using their model to explicitly describe destination images, add a third dimension that determines whether components of an image are common or unique compared with other destinations. Gallarza et al. (2001) acknowledge the multidimensionality of the image concept, presenting a comprehensive overview of literature on destination image research.

Furthermore, Echtner and Ritchie (1991/2003) differentiate between the national image based on non-commercial, organic sources and the tourist image based on commercial sources (see also Gallarza et al., 2001). However, national image and tourist image are closely linked, and it is often difficult to decide whether an attribute describes a destination truthfully and what the sources of the attribute are. In fact, Bell's (1996) interviews with students who were abroad indicate that students consider a promoted image as more meaningful than reality. Echtner and Ritchie call the image held by people who have not been to the destination and have not been exposed to commercial information as a base image. This definition indicates that an image may not become more truthful when it is filtered by tourists. Eventually, as Lippmann (1922/1961) observed, travellers' unquantified and personally biased observations serve as the main information source for others back home (see also Allport, 1954).

According to Andsager and Drzewiecka (2002), tourists are searching for the "Other", in contrast to their own identity as the "Self" (see also Xie & Wall, 2002). Although tourists seek an authentic reality, MacCannell (1976) points out that authenticity is as difficult to determine as reality. As a result, what is perceived as authentic is often only constructed and staged by the tourist industry to fit the image (MacCannell, 1976, see also Lanfant, 1995b; MacCannell, 1992; J. P. Taylor, 2001;

Xie & Wall, 2002; Yamashita, 2002). MacCannell (1976) was the first to describe staged authenticity in tourism, based on Goffman's (1959) dramaturgical model of symbolic interactionism (see also Henslin, 1975). Accordingly, dramaturgy describes life as based on different types of stages instead of a clear reality.

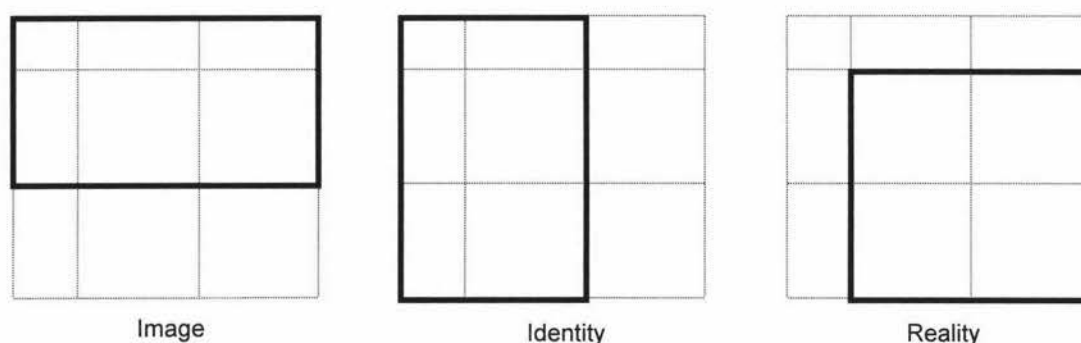
Consequently, local people and culture are part of the national tourism image only in supporting, entertaining, not threatening, familiar perceptions, and without emphasising sociocultural problems or exposing everyday life (see J. P. Taylor, 2001). This relationship is the reason why images of native people are often idealised and anachronistic (Cohen, 1993). Finally, authenticity is evaluated by comparing the perceptions of cultural difference with the stereotypes inherent in tourism images, not with reality (Bernanke, 2001).

In addition, Bell (1996) states that the idealised image helps to build national identity (the self-perceptions of the nation). In this context, the national identity is based on constructs rather than reality. As an example, she mentions the "perfect" image of New Zealand, where people play sports and go to the beach all day, without having social problems. Although this falls far short of reality, New Zealanders, according to Bell, do not question this label, as it makes them happy. In addition, Yamashita (2002) raises the question of how cultures redefine their own identities due to tourism impact.

This interaction between image and self-perceptions brings the discussion back to the question of what reality is. National characteristics are supposed to describe the distribution of attributes among a nation (including people and places). However, national characteristics cannot possibly be described exhaustively and accurately. These relationships need to be described more clearly. Consequently, this paper introduces a theoretical framework that links national image and national identity related to reality and the nation, using the structural ideas of the Johari window (explained above; see Luft, 1961, 1970, 1984; see also Jourard, 1964; Schneider & Barsoux, 2002).

This model shall be called the *Image-Identity-Reality grid*. Taking pattern from Luft's (1984) intergroup concept of the Johari window, self-perceptions of the target group constitute the national identity. On the other hand, perceptions of other groups, such as other cultures, comprise the national image, including and based on tourist images. Both national identity and national image may rely on stereotypes to describe the nation. Even reality, as used in this model, can only be described stereotypically.

Figure 2.3 gives a graphical indication how identity, image and reality comprise different aspects of the nation. All nine cells of the square represent the nation, in which image, identity, and reality comprise different parts, but also overlap.

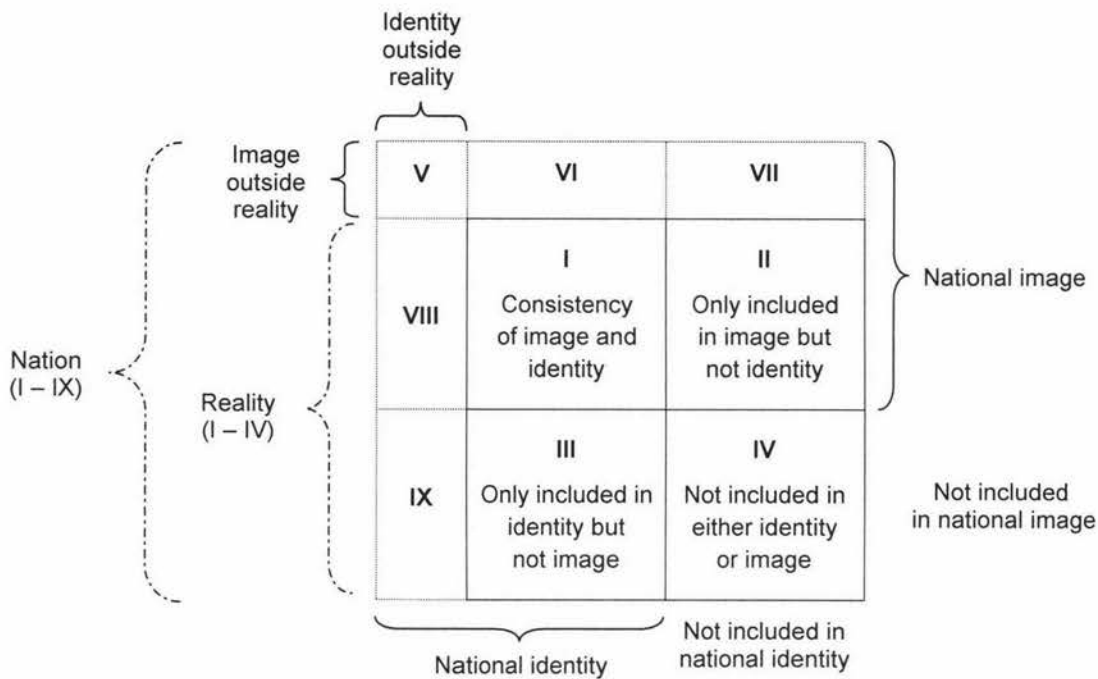


Note. Adapted from Luft (1984).

Figure 2.3 Different parts of the nation: Image, identity, and reality

The Image-Identity-Reality grid in Figure 2.4 shows that the nation (comprising all cells) is not identical with reality (shown by cells I – IV), but includes aspects that lie *outside* reality (cells V, VI, VII, VIII and IX⁸). In addition, neither national identity nor the national image covers all aspects of reality (see cell IV, for example, which is an unknown area), but different parts of it. As such, cells I, V, VI, and VIII are areas of the nations that are both included in the national image and the national identity. Of these cells, however, only cell I describes the nation accurately.

⁸ Cells V, VI, and VIII in Figure 2.4 comprise identical parts of the nation, each lying outside reality, but within national image and national identity. They could be grouped as one single cell.



Note. Based on the structure of the Johari window, adapted from Luft (1984).

Figure 2.4 Image-Identity-Reality grid: Relationship between national image, national identity, and reality

In short, national image and national identity describe some parts of the nation equally and others differently, both either accurately or inaccurately. As this is a theoretical model, in practice, the size of the cells differs relating to the nation and the group who perceives the nation. That means, the national image of a country may differ in different cultures. In addition, the model is dynamic and cell sizes may change over time; for example, due to learning effects.

Tourist Destination Marketing

The tourism industry has the biggest interest in creating national images. As tourism and marketing are strategically linked (Middleton & Clarke, 2000; J. P. Taylor, 1998), tourism images meet the needs of the market, but do not (necessarily) reflect reality accurately (Lanfant, 1995b; Laws, 1995). Likewise, destination branding is just as possible as product branding (Morgan & Pritchard, 1998). As the tourism image builds on place attributes, culture becomes a product in the tourism market

sold to tourists as consumers and subject to marketing rules (Lanfant, 1995b). On the contrary, place promotion also creates place meaning, and reality has to fulfil the promise made to the tourists (Cloke & Perkins, 1998).

As a publicity task, the national image promoted by the tourism industry is always positive (Lanfant, 1995b; J. P. Taylor, 1998). Accordingly, conflicts are idealised and problems neglected. This image has to be upheld when the tourist is in the country, as visitors are the next salespersons when they return home. Therefore, locals have to represent themselves to tourists according to the image label, because inconsistency between image and reality can damage the tourist-host relationship (Laws, 1995). As a result, not only tourists but also the host society may fail to distinguish between image and reality, which is particularly critical for developing nations (Lanfant, 1995a; Morgan & Pritchard, 1998).

Andsager and Drzewiecka (2002) point out that tourism images influence visitors' interpretations by creating myths and expectations. The same myths also help create national identity, based, for example, on social attributes, history, colonialism, or cultural traditions (Morgan & Pritchard, 1998). As advertising and media rely on myths, icons, and symbols to sell the destination (see Cloke & Perkins, 1998), stereotypes are a main aspect of place promotion (J. R. Gold, 1994). In promotion material, for example, stereotypes are used in order to manipulate tourists' attitudes, either to create new beliefs about the destination or to counter old stereotypes.

As national governments are often involved in tourism destination marketing (as is the case in New Zealand; see Collier, 1999), creating tourism images is also a political process, unveiling the ideology of the time (Ateljevic & Doorne, 2002). In addition, a wide range of "cultural producers" (Ateljevic & Doorne, 2002, p. 63) help create the image in fields of marketing, PR, and journalism. Furthermore, the World Wide Web has become an important tool for tourism marketing (Doolin, Burgess, & Cooper, 2002). To uncover the content or messages of tourist images, E. Cohen (1993) suggests analysing not only tourist items (souvenirs, postcards, brochures), but also non-tourist images in art and politics.

The National Image of New Zealand

Nature is the main focus of New Zealand's image, and many of New Zealand's icons originate from nature, such as the kiwi bird or the fern. New Zealanders are even known around the world as "Kiwis" by the name of their icon (Bell, 1996). Bell states that the emphasis on nature is not only due to diverse and beautiful landscapes in a small area, but also because New Zealand lacks other tourist attractions such as cultural history (at least in terms of Pakeha culture) or arts. Nature is also part of New Zealanders' life-style, and this supports New Zealand's national image.

Ateljevic and Doorne (2002) compare New Zealand's tourism marketing strategies historically, employing content analysis of official promotional texts from the beginning and the end of the 20th century. At the turn of the 19/20th century, the government used tourist imagery to create publicity with an impact on trade and immigration; in fact, tourism promoted colonialism. Images of New Zealand included the exotic, scenic wonderland, Maori tradition, and leisure activities targeted at England's white upper classes.

Today, according to Ateljevic and Doorne (2002), the emphasis lies on global tourism consumption, which results in multiple identities, one for each target group (including Asian families, middle-class Europeans, and young adventure tourists). Images present New Zealand as rural, clean, green, safe, civilised, and with a trouble-free connection between Maori and Pakeha. The adventure potential and Maori culture add an extra touch to the scenic wonderland image (see also NZTB, 1997b). However, the tourism image does not address historic struggles, social inequality, or environmental issues (Clope & Perkins, 1998). In addition, the representation of Maori culture in tourist images is widely discussed (see Ryan, 2002; J. P. Taylor, 1998; see also Collier, 1999; Lanfant, 1995a).

Clope and Perkins (1998) state that tourism marketers try to sell a "New Zealand personality" (p. 275) overseas to establish a premium brand "New Zealand" (see also Bell, 1996). The strategic outline of an advertising company suggests promoting New Zealand as fresh, honest, uncomplicated, young, anti-urban, in harmony with

the environment (see Cloke & Perkins, 1998). As some of these national image attributes are personality traits, the whole concept, in fact, describes how to establish stereotypes. Accordingly, Collier (1999) lists New Zealanders' friendliness, Maoridom, excellence in sport, the nuclear-free policy, sheep and wool industry, and a relaxed outdoor life-style as New Zealand's tourist destination assets.

While the tourism industry promotes a tourist image, people's perceptions of the country are another aspect of national image. These perceptions of New Zealand differ across cultures (Collier, 1999): Whereas Asians do not have much knowledge about New Zealand despite some simple pictures in mind, Australians think they know quite a lot about New Zealand (often mistakenly; see New Zealand Tourist and Publicity Department & Air New Zealand, 1978). To take another example, Britons see New Zealand as emotionally close, as they think it is similar to Britain in terms of culture and life-style (NZTB, 1997b).

Literature on tourist image promotion is plentiful, but research on the impact of single events on image-building is rare. For example, Team New Zealand's win of the America's Cup in the 1990s surely supported the national image of a loyal sports nation (see Bell, 1996), but the loss in 2003 (together with some negative headlines about New Zealand) may have a negative influence. Likewise, unfortunately, no academic research examines the impact of the *The Lord of the Rings* movies (Jackson, 2001, 2002, 2003) on New Zealand's national image. The New Zealand government promotes the involvement of New Zealand – apparently “the official ‘Home of Middle Earth’ ” and “the movie's largest star” (Feizkhah, 2001, p. 17) – as part of the national image (see Ruggia, 2002) and has even installed a “Lord of the Rings Minister” for tourism promotion (D. Cohen, 2001). Consequently, this area deserves further research (see Busby & Klug, 2001, for a useful introduction regarding research on movie-induced tourism).

2.6 Identity and Characteristics of New Zealanders

Unfortunately, very little academic literature examines New Zealand stereotypes. By contrast, material about New Zealand's national and cultural identities is plentiful. Here, magazine articles, historical and anthropological essays, and non-academic books give an insight into how New Zealanders perceive themselves, and the reasons why. As many authors try to describe national characteristics of New Zealanders, it is important to remember that these are still generalisations (see Allport, 1954).

New Zealand's Struggle to Find a National Identity

Bell (2001) highlights the fundamental problem regarding a national identity as the multiculturalism characteristic of New Zealand society. Indeed, differences in national and ethnic identities are obvious in New Zealand (see Pickering, 2001). Although Maori have a distinct ethnic identity, Pakeha⁹ struggle to find their own (Pickering, 2001; see also Roscoe, 1999). New Zealand was de facto a monoculture until the 1960s with the dominance of Pakeha (McGill, 1982), but now the society faces changes of biculturalism (Maori and Pakeha) and multiculturalism (including immigrants from Asia and the Pacific; see Roscoe, 1999; Thakur, 1995). Today, New Zealand is torn geographically, historically, economically, and anthropologically between the South Pacific, Great Britain and Central Europe, Asia, and North America (Bell, 1996; King, 1979; Lay, 1996; see also Belich, 1996).

The relationship between Maori and Pakeha is fundamental for defining a national identity. The tourism industry wants to make visitors believe that Pakeha and Maori have merged to become a basis for a united New Zealand identity (Boniface, 1995), and that they both live a similarly ordinary life (see A. Smith, 1998). Likewise, many Pakeha want to believe that this myth is true, with everyone simply being a New

⁹ The term *Pakeha* is used in this paper for New Zealanders of European origin as opposed to Maori. Originally, the term was introduced to describe everyone who is not Maori. However, the use of the label *Pakeha* is widely discussed, and it has different meanings for people in terms of identity. In addition, throughout this paper (including references), the words *Maori* and *Pakeha* are written without intonation signs (as in Māori and Pākehā).

Zealander (Ryan, 2002; see also Gendall, 1996). Nevertheless, many scholars in the field reject this view. In fact, until the end of the 1980s, New Zealand identity was based on Maori inequality (Willmott, 1989). Feldman, McDonald, and Ah Sam (1979) note that New Zealanders are heterogeneous; and, in addition, A. Smith (1998) points out that both Maori and Pakeha are diverse. That is, neither Maori nor Pakeha are an homogeneous group in themselves (see also Durie, 1998; Walker, 1989).

Willmott (1989) argues that both Maori and Pakeha need their own cultural identity to differentiate themselves from the other group. Therefore, a global reference point is necessary to form the national identity. As a result, threats from the outside support feelings of national identity (such as foreign opposition to the nuclear-free policy or support for international sport events). However, to create a national identity, problems between Maori and Pakeha need to be solved first (Spoonley, 1995).

Accordingly, the legal battles and social challenges around the violations of the Treaty of Waitangi are another form of identity-seeking but they are also power-asserting (S. Turner, 1999). In this context, K. Sinclair (1990) argues that land is the most important aspect of identity, for both Maori and Pakeha, but in a different relationship. While Maori have a spiritual relationship with the land, for Pakeha land was foremost a resource. In addition, land as the place to live may be the only unifying factor for Maori and Pakeha due to the lack of shared culture and history. Currently, land rights in the context of Maori politics are widely debated in the New Zealand public. As a result, the New Zealand media have picked up the issue of diverse Maori and Pakeha identities in several leading articles (Butcher, 2003; Welch, 2003).

Maori Identity

Although a vast majority of New Zealanders see Maori culture as important to New Zealand identity (Ministry of Cultural Affairs, 1997), the Maori identity alone is not suitable for a national identity (especially for other immigrants who bring their own

identity with them; see Roscoe, 1999). Therefore, the rise of Maori identity and nationalism threatens the formation of a national identity (Walker, 1989; see also Awatere, 1984; Durie, 1998). On the other hand, Walker (1995) adds that multicultural policies threaten Maori-identity building based on biculturalism. In fact, Maori oppose immigration, as they fear marginalisation.

Maori identity has undergone change several times in history (Walker, 1996; Willmott, 1989). According to J. P. Taylor (1998), in the mid 20th century, Maori culture was politically forced into a Pakeha frame to create national identity. At the same time, Maori culture ceased. By contrast, in the 1950s and '60s, government kept Maori culture distinct to promote one nation and two cultures. From the 1970s, the society was a melting pot of Maori and Pakeha culture, with Maori traditions representing the past and European progress the present. Modern Maori were not fully integrated into the European life-style, but they behaved as Europeans in European contexts so that differences were submerged. Problems became more obvious with the upsurge of Maori protest movements in the 1980s (Spoonley, 1990). In the 1990s, Maori gained more influence in institutions and administrations (Linnekin & Poyer, 1990). Moreover, they increasingly became involved in tourism management, which gave them a chance to redefine their tourist image (J. P. Taylor, 2001). However, as K. P. Sinclair (1990) put it, Maori still live in a Pakeha world.

Pakeha Identity

Pakeha as the most powerful group in New Zealand society have the biggest impact on shaping the national identity, mainly in terms of a Western culture with a strong British influence (Bell, 1996; Spoonley, 1995; Willmott, 1989). In their attempt to define themselves, Pakeha take Maori as a reference point (King, 1991), and have also borrowed aspects of Maori culture in order to gain a distinctive identity (Tarling, 1995; see also K. Sinclair, 1986b). King (1991) points out the right of Pakeha, as the "second indigenous New Zealand culture" (p. 19), to have their own identity. King acknowledges that the ingredients of this identity cannot be unique, but he adds that at least their combination can.

However, no single identity fits for everyone (Spoonley, 1991). Accordingly, the category *Pakeha* is not clearly defined and has become a political label (Spoonley, 1991, 1995). Hughes, Lauder, Dupuis, Watson, and Strathdee (1996) conducted interviews with New Zealanders to find out how they prefer to categorise themselves. Some people use the terms *New Zealanders* and *Pakeha* interchangeably; others use *Pakeha* to differentiate themselves from other cultural groups. With the same argument, some people refuse the label *Maori* or *Pakeha* even because it is a differentiation. When Spoonley (1991) asked Pakeha in focus group interviews to describe their identity, the answers mainly dealt with everyday life situations and places (such as dairies), customs (bring a plate, 21st birthdays), or kiwiana icons.

Some Aspects of National Identity

Many authors focus on Pakeha to describe national identity attributes. Therefore, this section examines the roots of Pakeha identity by exploring myths that lead to their development. Cameron and Gidlow (1998) point out the importance of sport as a national icon, because it represents and unifies the nation as whole (although this has become more difficult in New Zealand's multicultural society of today). In fact, in international appearances of national sport teams, people are more loyal to the nation than to the sport. For example, the America's Cup gained a great deal of support even though only a minority of New Zealanders are involved in yachting (Cameron & Gidlow, 1998). As such, sport has the "therapeutic" power to displace real and more problematic issues such as race relations (Bell, 1996).

Similarly, the government in the early 20th century used rugby to enhance nationality (Brown, 1997). Rugby had a unifying role for men, without differentiating class or ethnicity (Willmott (1989; see also Easterbrook, 2001; Phillips, 1987). However, rugby has lost this character since the 1981 Springbok tour, when anti-racism protests divided the country (Fougere, 1989). Afterwards, not only male identity, but also the whole New Zealand identity was challenged and had to be revised (Spoonley, 1990, 1991; see also Perry, 1994).

Apart from rugby, other parts of the male identity are alcohol, war, and the role of man in the family (Phillips, 1987, 1996). Phillips analyses male identity historically, from the pioneer era when having a physical and practical nature was more important than intellect, to the mateship of soldiers, and to the decent bloke and hard man times of the 1950s and 1960s. Tremain, Hadley, and Sheddan (1997) find that both rugby-playing and non-rugby-playing males support the male attributes associated with rugby (such as being tough, drinking a lot of alcohol, and harassing women). K. Sinclair (1986b) points out that the nation-building forces of war and sport excluded women (see also Phillips, 1996). Moreover, James and Saville-Smith (1990) describe the New Zealand culture as a “male culture”, based on manual work, mateship, and stereotypical male-female role differentiation. In addition, Phillips (1987) notes that because of their one-sided identity, many men could not follow individual preferences (for example, involvement in the arts or intellectual studies).

Today, the male image has become a myth, with rugby player figures declining, more women entering the workforce, and a new life-style (Phillips, 1987). However, the old cliché still survives in advertising or fictitious figures (such as Fred Dagg, or Barry Crump's, 1960, fictional stories featuring bloke characters; see Wolfe & Barnett, 2001). Consequently, male stereotypes around “rugby, beer, and racing” remain the same today (Phillips, 1987; see also Gray, 1983).

The Impact of Myths on Identity Building

Buchanan (2003) sums up the relationship between myths and national identity, which deserves to be quoted fully:

Foundation myths are an essential part of nation building. Rooted in invention or fact, made by individuals or events, such myths serve as the bedrock of national identity formation. They speak to the larger values upon which the nation is founded, and to the aspirations of its people. They are the folklore of citizenship. (p. 61)

Bell (1997) stresses that myths, by celebrating the past, support the present in social life. The roots of New Zealand identity lie in settler history (Willmott, 1989), and several myths have its origin here. For example, the egalitarian myth states that New

Zealand society has no poverty and no classes, social justice, and equal opportunities for everyone (see Steven, 1989). Today, New Zealand is far from that ideal, and New Zealanders increasingly recognise that the population is deeply divided not only economically, but also in ethnic and cross-gender relations (Consedine, 1989; see also H. Gold & Webster, 1990; Hirsch, 1992; Thorns & Sedgewick, 1997).

The rural society myth also has its origins in settler history; encapsulating values such as hard work, adaptability, and mateship; and focusing on outdoor activities (Ryan, 2002; see also K. Sinclair, 1986b). By contrast, statistical figures show that today more than 80 % of New Zealanders live in the city (Bell, 1997; Phillips, 1987; see also O'Connor, 1995; Perry, 1994) and only 4 % of New Zealanders are involved in outdoor activities (Collier, 1999). Moreover, even New Zealand's clean, green image is increasingly identified as a myth (see Bell, 1996; Dew, 1999; Szabo, 1993).

By creating identities out of myths, a whole new history can be invented, which people often believe in partly because it is more comfortable than confronting reality (Bell, 1996; see also Barthes, 1957/1973). Bell states that the 19th century myth that New Zealand was the best country in the world ("Godzone") is still alive, constantly being given to the next generation. In this context, Bell goes as far as saying that New Zealand is an invention. Myths can be problematic when they result in the exclusion of parts of the population, such as Maori and women, which creates discrimination (Bell, 1996, see also Roscoe, 1999).

While myths are often true at some stage in history, reality changes with time and myths lose their power to seem universally applicable (Steven, 1989). As a result, New Zealanders try to differentiate themselves from more powerful cultures (such as Britain, USA, Australia) by rejecting foreign influence and identifying themselves on the basis of everyday life experiences (Bell, 1996). In contrast, Bell states that the major forces that try to keep myths alive in New Zealand are the state (to gain social control) and the advertising industry (Bell, 1996).

In fact, many advertising campaigns work with national symbols and myths to generate emotions (Bell, 1996; see also Perry, 1994), but often in a humorous way to

counter criticism (Wolfe & Barnett, 2001). Examples include “Weetbix” that links the product to Edmund Hillary’s Mt. Everest climb and claims that “Kiwi kids are Weetbix kids”; the America’s Cup advertisements focusing on “kiwiness” (Hope & Johnson, 2001); Toyota commercials with Barry Crump (Perry, 1994); or Speights commercials featuring the “Southern Man” (Brown, 1997). In a current advertisement of a television manufacturer, a couple can be seen watching outdoor scenes on television while sitting on the couch. The slogan reads “Enjoy the great outdoors”, which is meant to be ironic but, in fact, involves a great deal of realism. Acknowledging the manipulative power of myths, Brown (1997) asks for a new myth that fits in with modern times – and that works; by, say, creating a myth to build a new Australasian identity.

In this context, the role of contemporary art may be the key to redefine old myths. The Ministry of Cultural Affairs (1997) indicates that movies such as *Once Were Warriors* (Tamahori & Scholes, 1995) may influence identity-building by looking behind the myths of New Zealand life (see also Brown, 1997). Accordingly, Brown states that the New Zealand image as shown in films or supported by statistical facts (such as poverty and pollution statistics) is disastrous. On the other hand, the movie *Whale Rider* (Caro, Sanders, Barnett, Hübner, & Ihimaera, 2002) shows a fictitious but credible side of Maori culture in modern life that may help Pakeha understand Maori better. This is supported by an education resource kit offered on the official movie webpage¹⁰ to encourage teachers discussing the film in class.

Moreover, the *The Lord of the Rings* trilogy (Jackson, 2001, 2002, 2003) may create a new fictitious myth. These films not only have an impact on New Zealand’s national image but also on national identity, although the plot has nothing to do with New Zealand at all. Nevertheless, a large number of people were either involved in the filmmaking or could identify with it; the capital city Wellington was apparently renamed “Middle Earth” for some time – including official signage (see D. Cohen, 2001).

¹⁰ Retrieved May 11, 2003, from <<http://www.whaleriderthemovie.com/education/index.html>>.

National Characteristics of New Zealanders

As New Zealanders are not an homogeneous group, it is difficult to describe their national characteristics. Bell (2001) and other authors in her edited book try to characterise New Zealanders by observing elements of “everyday New Zealand life”, such as home (Perkins & Thorns, 2001), food (Carter & Maynard, 2001), work (Tolich, 2001), or even weather (Mathewman, 2001). Indeed, it sounds convincing that the normal life of ordinary New Zealanders could reveal a lot about their culture and characteristics. However, the stories of individuals in everyday life situations provided as examples mainly use generalisations without any specific empirical research basis for the anecdotal assertions.

Wolfe and Barnett (2001) list items of New Zealand popular culture (“Kiwiana”) as indicators of national identity; for example, bungee jumping, gumboots, or the famous No. 8 wire indicating New Zealanders’ innovative and practical attitude (see also Barnett & Wolfe, 1989). Bell (1996) further argues that Kiwiana can lead to stereotypes; for example, when gumboots support the rural picture of New Zealand life.

Another way to identify national characteristics could be to analyse New Zealand heroes, as heroes incorporate typical cultural attributes, according to Hofstede (1997). For example, Edmund Hillary is often praised as the model New Zealander, an “ordinary bloke” who remains modest despite of his high achievements (Ansley, 2003). Thus, in an article for *The Listener*, Ansley inevitably makes claims about the New Zealand population when searching for a new hero figure. For example, a hero should love his own country, he should not be corrupted by money, which is, according to Ansley, “unKiwi-like” (p. 32), but should be modest and with human weaknesses. Further, a link to sport helps more than involvement with the arts. Although these thoughts are not scientifically backed, the topic appears to be a worthwhile research area.

Indeed, generalisations about New Zealanders are most obvious in non-academic literature. Non-academic authors tend to identify characteristics based only on their

beliefs, often in an ironic or otherwise humorous way (Catley, 1996; A. Mitchell, 2002; Tarling, 1995). Other perspectives that contain national characteristics can be found in tourism promotion (NZTB, 1997b); national surveys (H. Gold & Webster, 1990); autobiographical or other non-fictional stories (Bluck, 1999; King, 1985; Laidlaw, 1999; Shaw & Broadley, 1985; Shaw & Loveridge, 1991); qualitative interviews with New Zealanders (Barrington & Gray, 1981; Gray, 1983); historical approaches (Phillips, 1987, 1996; K. Sinclair, 1986a); opinion papers (Fairburn, 1944; Zepke, 1981); studies by overseas visitors (Ausubel, 1965; Winks, 1954); or collections of historical and fictitious texts by famous personalities, such as Joseph Banks, Mark Twain, or George Bernard Shaw (Calder, 1993; Eisen & Smith, 1991; Stone, 1959).

Most authors list similar stereotypical characteristics, but only some note the discrepancy between stereotypes and facts. By contrast, King (1979) asserts that some generalisations are possible, such as the fact that the English language is generally spoken. Likewise, Gordon (1989) notes that the most obvious national characteristic is the New Zealand accent. However, even these statements are not universally true, as there are differences in Maori and Pakeha versions of the accent (Holmes, Muracher, & Bayard, 2001) and some people in New Zealand may not speak English at all.

A collection of New Zealand attributes listed in the sources above includes practical, friendly, politically correct, loving the outdoors, sports-minded, loving rugby, versatile, pioneering spirit (“give-it-a-go”, “do-it-yourself”, “get-it-done”), understatement, decent manners, polite, genuine, caring, curious, interested in other people, open, at ease, down-to-earth, unpretentious, proud, respectful, considerate of environment, experimenting, adaptable, optimistic, good at improvisation, reliable, not intimidated by authority, generous, egalitarian, disciplined, natural, straightforward, good fellowship, hospitable.

Some authors distinguish between Pakeha and Maori characteristics (such as O’Connor, 1995; Holmes et al., 2001), or focus only on one of them; for example, the Polynesian Advisory Committee of the Vocational Training Council (1976) in a

pamphlet to help Pacific Island immigrants settle and integrate into Pakeha life. Some studies particularly focus on stereotypes about Pakeha held by Maori and vice versa (see also K. P. Sinclair, 1990). In addition, Huang and Singer (1984) include and further differentiate between Chinese New Zealander and Pacific Island New Zealander stereotypes.

Accordingly, Pakeha are characterised as individualistic, materialistic, organised, privacy protecting, egalitarian, rugged, inventive, successful, hard working, intelligent, self-centred, selfish, polite, not caring, sexist, impatient, talkative, boastful, law-abiding, generous, ambitious, efficient, grasping, miserly, overeager, secular, and future-orientated. In contrast, Maori are past-focused, spiritual, hospitable, troublemakers, lazy, unintelligent, dirty, aggressive, easy-going, friendly, shiftless, improvident, unreliable, generous, happy-go-lucky, manual labourers, violent, criminal, immoral, and not ambitious.

As some of these attributes contradict each other, the reference point is important here. King (1985) points out that Pakeha measure Maori by Western standards (and vice versa). As a result, most of the Pakeha and Maori stereotypes (as stated by the other group) are negative. On the contrary, most of the attributes assigned to New Zealanders in general are positive. Here, it is not clear how far Pakeha or Maori have been associated with the term New Zealander, but it is reasonable to assume that Pakeha associations dominate. On the national level, reference points are often Australia and Great Britain (Wolfe & Barnett, 2001; see also Bell, 1996). In this context, it is important to note that Maori-Pakeha stereotypes have a bigger impact on New Zealand society (see Holmes et al., 2001) than stereotypes of foreigners towards New Zealanders in general, which may be more important in the immigration and tourism area.

Little empirical research on New Zealand stereotypes has been reported. Although some studies deal with Pakeha stereotypes of Maori and vice versa (such as Holmes et al., 2001; Wetherell and Potter, 1992, cited in Tusting et al., 2002), primary research on stereotypes about New Zealand in general is less common. As one of the rare studies dealing with New Zealand stereotypes, Holloway and Valentine (2000)

asked school-age children from Britain and New Zealand each to describe the other country. As is the case for nations of similar status (Hengst, 1997, cited in Holloway & Valentine, 2000), the participants regarded people from the other country as more similar than different; for example, the British children perceived New Zealand as mainly a white society.

The detailed review of another empirical study shows that it is problematic to compare stereotypes with reality by using statistical data as many authors do. Bell and Lyall (2001) try to refuse the negative and widespread stereotype that New Zealanders are not much involved in the arts. Using survey data, they claim that more than 90 % of New Zealanders participate in the arts. However, looking more closely at the data, it becomes clear that the reason for this surprising finding is Bell and Lyall's broad definition of arts participation. Accordingly, arts involvement includes listening to the radio, reading non-fictional books, and even story-telling and knitting. Consequently, as stereotypes are normally vague, their verification or falsification depends on the subjective coding choices of the researcher.

3 Review of Three Tourism Publications

3.1 Introduction

The review of literature dealing with tourism images has generated an interest in examining the representation of New Zealand culture and characteristics of the people. Consequently, this section offers a comprehensive review of three tourism publications, which supplements the review of academic sources. The review aims to gain more information about the New Zealand image representation. The texts are deliberately chosen as widely available sources in the categories backpacker magazine, travel guidebook, and website. The review focuses on a textual analysis, as pictures in all sources are only a colourful side-element. The publications analysed are a free tourism magazine for German tourists in New Zealand, a travel guidebook for independent travellers, and New Zealand's official online tourism representation. While the former is a niche product targeted to a determined group of tourists, the latter two are (arguably) the most typical sources of their kind used by young travellers.

3.2 Neuseeland News

The *Neuseeland News* is a free newspaper style magazine ("German-New Zealand travel and life-style magazine") in the German language. Copies are available in New Zealand at Backpacker hostels and tourist information centres. The review focuses on 33 pages featuring New Zealand in issue 02/03 2003. From these, roughly 50 % consist of advertisements. The remaining space contains articles in the form of advertorials and photos.

The first page leading article (Hartung, 2003) summarises New Zealand's tourism image, thereby highlighting New Zealand qualities, such as Maori culture, diverse scenery, unique flora and fauna, the icon Kiwi, and outdoor and adventure activities. These qualities are followed by a short description of the main tourist destinations and some facts about the New Zealand population, history, political system, and cultural groups.

The article describes the characteristics of New Zealanders and New Zealand culture, and it also mentions some critical aspects. Accordingly, the diverse cultural groups are "working to form a unique New Zealand culture" (Hartung, 2003, p. 16 [transl.]) characterised by an "everything goes" (p. 16) mentality. However, as the article states, the nation is dominated by Europeans, who claim tolerance particularly for themselves. In this context, Maori culture is described as an "additional charm" (p. 16 [transl.]) for visitors, grounded on spirituality as opposed to the Western culture of achievement. Maori culture as the "Other" is merely treated as a tourist attraction, without discussing the relationship of Maori and Pakeha culture within the national identity.

Moreover, New Zealanders are described as hospitable, humorous, helpful, outgoing, and talkative. Thus, the New Zealand population is categorised with common stereotypes, which are then used to promote the destination. Accordingly, the friendly mentality of New Zealanders is called a highlight for visitors. In addition, New Zealand characteristics include a "do-it-yourself" attitude, innovativeness, and a "world-famous" eccentricity (Hartung, 2003, p. 16 [transl.]), which is substantiated by mentioning two famous New Zealand engineers. In addition, Edmund Hillary serves as the example of New Zealanders who love challenges and are sport enthusiasts, with a special interest in fun-sports and yachting.

Most of the articles describe tourist attractions, but only a few include more information about New Zealand and its culture. On page 2, "Visiting a traditional Maori family" (Paul, 2003) intends to make the reader believe that the described visit to a Maori village is an authentic experience, supported by the title, the formal narration style, and an accompanying photo showing poi dancers. Although the

performances are described and promoted as authentic parts of Maori life, they are, in fact, part of an organised tourism tour, which is not mentioned in the article. However, only a naïve reader may believe that still today the Powhiri, the “usual Maori greeting”, is a “serious matter” to clarify whether the visitors come in friendship or only “out of interest for the women” (Paul, 2003, p. 2 [transl.]). In a different approach on the same page, Petz (2003) considers historical and legal aspects of the Treaty (and its violation) and critically evaluates the Pakeha-Maori relationship in the context of mono-, bi-, and multiculturalism.

In conclusion, the *Neuseeland News* is clearly a one-sided tourist promotion for New Zealand directed to German visitors. Apart from the German language, some articles are aimed to appeal to Germans by including aspects with which the target group can identify; for example, a report about a private German brewery in New Zealand. The main emphasis is on tourist attractions, with only little current information. Although a few articles also include critical aspects and downsides of New Zealand society, the description of New Zealand culture and national characteristics is highly stereotypical.

3.3 *Lonely Planet Guidebook New Zealand*

The *Lonely Planet* guidebook series is a popular source of information for independent travellers and backpackers. The vast majority of the *Lonely Planet New Zealand* travel guidebook (P. Harding, Bain, & Bedford, 2002) presents locations, focusing on attractions, accommodation, eating, and transportation. This review mainly analyses the first chapter that deals with facts and visitor information about the country, particularly the sections “Society & Conduct” and “Maori Culture & Arts”. The authors, two Australians and one New Zealander, write (or often merely update) the book in a straightforward way, meant to be “practical, reliable, and no-nonsense” (p. 698).

As a result, although most content appears to be positive or neutral, negative aspects are fairly criticised and not hidden. To take an example, the “green” environmental image of New Zealand is demystified by clearly and comprehensively stating the

negative aspects of New Zealand's environmental record on two pages. Nevertheless, the authors also acknowledge that the clean and green image is especially apparent for outdoor activists who merely see New Zealand's national parks. Thus, tourists to the country normally do not experience environmental downsides, which may explain why the "clean environment myth" is still upheld.

The book starts with a long historical section, including race relations, the Treaty of Waitangi, and some current governmental and legal problems around the growing awareness of Maori culture in the wider society. In this context, the Maori-Pakeha relationship is described as strong, although not as good as often portrayed. Besides, the large section about Maori culture mainly describes artefacts associated with Maori mythology, without critically relating this section to contemporary issues. Instead, the section closes with a suggestion on where to buy greenstone, which shows that the guidebook foremost aims to cater for travellers' needs.

After the authors describe the population of New Zealand in statistical figures, they focus on aspects of society and conduct. The authors portray New Zealand culture as mainly European with a strong Maori influence. Here, they highlight the change in New Zealand society with a diversity of immigrants and the search for a common identity. In addition, the authors mention the special relationship to Great Britain and particularly Australia. Characteristics of New Zealanders only make up two paragraphs of the book. Accordingly, the authors point out that New Zealanders are very proud of their small country, particularly with respect to sport achievements, and that they value their political independence, referring to the nuclear-free policy. Attributes of New Zealanders are friendly, hard working, resourceful, honest, fair, independent, and rugged, with links made to the pioneering history.

In an extra section, activity options in New Zealand are emphasised, branding the country as the "ultimate great Outdoors". In this context, the authors argue that New Zealanders are heavily involved in outdoor activities, which reads as if New Zealanders "jetboat" and "abseil" their way through the country. Here, the authors fail to highlight that most of these activities are marketed and operated merely by the tourism industry.

In addition, some story boxes point out special aspects of New Zealand life as separate features, such as the involvement of the country (and the people) in the *The Lord of the Rings* movies. Here, the authors highlight the national pride of New Zealanders associated with the movie, even metaphorically declaring its “ownership” (p. 34) for New Zealand. In addition, it is emphasised how the movie not only had an important impact on the economy, but also how it is used as a supporting vehicle to promote tourism.

In a nutshell, the Lonely Planet travel guidebook for New Zealand is a comprehensive source of all sorts of information related to the country. The content is mostly objectively presented and without leaving the reader in suspicion that tourist promotion may be a primary and manipulative goal. However, Lonely Planet still sells the tourist destination by catering for the needs of the traveller – which are not necessarily identical with the hosts’ needs. Further, the portrayal of New Zealand culture is limited as there is not much space allocated to it, and the few descriptions of New Zealand characteristics rely on generalisations.

3.4 *Purenz.com*

The New Zealand Tourism Board (under the name Tourism New Zealand) publishes the official tourism website of New Zealand *purenz.com* (NZTB, 2003). Eight main sections (with a hierarchy of sub-categories) make the website a rich source of information about New Zealand. In addition, links to special features dealing with issues such as “Lord of the Rings” can be found throughout the website.

The “About NZ” section contains the vast majority of information about the New Zealand people and their culture. Accordingly, it includes information about history (Treaty of Waitangi, immigration, early settlement, and colonialism), culture (for example Maori Culture and Kiwiana), nature, and key facts.

The historical section is informative but avoids historical conflicts, especially when they may have an impact on contemporary issues. For example, the Treaty of

Waitangi page only marginally highlights problems. Similarly, the immigration page lists several immigrating groups without addressing controversial issues of multiculturalism or national identity. To take another example, the colonisation page describes some milestones of the colonial past, but only superficially and on an anecdotal level. Moreover, in the last paragraphs on the colonisation page, the author emphasises New Zealand's friendship with the "new buddy" USA ("Colonisation" page, ¶ 13). This exaggerated description appears to have been included with US-American tourists as a target group in mind. As a result, the reader is left in suspicion as to whether other content of the site has been tailored (or even manipulated) to appeal specifically to tourists.

The culture section contains most of the information about characteristics of the people. Interestingly, the main culture page not only includes the hyperlink to a page dealing with the Maori welcome ceremony, but also to the "Lord of the Rings" feature. Maori culture is described mainly by language and some traditional customs. However, the presentation of Maori art and culture lacks emphasis on everyday Maori life.

The section about the New Zealand people outlines New Zealanders' characteristics, both showing modern and contemporary attributes and giving the background of some myths, which are claimed to be still alive today. For example, the author not only describes New Zealanders as urban and multicultural, but also highlights their rural and individualistic background. While New Zealand's cultural diversity is acknowledged, the author claims that some attributes apply to all inhabitants. Accordingly, New Zealanders, both Pakeha and Maori, are called "largely sophisticated and highly educated urban dwellers", with a "background of quiet but rugged individualism, self-reliance, and a genius for invention" ("The People" page, ¶ 13).

The myth of the pioneering spirit, embodied by the brave, rugged, and independent "backyard genius" ("The People" page, ¶ 5), is adapted to the modern times by declaring that resourcefulness and ingenuity are main parts of the New Zealand character today. Especially highlighted are New Zealanders' love for the outdoors

and water sports, the egalitarian society, mateship and sport (focusing on rugby and the “average bloke”), the change from rural economy to city life, use of modern technology, and the impact of immigration on national identity. The issue of national identity occupies only one sentence, and the author does not identify what this identity would be.

Some of the stated characteristics are clearly myths that can be linked to a promotional objective. For example, although yachting and outdoor activities may be better described as a minority sport, they are declared as sports of the people to help market the America’s Cup and outdoor tourism. Nevertheless, the image of the modern, sophisticated New Zealander is emphasised more than the rural farmer image. In addition, the nature section fails to provide any information about environmental problems, but only focuses on the “beautiful” and “stunning” aspects of New Zealand’s environment (“Nature introduction” page, ¶ 1, ¶ 5)

Furthermore, the Kiwiana page links New Zealand pop culture objects such as the Buzzy Bee and the Edmond’s cookery book to national identity; again without saying what this link would be. Moreover, the activity section includes some hints about New Zealanders in terms of their supposed activities. Accordingly, the author calls New Zealanders “friendly and adventurous people” (“Activities” page, ¶ 1), which explains, according to the author, the wide range of activity options available. Again, characteristics of New Zealanders are linked here to the tourism products the NZTB wants to sell.

Finally, the ‘Journal’ section offers reports and stories about selected tourist destinations and activities, which also reveals something about the New Zealand culture. As an example, the journal story about the Te Papa museum in Wellington (Armstrong, 2001) mentions some critical aspects of New Zealand identity (for example, the Pakeha-Maori conflict) as exhibited by the museum. Thereby it highlights how the museum aims to teach visitors about New Zealand, and, thus, essentially creates an image.

In short, the *purenz.com* website contains much information about New Zealand that defines an image of the country, clearly driven by the tourism industry's intentions. The focus of the website is broad, as it is addressed to several different tourist types, but some information is hidden in the hierarchy of the website. The overall description of New Zealanders is positive, avoids conflicts in society, includes both modern and mythical aspects, and mostly enforces stereotype building. Moreover, the repeated effort to relate the image of the *The Lord of the Rings* movies to New Zealand as "Home of Middle-Earth" is evident in the number of hyperlinks on the website to the special feature.

3.5 Conclusion

The review of three publications associated with New Zealand tourism shows that stereotypical information is common in promoting the New Zealand image. It is understandable that publications aiming to promote a tourist destination focus on special attributes and positive descriptions as opposed to more realistic but boring or negative ones. However, it is a critical note worth pointing out that conflicts and problems are often neglected. The results of this analysis far from represent the full tourism image about New Zealand. Notwithstanding, they give an insight into some of its parts and show a trend as to how New Zealanders and their culture are portrayed. All three publications have in common that travellers do not consult them for a characterisation of the New Zealand people in the first place, which explains why this information is often hidden. Nevertheless, it is precisely this quality that shows how travellers may unconsciously perceive New Zealanders, contributing to the general national image that travellers develop.

4 Research Questions

4.1 Summary of Previous Research Findings

The review of literature shows important findings in the fields of stereotypes, national identity, and national image, focussing particularly on the New Zealand context. In short, stereotypes deal with beliefs and knowledge about social groups and are fundamental to prejudice and discrimination. As these are controversial topics with practical impact in everyday life, stereotype research is important.

Using stereotypes is a natural cognitive process, but also serves social functions. As social groups take other groups as reference points to define themselves, stereotypes are a tool to build ethnic and national identity. Therefore, different cultural groups may stereotype another culture differently, and the target group's self-perception, its own identity, can be compared to stereotypes. In this context, sociocultural research in stereotypes does not only ask for the content of stereotypes and how uniform they are, but also, how reluctantly they are given and why they may be inhibited. Intercultural contact has an impact on stereotypes, which is associated with the contact hypothesis. However, the relationship between contact and stereotypes depends on a large set of conditions; for example, travel type and motivations; which is why researchers found different results as to how contact influences stereotype use and content.

In addition, it is of interest how accurate stereotypes are. Unfortunately, this question is hard to answer, because it is difficult or even impossible to describe reality. The national identity of the target group may be used to evaluate the accuracy of

stereotypes. However, the Johari window adapted to intercultural contact shows that both stereotypes and national identity are only partly identical, but may describe different parts of reality. Furthermore, national images carry and distribute stereotypes, and as such, they allow evaluating stereotypes from an alternative perspective. A theoretical framework based on ideas of the Johari window relates national image, national identity, and stereotypes with reality and the concept of the nation. This framework, called the Image-Identity-Reality grid, may be useful to compare stereotypes and reality from different angles.

In the New Zealand context, national identity building has been problematic in recent years due to bicultural disputes in society. Although intercultural studies of stereotypes neglect New Zealand as a research field, non-academic literature shows how New Zealand's national identity is mainly based on myths emerging from Pakeha settler history. Those stereotypical myths can also be found in tourism publications promoting New Zealand.

4.2 Research Objectives

The review reveals gaps in the literature that this research seeks to fill. Accordingly, from a sociocultural perspective, the study aims to describe stereotypes of young, educated people about New Zealand and to compare them to self-perceptions of New Zealanders. It is particularly of interest how stereotype use and content differ related to the amount of contact with New Zealanders. Accordingly, the more time people spend with New Zealanders or within New Zealand should have an impact on their perceptions. Some research supports the assumption that increased contact leads to a decrease in stereotyping. Consequently, visitors' perceptions should become similar to self-perceptions of New Zealanders. On the contrary, other findings indicate that personal experience may enforce stereotypes. Here, the study aims to add new results to the controversial debate around the contact hypothesis.

In addition, it is assumed that people from different cultures have a better understanding of some countries than other, due to geographical, historical, or cultural proximity. As every culture uses another reference point to stereotypes, an

objective is to determine whether differences across Western cultures exist that relates to stereotypes. The research is particularly aimed at young, educated people between 18 and 35 years of age. Further, the amount of knowledge about New Zealand is tested as to whether it relates to contact or cultural membership.

Moreover, as stereotyping is considered socially undesirable, the study explicitly aims to encounter how reluctantly stereotypes are disclosed, and why they may be inhibited. In this context, the pilot study offers detailed qualitative data that adds to the quantitative approach of the major survey. Finally, characteristics of New Zealand's national image shall be collected and compared to stereotypes and national identity, using the theoretical framework outlined in the literature review. Hereby, it is sought to include the findings from the review of tourism publications. By doing so further research opportunities shall be indicated to confirm the relationships between identity, image, and stereotypes.

4.3 Research Questions

RQ1: What motivates stereotype use and how reluctantly do people apply stereotypes?

RQ2: How do stereotypes about New Zealanders compare to New Zealanders' self-perceptions?

RQ3: How does the amount of contact with New Zealanders relate to stereotype use and content?

RQ4: How does the amount of knowledge about New Zealand relate to stereotypes and contact, and how accurate are stereotypes?

RQ5: How do stereotypes about New Zealanders relate to cultural membership (for selected Western cultures)?

RQ6: What are the characteristics of New Zealand's national image, and how do they relate to stereotypes and the national identity of New Zealanders?

4.4 Methodological Structure

The methodology of the study is structured in a funnel format: The study initially approaches the research topic broadly and qualitatively, and then narrows it down to specific, standardised survey questions. In this linear research process, the results of early stages influence the structure and content of the following ones.

The main part of the methodological section consists of an online survey targeted to people from selected Western cultures, who differ in their amount of contact with New Zealanders. Participants are New Zealanders, tourists and international students in New Zealand, and people who have never been to New Zealand at all. While the research topic is complex and different research questions are addressed, careful preparation and testing of the questionnaire is necessary. Therefore, a pilot study and focus group interviews help to build the large-scale survey.



INSTRUMENTS AND PREPARATION

5 Pilot Study

5.1 Introduction

This pilot study has been conducted prior to the large-scale survey to support its methodology. Naturally, the pilot study has a smaller scope than the larger survey, its research objectives are restricted, and its findings are limited. The main focus is on stereotype use and content related to the amount of contact with New Zealanders but without emphasising cross-cultural differences. It also examines the degree of reluctance to disclose stereotypes in giving the answers. The qualitative data of the pilot study complements the larger, quantitative project by offering additional insights into the research problem.

Firstly, two focus group interviews were conducted in order to get a wide range of information related to the research topic. Further, the main part of the pilot study consists of an online questionnaire similar to the large-scale survey, but merely qualitative in nature. Moreover, follow-up e-mails aim to clarify unclear sections and to reveal reasons behind selected answers.

Results are reported mainly by a qualitative data analysis. Finally, the findings of the pilot study are discussed with emphasis on the impact on the large-scale survey, but also regarding the significance of the results on their own. While the methodologies of the pilot study and the large-scale study are linked, the choice of methods is justified in more detail in the next chapter, with reference to the literature and the findings of the pilot study. The limitations and conclusions of the pilot study are included in the corresponding chapters at the end of this thesis.

5.2 Methodology of the Pilot Study

Focus Group Interviews

In January 2003, I conducted a first focus group interview with a convenience sample of five persons. All participants were Pakeha New Zealanders in their late 40s, upper middle-class, and with involvement in several parts of society. As such, I rate them as opinion leaders. The objective of the interview was to get impressions as to how New Zealanders perceive their own society.

The discussion developed around five leading questions, which remained important in the later creation of the pilot study questionnaire.¹¹ The core questions directly dealt with the main research problem of the study; namely, what New Zealanders are like, and what assets and downsides the country has. Finally, I asked participants what they regarded as essential attributes to become a Kiwi, in terms of New Zealanders' expectations towards immigrants.

In May 2003, after writing the literature review and clarifying the research problem, I conducted a second, more specific focus group interview. Here, I used more leading questions to guide the discussion and I interrupted when the discussion strayed too much from the research context. Participants were a convenience sample of three German students in New Zealand and three Pakeha New Zealanders, all between 21 and 33 years old.¹² Thus, they represented two sectors of the population of the pilot study survey; namely, international sojourners and New Zealanders.

Questions included an invitation to brainstorm about New Zealand and its assets and downsides, to describe New Zealanders in general, and to make statements about the accuracy of common myths (such as the bloke-male image, the egalitarian myth, and the rural society). The discussion particularly aimed to compare the New Zealanders'

¹¹ In both focus group interviews, I did not record the whole interview but noted the answers in short terms and catchwords.

¹² Five of the six participants of the second focus group interview also participated in the online pilot study.

with the Germans' answers. In addition, I asked the German participants to rate the amount of contact they had with New Zealanders during their stay, to state any difficulties adapting to the New Zealand culture, and to recall what they knew of and how they heard about New Zealand before they came.

Pilot Study Survey: Research Participants

To study how stereotypes differ related to the amount of contact with New Zealanders, participants of the pilot study survey were divided into three groups differing by the amount of contact they had with New Zealanders, as outlined in Table 5.1. The grouping was similar to the categorisation of the large-scale study, which further differentiates between tourists and sojourners.

Table 5.1 Groups in the pilot study

Group	Amount of contact with New Zealanders	Number of participants (n = 25)
People who have not been to the country at all	No contact at all or very little	9
Temporary visitors	Little, moderate, or much contact	8
New Zealanders	Extensive contact	8

Participants were a convenience sample of 25 people, evenly distributed over the three groups. Eight of the nine temporary visitors were international students in New Zealand, and one visited New Zealand as a tourist. Most of the participants were between 20 and 35 years old,¹³ the main target age group of the large-scale study. Furthermore, most persons in the first two (non-New Zealander) groups were German,¹⁴ which is my own nationality. In contrast to the large-scale survey, the pilot study did not make further cross-cultural differentiations. Moreover, all

¹³ Two participants fell out of the average age range (with an age of 39 and 52 years, respectively); both had never been to New Zealand at all.

¹⁴ One student was from India, and one person who had not been to New Zealand at all was from the USA.

participants of the pilot study (except one) were close friends of mine and were not considered as subjects for the larger study.

Pilot Study Survey: Procedures

I sent e-mails with a hyperlink to an online questionnaire in English to 40 potential participants, giving them one week's time to fill it out. From these, 25 people responded. In the e-mail introduction, I did not refer to the exact research questions, especially to the term stereotype. Knowing that they were tested about stereotypes may have let participants answer differently.

By using the same Internet-based survey platform, the pilot study tested the technical feasibility of the larger project. The online survey of the pilot study was built with the free version of SurveyMonkey, an online tool that helps to design and publish surveys and that also provides database space and some data analysis tools. The free version of surveymonkey had some limitations, however; for example, a restricted number of 10 questions and no electronic data transfer options to Excel or SPSS.¹⁵ On the other hand, all participants could be reached directly and quickly. I make the assumption that the use of new media was not a barrier to the handling or understanding of the survey form, as (most) participants were young, educated people from Western cultures.

The questionnaire consisted of three different question types. Firstly, open questions invited participants to brainstorm about New Zealand, to name downsides of the country, and to make general comments about the survey. Secondly, some closed questions were tested to see what kind of responses they generate. For example, I asked participants about the connection between the *The Lord of the Rings* movies and New Zealand. In addition, I tested a 7-point Likert-type scale that indicated agreement with 12 statements about New Zealand society. Finally, the largest and most important part of the survey was a list of 52 semantic differentials, taken from different sources in the literature.

¹⁵ The platform can be accessed under <<http://www.surveymonkey.com>>.

When selecting the attributes, care was taken to choose suitable traits. Both Peabody (1967, 1985) and Osgood, Suci, and Tannenbaum (1957/1964) collected large numbers of traits and tested them with factor analysis, leading to a dictionary of attributes that can be used for stereotype research. Peabody argues that some traits are quasi-synonymous, differing only in their valence (positive or negative meaning). As a result, more descriptive than evaluative traits were chosen for the survey, as the study deals with stereotypes rather than prejudice. Most of the traits were used in previous research, either in general listings such as those prepared by Peabody, or in studies dealing with cross-cultural stereotypes, preferably in the New Zealand context.

Within the semantic differential section, participants had to rate New Zealanders on a 7-point scale of paired attributes, which not only aimed to reveal stereotype content but also whether participants were reluctant to generalise at all. Only those attributes that showed differences among the groups studied have been considered for the large-scale survey. Appendix A contains the questionnaire.

Follow-up E-mail

As the pilot study survey asked participants for their name, it was possible to send them follow-up questions by e-mail (see Appendix B). The follow-up aimed to uncover reasons for and individual meanings of survey answers, as suggested by Schuman (2002). Accordingly, the follow-up e-mail helped to determine what selected survey questions were measuring, in order to improve the internal validity of the large-scale survey. One question asked participants why they used the *Not applicable* category in the semantic differential section; for example, so as to avoid generalising New Zealanders at all.

In summary, the questions in the follow-up e-mail dealt with two main aspects: the reasons for any reluctance in using generalisations, and the individual understanding of *Don't know* categories. Nineteen of the 25 participants of the online questionnaire also answered the follow-up questions.

Considering Ethics

Ethical concerns that apply to both the pilot study and the online survey are discussed in the methodology chapter of the large-scale survey. Only a few concerns were particular to the pilot study: The pilot study was not anonymous and more demanding in terms of survey time. In addition, some participants were not only involved in the follow-up questions, but also the second focus group interview, which could have been an overload. However, the danger of doing harm to people was lower in the pilot study in which the participants were mainly friends.

5.3 Results of the Pilot Study

As the different parts of the pilot study added to each other, results of early stages in the research process influenced the structure and content of the following stages. In this section, the outcomes of the focus group interviews and the Internet-based questions are described qualitatively or with simple measures of frequency.

Focus Group Interviews

The first focus group interview revealed issues on which the literature review could focus. For example, participants chose some typical “Kiwi” attributes, such as easy going, sportive, outdoor-orientated, relaxed, culturally sensitive, multicultural, and politically correct. In addition, examples of assets of the country were the All Blacks, Maori culture, clean environment, a low density of population, and the good treatment of Maori compared to indigenous people in other countries.

According to the participants, tourists usually do not know much about downsides or problems of New Zealand, which includes Treaty affairs, the abuse of social welfare, class structure, racial tension, and social problems of Maori. When asked about immigration criteria, participants agreed that immigrants should be able to share the New Zealand life-style, such as being relaxed, identifying with many sports, and getting involved in the local community.

The second focus group interview addressed these issues in more detail. Here, it became obvious that the German participants tended to compare New Zealand to the German context, using generalisations of both cultures. For example, Germans stated as New Zealand's downsides mainly things they were used to at home but that were lacking in New Zealand, such as central heating. In addition, some answers differed between the German and the New Zealand groups. For example, Germans thought that about 80 % of New Zealanders would regularly go to the beach and in the outdoors, whereas the Kiwi group's estimate was only 10–25 %.

Further, the discussion focused on aspects of New Zealand society and national characteristics. Participants happily used generalisations and repeated stereotypes, for example the egalitarian myth. Here, they produced statistical figures to support their points. Accordingly, participants described New Zealanders in general as laid-back, informal, helpful, open, generous, accepting, informed about world news, technologically orientated, excessive drinkers, competitive, and unconcerned about their own environment.

The German participants stated that, for them, there was no big cultural difference between Germany and New Zealand and, therefore, acculturation was not a problem. They also pointed out that the general image of New Zealand abroad is mainly positive, but that people do not know much about it – even they did not before they came.

In addition, the Germans believed they had a lot of contact with New Zealanders and a good understanding of them. Accordingly, while throughout the interview all participants relied on generalisations, the Germans justified generalising from personal experience. However, when confronted with the term stereotype, they made a distinction between the generalisations they used and the, in their opinion, more negative and not so accurate term stereotype. Besides, participants showed their belief in the kernel-of-truth hypothesis, stating that every stereotype is true to some extent.

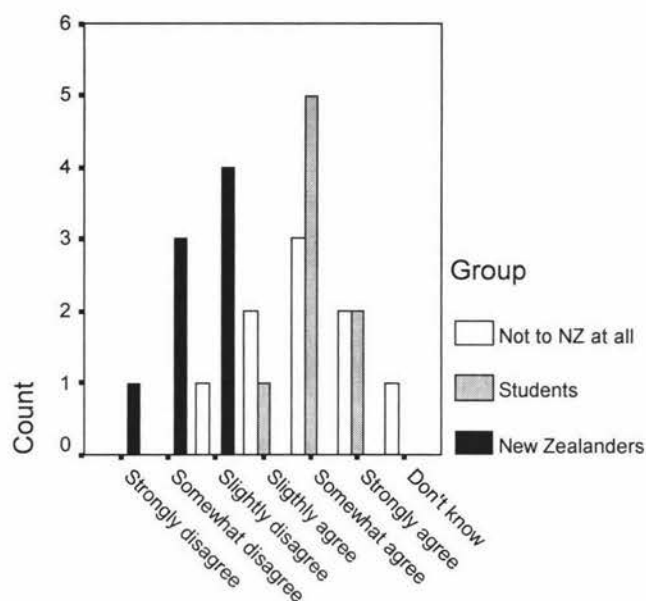
Pilot Study Survey

The online questionnaire, by offering a wide range of data, revealed more specifically the differences in perceptions across the groups. However, some questions did not show any significant differences in answers, such as the first brainstorming question, asking participants what comes into their mind when thinking about New Zealand. To take another example, the answers to the “Lord of the Rings” question were spread over all categories regardless of the participants’ group membership.

Differences across the three groups became more apparent in the question of New Zealand downsides. The people who had not been to New Zealand could not name many downsides at all. In contrast, both the temporary visitors and the New Zealanders stated some problems in New Zealand society (such as environmental problems, alcohol abuse, Maori treatment, and immigration), with the foreign students being the most critical.

Regarding the Likert-scale type questions of 12 statements about New Zealand society, the results of two statements are presented here in detail to indicate group differences. Firstly, major differences occurred regarding the question of whether New Zealand is a rural society. While all New Zealanders disagreed with this statement (on one of the three disagreement categories), all students and the majority of the people who have not been to New Zealand agreed with it, as Figure 5.1 shows.

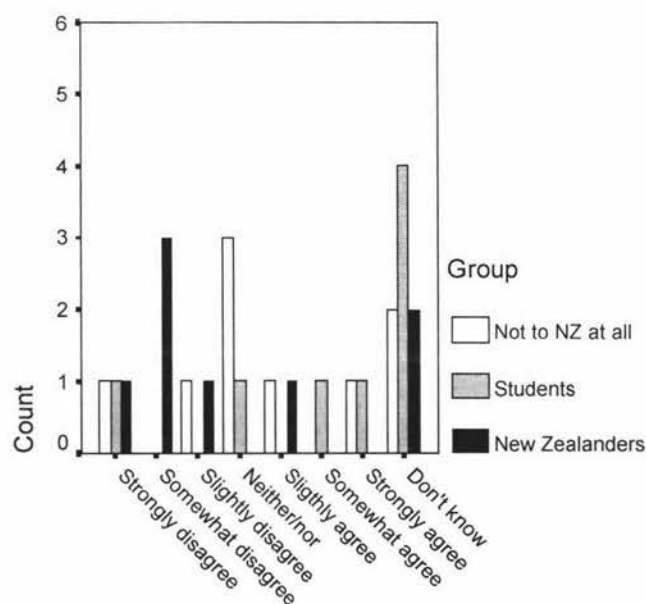
In contrast, no clear group distinctions were to be seen regarding the statement that New Zealand has problems with right-wing extremists; here, answers in each group were distributed among all categories, with a high number of people choosing the *Don't know* option (see Figure 5.2).



"New Zealand is mainly a rural society."

Note. Only those categories are shown in the figure that generated at least one count.

Figure 5.1 Differences across groups: "Rural society" statement



"NZ has problems with right-wing extremists."

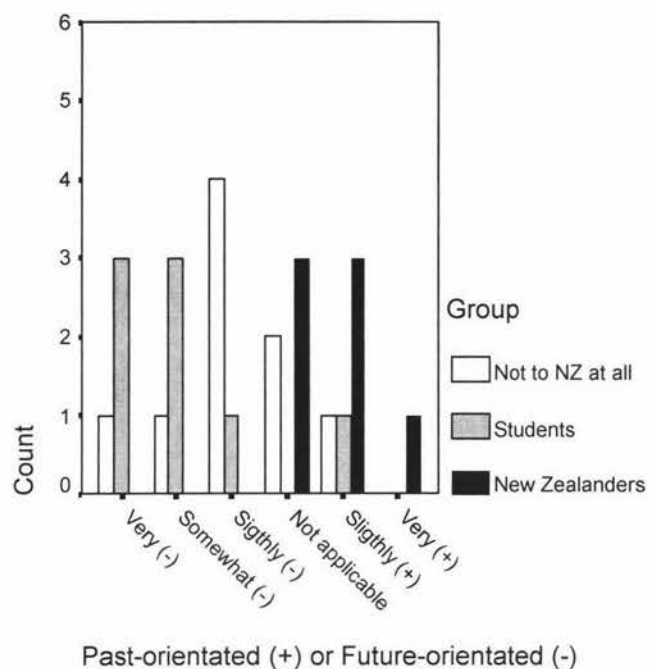
Figure 5.2 Differences across groups: "Right-wing extremists" statement

Similarly, the list of 52 attributes could be analysed with cross-tabulations in order to decide which of the categories would be included in the large-scale survey. In this question, participants were encouraged to choose the *Not applicable* category when the attribute was not suitable to describe New Zealanders in general. Especially attributes that could be considered as being more a personal trait than a group trait showed a high count in this category and no significant preference for either of the two adjectives. For example, more than 40 % of all participants chose *Not applicable* for the categories “Tall/Short” and “Altruistic/Egoistic”.

The people who had not been to New Zealand ticked *Not applicable* most often and also tended not to pick extreme scores. The other two groups chose more extreme scores; the travellers especially for attributes that were linked to a common New Zealand stereotype. On the other hand, the New Zealanders sometimes chose more extreme scores for attributes with a positive value.

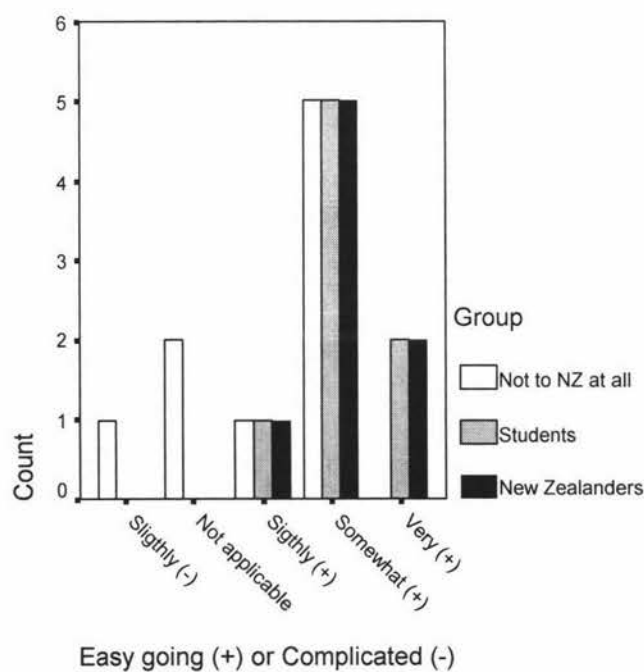
Further, participants considered a few of the attributes to be suitable to describe New Zealanders in general. Some of these showed similar ratings across the three groups on the scale; for example, a vast majority (23 of 25) of all participants ticked one of the three *Friendly* categories to describe New Zealanders. Moreover, other attributes showed differences across the groups; for example, New Zealanders regarded themselves as more past-orientated, whereas a majority of the other two groups rated them as future-orientated (see Figure 5.3). Sometimes group differences were visible but only minor, as can be seen in Figure 5.4.

While only a short selection of attributes can be presented here, the results of all 52 attributes are summarised in table form in Appendix C. The Appendix shows the distribution of responses across the three groups, plus an indication of whether an attribute may be a personal trait, value laden, or associated with a New Zealand stereotype, respectively.



Note. Only those categories are shown in the figure that generated at least one count.

Figure 5.3 Differences across groups: “Past/Future-orientated” attribute



Note. Only those categories are shown in the figure that generated at least one count.

Figure 5.4 Differences across groups: “Easy going/Complicated” attribute

Follow-up Questions

Many participants stated in the comments they had difficulties generalising New Zealanders using the attributes. Some claimed not to have enough knowledge to rate New Zealanders, whereas others regarded the process of generalising as problematic. The follow-up questions aimed to examine this area in more detail.

Seven of the 19 people who returned the follow-up e-mail stated they wished to avoid generalising about New Zealanders. However, none of them refused to rate New Zealanders in the online survey completely. Instead, most of the participants used the *Not applicable* category to mark those attributes that were more likely to differ individually. In this context, a majority of participants acknowledged that they used stereotypes when rating New Zealanders; here, there appeared to be no significant differences across the three groups. Most participants were moderately confident that their ratings gave a true picture of the New Zealand population, with New Zealanders scoring slightly higher than the other groups on this scale.

The follow-up questions also showed that participants who have not been to New Zealand at all rated themselves as having little contact with New Zealanders and little knowledge about New Zealand. In contrast, the foreign students mostly thought they had much contact and moderate knowledge, whereas New Zealanders claimed to have had extensive contact and much knowledge.

5.4 Interpretation of the Pilot Study

The focus group interviews indicate how the German students differ in their perceptions of New Zealanders compared with New Zealanders' self-perceptions. Taking the example of New Zealanders' outdoor activity (leaving aside ambiguities in definition), the literature suggests that only 4 % of New Zealanders regularly go in the outdoors (Collier, 1999). The Germans largely overestimated this figure, which is likely to be due to their own strong involvement in travel and outdoor activities. Thus, during their personal experience they meet New Zealanders in the outdoors, without realising that these may only be a minority of the population.

In fact, participants often mention personal experience as a means to justify their attitudes. As a result, regarding the online questionnaire, the students use even more stereotypes than the people who had not been to New Zealand at all. As one German student put it in the follow-up e-mail when asked if he used stereotypes when describing New Zealanders: “Yes, but I had one year’s time to establish them.” In contrast, the people who had not been to New Zealand and, therefore, could not rely on experience, used the *Don’t know* category in the statement section more. In addition, they commented more often on the problems associated with generalising about a whole population. Consequently, while this observation links to the contact hypothesis (Allport, 1954), it appears that personal contact with the target group actually leads to an increase in stereotype use. The large-scale survey has been aimed to examine this finding further.

Regarding stereotype content, the pilot study confirmed many stereotypical attributes about New Zealanders, which could back the kernel-of-truth-hypothesis (see Oakes & Reynolds, 1997). However, literature shows that stereotypes need not to be true only because they are repeated (Allport, 1954), which is further supported by differences across the three groups, as discussed below.

Taking the examples of the two statements (Figures 1 and 2 in the Results of the Pilot Study section), the pilot study also shows that there has to be a common stereotype in order for participants to use it. Therefore, the “Right-wing extremist” statement, which is objectively wrong but not associated with a stereotype, generates almost a random set of answers. As a result, the statement does not appear in the large-scale online questionnaire.

In contrast, the “Rural society” statement is also wrong, but based on a stereotypical myth. The example shows that New Zealanders are happy to generalise about the New Zealand population. However, in their stereotype content they tend to be more realistic; that is, their greater knowledge about New Zealand society enables them to demystify some stereotypes. For example, New Zealanders show they are aware of the fact that more than 80 % of the population lives in the ten biggest cities. This finding supports the claim that self-ratings by the target group are a measure for

accuracy of a stereotype (Harding, 1968; Kobryniewicz & Biernat, 1998), although this interpretation needs to be taken cautiously (see Oakes & Reynolds, 1997). In fact, the reference point of the comparison comes into play as well (see J. C. Turner & Brown, 1978). Accordingly, the German participants, used to a larger population, indicated that they regard the New Zealand cities as more rural than German ones. Therefore, both parties would claim that their statement is accurate.

In addition, the large-scale survey only includes those attributes from the list of 52 paired adjectives that indicate either differences across groups, or clear distributions towards one of the two adjectives. Some of the attributes (such as “Friendly”, “Helpful”, and “Hospitable”) generated similar results, which indicates that they may belong to the same concept, as described by Asch (1946, 1952, cited in Leyens et al. 1994). Therefore, the final survey will contain only one or two examples from each concept. In short, the following conditions usually led to discard of the attribute: a high number of counts in the *Not applicable* category (often together with personal traits), mixed responses within all groups, and irrelevant or uninteresting attributes. Appendix C marks the 12 attributes that have been included in the online survey. In addition, the final survey uses a 5-point scale to increase both the clarity of the instrument and the number of cell counts.

Finally, while most participants showed doubts about whether it is possible to generalise about a population of people, they nonetheless filled out the survey form. One reason for this behaviour is the standardised structure of this part of the survey that explicitly encouraged people to generalise about New Zealanders. Methodological research shows that participants tend to play “the rules of the game” when answering standardised surveys (Schuman, 2002). Nevertheless, the follow-up questions indicate that the *Not applicable* category, together with item non-response, is understood as a way to avoid generalising. Thus, the follow-up questions about attitudes to generalising help increase the validity of the findings, both of the pilot study and the large-scale survey.

6 Methodology

6.1 Introduction

The Methodology section outlines the structure of an online survey that was built on the pilot study described in the previous chapter. This chapter deals with sampling the research participants, conducting the survey, designing the questions, and discussing ethical concerns.

Firstly, the participants were divided into groups differing in their amount of contact with New Zealanders. A contact index was created in order to help compare the groups. In addition, the same participants were also differentiated by their cultural membership. Further, the sampling methods are explained in detail and the external validity of the sample is discussed.

Secondly, the procedure of conducting the survey is described and the questions are introduced. Using the results of the pilot study and referring to the literature, the reason why questions were chosen and what they were measuring is explained. This section explicitly aims to show the strength of the internal validity of the survey. The final section of this chapter focuses on ethical considerations.

6.2 Research Participants

Groups Differing by the Amount of Contact

To study how stereotypes differ related to the amount of contact with New Zealanders, participants of the online survey were divided into groups, as outlined in Table 6.1. Firstly, people from Western cultures were separated into three groups depending on whether they have been to New Zealand, leading to the group of people who have not been to New Zealand at all (“NO-group”), and the group of travellers (“Travel-group”). New Zealanders and permanent residents were a group of their own (“NZ-group”). The Travel-group could be further differentiated into visitors (tourists) and sojourners (international students and temporary workers) depending on the purpose of the stay.

Table 6.1 Groups differing by the amount of contact with New Zealanders

Group description	Group name	Amount of contact with New Zealanders ^a
People of Western cultures who have not been to the country at all	NO-group	No contact at all or very little
Travellers	Travel-group	Little to moderate contact
- Visitors		Moderate to much contact
- Sojourners		
New Zealanders or permanent residents	NZ-group	Extensive contact

Note. ^a Expected average values. Individual values may differ from these. For example, a visitor may report extensive contact with New Zealanders, whereas a sojourner may have had only little contact.

For the purpose of this paper, I determined the contact value (the total intensity of contact with New Zealanders) for each participant by an index figure, called the *Contact Index* (CI). The CI is calculated as a function of the total number of weeks participants spent in New Zealand (*w*) and the strength of contact with New Zealanders that participants reported on a 5-point scale (*c*), ranging from 0 (*No contact at all*) to 4 (*Extensive contact*).

In order to calculate the Contact Index, the variable contact strength has to be of interval level. Although its scale is, strictly, only ordinal, the literature widely argues in support of treating one-item rating scales as interval/ratio measurement scales (Frey, Botan, & Kreps, 2000). Table 6.2 shows the formula of the CI-function, which is the square root of the number of weeks multiplied with the score on the contact-scale, divided by 100.

Table 6.2 Formula to calculate the Contact Index

CI = [$\sqrt{(w\ c^2)}$] / 100 = (\sqrt{w}) c / 100
CI = Contact Index
w = Number of weeks spent in New Zealand ^a
c = Amount of contact on a 5-point scale from 0 to 4 ^b
<i>Note.</i> ^a For participants in the NO-group, w is, by definition, always 1. ^b 0 (<i>No contact at all</i>); 1 (<i>Little contact</i>); 2 (<i>Moderate contact</i>); 3 (<i>Much contact</i>); 4 (<i>Extensive contact</i>).

The participants in the NZ-group were defined as having extensive contact. In addition, residency in New Zealand between five years and ten years was treated as five years (CI = .65), residency of more than 10 years (but not life long) was treated as 10 years (CI = .91), and a life-long residency in New Zealand was defined as a CI of 1. Consequently, a CI of 1 defined the ideal maximum intensity of contact with New Zealanders, which was expected from life-long residents. Due to the fact that the square root was taken from the number of weeks, the impact of the amount of time spent in New Zealand on the CI score decreased reverse-exponentially with time increasing.

Further, as people in the NO-group have not been to New Zealand, their CI would have been 0. However, to take into account the contact those people may have had with New Zealanders outside the country, their (squared) scale ratings of contact with New Zealanders were not multiplied by 0, but by 1. Thus, outliers could be detected. As a result, the CI was a ratio figure ranging from 0 to 1, and all CI-scores could be interpreted as simple quotas of the maximum, ideal value 1. For example, a traveller who spent four weeks in New Zealand having much contact, according to

this model, shared the ideal contact situation to only 6 %. Ten weeks with much contact increased this quota to 10 %, and half a year to 15 %. Extensive contact in six months raised the figure to 20 %, after three years to 50 %, and after 10 years to 91 %.

As the design of the CI-formula was based on assumptions, it is wise not to overinterpret the findings associated with the contact value. In fact, social concepts like contact intensity (which relates to national identity and cultural membership), cannot be expressed simply by quantities. It is questionable whether an interpretation of the CI-concept would be meaningful as “in theory, it takes three years to become half a Kiwi”. Nevertheless, the concept was aimed to present a reasonable and mathematically consistent way to allow for contact to be related to other variables.

Cultural Groups

Participants were not only differentiated by the amount of contact, but they also belonged to different cultural groups. For this study, people from Western cultures were targeted as participants, including New Zealanders, US-Americans, Canadians, Australians, and West Europeans. The cultural group of New Zealanders was not totally identical with the NZ-group described in the previous section, which also included permanent residents in New Zealand from other countries.

Besides, many non-Western cultures differ extensively from Western cultures, and it is suggested that future research in stereotypes should deal with Asian or South American cultures as well. However, the inclusion of non-Western cultures would have been outside the scope, purpose, and technical feasibility of this study, posing further difficulties in sampling and survey design. Although the sampling methods made it possible for people from non-Western cultures to accidentally participate in the survey, those cases have been discarded.

In addition, in some cases it was difficult to determine cultural membership, as examples from the literature show. Cultural membership may differ from nationality; moreover, Dann (1993) further highlights differences between nation, state, and

country of residence. To identify cultural membership, participants were asked for any cultural affiliations that might differ from or further explain their heritage. Hofstede (1997) notes that research often focuses on nationality as a criterion, because national data is easier to obtain than ethnic data. For the same reason, nationality is the first distinction-criterion of this study, further explained by ethnicity. Because of this order, the distribution of participants across cultural groups could be compared to the real distribution (as outlined in official statistics).

The rule to apply nationality first also helped to clarify ambiguities regarding New Zealand residents who have another nationality. While all immigrants or permanent residents achieve some form of acculturation (Berry et al., 2002), it was difficult to decide (for the researcher as well the participants themselves) as to when the new identity started to become more important than the old one. The difficulty to decide who is a New Zealander and who is not could be seen during the pre-testing. Here, several testers suspected whether the New Zealand born actor Russell Crowe, now an Australian citizen, was a Kiwi. The first indication in deciding whether a participant was merely a foreigner in New Zealand or a New Zealander was given by the participants in declaring themselves as being in New Zealand temporarily or permanently. Participants were also asked to indicate any cultural affiliations in addition to their nationality, and whether they had a second passport. This information was only used to examine possible outliers.

In addition, an age restriction between 18 and 35 years applied to the survey, with a core target group from 20 to 25 years. This restriction further narrowed down the population of the study, limiting the effect of intervening variables and assuring that the participants of the survey were alike in as many ways as possible, except culture and contact. As participants were from the same generation, they were most likely to be in a similar socio-economic situation (either still studying or only just working), as compared to older people. It was therefore assumed that young people were likely to share interests, travel-patterns, motivations, knowledge, and, not the least, stereotypes. In addition, I assumed that young people would find it easy to understand and handle the Internet-questionnaire.

Sampling Methods

I used several sampling methods to approach the different groups of participants. Each sampling method had its own advantages and disadvantages, and the use of different methods widened the range of people accessible for this study. This sampling combination increased the representation of the populations and, thus, the external validity of the research. Accordingly, the distribution of participants from the different groups within the sample could be compared with the real distribution of the population, for example using official statistics. All participants were approached between December 2002 and June 2003.

The selection of participants from the Travel-group could not have been made randomly because there is no such thing as a general list of tourists or sojourners. Therefore, I personally approached travellers in New Zealand in summer 2002/2003 (mainly in December 2002) at typical tourist spots. I chose potential participants by visual appearance within the age and culture restrictions. More than 170 people agreed to participate, including 135 tourists, 23 sojourners (16 students and 7 workers), and 13 New Zealanders. Only two people refused to participate, both because they did not have an e-mail address. Twelve people who agreed to participate were discarded from the list later because they did not match the age or culture restrictions.

The response rate of this sample varied around 30 %, with a range from 20 % (British tourists) to 60 % (German sojourners). The response rate was calculated by comparing the collected e-mail addresses with the e-mail addresses participants left to enter the prize draw. However, the actual response rate for this sample was likely to be slightly higher, as not all participants entered the prize draw, and some stated a different e-mail address there.

Table 6.3 lists the number of tourists who agreed to participate by country. It is of interest how representative this sample was. Therefore, the table also includes the actual visitor figures for the year 2002 for the same age range as in the sample. As Table 6.3 shows, the sample closely represented only the populations of countries

with few visitors. In contrast, it appeared that the samples for the UK, Germany, USA, and The Netherlands differed significantly from the population. In fact, when comparing the sample with the “International visitors arrival” data, it seemed that the samples for Germany and The Netherlands were too large compared to the others, whereas the British and the US-American sample were both too small. This imbalance was even larger when considering the higher response rates for Germans compared to Britons. A one-sample chi-square test confirmed that the distribution of participants from the selected countries in the sample significantly differed from the expected frequencies derived from international visitor arrivals, with $\chi^2 (7, n = 118) = 34.11; p < .001$.

Table 6.3 Tourists approached by nationality and compared to international visitor arrivals

Group	Total	Nationality							
		UK	GER	USA	CAN	NL	CH	FRA	SCA
Tourist sample ^a	118	39	24	18	7	15	4	3	8
	100 %	33.1 %	20.3 %	15.3 %	5.9 %	12.7 %	3.4 %	2.5 %	6.8 %
International visitor arrivals ^b	221.6	96.8	21.5	52.9	11.7	11.2	8	5.5	14
	100 %	43.7 %	9.7 %	23.9 %	5.3 %	5.1 %	3.6 %	2.5 %	6.3 %
Expected frequencies ^c	118	51.5	11.4	28.2	6.2	6.0	4.2	2.9	7.4
	Residuals	-12.5	12.6	-10.2	0.8	9.0	-0.2	0.5	1.7

Note. Only countries are listed with at least two cases in the tourist sample. UK = United Kingdom; GER = Germany; USA = United States of America; CAN = Canada; NL = The Netherlands; CH = Switzerland; FRA = France; SCA = Scandinavia (“Northern Europe” in NZTB, 2002. Includes Sweden, Norway, Denmark, and Finland).

^a Number of tourists who agreed to participate. Age range from 19-34 years, $M = 25$, $Mdn = 24$. Eight people over 34 years have been discarded from the table to match with NZTB age categories. ^b For the whole year 2002. Figures in thousand people. Age range from 15-34 years. Source: New Zealand Tourism Board. (2002). *International visitor arrivals, December 2002*. Wellington, N.Z.: Author. ^c Expected frequencies are based on percentages of international visitor arrivals.

It is worth noting that the sample did not include any Australian tourists (within the age restrictions), which was surprising. In fact, Australia is New Zealand’s largest tourist market, with more than 200,000 visitors in 2002 (which almost equals the number of tourists from all other Western countries in Table 6.3). Hence, it was important to examine why Germans and Dutch were overrepresented, Britons and

US-Americans were underrepresented, and Australians were totally missing in the sample.

The differences between sample and visitor statistics may still be explained by chance. In fact, the sample size was too small to rely entirely on the chi-square test. In addition, international visitor arrivals, which are shown for the whole year 2002, were not the optimal measure for determining expected frequencies. This is because, travel figures in each month differ across countries; for example, visitor numbers from Australia peak in September, whereas in most other countries February is the busiest month. Unfortunately, NZTB data for December alone did not include an age breakdown and was therefore not usable. Nevertheless, fluctuations during the year could not be the only reason why the sample differed from the expected figures.

Another possible explanation was the type of tourist spots I had chosen to acquire the samples, including the TranzAlpine train from Christchurch to Greymouth, a Stray bus tour around the lower South Island, the Kepler track, Steward Island, Abel Tasman National Park, and Mt. Egmont. These places contained a diversity of New Zealand's most popular tourist destinations, and may have attracted people with special travel behaviours. However, the places were not a random sample of all New Zealand tourist destinations, but rather a convenient choice, as they were part of my personal travel itinerary.

As such, several limitations applied to the sample taken at tourist spots. Firstly, outdoor-orientated locations dominated the sample. Secondly, at each location people were only approached at one specific time in December 2002,¹⁶ determined by my own travel schedule. Although I did not chose the selection time for each destination deliberately, it was not a random time selection. Finally, research by the NZTB (1997b) shows that a higher portion of Germans and Dutch than US-Americans, for example, are backpackers and independent travellers. Therefore, the tourist sample appeared to reflect my own independent travel style. Hence, it had to be assumed that the tourist sample on the whole included more backpackers and independent

¹⁶ The selection at Mt Egmont was conducted in March 2003.

travellers (with specific characteristics) than a random sample would have provided. As a result, the sample for tourists alone may not sufficiently represent visitors to New Zealand from the selected Western countries.

Therefore, other sampling methods had to be added to make the overall sample more representative. In order to reach sojourners in New Zealand, the International Offices of all New Zealand universities were asked to forward the survey to international students from the countries targeted (in particular Germany, USA, Canada, United Kingdom, Ireland, Switzerland, Sweden, Spain, France, and Australia). Students from other countries in Europe usually were only enrolled in very small numbers (if at all). In addition, at most New Zealand universities Australian students were not listed as international students and, therefore, could not be targeted the same way as sojourners from other Western countries.

The six largest universities in New Zealand (Massey University, Palmerston North, Auckland, and Wellington; University of Auckland; Victoria University, Wellington; Otago University, Dunedin; University of Waikato, Hamilton; and Canterbury University, Christchurch) forwarded the survey to the complete list of currently enrolled students from the selected countries in May 2003. Massey University also forwarded the survey to students enrolled there in September 2002. The Auckland University of Technology (AUT) and Lincoln University in Christchurch did not forward the survey to international students. Instead, AUT installed a pop-up window on their internal website, inviting students and staff at AUT to participate in the survey. This invitation mainly attracted New Zealanders.

At first glance, the sampling method for international students from the countries selected came close to a census, reaching potential participants in all parts of the country. However, depending on the enrolment status, not all sojourners from a country were listed with the International Office. Moreover, with the exception of Massey University, only students enrolled in May 2003 at one of the six major universities could be reached. This excluded all students enrolled there before, plus students in other secondary or tertiary education institutions, such as polytechnics or high schools. For example, some of the students encountered at tourist spots were

high school students enrolled in 2002 who could not have been reached with the university sample. It was also not known how many students actually received the invitation; that is, whether the e-mail addresses stored were valid, and if so, whether the e-mails were read at all. Moreover, no temporary workers could be reached by this method, which means that the sample of sojourners mainly consisted of students.

Furthermore, it is worth noting that the actual numbers of students for each country differ. Therefore, the survey was sent out to more students from the USA (around 50 % of the enrolments for the selected countries), for example, compared to France or Switzerland. Table 6.4 presents the sample sizes for students from the selected countries at the University of Auckland, Otago University, and Victoria University.

As the survey includes the question of where participants spent most of their time in New Zealand (which was presumably the university town for international students), the response rate for some of these samples could be roughly determined. Table 6.4 shows that the response rates vary between 20 % and 30 %. However, it is uncertain whether all participants that are shown in the table received the survey directly from the university, or whether they were enrolled at the universities at all. As a result, the response rates were in this case maximum figures that could be expected for this sample.

Aiming for a broader range of people in the sojourner group, a large number of participants were contacted in Palmerston North by using a “snowball” system. Accordingly, I asked friends of mine in Palmerston North, students and staff at Massey University, and team members of the Massey Soccer Club¹⁷ to both participate in the survey and forward it to friends from the target countries. With the same sampling system I also approached New Zealanders. To gain a better representation, I started the snowball system also with people from other New Zealand cities (Wellington, Christchurch, Dunedin, and Auckland).

¹⁷ Approached were the total squad of the womens' 1st XI, mens's 1st XI, and mens' 2nd XI, at one particular training session in May 2003.

Table 6.4 Samples of international students and response rates at three universities

University	Total	Nationality							
		UK	GER	USA	CAN	NL	CH	FRA	SWE
Samples ^a									
University of Auckland	540	34	124	274	33	2	2	25	44
	100 %	6.3 %	23.0 %	50.7 %	6.1 %	0.4 %	0.4 %	4.6 %	8.1 %
Otago University	523	26	85	309	54	6	4	10	23
	100 %	5.0 %	16.3 %	59.1 %	10.3 %	1.1 %	0.8 %	1.9 %	4.4 %
Victoria University	216	7	62	120	12	1	2	0	12
	100 %	3.2 %	28.7 %	55.6 %	5.6 %	0.5 %	0.9 %	0.0 %	5.6 %
Responses ^b									
University of Auckland	97	2	23	46	8	1	0	4	11
	18 %	6 %	19 %	17 %	24 %	50 %	0 %	16 %	25 %
Otago University	116	7	22	56	14	2	3	2	9
	22 %	27 %	26 %	18 %	26 %	33 %	75 %	20 %	39 %
Victoria University	67	2	18	39	1	N/A ^c	0	0	4
	31 %	29 %	29 %	33 %	8 %				33 %

Note. UK = United Kingdom; GER = Germany; USA = United States of America; CAN = Canada; NL = The Netherlands; CH = Switzerland; FRA = France; SWE = Sweden.

^a Sample data provided by the International Offices of the universities listed, who sent out the survey on my behalf. Most universities forwarded the survey only to students from the countries shown. The percentage figures are portions of the total sample by nation. ^b Responses are the number of participants who, by self-report, were students in NZ and spent most of their time in the region of the university. Percentage figures indicate the response rates. ^c The number of responses by participants from The Netherlands was actually higher than the number in the sample, which indicates that some participants received the survey from another source than the university.

Each New Zealand participant was then asked to forward the survey to no more than three friends. After the survey completion time was half over (by 24 May 2003) this number was increased to a maximum of five. The snowball system was aimed to increase the external validity of the survey by reaching a wide range of people from all parts of the country. The restriction to forward the survey only to three or five

friends assured that one participant with specific characteristics differing from the general population could not have a big impact on the sample distribution.

To solve the problem of selecting people from different cultures who have never been to the country at all, all non-New Zealand participants in the study were asked to forward the survey to friends who have not been to New Zealand. This procedure also aimed to ensure that the participants in both groups came from similar socio-demographic backgrounds, as suggested by Pearce (1982).

Downsides of the snowball selection system were self-selection bias, loss of control over the sample, and the danger of spamming. By asking participants to send the survey to three or five friends, I aimed to reach one person from the NO-group for every participant from the Travel-group. However, the overall participation figures indicated that this objective was not met, which was understandable as the motivation for people in the NO-group to participate was the lowest for all groups. Vehovar, Batagelj, Manfreda, and Zalesel (2002) claim that the survey topic and respondents' involvement are important factors that influence response. Fortunately, these motivation factors applied for almost all people in the Travel-group and the NZ-group, as they were directly involved.

The response rates of 20 % to 30 % (for the samples that allowed to calculate response rates) were within the range of reported response rates from other studies using e-mail solicited web-surveys (Vehovar et al., 2002). The slightly higher response rate for the tourist-sample could be explained by the personal contact with the participants in this sample. Dillman, Ellinge, Groves, and Little (2002) state that there are three reasons a web-survey may not gain responses. Firstly, there may be no request to participate, because the e-mail has not been received. This danger was high especially for the university sample, but low for the snowball sample. Secondly, incapacity to respond can occur, which includes technical computer problems. This type of problem could not be monitored, but testing and the low number of complaints suggested that it was minimal. Thirdly, response refusal, that is, abandoning the site, was able to be monitored, and participants who aborted the survey at any stage were discarded.

6.3 Procedures

Questionnaire: Access and Technical Realisation

The survey was conducted with an anonymous, self-administered, web-based questionnaire. Internet-based questionnaires have advantages over traditional survey forms, such as mail or telephone surveys, in several ways. Firstly, they are much cheaper to conduct; it is even possible to conduct such a survey free of any cost. Secondly, participants can be reached directly and quickly. Vehovar et al. (2002) also claim that people react positively towards web-surveys. Finally, Internet-based surveys take advantage of the electronic character of data conducting, as described below.

On the other hand, to participate in an online survey, Internet access is necessary. Here, in particular, many older people and those who cannot afford online access are disadvantaged. However, since the survey targeted young educated people of Western countries, limited Internet access was not a problem, as the sampling section shows. I also assumed that the use of new media did not affect the handling or understanding of the survey form.

Starting in May 2003, I sent potential participants an e-mail that introduced the project and included a hyperlink to the survey website. The e-mail invitation wording slightly differed depending on the groups of participants. Nevertheless, the core parts of the e-mail message were identical for all participants, including information about the survey, the chance to win prizes, the request to forward the message, and ethical requirements, such as participants' rights. Appendix D outlines the version of the e-mail introduction letter that was sent to international students.

As the e-mail confronted most potential participants with the study for the first time, it had to be persuasive to encourage participation. Accordingly, I offered all participants the chance to win one of 13 attractive but small-value prizes, worth a total of NZ\$ 400. Most of the prizes, including a travel voucher and several books

and book vouchers, were sponsored by retailers in Palmerston North. The prize draw had the advantage of offering incentives without generating a self-selection biased sample that only consisted of people aiming for rewards. Such a bias may have occurred if everyone had been offered an incentive (see Singer, 2002; Vehovar et al., 2002). The prize winners were drawn from the list of e-mails participants could leave at the end of the survey, including participants of the focus groups and the pilot study, using a random number table.

In addition, potential participants needed enough information to understand the purpose, background, and content of the study. However, stereotypes are implicit and therefore prior exposure to information may lead to bias (Ehrlich & Rinehart, 1965). Therefore, when I introduced the research topic, I did not refer to the exact research questions, especially the term stereotype. Knowing that they were being tested about stereotypes may have influenced participants to answer differently. Instead, I described what the questions were about; namely, perceptions of New Zealand and its people. Furthermore, the e-mail message was designed along the requirements of the Code of Ethical Conduct as published by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee.

Moreover, the e-mail introduction message included a paragraph with the request to forward the survey to friends, as described in the previous section, with detailed instructions about the group of people to send the message to. The request was repeated at the last webpage of the questionnaire. Alternatively, participants could state up to three e-mail addresses on the website in order to let me send them the survey directly. Between 10 % and 15 % of the participants used this alternative, which had the advantage that the format of the forwarded message remained under my control. However, the alternative option suffered from the disadvantage that recipients did not know the sender of the e-mail, which then may have been perceived as spamming (see Vehovar et al., 2002). Unfortunately, no literature was available to discuss differences in response rates for both alternatives. After two weeks I stopped offering the alternative option, as it also meant additional handling time.

The hyperlink to the survey website was clickable, which increases the response rate strongly, according to Vehovar et al. (2002). I also asked the universities who forwarded the survey to assure that the hyperlink remained active. While Otago University reported that they sent the message with a non-clickable hyperlink, unfortunately the actual effect on the response rate (22 % for Otago) could not be calculated with any certainty. In addition, the messages forwarded by participants were out of my control, which is an inescapable limitation of the snowball method.

The e-mail invitation included a final date when the survey would close, which gave participants at least three weeks' time to access the survey. Most people answered the survey within the first four days after the message was sent out to them. To further limit non-response, I sent one reminder-e-mail to all participants whose e-mail addresses I knew and who did not answer the survey within the first ten days (see Vehovar et al., 2002). Those participants were mainly members of the Travel-group and people I approached in Palmerston North. Non-responders could be determined by using the list of e-mail addresses stated by participants to enter the prize draw.

As in the pilot study, the online survey used SurveyMonkey as the platform and database provider.¹⁸ Survey questions were accessible on a webpage in the World Wide Web, and answers were saved in a database, installed on servers hosted by SurveyMonkey and accessible only by the researcher. For the large-scale survey, the professional subscription was necessary, including additional features and a limit of 1,000 subjects per month per subscription. Here, moderate charges applied. The professional subscription included a long list of features, which directly took advantage of the electronic character of the Internet format.

Firstly, an unlimited number of questions could span unlimited webpages, allowing me to structure the survey over several sections. Therefore, after each question section, answers were saved stepwise. As a result, aborting the survey could be measured to the point where it occurred. All cases where people aborted had to be

¹⁸ The platform can be accessed under <<http://www.surveymonkey.com>>.

discarded as some important questions (for example, all personal variables) were asked at the end of the survey. In addition, I explicitly explained that using the back-function of the browser could lead to loss of data. Backtracking was made difficult to ensure that participants could not change previous answers after receiving additional information in later sections of the questionnaire.

Secondly, questions could be linked by conditional logic; that is, questions that were only applicable for some groups of participants were skipped automatically. Thirdly, it could be programmed so that questions required an answer. While it is not ethically permitted to force people to answer a question, the feature was used for the most important question in the survey (asking participants whether they have been to New Zealand). Not answering this question, which was also linked to conditional logic, would have made all other answers useless.

Fourthly, the order of answer choices could be randomised to eliminate order bias. Fifthly, although SurveyMonkey did not offer the freedom of programming a page by oneself, it was possible to design the survey layout individually. For example, I included the Massey logo on the page, which made the layout look more professional. Figure 6.1 shows a screenshot of the survey. Finally, SurveyMonkey also offered some data analysis options, such as frequency charts to explore the results, and the opportunity to export the data into Excel and SPSS in a numerical format.

It was technically possible for participants to interrupt the survey and finish it later on the same computer, which may have limited survey abort. After participants submitted the questionnaire, they were logged out of the database and their answers were saved onto the server. Then, they were redirected and logged onto a new webpage linked with another database, where they could state their e-mail address to enter the prize draw and receive the results. This procedure ensured that participants stayed anonymous and that their survey data could not be related to their e-mail address.

While the survey platform relied on JavaScript and Cookies to function properly, it was possible that participants who did not enable these options could not answer the survey. Unfortunately, complete non-response of the survey could not be registered, but only item-non-response or aborting the survey could be measured. Different types of hardware did not affect survey access, and the SurveyMonkey platform functioned fast and was easy to handle. The visual appearance differed slightly depending on the browser version.

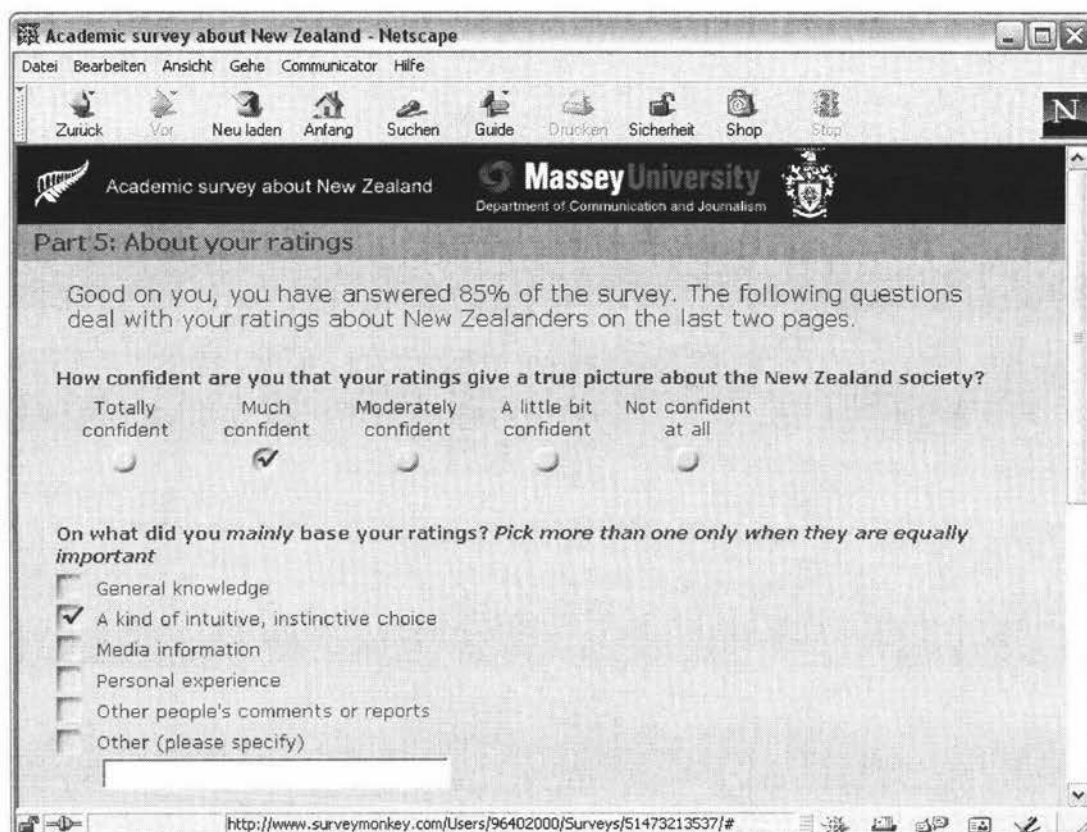


Figure 6.1 Screenshot of the online survey

Three people had technical problems and wrote me an e-mail. Of these, one person was able to fill out the survey on another computer and two were sent a text-only e-mail-version of the questionnaire (without HTML-based functions such as skip-logic and electronic coding). Although the survey platform worked satisfactorily during tests and apparently for all participants, it is not known whether other people had technical problems without reporting it. Prior to starting the online survey, the questionnaire had been tested by 30 people, most of them participants of the pilot

study. The pre-test showed that the survey was technically flawless, that its length was adequate, and that answer categories were clear.

Question Content and Structure

The language of the survey was English. Thus, only people with a reasonable standard of English could participate in the survey. Moreover, Liberman, Newman, and Chaiken (1998) raise the question of whether stereotypes are activated rather by direct experience or answer possibilities. Consequently, it matters whether open or standardised questions are used. Open questions are better if the interest is in content, but may not give any results (Ehrlich & Rinehart, 1965). On the other hand, closed questions allow for quantitative analysis, but require preparation in the form of qualitative pilot studies to determine adequate answer possibilities. Hence, most questions in the survey were closed, offering standardised answer possibilities designed with regard to the findings of the pilot study and the literature review. Some questions included an open option to specify an answer that was not included in the list. The only entirely open question in the questionnaire was an optional opportunity to leave comments at the end.

It took most participants between 10 and 15 minutes to fill out the survey, which was the target participation time, predicted by pre-testing the questionnaire beforehand. In this context, a maximum time of 15 minutes is suggested in the literature (Vehovar et al., 2002) to avoid survey abort. The survey was designed to avoid fatigue, with differing question types, few questions per page, and progress indicators at three stages.

The questionnaire consisted of eight different parts, each on a separate webpage. The question parts dealt with knowledge about New Zealand, qualities of the country, attributes of New Zealanders, agreement with statements about New Zealand society, reluctance to use generalisations, specific questions depending on participants' group membership (NO-group, Travel-group, or NZ-group), and personal information. Appendix E includes a print version of the online survey.

The questionnaire started with a short introduction including general and technical information, and remarks about the first question block. The questions in Part 1 tested knowledge about New Zealand in the areas of geography, politics, society, and history. The question choice took into account that participants differed a great deal in their knowledge about New Zealand, depending on whether they are New Zealanders or have not been to the country at all. Therefore, the ten multi-choice questions varied in their level of difficulty from locating New Zealand on a world map to the first words of Te Rauparaha's Haka Tāparahi. Each question in part 1 offered at least six possible answers in randomised order. In addition, participants could click a *No idea*-option instead of answering the question, in order not to encourage guessing. However, guessing was not prohibited, as right answers due to informed guesses should be permitted (see Krosnick, 2002).

The first question of the survey, asking for famous New Zealand personalities, was a warming-up question and answers were not analysed. The nine remaining knowledge questions could roughly be grouped into three levels of difficulty. The first level of difficulty was designed so that people in the NO-group may have been able to answer the questions. Participants got one point for each right answer on this level, and people who have been to New Zealand could be expected to answer all four questions on this level correctly. Level two included three questions that required some specific knowledge about New Zealand, but that sojourners should have been able to answer without problems. Two points were allocated for each right answer on this level. Finally, two questions of high difficulty, worth three points each, were expected to be answered only by people with a deep understanding of New Zealand.

Table 6.5 presents all questions in Part 1 in order of appearance with their point allocation. The sum of points for right answers is the total knowledge score (TKS) for each participant, ranging from 0 to 16. An alternative knowledge measurement, the simple knowledge score (SKS) allocates one point for every question without weighting the difficulty, thus ranging from 0 to 9.

Table 6.5 Point allocation for knowledge questions in Part 1

No.	Question	Level of difficulty (= Number of points)
1	Famous New Zealanders	-
2	Capital of NZ	1
3	Location of NZ on the world map	1
4	NZ's Prime Minister	2
5	NZ's indigenous people	1
6	Name of Treaty	2
7	Year of Treaty	3
8	Kiwi: Type of animal	1
9	First words of the haka	3
10	NZ's population in million	2
		Total: 16

Part 2 of the survey dealt with New Zealand's qualities in a broad sense, including aspects of the country and the society. From 14 answer categories, participants were asked to tick the 5 most important qualities for them personally; they could also add an additional answer. In addition, they were asked to highlight the first ranked quality. I developed all categories using qualitative data from the pilot study and the focus group interviews (as suggested by Echtner & Ritchie, 1991/2003), taking into account the results of the pre-test. For example, the answer category "Nature" was merged from three individual categories ("Scenery and landscape", "Flora and fauna", and "Environment") in the pilot study, because the concepts appeared to be related.

It is worth noting that all answer categories in Part 2 were neutral; that is, the value of the concept was not explained. Therefore, each participant may have thought about different aspects of nature, for instance. While answer choices were image categories of the country, Part 2 determined the national image of participants on a cognitive level. In addition, the question addressed participants' perceptions of New

Zealand in a broad way, and, thus, linked to the following parts of the survey that dealt with more specific stereotypical categories.

Parts 3 and 4 tested stereotypes. Ashmore and Del Boca (1981) state that scales, semantic differentials, and checklists are suitable ways to measure cultural stereotypes, the central area of investigation in this study. In contrast, individual stereotypes, only held by a single person, can better be measured with psychological experiments (see Berry et al., 2002). Ehrlich and Rinehart (1965) point out that the checklist approach (as used by Katz & Braly, 1933) forces subjects to stereotype and to use the contents offered, which leads to a higher consensus. Thus, semantic differentials (developed by Osgood, Suci, & Tannenbaum, 1957/1964) and scales are preferable to checklists, as they not only indicate stereotype content, but also the strength of an attribute (Oakes, Haslam, & Turner, 1994).

In this context, Brigham (1971) further states that participants have different understandings as to what a “typical” distribution of characteristics means. According to Brigham, research shows that participants may regard any distribution of an attribute from 10 % to 100 % in a population as typical, with a mean of 55 %. In fact, that means some people would call a distribution typical although not even a majority of the group possesses the attribute concerned. Therefore, Brigham suggests asking for percentages of attribute distribution. Gardner, Wonnacott, and Taylor (1968, cited in Leyens et al., 1994) developed the stereotype differential, which combines a checklist and a percentage approach. However, the percentage rating is still a subjective choice that is hard to compare across subjects. Therefore, in Parts 3 and 4, rating scales in their traditional form were used, which are considered as being of interval-level (as suggested by Frey et al., 2000).

Accordingly, Part 3 featured semantic differentials, confronting participants with a list of 12 paired attributes. For each semantic differential, participants were asked to rate New Zealanders in general on a 5-point scale; for example, *Very friendly*, *Friendly*, *Undecided*, *Unfriendly*, and *Very unfriendly*. The scale had been modified from a 7-point scale used in the pilot study, making answer categories clearer. Accordingly, the list of 52 attributes from the pilot study was narrowed down using

only those adjectives that indicated differences across the contact groups and/or represented stereotypical content (see Appendix D). Moreover, some attributes had been modified as a result of testing.

Participants could tick an *Undecided* category in the middle to indicate that an attribute was not suitable to describe New Zealanders in general. Krosnick (2002) gives detailed information about the consequences of no-opinion options, the most crucial being that participants use it when it is offered (see also Ehrlich, 1964). In this study, the middle category offered an opportunity not to stereotype at all, and, therefore, was an indicator for stereotype use. An additional way for participants to show that they did not want to stereotype would have been item non-response (Gilbert, 1951). Hence, participants used stereotypes when they chose any of the categories (other than the middle one), as these categories were generalisations.

In the analysis of stereotype use, the middle-category was coded as 0, the two values of the first attribute as 1 and 2, and the values of the second attribute as -1 and -2, respectively. Thus, if both the mean and the standard variation of the ratings for an attribute approached 0 it could be interpreted as no clear stereotype use. On the other hand, a mean of 0 with a high standard variation (> 1) was a sign for high stereotype use but with no agreement in content among the participants. Finally, stereotype content was determined by a significantly high number of responses allocated to an attribute (with the mean approaching the rating score). For statistical reasons, in the analysis of stereotype use, the two categories on the scale that described the same attribute (for example, *Friendly* and *Very friendly*) were collapsed to one category.

Similar implications applied for the 5-point Likert-type scale used in Part 4, where participants were asked to rate their agreement or disagreement with twelve statements referring to New Zealand society. Kobrynowicz and Biernat (1998) point out that Likert-type scales are subjective and rather vague, and Leyens et al. (1994) add that they measure prejudice more than stereotypes. However, it is difficult to find answer categories that are objective, as suggested by Kobrynowicz and Biernat. In Part 4, all statements were stereotypical in content, two of them reversed-phrased (8 and 10). Although there were no right and wrong answers associated with the

statements, some statements required a general understanding of the underlying topic. Therefore, a *Don't know* category was included in Part 4, which was coded as not being part of the interval scale. As in Part 3, the distribution of answers among the categories indicated stereotype use and content.

In Part 5, the reluctance to stereotype was examined further, dealing with the ratings of participants in the two previous sections. The first question asked about the confidence that participants have in the accuracy of their answers on a 5-point scale. A high confidence could be interpreted as having firm stereotypes that were taken as accurate, whereas a low confidence could mean that participants did not have a strong basis on which to build their opinions or that they were aware of the limitations of generalisations. Further, participants were asked what their ratings were based on (such as personal experience or an intuitive choice) and how reluctant they were to use generalisations. The last question in Part 5 asked if participants had been to New Zealand at all, which grouped them into NO-group, Travel-group, and NZ-group. The question was linked to conditional logic and the three groups of participants were given different questions in Part 6.

The group-specific questions in Part 6 dealt with the amount of contact participants had with New Zealanders. For the NO-group, this meant contact with New Zealanders outside of New Zealand. For the two non-New Zealand groups, the section also included a question that asked for cultural differences between New Zealand and their home culture. The answer to this question could be controlled for cultural membership. Participants in the Travel-group were further asked for their travel motivation, the amount of time they spent in the country, when they left the country, and how often they visited New Zealand. These questions were aimed to clarify the strength of contact with New Zealanders; for example, multiple visits to the host country may have influenced perceptions (Coleman, 1998). As a side issue, the questions revealed information about travel behaviour that, again, could be controlled for culture.

On the other hand, the NZ-group was asked to rate 11 of the 13 attributes of Part 3 again, but this time referring to themselves individually as opposed to New

Zealanders in general. Two attributes had been left out (“Friendly/Unfriendly” and “Helpful/Unhelpful”) to reduce the number of ratings. It was assumed that not many people would rate themselves negatively regarding the two concepts anyway. The means of individual self-ratings could be compared to the means of general ratings by New Zealanders in Part 3, with both ratings possibly reflecting different sides of reality and national identity. Part 6 for the NZ-group finished with a closed question about national identity.

Finally, Part 7 asked for demographic details, such as age, gender, nationality, ethnic affiliations, education, and occupation. Moreover, an optional open-ended comment box was presented at the end of the page. The comments were analysed qualitatively, in particular with regard to criticisms revealing limitations of the study.

6.4 *Ethical Considerations*

Ethical considerations in this methodological context were few, but the research topic may have been sensitive for some participants. While people may hold stereotypes comfortably, New Zealanders confronted with them may have been offended. This could have done harm not only to the research project, with participants aborting the survey, but also to the reputation of the researcher and the university. Hence, careful wording of the questions was necessary.

Further, embarrassment may have occurred for people who did not possess much knowledge about New Zealand at all. Some participants actually did apologise in the comment box for their lack of knowledge. However, this issue was not a serious one but may have rather encouraged people to find out more about New Zealand. Moreover, the medium used for conducting the survey assured anonymity, which limited any embarrassment whatsoever.

In addition, New Zealand Maori may have felt underrepresented in the scope of the survey. In fact, when speaking about New Zealanders, no distinction was made between Pakeha and Maori. Nevertheless, the survey was designed to examine

stereotypes on the national level. In contrast, it was actually a positive point that New Zealanders could be seen as one single group to which both Pakeha and Maori (plus people from other ethnic heritages) contribute equally.

Spamming was the major concern associated with the methodology of the survey. Indeed, only some of the participants were personally asked for their permission to send them the questionnaire by email. In particular, the use of the snowball system, where the researcher has no control over the approaching process, could enhance the perception of spamming. While I sent e-mails only to people who gave me their address personally, third parties sent most of the other e-mails, either International Offices in New Zealand or friends who had already answered the survey. Here, by carefully outlining the rules as to how the questionnaire may be forwarded to others, the danger of serious, even legal, consequences of spamming could be avoided.

Another ethical issue regarding the collection of e-mail addresses was confidentiality. One problem occurred, as the International Office at the University of Auckland sent out the e-mail introduction without using the blind-copy function (BCC:) of the e-mail provider. Thus, the recipients of that e-mail could see all other addresses (of students at the University of Auckland). It could be safely assumed that no consequences followed from this mistake. However, one student directly complained about the incident to me. Although the mistake was made by the University of Auckland, I wrote an e-mail to the complainant apologising for the incident, as it occurred in conjunction with my project. The person responsible at the University of Auckland did likewise. Apart from this incident, the confidentiality of participants' data was secured all the time during and after conducting the study.

Finally, I also took the issue of anonymity seriously. Constructing two databases (which involved additional costs) assured that participants' answers could not be related to their e-mail addresses. The survey was designed along the guidelines of the *Massey University Code of Ethical Conduct for Research and Teaching Involving*

Human Subjects and approval of the study by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee has been obtained.¹⁹

¹⁹ Protocol Number 03/97.



DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

7 Results

7.1 Introduction

The results chapter presents the findings of the online survey. Firstly, it is reported which cases have been discarded. Secondly, the attributes of the sample are described. Finally, the results are displayed mainly using frequencies and cross-tabulations, structured in order of appearance in the questionnaire. For cultural comparisons, usually only the eight largest country-samples are included (here, Sweden, Norway, Denmark, and Finland are together coded as “Scandinavia”). Moreover, after the relationship between contact and group membership is established, the analysis of dependent variables mainly focuses on differences between the groups without including other contact variables.

Chi-square tests, correlations, and analyses of variance are used to show the significance of differences and relationships between categories. As the number of dependent and independent variables is large, only significant findings are reported in detail. An alpha level of .001 is used for all statistical tests, as a large number of tests are conducted. Thus, for every 1,000 tests, only one, statistically, gives wrong results. This “safe” approach is aimed to avoid Type I (alpha) errors; that is, to avoid reporting non-significant findings as significant.

7.2 Attributes of the Sample

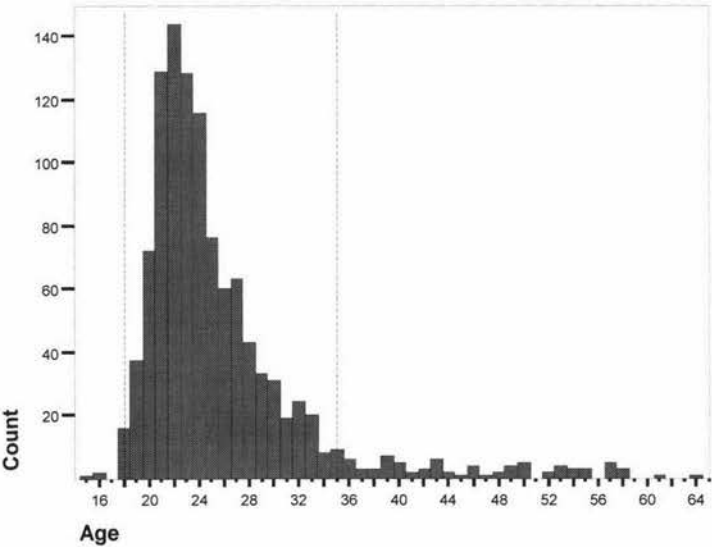
In total, 1,209 people filled out the survey. Seventy-nine cases (6.5 %) were discarded from the sample because participants abandoned the survey at some stage

or did not state the crucial items age (two cases) or nationality (five cases). Another 23 participants who were not member of a Western culture were discarded as well. Therefore, the survey was left with 1107 respondents from Western cultures that answered the survey completely (see Table 7.1).

Table 7.1 Number of discarded cases by reason

Number of responses	Reason for discard								Crucial item non-response	Complete responses
	Nationality	Survey abortion in part								
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7		
1,209	23	3	16	21	12	5	7	8	7	1,107

The age distribution was a peaked and slightly positively skewed normal curve, as Figure 7.1 shows (with $M = 25.7$; $SD = 6.9$; $Mdn = 24$; $Mo = 22$). From the 1107 complete responses, 1,028 (92.8 %) were within the age range from 18 to 35 years (with $M = 24.2$; $SD = 3.7$). Participants who were out of the age range (with an above average number of Australians and US-Americans) were not totally discarded but excluded from the analysis unless otherwise stated.



Note. Shown are complete responses; $n = 1,107$. The reference lines mark the age range from 18 to 35 years.

Figure 7.1 Distribution of complete responses by age

Table 7.2 presents the list of complete responses within the age range by nationality and contact group membership. In the table, the category NZ-group also includes permanent residents without New Zealand citizenship, who are shown with their home country. The participants were unevenly distributed across the 17 Western cultures, with Germans, US-Americans, and New Zealanders being the largest groups (with more than 200 participants each). Canada, France, Sweden, The Netherlands, and the United Kingdom were represented by moderate numbers of 30 to fewer than 60 participants.

All other countries had only little numbers of participants (1 to 12), which means that not all statistical methods could be applied to them. Therefore, cultural comparisons mainly focused on the eight largest country samples. In total, about one quarter of the total sample consisted of people in the NO-group ($n = 234$) and the NZ-group ($n = 260$), respectively; the remaining 50 % were travellers ($n = 534$).

Table 7.2 Participants by nationality and contact group membership

Nation	Total	NO-group	Travel-group	NZ-group
USA	293	69	219	5
Germany	238	88	146	4
New Zealand	232 (229) ^a	3 ^a	1 ^b	228
United Kingdom	57	12	38	7
Canada	48	10	36	2
The Netherlands	44	21	20	3
Sweden	43	8	33	2
France	33	8	23	2
Switzerland	12	3	7	2
Australia	6	2	3	1
Ireland	6	3	2	1
Belgium	4	2	2	-
Spain	4	-	1	3
Austria	3	1	2	-
Norway	3	3	-	-
Denmark	1	-	1	-
Finland	1	1	-	-
Total	1,028	234	534	260

Note. ^a Three participants in the NO-group rated themselves as being New Zealanders, which was highly unlikely and probably a mistake. Therefore, while the cases remained in the sample, their nationality was coded as missing data. ^b Similarly, the New Zealander in the Travel-group was treated as an unusual case and excluded from some analyses.

Within the Travel-group, about 4/5 of the participants were sojourners, 75.4 % being international students and 4.5 % working in New Zealand. Further, 15.4 % of the travellers were tourists²⁰ and 3.2 % were visiting friends or relatives. As a result, 87 % of all travellers spent most of their time in New Zealand at a permanent place. Of these, 22.6 % and 25.6 % lived in Auckland and Otago (Dunedin), respectively; about 15 % in each case in Wellington, Canterbury (Christchurch), and

²⁰ In the questionnaire (Part 6), the term *travelling* is used to describe behaviour of tourists, which is not equal to the terminology as established in this study.

Manawatu/Wanganui (Palmerston North); and another 4 % in Waikato (Hamilton). All New Zealand universities can be found in one of these regions, which also represent the main urban areas of the country.

In contrast, most of the participants in the NZ-group lived in Auckland (42 %), followed by Palmerston North, Wellington, and Christchurch. Eleven New Zealanders lived outside New Zealand, and 32 people in the NZ-group were permanent residents with another nationality; seven of them Britons, followed by US-Americans and Germans. About 70 % of the people in the NZ-group lived in New Zealand all their life, another 13 % longer than ten years, and 6 % longer than five years.

Across all three groups, almost all participants were well educated; 93,5 % had at least some tertiary education or a university degree, and 6 % held a high school degree. Of the Travel-group, 87 % were students, whereas only 57 % of the NZ-group were students but more than 40 % were employed. It could be assumed from the sampling techniques that many of those being employed were working in the university environment. Finally, about 60 % of the total number of participants were female and 40 % were male, with the number varying slightly across countries (66 % female participants in the USA sample compared to 42 % in the France sample), by age group (but without a clear pattern), and by group membership (with 55 % female people in the NZ-group).

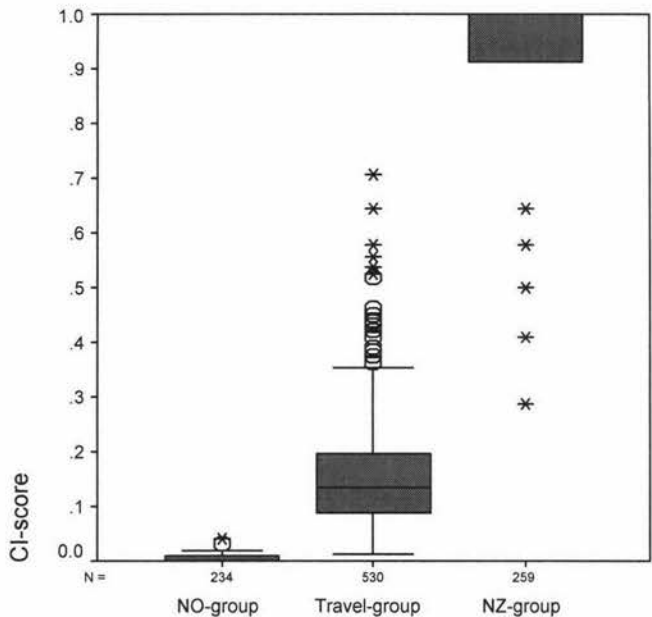
7.3 Contact with New Zealanders

Of the 234 people in the NO-group, 62 % reported no contact at all with New Zealanders outside New Zealand, 24 % little contact, and 9 % moderate contact. Although five outliers said they had much or extensive contact with New Zealanders without having been to the country, the mean CI for the NO-group was with .005 almost 0.

In contrast, the vast majority of the Travel-group regarded themselves as having had moderate, much, or extensive contact with New Zealanders within New Zealand,

with *Much contact* being the mean- and median-category. In addition, the mean-number of weeks people in the Travel-group spent in New Zealand was 30.6 ($SD = 34.2$; $Mdn = 19.5$). Therefore, the CI for the Travel-group ranged from .01 to .71 in a positively skewed normal distribution around a median of .13, and more than 90 % of the CI scores being smaller than .3. Controlling for the purpose of stay within the Travel-group showed that tourists ($M = .08$) and people who visited friends and relatives ($M = .10$) had a lower mean CI than sojourners ($M = .17$ for students and $M = .23$ for workers). In addition, in the first year of stay, the effect of time spent in the country on the CI value seemed to be the largest.

Finally, 90 % of the participants in the NZ-group had a CI of .64 or higher ($M = .91$; $SD = .18$). One extreme score with an unusual CI of 0 was identified as a New Zealander who lived abroad all his life. The case was excluded from all analyses involving contact. Figure 7.2 shows the boxplots of the CI scores for the three groups, marking the median, the interquartile range, outliers, and extreme scores, respectively.



Note. Outliers are cases with values between 1.5 and 3 interquartile ranges away from the upper or lower edge of the box, marked with a circle. Extreme scores are more than three box-lengths away, marked with an asterisk. One extreme score in the NZ-group with a CI of 0 has been dismissed from the graph.

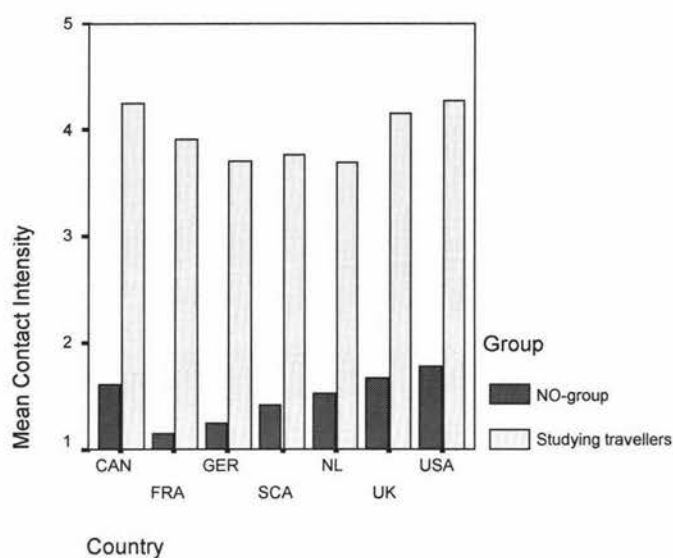
Figure 7.2 Boxplot of CI scores for the three groups

In addition, a one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) showed that the CI-scores for the three groups significantly differed from each other ($F [2, 1020] = 1716.44, p < .001$). As the variances of the three groups were not homogeneous, Tamhane's T2, which does not assume equal variances, was chosen as the post-hoc comparison test.

Contact intensity (c) and the number of weeks in New Zealand (w) were positively correlated (for all groups: $r [1024] = .53, p < .001$; for the Travel-group: $r [532] = .30, p < .001$). That means, with the time increasing that participants spent in New Zealand, contact intensity (as perceived by the subjects) tended to increase as well. As such, the CI formula appeared to overemphasise the time spent in New Zealand.

When looking at the CI scores for the different cultures, all tests were controlled for group membership, as the differences between the three groups were large. One-way ANOVA F tests were conducted for a sub-sample of the Travel-group, including participants whose main purpose of stay was studying ($n = 394$). The focus on "studying travellers" aimed to ensure that the variance of the sample was homogeneous. For this sub-sample, no significant differences could be found between the eight largest culture samples regarding the CI-score and the number of weeks in New Zealand, respectively.

In contrast, a one-way ANOVA F test examining the relationship between contact intensity and culture was significant, with $F (6, 387) = 6.46, p < .001$. Tukey's HSD (used as the follow-up test because sample variances were homogenous) showed that the German mean score was significantly smaller than that for the UK, Canada, and the USA. Similarly, the ANOVA for the NO-group was significant as well (with $F [6, 212] = 3.8, p = .001$). As the variances were not homogeneous, Tamhane's T2 was chosen as the follow-up test, which does not assume equal variances. Again, the German mean contact intensity score was significantly smaller compared to the USA. No other significant differences between cultures could be shown. As Germans and US-Americans constituted the two largest samples, it appeared that sample size strongly influenced the results, which should therefore be interpreted carefully. Figure 7.3 underlines the clear differences between the two groups, but only minor changes across the cultures.



Note. The contact intensity scores ranged from 1 = *No contact at all* to 5 = *Extensive contact*. CAN = Canada, FRA = France, GER = Germany, SCA = Scandinavia, NL = The Netherlands, UK = United Kingdom.

Figure 7.3 Mean contact intensity scores by culture

Furthermore, contact seemed not to be related to the age of the participants. Several one-way ANOVAs were conducted to evaluate relationships between age group and contact intensity, weeks, and CI. None of these showed significant results. Nevertheless, when including age groups in the analysis that were out of the age range (< 18 and > 35 years), participants appeared to have spent more time in New Zealand with age increasing. Moreover, younger age groups reported higher contact intensity scores, although those differences were not significant. In addition, gender was not related to contact, as three independent-samples *t* tests, separately conducted for each group, showed.

7.4 Knowledge

The nine analysed knowledge questions could be grouped into three levels of difficulty as was assumed. Almost all participants in the Travel-group and the NZ-group had no problems answering the four easy questions, and 50 % to 90 % of the people in the NO-group could answer them as well. In contrast, under 20 % of the NO-group could answer the three moderate questions correctly, and only 7 % the two

difficult ones. Similarly, the right answers in the Travel-group decreased for the moderate questions and even more for the difficult ones. Finally, 90 % of the NZ-group answered the “Haka” question correctly, and still 60 % knew the year of the Treaty. Figure 7.4 shows the differences in percentages of right answers for each question across the three groups.

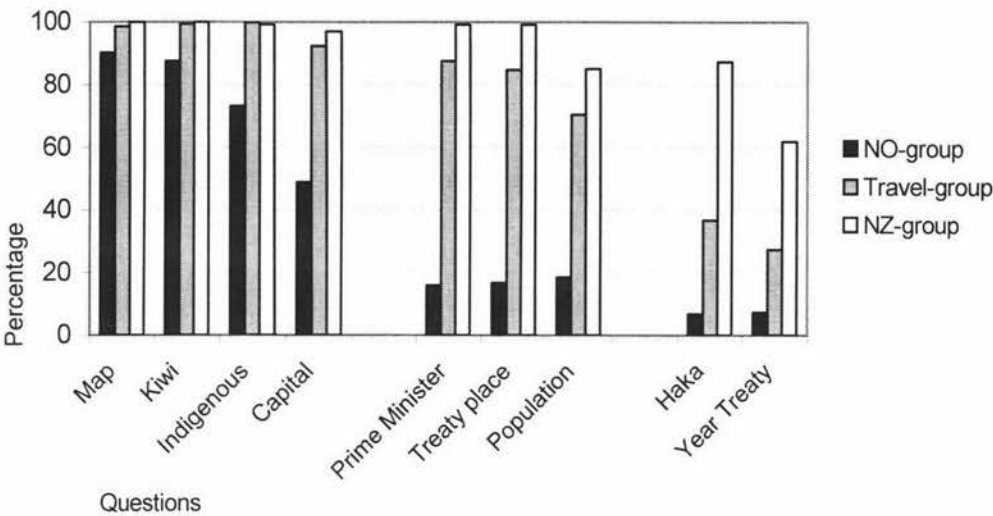


Figure 7.4 Percentage of right answers to the knowledge questions by group

On average, participants in the NO-group answered slightly under four questions correctly (SKS = 3.7), in the Travel-group seven (SKS = 7) and in the NZ-group slightly more than eight (SKS = 8.3). Consequently, the TKS (the weighted total knowledge score) showed significant differences across the three groups, tested with a one-way ANOVA ($F [2, 1025] = 793.12, p < .001$). As a result, all further analyses of the TKS score needed to be controlled for group membership. Table 7.3 includes the means and standard deviations for the TKS scores, and the pairwise differences in mean changes for the three groups, based on Tamhane’s T2. Tamhane’s T2 was chosen as the follow-up test because the sample sizes were so large that Levene’s test of homogeneity of variance showed a significant difference at the .01 level.

Table 7.3 TKS means and pairwise differences between the three groups

Group	<i>n</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	95 % confidence intervals of pairwise differences	
				NO-group	Travel-group
NO-group	234	4.44	2.75		
Travel-group	534	10.67	2.91	5.71 to 6.76***	
NZ-group	260	14.11	2.32	9.12 to 10.22***	2.98 to 3.89***
Total	1028	10.12	4.36		

Note. *** The mean difference was significant at the .001 level, using Tamhane's T2.

The relationship between contact and knowledge was analysed in detail. Using Pearson's product moment correlation coefficient, there was a significant moderate correlation between the TKS score and the CI score for the total sample; $r(1026) = .64, p < .001$. When looking separately at the number of weeks in New Zealand and the contact intensity score, it became apparent that, for the full sample, knowledge was more strongly correlated to contact intensity ($r[1025] = .71, p < .001$) than to the number of weeks spent in the country ($r[1025] = .57, p < .001$). Thus, the correlation coefficient for the CI score lay in between the coefficients for the two sub-concepts that define the CI. Figure 7.5 underlines a linear relationship between contact intensity and knowledge.

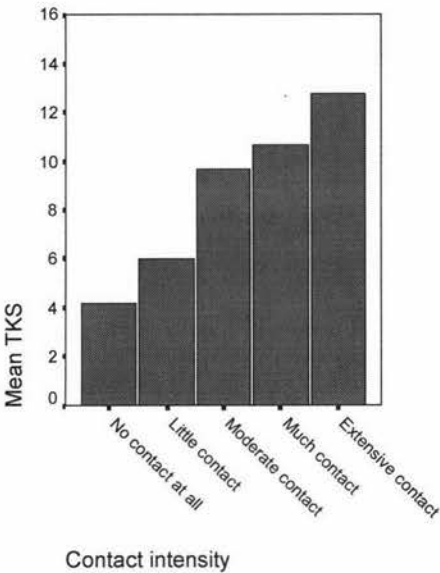


Figure 7.5 Relationship between contact intensity and knowledge for the total sample

As the three groups were broad categories of the variable that measured the time spent in New Zealand, how knowledge related to contact within the groups was of interest. The NO-group showed only diversity in contact intensity, since the number of weeks was zero for all participants in this group. Here, the relationship between contact intensity and TKS was almost negligible ($r [233] = .14, p = .035$). Similarly, the NZ-group only showed diversity in the number of weeks, as contact intensity was a constant here (by definition). The relationship between the time spent in New Zealand and TKS for the NZ-group was definite but small, with $r (259) = .33, p < .001$.

Further, the relationship between CI and TKS for the Travel-group was also low, with $r (534) = .31, p < .001$. This correlation was actually higher than the separate correlations of TKS with weeks ($r [534] = .28, p < .001$) and contact intensity ($r [534] = .17, p < .001$), respectively. When correlating contact with SKS instead of TKS, the results were very similar. Figure 7.6 shows how the effect of the time spent in New Zealand on knowledge levelled out after one year.

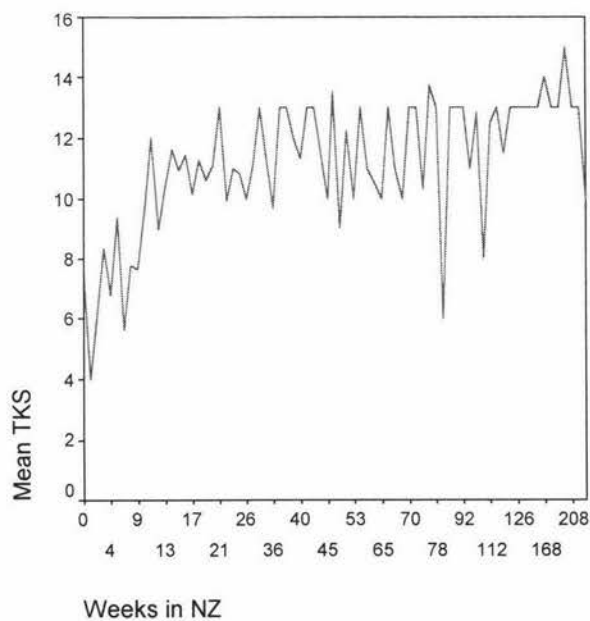


Figure 7.6 Relationship between knowledge and time spent in New Zealand for the Travel-group

Figure 7.7 presents the CI means for each SKS score, clustered for the three groups. The SKS was chosen instead of the TKS to ensure the clearest graphical representation of the results. It appeared that the relationship between contact and knowledge was not linear but curved, with the effect of contact on knowledge becoming weaker towards the end of both axes.

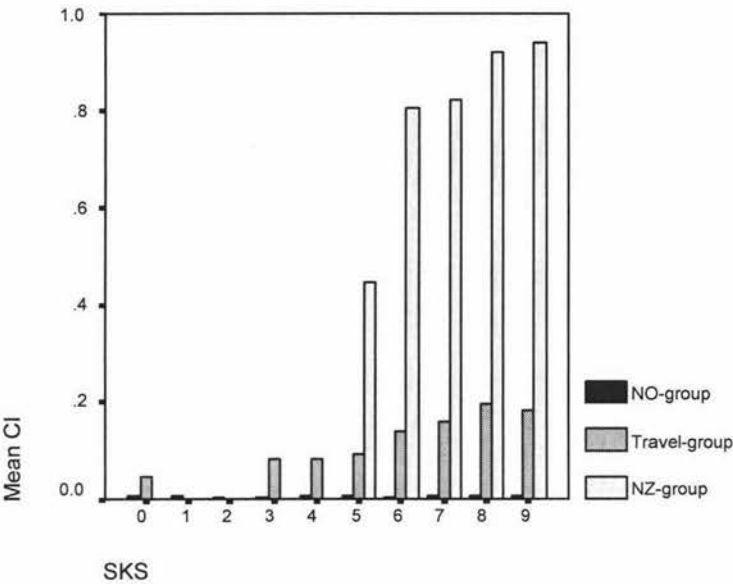
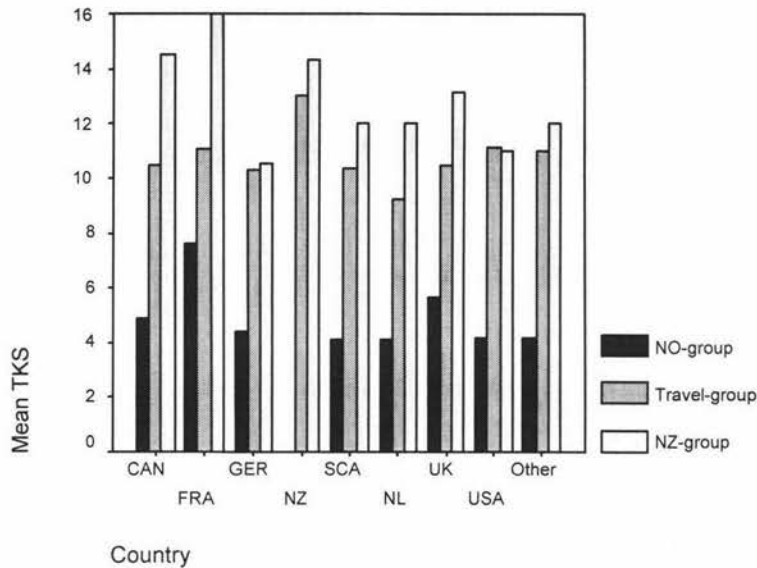


Figure 7.7 Relationship between contact and knowledge for the three groups

Moreover, all questions were separately examined for differences in right answers across cultures. The TKS means for each country (and controlled for group) showed only slight differences, which were not significant, using one-way ANOVAs. However, across most sub-groups, the means charts seemed to show lower than average scores for the Dutch sample, and above average scores for the French and the UK sample (see Figure 7.8). None of these differences was statistically significant, though, as the sample sizes were small.



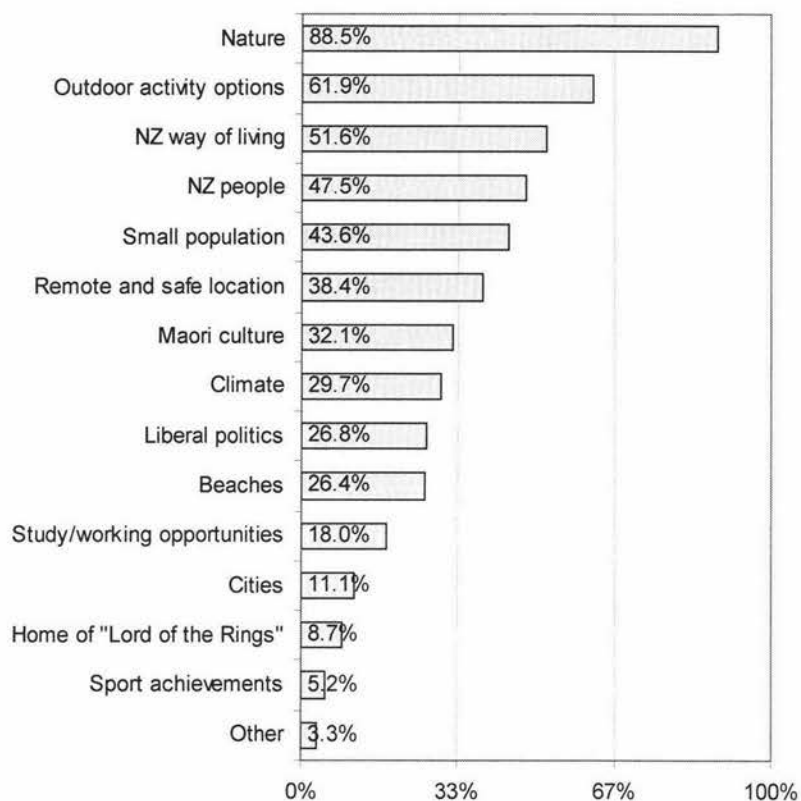
Note. CAN = Canada, FRA = France, GER = Germany, SCA = Scandinavia, NL = The Netherlands, UK = United Kingdom.

Figure 7.8 Knowledge scores by culture and controlled for group

Finally, within all groups, men scored higher than women did in the knowledge section. However, independent-samples t tests showed significant differences in mean TKS scores between male and female participants only for the Travel-group and only on the .01-level, with $t(531) = 2.91$, $p = .003$. No significant differences could be found between knowledge and age, using one-way ANOVAs to compare age groups (within the age range) with TKS for each group. Again, when checking the age groups out of the age range, strong differences to the core sample appeared to exist.

7.5 New Zealand's Qualities

For the total sample, nature was regarded by 88.5 % as one of the five top qualities of New Zealand. Outdoor activity options were second with more than 60 %, followed by three qualities that described New Zealanders: the New Zealand way of living, the people themselves, and the low density of population. Least relevant of all were study and working opportunities, New Zealand's cities, the *The Lord of the Rings* movies, and sport achievements. Figure 7.9 presents the qualities in order of frequency.



Note. Each participant could tick up to five qualities; thus, percentages total to 492.8 %, with the difference to 500 % being missing values. The first reference line at 33.3 % marks the average distribution for each item to occur by chance (5/15).

Figure 7.9 Frequency distribution of New Zealand's top 5 qualities

All qualities but two differed significantly from the average distribution that could be expected to occur by chance ($5/15 = 33.3\%$), with $\chi^2(1, 1028) = 1409.19, p < .001$ for "Nature" to $\chi^2(1, 1028) = 12, p = .001$ for "Remote location". In contrast, "Maori culture" and "Climate" were chosen by close to a third of all participants, which resulted in non-significant one-sample chi-square scores.

Most of the categories were chosen in significantly different frequencies across the three groups (see Table 7.4 and Figure 7.10), with significance evaluated by a multiple-sample chi-square test for each quality. While more than 90 % of the NO-group and the Travel-group regarded "Nature" as one of the five most important qualities, only 77 % of the NZ-group did so. Likewise, the NZ-group chose "Outdoor activity options", "Maori culture", and "Climate" less often than the other two groups, but scored higher on "Sport achievements", "Small population", "Remote location" and "NZ way of living". In contrast, "Maori culture", "Home of 'The Lord

of the Rings”, “Beaches”, “Climate”, and “Cities” scored higher in the NO-group than in the other groups. The Travel-group was ahead of the other groups in “Outdoor activity options”, “NZ people”, and “Study/Working opportunities”.

Table 7.4 Differences between groups for the top five qualities

Quality	Total	NO-group	Travel-group	NZ-group	χ^2 (2, 1028)
Nature	88.5	91.0	92.9	77.3	43.62***
Outdoor activities	61.9	62.8	66.1	52.3	14.23**
Way of living	51.6	31.2	55.2	62.3	53.78***
NZ People	47.5	28.6	56.4	46.2	50.43***
Small population	43.6	41.5	40.4	51.9	9.92**
Remote location	38.4	32.1	34.1	53.1	31.87***
Maori culture	32.1	40.6	31.6	25.4	13.18**
Climate	29.7	46.2	27.3	19.6	44.46***
Liberal politics	26.8	26.9	24.9	30.4	2.68
Beaches	26.4	35.0	18.5	34.6	35.04***
Study and working	18.0	15.4	20.0	16.2	3.19
Cities	11.1	15.4	10.3	8.8	6.04*
Lord of the Rings	8.7	16.7	6.9	5.0	25.40***
Sport achievements	5.2	4.7	2.2	11.5	31.00***
Other	3.3	2.6	3.7	3.1	0.77

Note. All figures (except the last column) in percent.

* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

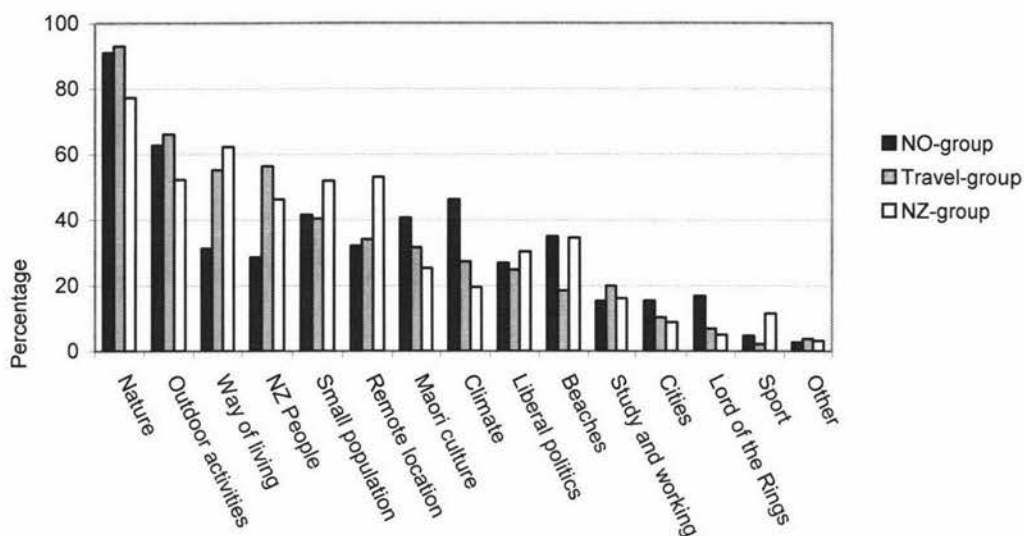


Figure 7.10 Top five qualities by group

When looking at the number one top quality, the preferences of the participants became even more apparent. For the total sample, “Nature” was clearly the most important of New Zealand’s assets with close to 50 %. “Way of living” came second with 16.6 %, followed by the “New Zealand people” and “Outdoor activities”. All other qualities each scored under 5 %. Again, the results differed for the three groups individually, as Table 7.5 and Figure 7.11 show.

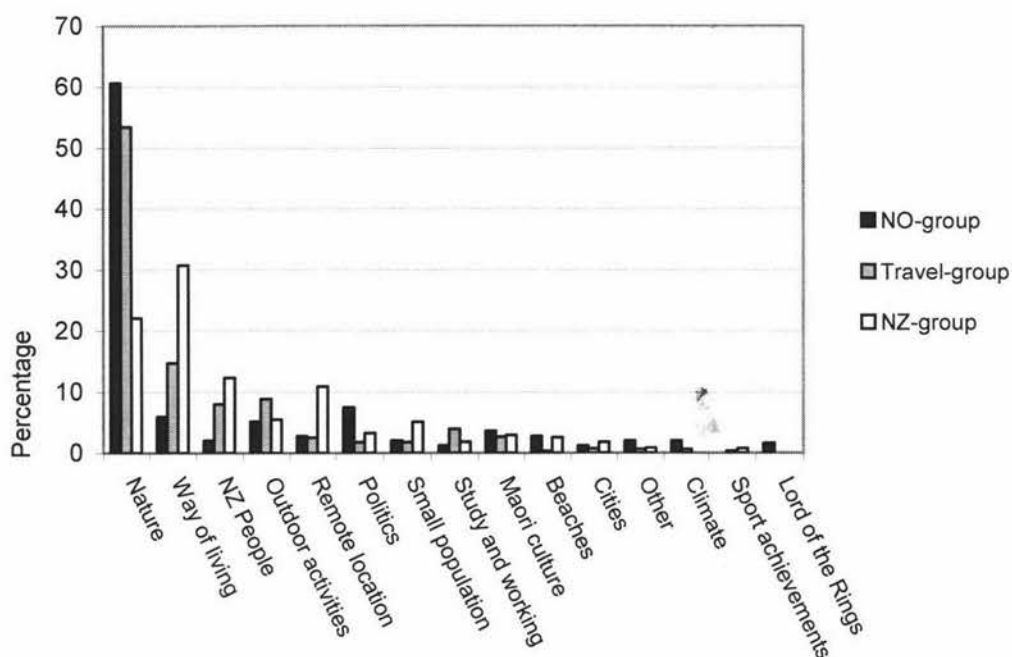


Figure 7.11 Number one top quality by group

Table 7.5 Differences between groups for the number one top quality

Quality	Total	NO-group	Travel-group	NZ-group
Nature	47.8	60.6	53.5	22.0
Way of living	16.6	5.9	14.7	30.7
NZ People	7.9	2.0	8.0	12.3
Outdoor activities	7.6	5.1	8.8	5.4
Remote location	4.9	2.8	2.5	10.8
Politics	3.1	7.5	1.8	3.2
Small population	2.7	2.0	1.8	5.1
Study and working	2.6	1.2	3.9	1.8
Maori culture	2.6	3.5	2.7	2.9
Beaches	1.2	2.8	0.4	2.5
Cities	1.2	1.2	0.7	1.8
Other	0.6	2.0	0.6	0.8
Climate	0.5	2.0	0.5	0.0
Sport achievements	0.4	0.0	0.4	0.7
Lord of the Rings	0.4	1.6	0.0	0.0

Note. All figures in percent.

For the NZ-group, “Nature” came only second to “Way of living”. Moreover, “NZ people” and “Remote location” reached much higher scores in the NZ-group than in the other groups. In contrast, “Nature” was for more than 60 % of the NO-group the top asset, with no other quality reaching 10 % in this group. The Travel-group scored for most answer choices between the NO-group and the NZ-group, but was highest in the categories “Outdoor activities” and “Study and working”. In addition, within the Travel-group, the results differed depending on the contact value. That means, with CI increasing, scores within the Travel-group approached the results of the NZ-group, whereas participants with low a CI had results similar to the NO-group. Figure 7.12 shows the relationship of contact and quality scores for the categories “Nature” and “Way of living”.

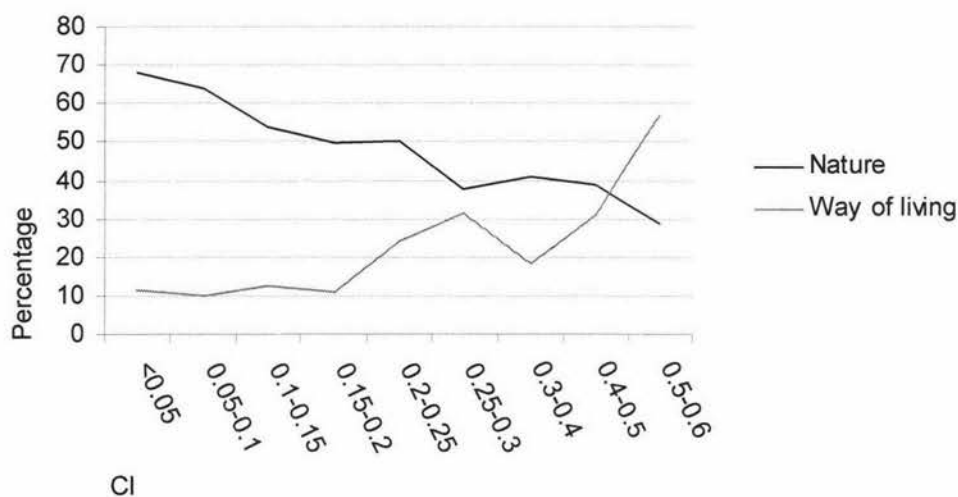


Figure 7.12 Scores for two qualities by CI within the Travel-group

In addition, there appeared to be differences between cultures in the scores for the No. 1 top quality. These differences became most apparent when looking only at the two categories “Nature” and “Way of living” (and controlled for group membership). For example, in the NO-group, Germans (73.6 %) and French (100 %) ticked “Nature” as the No. 1 quality above average and US-Americans (48.5 %) and Britons (33.3 %) below average. For “Way of living“, this pattern was reversed. Similarly, in the Travel-group, Germans and Scandinavians chose “Nature” the most, Britons and Dutch slightly below average, and Canadians the less. However, none of these differences across cultures proved to be statistically significant, using a multiple-sample chi-square test.

7.6 Attributes of New Zealanders

The 12 paired attributes with which participants were asked to rate New Zealanders in general were analysed in two ways: Firstly, by the frequencies of each answer category for the total sample (in percent); and secondly, by the frequencies of the collapsed answer categories (for example, *Very friendly* and *Friendly* were collapsed to one *Friendly* category) for the three groups. A multiple-sample chi-square test was conducted for each collapsed attribute to test whether the differences between the three groups were statistically significant. For reasons of space, only selected

attributes are presented here in detail (including graphs); however, the results of all attributes are included in tables.

More than 90 % of the total sample stated that New Zealanders in general were friendly or very friendly. The proportion of 36 % of people choosing *Very friendly* was the highest rating of an extreme score on the scale across all attributes. Figure 7.13 shows the low proportion of *Undecided* votes and the almost negligible percentage of participants (2.8 %) stating that New Zealanders were unfriendly.

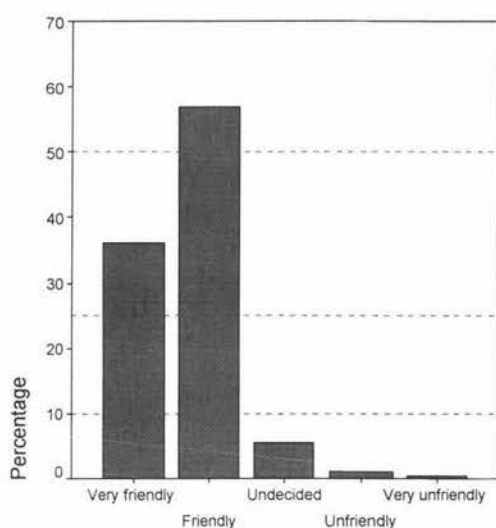


Figure 7.13 Ratings for the “Friendly/Unfriendly” attribute for the total sample

As the attribute scales were constructed and coded as if they were interval scales, the mean was an additional tool to compare the attribute ratings. Table 7.6 includes the means and standard deviations for each (not collapsed) attribute, which helped to evaluate stereotype content. Accordingly, across all groups, the biggest agreement about New Zealanders’ attributes was found for “Friendly”, “Helpful”, “Outdoor-orientated”, “Relaxed”, and “Patriotic”. In addition, the NZ-group agreed more than the other groups in describing New Zealanders as “Practical”, “Determined”, and “Tough”. On the contrary, the NZ-group showed less agreement for “Open-minded”, “Progressive”, and “Future-orientated”. Here, with the means approaching zero, none of the paired attributes gained a clear majority for either trait. For example, the NZ-group did not agree whether New Zealanders were more conservative or progressive, with a mean of -0.03 and a relatively high standard deviation of 0.93 .

Table 7.6 Means of ratings for attribute scales by group

Attribute	Total		NO-group		Travel-group		NZ-group	
	<i>M</i>	(<i>SD</i>)	<i>M</i>	(<i>SD</i>)	<i>M</i>	(<i>SD</i>)	<i>M</i>	(<i>SD</i>)
Friendly/Unfriendly	1.27	(0.65)	1.11	(0.61)	1.43	(0.65)	1.09	(0.62)
Helpful/Unhelpful	1.19	(0.70)	0.92	(0.66)	1.36	(0.72)	1.10	(0.60)
Indoor/Outdoor-orientated	-1.10	(0.81)	-1.07	(0.71)	-1.14	(0.86)	-1.05	(0.78)
Stressed/Relaxed	-1.02	(0.65)	-0.89	(0.61)	-1.18	(0.60)	-0.80	(0.68)
Patriotic/Unpatriotic	0.94	(0.86)	0.81	(0.78)	1.08	(0.83)	0.79	(0.93)
Practical/Impractical	0.75	(0.74)	0.56	(0.68)	0.67	(0.75)	1.09	(0.65)
Determined/Give up early	0.59	(0.71)	0.56	(0.66)	0.51	(0.67)	0.80	(0.78)
Tough/Soft	0.56	(0.80)	0.41	(0.74)	0.51	(0.80)	0.78	(0.79)
Open/Narrow-minded	0.49	(0.92)	0.64	(0.79)	0.52	(0.95)	0.31	(0.95)
Informed/Uninformed	0.30	(0.99)	0.34	(0.79)	0.27	(1.06)	0.34	(1.02)
Conservative/Progressive	-0.21	(0.88)	-0.27	(0.86)	-0.27	(0.85)	-0.03	(0.93)
Past/Future-orientated	-0.16	(0.80)	-0.19	(0.72)	-0.19	(0.76)	-0.06	(0.93)

Note. Sorted by descending means for the total sample. The rating scale was coded from 2 to -2, with the first trait in the reversed paired attribute (for example, “Friendly”) being allocated the positive figures (therefore, *Very friendly* = 2; *Friendly* = 1), and the second mentioned trait (for example, “Unfriendly”) the negative figures (*Very Unfriendly* = -2; *Unfriendly* = -1). *Undecided* was coded as 0.

It was conspicuous that for almost all attributes the mean score of the Travel-group was higher than that of the NO-group. Moreover, when controlling for purpose of stay within the Travel-group, tourists had a higher mean than students for every single attribute. This was because tourists were more likely to tick the extreme scores and they chose *Undecided* less often than students (with only two exceptions, “Conservative/Progressive” and “Informed/Uninformed”). In total, the students within the Travel-group tended to score more towards the NZ-group ratings. However, controlling for CI within the Travel-group and the “Student traveller” group respectively (by splitting the sub-samples into quartiles) showed no clear and no significant differences. Instead, it was contact intensity that seemed to be the decisive variable being responsible for similarities between the Travel-group and the NZ-group. This relationship could be seen for both the “Practical/Impractical” and “Determined/Give up early” attributes, where the differences between NZ-group and Travel-group were particularly large.

To better compare differences between the three groups, the ratings were collapsed into three categories. Then, for the “Indoor/Outdoor-orientated” attribute, the distribution of votes was almost equal across all three groups, with *Outdoor-orientated* receiving the vast majority of votes (see Figure 7.14). In fact, the differences between the groups were so small, that the chi-square test for this attribute was the only non-significant one (see Table 7.7 below).

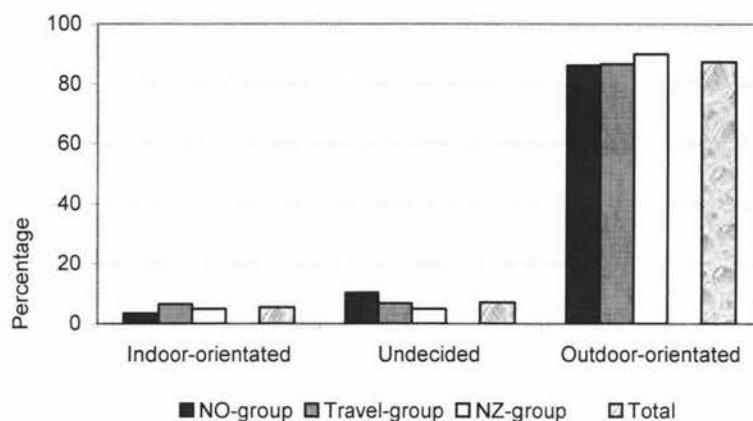


Figure 7.14 Differences between groups for the “Indoor/Outdoor-orientated” attribute

For the attributes “Stressed/Relaxed”, “Tough/Soft”, “Practical/Impractical”, “Helpful/Unhelpful”, “Patriotic/Unpatriotic”, and “Determined/Give up early”, the first mentioned trait received the vast majority of votes for the total sample. However, here it was possible to determine differences between the three groups that were due to a different use of the *Undecided* category. For example, for “Determined/Give up early”, almost 50 % of the participants in the Travel-group and the NO-group, respectively, chose *Undecided*. In contrast, fewer than 20 % of the NZ-group did likewise, with the *Determined* category receiving 30 % more votes than in the other groups (see Figure 7.15). As particularly seen with “Practical/Impractical” and “Tough/Soft”, people in the NO-group tended to choose the *Undecided* category most often, followed by the Travel-group. It is important to note that the use of *Undecided* for the total sample differed across the attributes, with 5.5 % for “Friendly/Unfriendly” to 45 % for “Past/Future-orientated”. This finding could also (partly) explain why the means of the ratings differed in some cases.

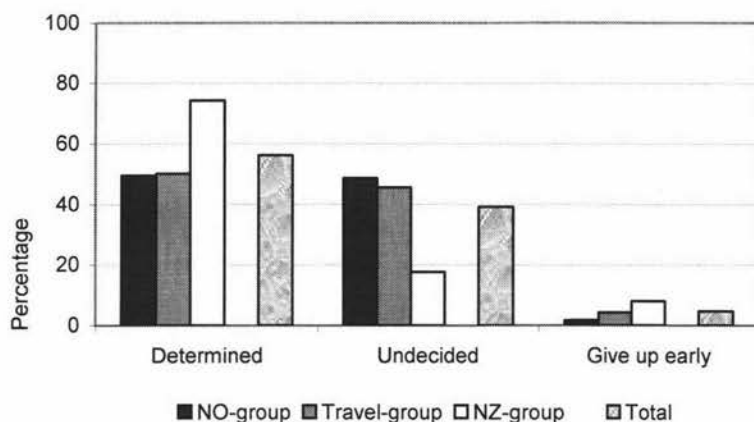


Figure 7.15 Different use of the *Undecided* category for the “Determined/Give up early” attribute

The remaining attributes showed also the existence of different opinions regarding the reversed phrases attributes. For “Informed/Uninformed”, in total one fourth of the sample thought New Zealanders were uninformed, compared to over 50 % choosing *Informed*. That means, across all groups, participants had different opinions on the attribute. This pattern was even stronger for “Conservative/Progressive”, where more people in the NZ-group than in the other groups chose *Conservative* over *Progressive*. Likewise, the NZ-group rated New Zealanders as more narrow-minded and more past-orientated than the other groups did, which was consistent with the findings from Table 7.6 (see above). To take a single example, Figure 7.16 presents the graph for “Open/Narrow-minded”, showing a clear graduation between the groups.

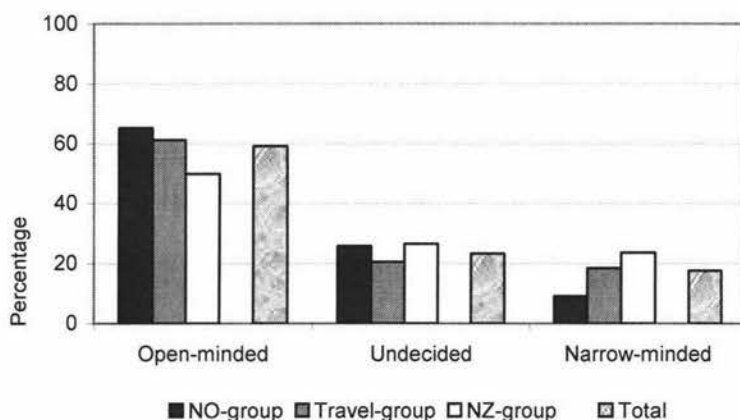


Figure 7.16 Differences between groups for the “Open/Narrow-minded” attribute

Table 7.7 presents all ratings across the groups. Except for “Indoor/Outdoor-orientated”, all differences across the three groups were significant, as the chi-square test showed. The χ^2 value for each attribute allows comparing how strong the differences across the groups were. For example, “Practical/Impractical” showed the highest χ^2 value and, thus, the greatest group differences, particularly between No-group and NZ-group. Each group was further controlled for the knowledge score (the TKS score collapsed into three levels of knowledge). Apart from the differences across groups, knowledge did not appear to additionally influence the attribute ratings.

Table 7.7 Differences in attribute ratings by group

Attribute	Total	NO-group	Travel-group	NZ-group	χ^2 ($df = 4$)	n^a
Friendly	93.0	87.4	96.1	91.5	33.07*** ^b	1,024
Undecided	5.5	12.1	2.4	5.8		
Unfriendly	1.6	0.4	1.5	2.7		
Indoor-orientated	5.5	3.4	6.6	5.0	8.41	1,025
Undecided	7.1	10.3	6.8	5.0		
Outdoor-orientated	87.4	86.2	86.7	90.0		
Stressed	2.8	2.2	1.5	6.2	53.69***	1,023
Undecided	10.9	18.3	5.3	16.2		
Relaxed	86.2	79.6	93.2	77.7		
Practical	68.6	52.6	65.7	89.1	96.07***	1,023
Undecided	26.4	44.4	27.0	8.9		
Impractical	5.0	3.0	7.3	1.9		
Patriotic	75.4	66.8	80.5	72.7	37.38***	1,025
Undecided	17.7	28.9	13.7	15.8		
Unpatriotic	6.9	4.3	5.8	11.5		

(table continues)

Table 7.7 (continued) Differences in attribute ratings by group

Attribute	Total	NO-group	Travel-group	NZ-group	χ^2 (df = 4)	n
Determined	56.2	49.6	50.2	74.2	72.45***	1,022
Undecided	39.1	48.7	45.5	17.7		
Give up early	4.7	1.7	4.3	8.1		
Tough	60.0	50.0	57.8	73.4	32.28***	1,024
Undecided	29.1	38.8	30.0	18.5		
Soft	10.9	11.2	12.2	8.1		
Open-minded	59.1	65.1	61.1	49.8	24.30***	1,023
Undecided	23.3	25.9	20.5	26.6		
Narrow-minded	17.6	9.1	18.4	23.6		
Conservative	24.1	19.7	21.2	33.8	21.45***	1,021
Undecided	32.3	38.4	31.8	28.1		
Progressive	43.6	41.9	47.0	38.1		
Helpful	89.6	76.6	94.2	91.5	80.10*** ^c	1,024
Undecided	8.4	22.5	3.4	6.2		
Unhelpful	2.1	0.9	2.4	2.3		
Past-orientated	20.0	14.3	17.6	30.0	30.03***	1,023
Undecided	45.0	53.5	46.7	33.8		
Future-orientated	35.0	32.2	35.6	36.2		
Informed	53.2	47.4	53.4	57.9	48.85***	1,023
Undecided	22.6	38.4	18.8	16.2		
Uninformed	24.2	14.2	27.8	25.9		

Note. All figures in the first four rows in percent.

^a The differences to 1,028 were missing values due to item-non-response. ^b Two cells (22.2 %) had an expected count of less than 5 %, with a minimum expected count of 3.61. ^c One cell (11.1 %) had an expected count of less than 5 %, with a minimum expected count of 4.74.

*** $p < .001$.

Furthermore, the collapsed attributes were examined as to whether differences existed across the eight largest culture samples. Still, the cell counts were so low that multiple-sample chi-square tests did not show any meaningful results. For the attributes with clear majorities for one trait (such as “Friendly/Unfriendly”), differences across cultures were usually small or contradictory. For example, the British participants chose “Outdoor-orientated” below average in the NO-group, but above average in the Travel-group. Moreover, sometimes sub-group sizes were very small. So consisted the French sub-sample in the NO-group of only eight people, each individual being responsible for 10 % of the sample score. This had consequences especially when individuals used the *Undecided* category more often than the average sample.

Nevertheless, some single conspicuous differences shall be reported here. Accordingly, more than 20 % of the Scandinavians in the Travel-group found New Zealanders impractical (compared to an average of 7.3 %). The French, both in the NO-group and the Travel-group, rated New Zealanders as “Patriotic” more often than the average. Even stronger seemed to be the huge differences across cultures for the “Conservative/Progressive” attribute. Dutch participants in both the NO-group and the Travel-group (and even the small number of Dutch in the NZ-group) rated New Zealanders as “Conservative” far more often than average (45 % to 19.9 % and 40 % to 21.2 % respectively), whereas US-Americans chose “Progressive” above average. However, these differences could have occurred by chance, and did not follow a clear pattern.

In addition, in Part 6 of the questionnaire the participants of the NZ-group were asked to rate 10 of the 12 attributes again, but this time regarding them personally. This question allowed comparing the ratings of the NZ-group for New Zealanders in general (group-ratings) with their individual self-ratings on the same scale. The attributes “Practical/Impractical” and “Patriotic/Unpatriotic” received similar results for individual self-ratings and group-ratings, which was supported by non-significant one-sample chi-square tests (see Table 7.8). In contrast, the individual self-ratings for all other attributes showed significant, sometimes very strong, differences to the group-ratings.

Accordingly, participants in the NZ-group rated themselves as slightly more determined than New Zealanders in general, and also as slightly softer, more informed, more progressive, more stressed, more future-orientated, much more indoor-orientated, and finally, much more open-minded. The differences between the two ratings were striking for some cases, as Table 7.8 shows. To take a single example, Figure 7.17 presents the graphs of the individual self-ratings and the group-ratings for the attribute “Past/Future-orientated”. Table 7.8 includes not only the χ^2 values but also the means and standard deviations of the (not collapsed) attribute scales.

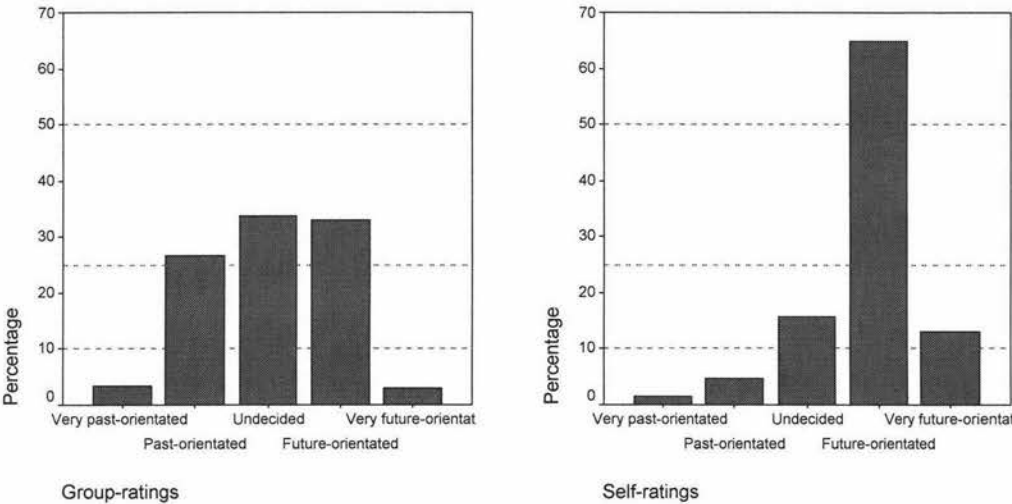


Figure 7.17 Group- and individual self-ratings of the NZ-group for “Past-/Future-orientated”

It is worth noting that the mean scores in Table 7.8 could also be compared to the mean scores of the other groups as presented in Table 7.6. Thereby, it was possible to determine whether individual self-ratings or groups-ratings were closer to the ratings of the other groups. In most cases, the individual self-ratings were extremer, and, therefore, differed not only from the group-ratings, but also strongly from the ratings of the other two groups, as the comparison with Table 7.6 shows. One exception was “Tough/Soft”, where the individual self-rating came closer to the other ratings. Moreover, in the case of “Practical/Impractical”, individual self-ratings and group-ratings were very similar, but both were different from the other groups.

Table 7.8 Differences between group- and individual self-ratings of attributes in the NZ-group

Attribute	Group-ratings		Self-ratings		χ^2 (df = 4)	n ^a
	M	(SD)	M	(SD)		
Open/Narrow-minded	0.31	(0.95)	1.25	(0.67)	416.08***	259
Indoor/Outdoor-orientated	-1.05	(0.78)	-0.54	(1.10)	378.37***	260
Past/Future-orientated	-0.06	(0.93)	-0.83	(0.77)	237.57***	258
Conservative/Progressive	-0.03	(0.93)	-0.56	(0.93)	168.62***	260
Stressed/Relaxed	-0.80	(0.68)	-0.39	(0.97)	154.05*** ^b	259
Informed/Uninformed	0.34	(1.02)	0.82	(0.91)	98.73***	259
Tough/Soft	0.78	(0.79)	0.41	(0.86)	60.44*** ^b	257
Determined/Give up early	0.80	(0.78)	1.05	(0.73)	30.40*** ^b	259
Practical/Impractical	1.09	(0.65)	1.04	(0.71)	8.37 ^c	260
Patriotic/Unpatriotic	0.79	(0.93)	0.87	(0.93)	3.67	259

Note. Sorted by descending χ^2 value. The rating scale was coded from 2 to -2, with the first trait in the reversed paired attribute being allocated the positive figures, and the second mentioned trait the negative figures. *Undecided* was coded as 0. The attributes "Friendly/Unfriendly" and "Helpful/Unhelpful" were not included in the self-rating section.

^a The differences to 260 were missing values due to item-non-response. ^b One cell (20 %) had an expected count of less than 5 %, with a minimum expected count of 0 (or 1, respectively). ^c Two cells (40 %) had an expected count of less than 5 %, with a minimum expected count of 2.

*** $p < .001$.

7.7 Statements About New Zealand Society

Similar to the last section, the 5-point Likert-type scales of the statements could be collapsed into fewer categories and controlled for group membership. Here, significant differences between the groups could be seen. For the total sample, some statements showed clear preference for either agreement or disagreement, and some showed differing opinions. The proportion of votes for the *Undecided* category ranged between 10 % and 20 %, a higher usage than for the attributes. In addition, participants could choose a *Don't know* category, which mainly people in the NO-group did. As a result, some statements were left with more than 30 % of votes that showed neither agreement nor disagreement.

Table 7.9 presents all results for the collapsed answer categories, for both the total sample and the three groups. The differences between the group ratings were significant, as multiple-sample chi-square tests, conducted for each statement, showed. The χ^2 values are included in Table 7.9, allowing to compare the strength of the differences. Between two and eight people, in each case, chose not to rate the statements.

In addition, for each statement, the differences for the groups have been controlled for knowledge; again, using a range of TKS scores. In contrast to the Attribute section, here, a clear relationship occurred between different levels of knowledge and the statement ratings. In general, people with higher knowledge about New Zealand tended to rate similar to the NZ-group. On the contrary, little knowledge meant ratings tended towards those of the NO-group. This pattern also occurred within the groups. For example, in total, a majority of the NZ-group disagreed with the “Rural society” statement. Then, within the NZ-group, the disagreement was even stronger for people with greater knowledge about New Zealand. In general, the pattern could be observed for all attributes that required knowledge in order to state an opinion.

Almost 60 % of all participants agreed with the statement that the typical male New Zealander is a bloke. Disagreement was with 27.3 % strongest in the NZ-group, and 23.7 % of the NO-group did not know anything about the topic at all. Even clearer was the agreement for the “Alcohol” statement, with almost a fourth of the total sample choosing *Strongly agree*. Here, agreement was strongest for the Travel-group, followed by the NZ-group with close to 80 %. About 40 % of the people in the NO-group ticked either *Undecided* or *Don't know*, which still left a majority for agreement, though. Disagreement was with only 7.3 % lowest in the Travel-group. Figure 7.18 shows the clear agreement for the Alcohol statement across all groups. A similar result could be observed for the statement that claimed better treatment of Maori compared to other indigenous cultures, and for the “Treaty” statement. For both statements, the NZ-group agreed the most and disagreed the less of all groups, however.

Table 7.9 Differences in statement ratings by group

Statement	Total	NO-group	Travel-group	NZ-group	χ^2 (df = 6)	n ^a
“Bloke”					155.68***	1,026
<i>Agree</i>	59.1	45.3	63.9	61.5		
<i>Undecided</i>	15.4	19.0	15.9	11.2		
<i>Disagree</i>	18.6	12.1	17.2	27.3		
<i>Don't know</i>	6.9	23.7	3.0	0.0		
“Egalitarian”					162.45***	1,025
<i>Agree</i>	42.2	42.4	45.9	34.6		
<i>Undecided</i>	15.2	25.1	13.3	10.4		
<i>Disagree</i>	37.5	15.2	39.3	53.5		
<i>Don't know</i>	5.1	17.3	1.5	1.5		
“Alcohol”					194.86***	1,025
<i>Agree</i>	72.5	44.2	81.8	78.5		
<i>Undecided</i>	11.8	22.5	9.7	6.5		
<i>Disagree</i>	10.7	14.3	7.3	14.6		
<i>Don't know</i>	5.0	19.0	1.1	0.4		
“Maori treatment”					156.14***	1,020
<i>Agree</i>	62.8	37.7	67.2	76.1		
<i>Undecided</i>	18.0	23.2	17.4	14.7		
<i>Disagree</i>	12.0	15.4	12.8	7.3		
<i>Don't know</i>	7.2	23.7	2.6	1.9		
“Environment”					92.79*** ^b	1,023
<i>Agree</i>	77.7	86.1	78.5	68.6		
<i>Undecided</i>	9.1	6.5	9.0	11.6		
<i>Disagree</i>	11.6	0.9	12.4	19.8		
<i>Don't know</i>	1.6	6.5	0.2	0.0		
“Sport”					176.74***	1,024
<i>Agree</i>	38.6	31.3	45.1	31.5		
<i>Undecided</i>	19.7	26.5	19.1	15.0		
<i>Disagree</i>	36.8	23.0	34.6	53.5		
<i>Don't know</i>	4.9	19.1	1.1	4.9		
“Economy”					120.78***	1,025
<i>Agree</i>	39.2	32.8	42.5	38.2		
<i>Undecided</i>	14.1	19.8	14.0	9.3		
<i>Disagree</i>	38.0	23.3	39.0	49.4		
<i>Don't know</i>	8.6	24.1	4.5	3.1		

(table continues)

Table 9 (continued) Differences in statement ratings by group

Statement	Total	NO-group	Travel-group	NZ-group	χ^2 (df = 6)	n ^a
"Feminism"					137.46***	1,025
<i>Agree</i>	17.0	12.1	17.4	20.4		
<i>Undecided</i>	21.7	26.4	22.7	15.4		
<i>Disagree</i>	45.8	26.4	45.9	62.7		
<i>Don't know</i>	15.6	35.1	14.0	1.5		
"Treaty"					236.00***	1,024
<i>Agree</i>	71.6	42.0	79.8	81.1		
<i>Undecided</i>	10.4	18.6	8.6	6.9		
<i>Disagree</i>	7.0	3.9	6.2	11.6		
<i>Don't know</i>	10.9	35.5	5.4	0.4		
"Racist"					279.26***	1,024
<i>Agree</i>	48.3	16.1	50.2	73.1		
<i>Undecided</i>	21.4	30.4	23.4	9.2		
<i>Disagree</i>	18.2	15.7	19.9	16.9		
<i>Don't know</i>	12.1	37.8	6.6	0.8		
"Social problems"					154.46***	1,025
<i>Agree</i>	49.3	36.2	53.7	51.7		
<i>Undecided</i>	21.1	25.0	22.1	15.4		
<i>Disagree</i>	14.5	4.7	11.6	29.3		
<i>Don't know</i>	15.1	34.1	12.5	3.5		
"Rural society"					168.88***	1,024
<i>Agree</i>	61.3	63.0	71.3	39.2		
<i>Undecided</i>	11.6	13.0	8.2	17.3		
<i>Disagree</i>	24.1	12.6	19.9	43.1		
<i>Don't know</i>	2.9	11.3	0.6	0.4		

Note. All figures (except the last two columns) in percent. The statements are listed in order of appearance in the survey. The categories are collapsed.

^a The differences to 1,028 were missing values due to item-non-response. ^b Two cells (16.7 %) had an expected count of less than 5 %, with a minimum expected count of 3.61.

*** $p < .001$.

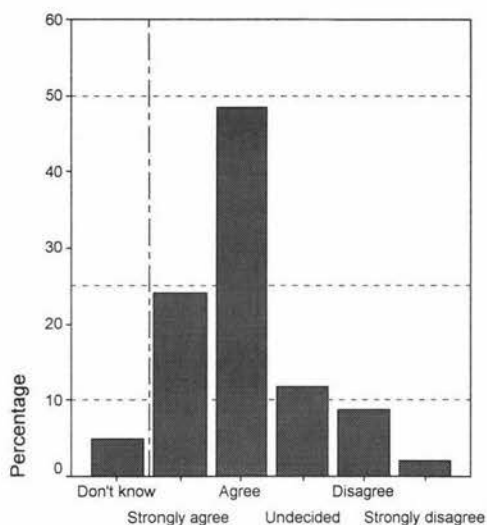


Figure 7.18 Ratings for the “Alcohol” statement for the total sample

Very strong agreement across all groups was noted for the “Environment” statement. Here it was conspicuous that the category *Don't know* was only rarely chosen, even by the NO-group. In addition, the agreement was also the strongest for the NO-group (86.1 %), followed by the Travel-group with 78.5 %, and the NZ-group with 68.6 %. The disagreement scores were reversed, with only 0.9 % of the NO-group disagreeing, but 19.8 % of the NZ-group.

A similar result was observed for the statement that New Zealand is a rural society. Agreement was strongest for the Travel-group with 71.3 %, followed by the NO-group. In contrast, a majority of the NZ-group (43.1 %) rejected the claim, but still close to 40 % of the NZ-group agreed. Less than 10 % of the Travel-group were undecided or did not know anything about this statement. Figure 7.19 shows the differences between the groups for the “Rural society” statement.

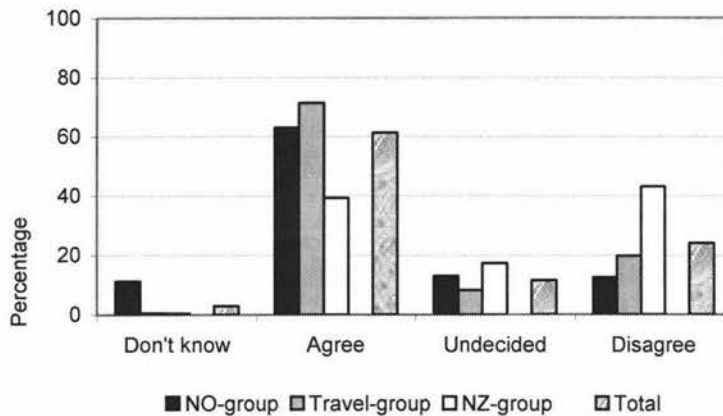


Figure 7.19 Differences between groups for the “Rural society” statement

Most of the remaining statements showed neither a clear majority for agreement nor a clear majority for disagreement. For example, the “Egalitarian” statement received in total 42.2 % agreement and 37.5 % disagreement, with extreme scores (such as *Strongly agree*) and *Don't know* and *Undecided* categories scoring relatively low. Again, when controlling for group membership, clear differences could be seen. While a strong majority of the NO-group agreed, more than 50 % of the NZ-group disagreed. The Travel-group was divided (see Figure 7.20). Similar results were noted for the “Sport” and the “Economy” statements, each with the Travel-group agreeing the most and the NZ-group disagreeing the most.

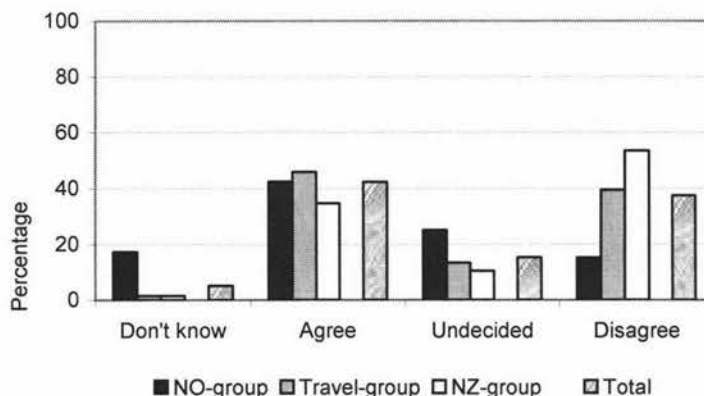


Figure 7.20 Differences between groups for the “Egalitarian” statement

The statement claiming that social movements have a hard time in New Zealand (“Feminism”) was the only one with a majority of all groups disagreeing. In addition,

the extreme scores were chosen only rarely, but the *Undecided* and *Don't Know* categories (the latter especially for the NO-group) often. Figure 7.21 shows the graph of the not collapsed categories for the total sample.

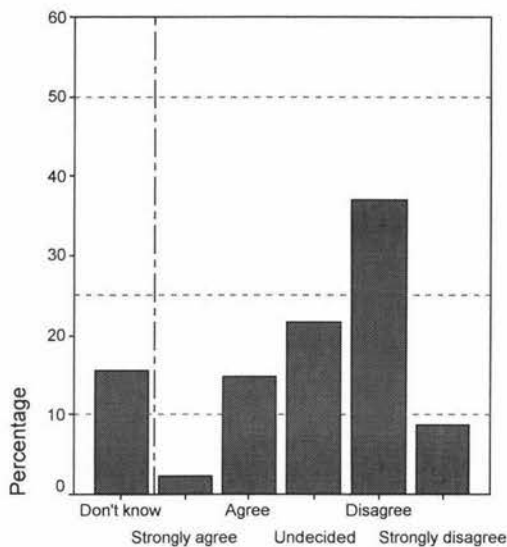


Figure 7.21 Ratings for the “Feminism” statement for the total sample

The statement regarding the acknowledgement of social problems of Maori received a high proportion of *Undecided* and *Don't know* ratings as well. Here, a majority of all groups agreed with the statement, but almost 30 % of the NZ-group disagreed. Finally, the largest differences between the groups could be registered for the statement regarding the racism of New Zealanders, with $\chi^2 (6, 1024) = 279.26, p < .001$. While about 15 % of all groups disagreed with the statement, the high χ^2 value was due to a striking 73.1 % agreement-quota by the NZ-group. In contrast, almost 70 % of the NO-group were either undecided or did not know anything about the topic. Figure 7.22 shows the graph for the “Racist” statement.

Some additional observations are worth noting. The NZ-group marked the lowest number of answers for the *Undecided* category for all statements, except “Environment” and “Rural society”, where the Travel-group ticked *Undecided* less. Moreover, people in the NZ-group ticked *Don't know* very rarely. In contrast, the NO-group had the highest allocation of votes to the *Undecided* and *Don't know* categories, with the Travel-group lying in between. “Environment” and “Rural society” were also the only statements with lower rates of *Don't know* for the NO-

group (proportion usually between 17 % to 37 %). In addition, the preference for agreement or disagreement was often reversed for the NO-group and the NZ-group. In such a case, the Travel-group showed a similar rating pattern with one of the two other groups.

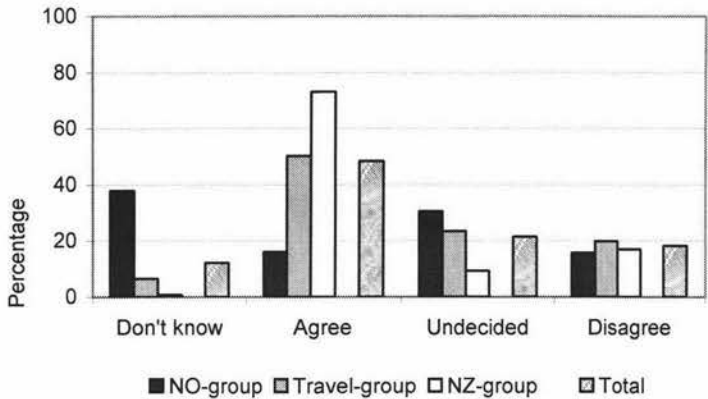


Figure 7.22 Differences between groups for the “Racist” statement

Similar to the Attribute section, it was difficult to detect differences between cultures. Most of the multiple-sample chi-square tests, which were conducted for each group separately, were not significant. Moreover, in all chi-square tests the proportions of expected cell counts less than five was much too high (usually over 50 %), which made the test results not meaningful. Some cultures with small sub-samples scored strongly above or below average in single cases. These differences did not follow a clear pattern and may have occurred by chance. In this context, it was unfortunate that the Australian sub-samples were too small to be analysed, as some tendencies seemed to be interesting. However, it clearly appeared that group membership had a stronger effect on the ratings than culture.

Nevertheless, some conspicuous differences between Germany and the USA shall be reported here. As they were the largest sub-samples in the survey, the differences were less likely to occur by chance. For example, 63.8 % of the US-Americans in the NO-group agreed with the “Bloke” statement, but only 29.9 % of the Germans did, compared to an average (across all cultures) of 45.9 %. In the Travel-group, these tendencies were repeated on a weaker level.

Even stronger differences were found for the “Alcohol” statement and the “Sport” statement. Accordingly, Germans showed a higher agreement with the “Sport” statement than the US-Americans, particularly in the Travel-group. On the contrary, 19.1 % of the Germans in the Travel-group disagreed, but almost 50 % of the US-Americans. Table 7.10 shows the results of the “Alcohol” statement for the two cultures, which clearly shows the higher agreement of the US-Americans.

Table 7.10 Differences between Germany and USA for the “Alcohol” statement

Category	NO-group			Travel-group			NZ-group		
	GER	USA	Total	GER	USA	Total	GER	USA	Total
<i>Agree</i>	30.2	68.1	44.7	69.2	94.1	81.8	75.0	100.0	78.5
<i>Undecided</i>	29.1	13.0	22.4	15.1	3.2	9.7	0.0	0.0	6.5
<i>Disagree</i>	22.1	2.9	14.5	14.4	2.3	7.3	25.0	0.0	14.6
<i>Don't know</i>	18.6	15.9	18.4	1.4	0.5	1.1	0.0	0.0	0.4
<i>n</i>	86	69	228	146	219	534	4	5	260

Note. All category figures in percent. The categories are collapsed. The last row shows the cell counts.

7.8 Motivation of Ratings

Three questions were asked to determine whether participants wanted to avoid generalising when rating New Zealanders in Parts 3 and 4. The first question asked for the level of confidence in the truthfulness of the ratings. Almost 70 % of the people in the NO-group were not confident at all or only little confident that their ratings reflected the New Zealand society. In contrast, 50 % of the NZ-group were much or totally confident, another 40 % moderately confident. The results of the Travel-group lay in between, but closer to the NZ-group (see Figure 7.23).

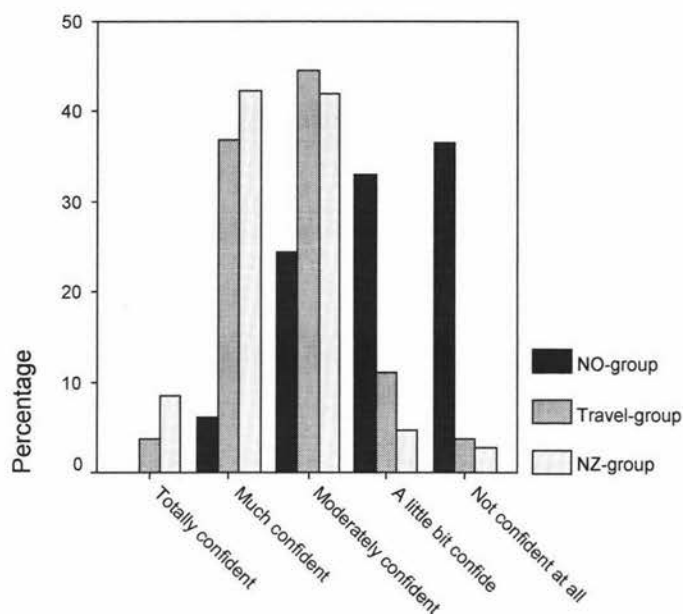


Figure 7.23 Differences between groups for the “Confidence” question

As the three groups were determined by differing contact and knowledge scores, the confidence score appeared to be related with CI and TKS. Figure 7.24 shows this relationship graphically, in a separate chart for contact (7.24a) and knowledge (7.24b). With a high contact intensity and knowledge, respectively, confidence in the own ratings increased.

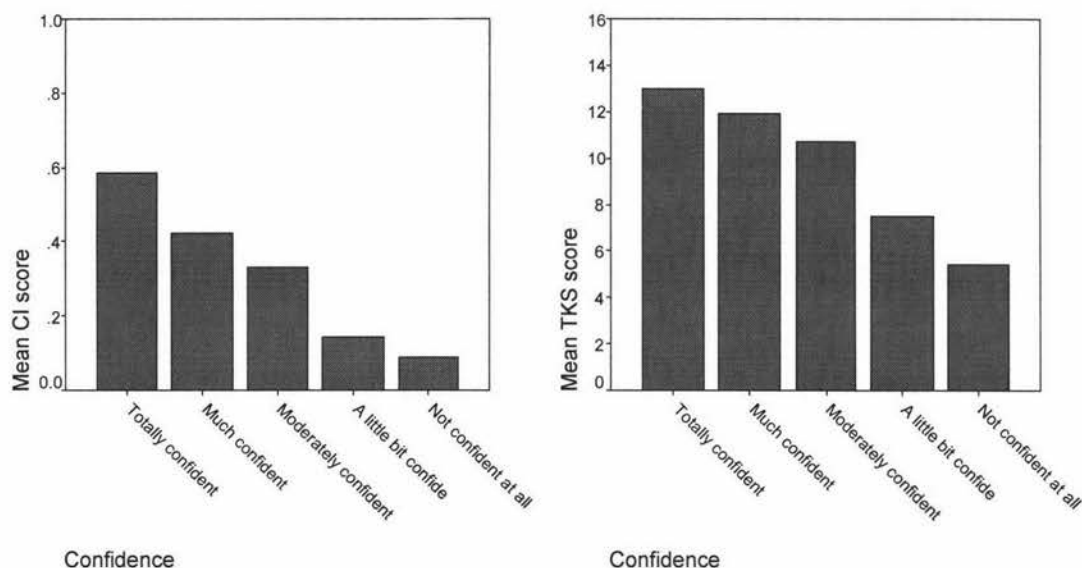
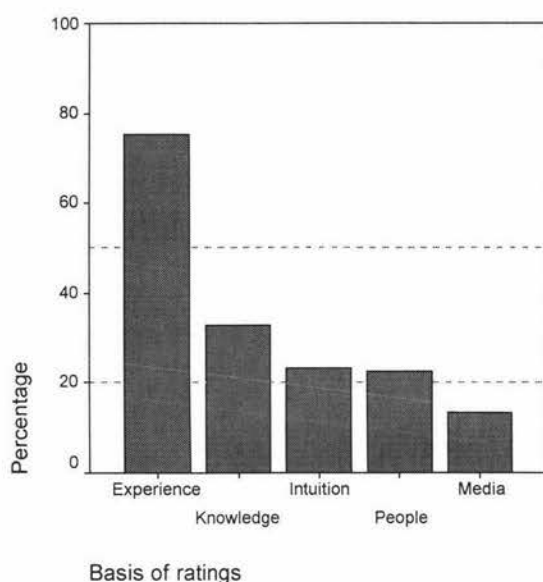


Figure 7.24 Relationship between (a) confidence and contact intensity; (b) confidence and knowledge

The second question in Part 5 was aimed to discover on which the ratings were based. More than one category could be chosen. The different answer categories could be collapsed to sources dealing with personal experience, knowledge, intuition, other people, and several media, respectively. Figure 7.25 underlines that the most important factor for the total sample was “Personal experience” with more than 75 %. “General knowledge” received another third of the votes, and “Intuition” and “Other people” (the latter including friends in New Zealand) each another quarter. “Media” (including readings in travel books) was last with fewer than 15 % (see Figure 7.25).



Note. More than one answer category could be chosen (percentages sum up to 167.5 %).

Figure 7.25 Results of the “Basis of ratings” question for the total sample

Looking separately at the three groups revealed that “Personal experience” was the most important topic only for the Travel-group and the NZ-group, with 95 % and 90 %, respectively. For the NO-group, “Intuition” was the most important factor, closely followed by “General knowledge” and “Other people”, as Figure 7.26 shows. On average, the participants in the NO-group chose 2 categories, and the people in the Travel-group 1.5. The NZ-group was in between the other two groups.

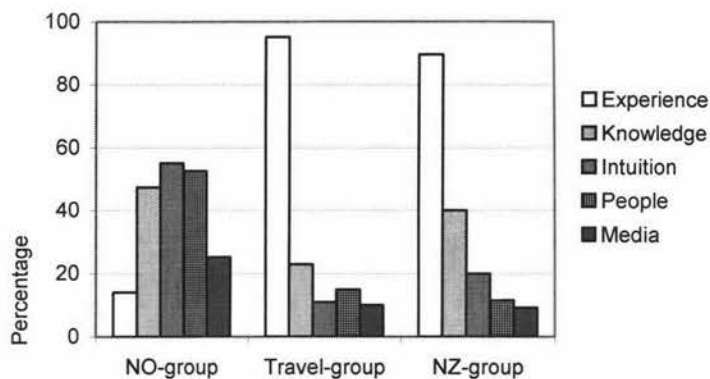


Figure 7.26 Differences between groups for the “Basis of ratings” question

The third question in Part 5 asked whether participants wanted to avoid generalising New Zealanders, offering four answer choices. Many participants took advantage of the option to add an individual answer, which could be grouped into one of three categories: “Yes”, but with other reasons stated than in the given answer choice; “Sometimes”; and finally, the remark that the question forced to generalise (which was interpreted as a form of “Yes”). When collapsing the answers to simple “Yes” or “No” categories, the opinions, across all groups, were about split half. Figure 7.27 presents the results for the not collapsed categories by group membership.

The differences between the groups were low, with the exception of the “No” categories. Here, people in the NO-group and Travel-group mainly chose “No” because generalising was natural to human beings, whereas the majority of the participants in NZ-group ticked “No” because they believed their ratings did really represent New Zealanders in general. “Didn’t care” was chosen most often by the NO-group. Across all groups, participants who stated that they wanted to avoid generalising did not tick *Undecided* more often than others. Moreover, in total, item-response was with three to six missing values per attribute negligible.

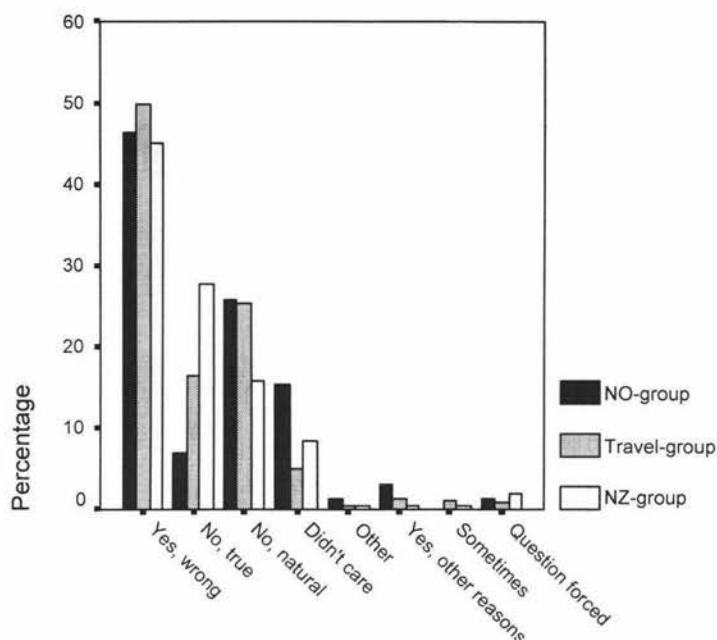


Figure 7.27 Differences between groups for the “Avoiding” question

7.9 Conditional Questions and Optional Comments

Conditional logic made it possible to differentiate the questions of one particular survey part to the members of each group. These conditional questions dealt with the different levels of relationship participants had with New Zealand. The NO-group and the Travel-group were both asked for their opinion about the similarity between the New Zealand culture and their home culture. In both groups, people mainly chose *Partly similar/Partly different* with more than 60 % each. Besides, the Travel-group tended slightly more towards “Similar” and the NO-group towards “Different” (see Figure 7.28). The extreme scores *Identical* and *Totally different* were only rarely chosen.

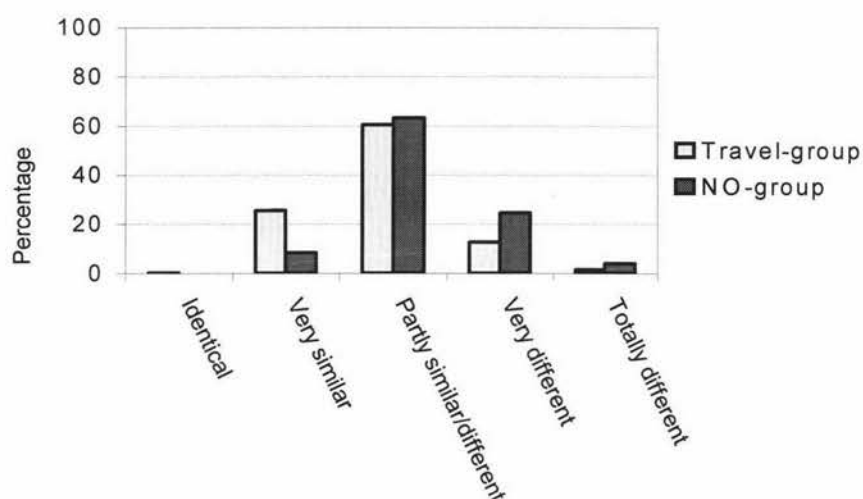


Figure 7.28 Differences between two groups for the “Similar culture” question

In addition, when looking at the ratings by culture, again, slight differences could be observed by using the scale means. For both groups, Canada, Sweden, and the UK tended more towards “Similar”, whereas Germany, Switzerland, and The Netherlands thought the cultures were more different (compared to the average). However, the sample sizes differed from each other, and were very small in some cases. For example, the Australians tended towards “Similar”, but only three and two Australians, respectively, were included in the samples.

People in the Travel-group were also asked for where they heard about New Zealand from before they came to New Zealand. More than one answer could be chosen. “Friends who have been to New Zealand before” were the most often stated source with 50 %. “The University or workplace at home” and “Documentaries” each received about 25 % of the answers. “The Lord of the Rings”, “New Zealanders”, and the “Internet” followed with 15 %, respectively. All other categories were chosen by 6 % or less of the participants. Collapsing the categories revealed that close to 60 % got their information from other people, 45 % from different sorts of media, and 25 % from institutions.

In addition, the results for the sources were controlled for the purpose of the stay. Here it was conspicuous that information from other people was most important for

people who wanted to travel in New Zealand or visit friends and relatives. For the latter group, media information was chosen the least compared to all sub-groups. For people who wanted to study or work in New Zealand, media information, people, and, little less, institutions were equally important as sources.

Finally, participants in the NZ-group were asked for their opinion regarding the existence of a national identity in New Zealand. More than 50 % believed that there was a national identity, as New Zealanders are similar to each other. Just under 40 % ticked “Yes and no”, which suggested that the national identity was an artificial construct. Only 7.3 % stated that New Zealanders are too different to have a national identity. People could add their own answer, which was coded to fit in the categories, if possible. The new category “Yes, there is a national identity, but it is changing” was added, ticked by 2 %. Moreover, it appeared that the tendency to choose “Yes” increased with age, especially when including the participants out of the age range in the analysis. For example, people over 34 years of age did not tick “No” at all.

At the end of the questionnaire, participants could voluntarily leave any remarks regarding the survey. In total, 149 participants left a note. Of these, 25 criticised a specific point, but often mistakenly; for example, because based on a misunderstanding. Some people were suspicious about the aims of the survey, or complained about biased questions, for example questions with suggestive wording. Some participants rightly remarked that the “Feminism” statement violated the rule not to ask two questions in one, which made it hard to answer. In the case, two social movements were mentioned in the statement. One person commented that Maori and Pakeha should have been distinguished when asking to discuss New Zealanders in general. In contrast, 27 people praised the survey as interesting and well made. Moreover, 14 people stated that it was difficult to generalise New Zealanders, as people were all different. Some explained with this why they ticked the *Undecided* category in Part 3 and 4 often. Eleven people explicitly stated (and in some cases apologised) about not knowing much about New Zealand.

8 Discussion

8.1 Introduction

The Discussion chapter is organised around the research questions, and it interprets the important results of the online survey. Findings of the pilot study, the literature review, and the review of tourism publications are also included in the discussion. In addition, the pilot study has already been discussed in more detail in the corresponding chapter.

Firstly, with respect to stereotype use and the participants' motivation behind the ratings, the disclosure of stereotypes is examined. Secondly, the relationship between contact and group membership is summarised. In addition, the discussion examines how stereotypes of non-New Zealanders differ from individual self-ratings of New Zealanders. In this context, the relationship of contact with stereotype content is examined. Thirdly, knowledge as a factor is included in the discussion with respect to the question of how accurate stereotypes are. Fourthly, the relationship between stereotypes and cultural membership is interpreted.

Finally, the theoretical model based on the Johari window relates national image, national identity, and stereotypes in the New Zealand context. In particular, the findings regarding New Zealand's qualities are emphasised. Limitations of the study, including those of the online survey and the pilot study, are discussed in detail in a separate chapter. In the conclusion, the answers to the research questions are summarised.

8.2 *Stereotype use and motivation behind the ratings*

Every time participants choose a trait or show either agreement or disagreement with a statement, they stereotype. As defined in the literature (Tajfel, 1969), all traits represent generalisations and, likewise, most statements generalise conditions in New Zealand society. In general, the use of the *Undecided* and *Don't know* categories is interpreted as no stereotype use, but with different motivations. The Attribute section did not include a *Don't know* category, as the traits were not based on general knowledge. Nevertheless, some participants, particularly in the NO-group, appeared to choose the *Undecided* category in the Attribute section because they did not know much about New Zealanders. This assumption is plausible, as the NO-group comprises the vast majority of *Undecided* votes. Comments of the participants and the follow-up test of the pilot study further support this assumption.

Accordingly, some attributes and statements show higher use of stereotypes than others do. The use of the *Undecided* category seems to be the highest for attributes and statements that are not associated with a common stereotype, such as “Past/Future-orientated” and “Determined/Give up early”, or the “Racist” and “Social problems” statements. In contrast, the “Environment” and “Rural society” statements, both including commonly known stereotypes, show the lowest *Undecided* and *Don't know* ratings for the NO-group. Thus, *Undecided* appears to express uncertainty in stereotype content but not necessarily the wish not to stereotype. Only a few participants stated that they used the category as an alternative option to avoid generalising. In fact, participants stereotyped even though 50 % of them indicated that they wished to avoid stereotyping. In addition, item-non-response has rarely been used and, hence, has not been a way to avoid stereotyping. This result supports Bodenhausen and Macrae's (1998b) observation that it is hard not to stereotype.

In accord with Schuman (2002), and as discussed in the pilot study, the “rules of the game” force participants to stereotype even if they do not want to. A few participants made this complaint in their comments. Indeed, the survey explicitly asks participants to generalise and no obvious chance is given to let them easily refuse.

The literature suggests that people would take such a chance; for example, because stereotypes are socially not desirable (Devine, 1998) or, even if it were, because it is the cognitively easier option (Fiske & Taylor, 1984; Hamilton, 1981). Thus, to encourage stereotyping allows stereotype content to be uncovered more clearly.

People in the NO-group, who have little knowledge about New Zealand and the lowest contact with New Zealanders, appear to be aware that they are generalising. This interpretation follows from the confidence scores. Again, although 70 % of the NO-group have no or only little confidence in the rating, they stereotype nonetheless. People in the NO-group have little to justify their ratings, as some say in the comments. Consequently, they base their ratings merely on intuition and general knowledge, which is a form of guessing, however educated. As another base for their ratings, they mention New Zealanders or friends who have travelled to New Zealand. These sources are often individual and biased opinions.

In contrast, the confidence scores for the Travel-group and the NZ-group are high. It seems as if the people in those groups were not aware that their ratings are merely generalisations. New Zealanders and travellers base their answers on personal experience, which makes them feel confident about the truthfulness of the ratings. As the pilot study shows, to have seen it with one's own eyes is enough to believe in the self-assured stereotype. Accordingly, travellers test common stereotypes with what seems to be reality to them. Those people overlook, however, that they only see a part of the New Zealand society.

As a result, the online survey confirms the findings of the pilot study, indicating that stereotype use increases when people live in or visit a country. The relationship of contact and knowledge with stereotype use is further discussed in the corresponding sections. In summary, 50 % of the participants wish to avoid stereotypes, but most of them stereotype nonetheless. In contrast, the other half have no problem making generalisations, and self-assurance is particularly high for the Travel-group and the NZ-group.

8.3 *Contact and group membership*

Clearly, contact with New Zealanders is strongly connected with group membership. Therefore, the first (and often sufficient) way to relate contact to stereotypes is simply controlling for group. By doing this, the differences between stereotypes, as perceived by non-New Zealanders, and group-ratings of New Zealanders can be compared as well. The fact that people who have not been to New Zealand have no or little contact with New Zealanders comes as no surprise. It is more surprising that sojourners rate their contact intensity as relatively high. Nevertheless, the construction of the CI formula emphasises time spent in New Zealand more strongly than contact intensity, which explains the low CI scores for the Travel-group. It is therefore questionable whether the CI is an optimal measurement, as it may not represent the change of contact intensity over time correctly.

Notwithstanding, the CI shows differences in contact for sub-samples of the Travel-group. Accordingly, students and workers have more contact with New Zealanders than tourists and people who visit friends and relatives. This finding is plausible, as sojourners stay longer in a foreign country and are more likely to be involved in everyday activities with locals. The literature mainly supports this finding (see Crick, 1995; Pearce, 1982; Taylor, 1998). However, the differences between the sub-groups are only small, as are the group sizes (with the exception of the student sample). It is also worth questioning whether some sojourners may tend to cluster together while abroad with people of their own culture, whereas some tourists may explore the local life more than others may. According to Collier (1999), international tourists try to visit many areas of New Zealand in a short time, whereas sojourners are more stay-put. Unfortunately, the study cannot answer this objection, which may be a basis for future research.

Gender and age appear not to be related to contact within the age range of the total sample. In addition, the slightly different results for people outside the age range (even if not significant) support the decision not to consider older age groups in the analysis in order to reach a homogeneous sample. The relationship of contact with stereotype content is discussed in the next section.

8.4 *Stereotype content*

In terms of stereotype content, some attributes and statements have been rated in favour for one trait or differential. Accordingly, it is a confirmation of common stereotypes when a vast majority of votes goes to the attributes “Friendly”, “Helpful”, “Outdoor-orientated”, and “Relaxed” across all groups. People who are choosing extreme scores for attributes do not stereotype more than others but they support stereotype content more strongly. In contrast, high use of the *Undecided* category means that a stereotype is not clearly established. The strong support for the traits “Friendly”, “Helpful”, and (arguably) also “Patriotic” can be explained by the fact that they are value-laden traits; for example, “Unfriendly” is negatively laden. Here, social desirability bias, such as the wish to be polite, may guide participants when rating those attributes. In contrast, “Indoor/Outdoor-orientated” is value-free and the risk of biased answers is low.

Stereotype content differs for some attributes across the three groups, and is therefore related to contact. In this context, New Zealanders do not only support different stereotypes than foreigners, but their group-ratings differ, sometimes extremely, from their individual self-ratings. In this context, the group-ratings of New Zealanders can be seen as a form of auto-stereotypes (Abate & Berrien, 1967; Dann, 1993), whereas the individual self-ratings are summed individual perceptions. The relationship between stereotypes, group-ratings, individual self-ratings, and national identity is examined in more detail in the last section of this chapter.

The individual self-ratings must not be confused with the term self-perceptions used in the literature review, which comes closer in meaning to group-ratings. Unfortunately, individual self-ratings are subject to social desirability bias. Therefore, the value-laden attributes “Friendly/Unfriendly” and “Helpful/Unhelpful” as individual self-ratings have been left out in the questionnaire.

In detail, New Zealanders in their group-ratings claim more than the other groups that they are “Practical”, “Determined”, and “Tough”. All these characteristics are established in myths, but the latter two may not be so commonly known as

stereotypes for non-New Zealanders. Morgan and Pritchard (1998) describe the importance of myths for national identity-building in general. As a result, the other groups show a large allocation of votes in the *Undecided* category for these attributes, as many of them do not know how to assess them.

The “Practical” attribute may be better known as a stereotype, which would explain why the Travel-group’s ratings are closer to the NZ-group. The question of whether these stereotypes are more based in myths or reality may be answered by looking at the individual self-ratings. Here, New Zealanders see themselves as more determined, equally practicable, and less tough, which may be in part due to social desirability bias. The difference for “Tough/Soft” may be due to a national identity change; for example, associated with the fact that rugby and the tough male identity has ceased to be a social ideal (see Spoonley, 1990, 1991).

To take another example, the Travel-group leads the score in favour of “Patriotic”. Here, an explanation may be the different points of reference for travellers and locals (see Leyens et al., 1994; Tajfel, 1978; J. C. Turner & Brown, 1978). Many New Zealanders are sport enthusiasts (a claim that is a stereotype, though). Therefore, travellers may perceive the enthusiasm associated with sport loyalty as patriotism (see Bell, 1996). For New Zealanders themselves this relationship may not seem so obvious, and even less for people in the NO-group. However, this explanation is only speculative.

The example of “Indoor/Outdoor-orientated” supports the assumption that the individual self-ratings may be an indicator for accuracy of a stereotype (Kobrynowicz & Biernat, 1998), whereas group-ratings determine the national identity (Tajfel, 1978; see also Oakes & Reynolds, 1997). All three groups have almost identical ratings saying that New Zealanders are outdoor-orientated. However, the individual self-ratings move towards “Indoor-orientated”, unmasking “Outdoor-orientated” as a stereotypical myth. As discussed in the pilot study, Collier (1999) shows that only a small minority of New Zealanders, in fact, spend time in the outdoors. Nevertheless, again the reference point could come into play as well. Thus,

New Zealanders may go into the outdoors more often than other cultures, and rural-living New Zealanders more than urban ones.

Similarly, the individual self-ratings of New Zealanders clearly differ from the group-ratings for “Progressive/Conservative” and “Past-/Future-orientated”. Here, the individual self-ratings tend towards “Progressive” and “Future-orientated”, which are rather descriptive than value-laden traits. In fact, several definitions and dimensions are associated with these attributes, which could explain the disagreement in opinions within the group-ratings. However, in a modern society, “Progressive” and “Future-orientated” may be perceived as slightly positively-laden. Then, social desirability bias may be an explanation for the ratings.

This assumption can be further explained with another example. Although “Open-minded” is positively laden, still a sizable proportion of New Zealanders chose the negative trait “Narrow-minded” in their group-ratings. This behaviour may include some form of critique, which could also be an indication for accuracy. In contrast, the individual self-ratings tend clearly towards the positive trait. Consequently, social desirability may blur the explanatory power of the individual self-ratings as an indicator for accuracy of a stereotype, particularly for value-laden traits (see Kobrynowicz & Biernat, 1998).

A clear majority of the NO-group and the Travel-group always chose the trait of the paired attributes that is associated with a common stereotype. This effect is even stronger for the Travel-group. This finding does not support Nelson’s (2002) theory of decategorisation. On the other hand, stereotypes are also supported by people who do not know much about New Zealanders at all. In the case of the Travel-group, personal experience is the main justification of stereotyping. Tourists have higher extreme scores than students, supporting Allport’s (1954) assumption that brief intercultural contact enforces stereotypes. Also, as Barna (1991) observes, sojourners are subject to culture shock. In contrast, tourists usually have a short happy experience, which may support positive stereotypes (see Coleman, 1998).

With the students' scores approaching the NZ-group ratings, one might argue that with increased contact travellers reach similarity with locals in knowledge and beliefs, which is a support for the contact hypothesis (Williams, 1947, cited in Nelson, 2002). This claim is also consistent with acculturation theory (Berry et al., 2002). One might argue, though, that travellers, after coming back home, may forget their experience and go back to the old stereotypes. This position is supported by literature (congruent with cognitive dissonance theory; see Festinger, 1957), as behavioural observations shape the spontaneous view, but may be forgotten over time (H. P. Smith, 1957).

However, the decisive factor that determines this "stereotype acculturation" towards the NZ-group is, in fact, less the number of weeks of contact, but more contact intensity. This finding is based on only a few examples, rather than statistical significance; nevertheless, it is plausible, interesting, and worthy of further investigation. As the contact intensity scale is subjective and unreliable, it would be valuable to test the contact hypothesis in future research with a more sophisticated tool. Unfortunately, such a tool is not easy to develop, especially in a standardised survey.

The statement results, examined in detail below, support the points already made regarding the attributes. Again, the groups differ in their ratings. In contrast, the statements can be compared to some form of objective facts, which make the ratings easier to assess. On the other hand, participants require a certain level of knowledge to rate some of the statements. The relationship between knowledge and accuracy of the statement ratings is discussed and linked with the kernel-of-truth hypothesis (Oakes & Reynolds, 1997) in the Knowledge section.

Some statements are associated with a common myth. So is the "Environment" statement linked to the "clean, green" image of New Zealand. This image is promoted successfully abroad, which may be why the NO-group shows the highest agreement with this particular statement across all groups. By contrast, travellers seem to recognise flaws of New Zealand's environment, indicated by a weaker agreement. Further, New Zealanders show the highest disagreement. This pattern

could be an indication for problems which are not included in the tourism image. As such, the “Environment” statement contains stereotypical elements by generalising all environmental concerns in New Zealand into one image. Consequently, although most parts of the New Zealand environment may be fine, some seem to be spoilt. Likewise, the “Rural society” statement repeats a common stereotype, which is discussed further in the Knowledge section.

Similarly, the strongest disagreement for other statements usually lies with the NZ-group. New Zealanders have the best overview of their society, whereas travellers only see a small part of it. As the NO-group has the smallest insight into the controversies linked with the statements, they flee more readily into the *Undecided* and *Don't know* categories. This difference between groups can explain the pattern of results for almost all statements. However, there are different gradations; for example, the resistance against the “Egalitarian” statement, especially in the NZ-group, is greater than for other statements.

As a result, it can be concluded that not all male New Zealanders are typical blokes, the society is far from egalitarian, alcohol is a problem in society, and Maori are treated better than indigenous cultures in many other countries. In addition, New Zealand culture is not all about sport, the economy is not completely dependent on agriculture, and social movements are not leading to great divisions in society. Regarding the latter, some comments revealed that feminism and gay movements should have been treated separately. One participant stated that homosexuals still encounter problems, maybe due to the outmoded masculine bloke identity (see also Phillips, 1987).

Moreover, the Treaty of Waitangi clearly still has importance, although 11 % of New Zealanders object to the relevant statement. In fact, the topic is highly controversial in New Zealand, as current media debates show. Therefore, it may be assumed that some New Zealanders wish that the topic would lose its importance. Alternatively, some people may just not follow the discussion or maybe do not care. This lack of interest may also apply to the “Social problems” statement.

Also surprising is the result of the “Racist” statement. A clear majority of New Zealanders agree, whereas the NO-group has probably been shocked by such a claim, which is not a common stereotype. However, it is important to pay attention to the phrasing of the question. The statement claims that New Zealanders are more racist *than they believe*. It can be safely assumed that not many people would call themselves racist. Therefore, it is relatively easy to be racist beyond one's own self-perception. In addition, the participants in the NZ-group rate their whole in-group but not themselves individually. It was anticipated that the phrasing “New Zealanders are racist” would generate completely different results. Still, there seems to be some ground for discussion here regarding the interpretation of the results. In terms of stereotype use, the statement is a good example of how the claim stereotypes New Zealanders. In fact, every statement that starts with “New Zealanders are...” is a generalisation.

8.5 Knowledge

Predictably, New Zealanders know more about their country than sojourners, and both groups have a greater knowledge than strangers to New Zealand do. However, it is worth noting that even people who have no connection with New Zealand whatsoever are still able to answer easy questions and some even more difficult ones. This finding suggests that there may be a basic, perhaps unconscious, knowledge about New Zealand in young, educated people. How far this claim can be upheld for other samples, such as less educated people or other non-Western countries, lies outside the scope of this study.

As group membership and contact are related, it follows from the group differences in knowledge scores that knowledge and contact must be correlated, too. Although contact intensity has the greater effect on knowledge, it is interesting that the effect of time on knowledge levelled out after one year. This means, after one year, many sojourners reach a knowledge score comparable to that of New Zealanders. One might object that the questions are too basic to make this claim, but then, even New Zealanders cannot answer all of them. On average, New Zealanders can answer only one question more than people in the Travel-group. Further, contact and knowledge

are only weakly related within the groups. This observation means that the differences across the groups are stronger than any differences within the groups.

Similarly, the observed differences in knowledge by gender are not significant nor are they considered as important, as they seem to have occurred by chance alone. Differences in knowledge scores for the older age groups (out of the age range), again, support the assumption that the sample is homogeneous.

Regarding the question of how knowledge relates to stereotype use and content, a surprising observation has been made. Knowledge does not influence the ratings of the attributes, although clear group differences exist. Accordingly, participants with a high knowledge score have high confidence in the accuracy of their ratings. However, that does not mean that the ratings of people with different levels of knowledge follows a clear pattern. Consequently, the attributes describing New Zealanders do not appear to be based on an objective truth that could be detected by general knowledge about the country. In fact, only 17 % of all participants (with a high proportion of New Zealanders) did not want to avoid stereotyping because they believe their answers really represent New Zealanders in general.

This finding is important in the context of the kernel-of-truth hypothesis and the problem of determining the accuracy of an attribute (see Oakes & Reynolds, 1997). Nevertheless, the absence of knowledge differences for the attributes does not mean that some attributes are closer to reality than others are. However, the differences in individual self-ratings and group-ratings by the NZ-group underline that it is not easy, if not impossible, to describe such a reality. Attributes of people seem to be a strongly subjective concept.

By contrast, the statements about New Zealand society show a strong influence of knowledge on the ratings. According to the last paragraph, this relationship must mean that there is an objective truth associated with (some of) the statements. Consequently, a large proportion of people with a high level of knowledge voting for a category would lead one to expect a more accurate answer. In fact, some of the statements are common stereotypes based on a myth, but they are not true throughout

the whole New Zealand society. Such myths include the “Rural society” statement, the “Egalitarian” statement, and the “Bloke” statement. By contrast, it is interesting to note that the majority of people in the NZ-group and overall those with a high knowledge supported the “Alcohol” statement. The high consensus in favour of the statement must mean that it is (at least partly) true.

It is also important, however, to come back to the qualitative result of the pilot study showing that the reference point of a group influences decisions about accuracy. In terms of the “Rural society” statement, for people from highly urbanised areas (such as those in Germany) the statement would be true. In summary, knowledge is one factor that can help to explain the accuracy of statements when they are based on facts that can be verified.

8.6 Culture

Some cultural differences were expected beforehand. For example, due to historical proximity, the British may know more about New Zealand than other cultures and, therefore, may show differences in stereotypes (see NZTB, 1997b). However, the statistical results of the study show that cultural membership is not necessarily related to knowledge. Some differences across cultures were found, but seem to have occurred by chance. By contrast, significant differences among a few cultures were found for contact intensity.

However, the contact intensity scale is a subjective measurement; that means, different levels of understanding of the scale may exist. In addition, it is suspicious that the only cultures differing significantly from each other are the two largest samples. There is also no obvious explanation why US-Americans should have more contact than Germans. It is also noted that any differences across cultures are only minor compared to, say, group differences. Consequently, sample size appears to have a blurring effect. Therefore, further research on cultural differences with larger samples might give clearer results.

Culture seems not to be related to contact or knowledge, and, in addition, no differences across cultures are found for stereotypes. Here, statistical tests do not show meaningful or valid results, even when restricting the comparison to the eight largest samples. Consequently, one should not overstate the few observed differences across cultures, especially as the culture samples differ greatly in size.

One could only speculate on some results. For example, the Dutch, who can be stereotyped as a progressive people, may see New Zealanders as more conservative than themselves. By contrast, US-Americans, who may be more conservative, would rate New Zealanders as more progressive. However, it is dangerous to explain stereotypes by introducing new ones. Nevertheless, it seems plausible that the reference point could be the key to resolving any differences (see J. C. Turner & Brown, 1978).

One explanation as to why no differences can be found between cultures would be that, indeed, all these Western cultures are so similar that there are no differences. When asking the participants to compare their home culture to the New Zealand culture, the answers are normally distributed around the category *Partly similar/Partly different*. Although choosing this middle category means the smallest cognitive effort, it is also a plausible solution. Of course, no cultures can be identical, but as they are all Western cultures, they are more similar to each other than compared to most non-Western cultures. Still, some differences exist, as the results show. So is it reasonable that the few Australians and the British tended more towards *Similar*, or the Swiss more towards *Different*.

Still, the absence of differences between cultures is an important finding. This is because, such a selection of Western cultures has not been used before with regard to stereotypes, not to mention in the New Zealand context. However, the limitations in sample size and sampling are unsatisfactory in terms of providing support for definitive claims. Therefore, I do see a need for further research in order to re-test some of the differences that have emerged from the study. It seems to be particularly promising to focus on Australia compared to New Zealand. In addition, as the Western cultures seem to be alike, it is worth exploring whether non-Western

cultures differ substantially from them. More suggestions for future research are contained in the conclusion.

It is important to note that the absence of cultural differences applies for a sample restricted to young people. This observation leads to the questions of whether there is a “youth culture” across ethnicities. This question could be examined further by focussing on a wider age range in future studies.

8.7 National image, identity, and stereotypes

Several parts of the questionnaire deal with national image representations of New Zealand. In addition, the review of tourism publications is included in this section of the discussion as well. Moreover, the comparison of individual self-ratings with group-ratings of New Zealanders gives information on national identity. Finally, the use of stereotypes and their relationship to different levels of reality has already been covered in the discussion. All these concepts can be related to each other within the theoretical framework of the Image-Identity-Reality grid as presented in the literature review.

As Andsager and Drzewiecka (2002) state, stereotypes are a part of the image-building process. The image held by people who have not been to the country is called the base image (Echtner & Ritchie, 1991/2003). When going abroad, this base image changes and is constantly reassessed. This study shows that other people who have been abroad are the most important information source that shapes the image of New Zealand for travellers before they come to the country, especially tourists. This finding is consistent with Lippmann's (1922/1961) claim referring to the biased information exchange of travellers, also supported by Allport (1954).

In addition, the study shows that organic, that means, non-commercial information dominates as the information source for the Travel-group (see Echtner and Ritchie's terminology, 1991/2003). Later, in the process of image formation as described by Andsager and Drzewiecka (2002), the image further changes based on personal experience. This study has not examined, however, the concrete tourist images to

which travellers are exposed. Only 15 % of the travellers received information from the Internet, with the kind of Internet source being unknown, unfortunately.

Detailed information on tourism images could have been used to determine whether the participants have been exposed to the same publications which were reviewed for this study. Accordingly, the official Internet webpage of New Zealand supports the myths around outdoor-orientation, sport, egalitarianism, and mateship. Special emphasis lies on nature as a national quality. The backpacker magazine is even more stereotypical, neglecting for the most part any negative or critical points. By contrast, the guidebook reveals at least some stereotypes as myths. For example, it contains a critical section on the New Zealand environment. Nevertheless, the descriptions of New Zealand characteristics and the outdoors in the guidebook are also one-sided.

The results of the question regarding New Zealand's qualities are similar to the statements made in these publications. Nature is so clearly mentioned as the number one trait for both the NO-group and the Travel-group, that one might think that the tourism image promotion was successful, indeed. J. R. Gold (1994) points out the importance of stereotypes for image promotion, and the NZTB (1997b) demonstrates the focus on nature in the case of New Zealand.

However, in comparison to other countries, New Zealand really is outstanding in nature and outdoor activity options, and of course, New Zealanders focus more on their own society than on tourist attractions. So there is an indication here in how far the relationships between reality and preferences explain the result of the image question. In addition, when contact value increases (determined by length of time spent in the country), travellers also tend to value the people more than nature. The acculturation process (Berry et al., 2002) can explain this shift. After a year abroad, travellers do not focus entirely on nature and outdoor activities any more, but are more involved in the society.

To take another example, "Maori culture", a well-known tourist image, is mostly chosen by the NO-group, followed by the Travel-group, and then the NZ-group. The

result for the NZ-group is conspicuous, as Maori culture could be expected to be a more important part of New Zealand national identity. Instead, the small population and even the remote location seem to be more important as identifying factors for the New Zealanders.

The NO-group scores also higher with the “Lord of the Rings” quality. This result is not surprising as the movies are one of the few sources of New Zealand images people can perceive from abroad. By contrast, one and a half years after the release of the first movie, only few participants in the NZ-group regard *The Lord of the Rings* as a New Zealand quality. This finding is surprising considering the strong identification of many New Zealanders with the production process (see Feizkhah, 2001; Ruggia, 2002). As identity is a stronger concept than identification (Dyke & Dyke, 2002), one can speculate on whether the impact of *The Lord of the Rings* on national identity was not significant enough, or is perhaps still to come.

Moreover, apparently a good climate seems to be part of the New Zealand base image, as can be seen in the high ratings of the NO-group. The weaker ratings for this asset in the other two groups indicate, however, that the climate really is only average for those who experience it. In addition, an interesting result appears for “Beaches”. New Zealand is not usually famous for beaches, which is supported by the low score for the Travel-group with their brief experience. Still, the NO-group and the NZ-group both score almost twice as high as the travel-group for the quality of beaches. However, I would speculate that this may be for different reasons in each case. Nice beaches seem to be a part of the base image of the NO-group. Further, although travellers do not appear to agree, New Zealanders must have found good beaches, indeed. This assumption can be explained with the history of beach and bach²¹ holidays of New Zealanders, which is mentioned in the literature as part of the national identity.

The participants in the three groups can be differentiated into other sub-groups, such as different cultures. Putting statistical significance aside, the results gain to invite

²¹ Bach is a New Zealand English term for a beach hut.

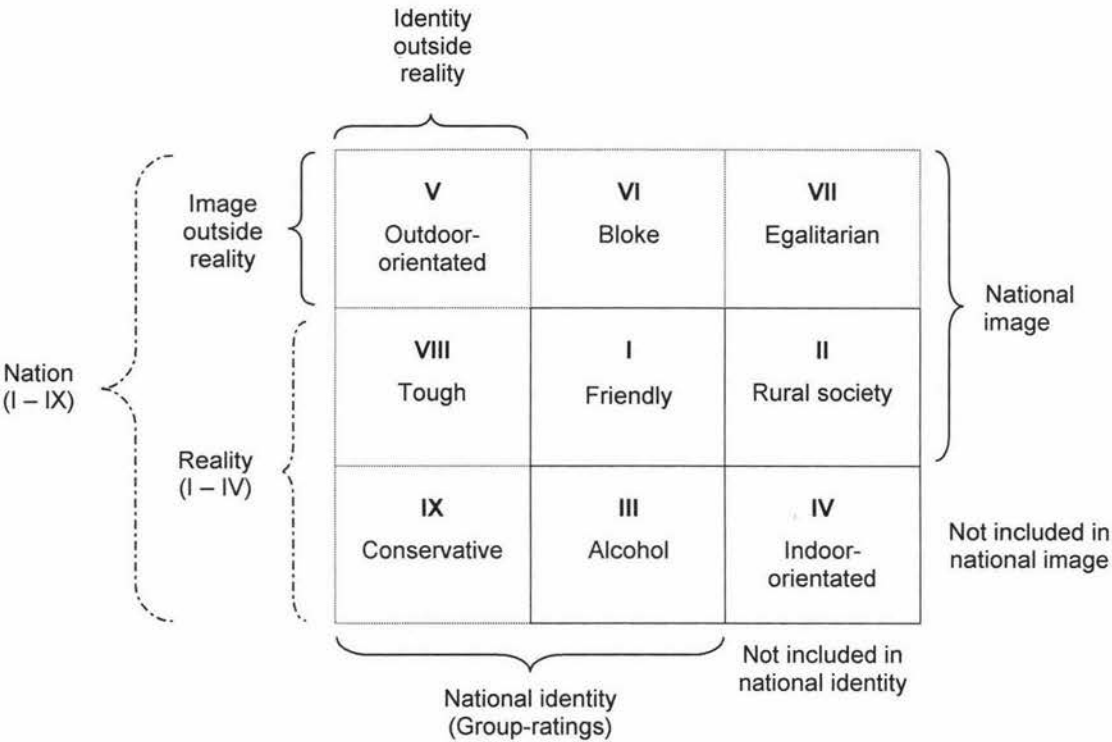
speculation on their meanings. Hence, it may be argued that for Germans and French, nature is very important as a New Zealand quality. This assumption is supported by NZTB research (1996a, 1997a, 1997b) showing that Germans love nature and the outdoors. On the other hand, because of this finding, the NZTB promotes the country in that very way to Germans. Consequently, the tourism image for each country has been tailored to cultural preferences. Therefore, British and US-Americans do not focus on nature so much, not only because they may or may not be nature lovers, but more likely because New Zealand is marketed in a different way to them (see NZTB 1996c, 1997b). While the attention should not be so much on the content here, the relationship between national image and tourist promotion is important.

The national image, as described above, can be compared to the national identity of New Zealanders. The ratings by foreigners, especially the NO-group, can be seen as mirrors for national image representations of New Zealanders and the New Zealand society (see Echtner & Ritchie, 1991/2003). Moreover, almost 90 % of New Zealanders in the study confirm that there is a national identity, although half of them recognise it as a construct. The group-ratings in the questionnaire have been identified as the best measurement for identity content. In contrast, the individual self-ratings of the attributes are (aggregated) individual scores, which may well differ from the identity. The literature supports the group-rating results. For example, “Outdoor-orientated”, “Relaxed”, “Practical” and “Tough” can all be found in historically based myths. The identity also includes traits such as “Narrow-minded” and “Past-orientated”. The latter, interestingly, may refer to New Zealand’s struggle to find its own identity, focusing on past identities as substitutes for present ones.

In contrast, the individual New Zealanders’ self-ratings of the attributes appear to be more realistic than the group-ratings. For the statements, where individual self-ratings were not an option, objective facts as found in the literature have to be taken as a comparison to the identity ratings, as suggested by Kobrynowicz and Biernat (1998). Here, the New Zealand identity still includes old facets such as the bloke mentality or the social importance of alcohol. Nevertheless, the identity may still be relevant as New Zealanders are one of the leaders in alcohol consumption

worldwide. On the other hand, a majority of New Zealanders indicates that former identities, such as egalitarianism, sport, and the rural society are, indeed, outdated.

The different concepts can be integrated into the Image-Identity-Reality grid, adapted from the Johari window (see Luft, 1984) as presented in the literature review. In Figure 8.1, every cell has been allocated an attribute or statement, which are all stereotypical. Hence, the model is a way to describe the New Zealand nation from different points of view.



Note. The Image-identity-reality grid is based on the structure of the Johari window (adapted from Luft, 1984). The attributes and statements in the figure serve as examples, allocated to each cell according to the results of this study.

Figure 8.1 National image, national identity, and reality of New Zealand

For example, “Tough” could be grouped in cell VIII, which means that New Zealanders in general are not tough, as taken from the individual self-ratings. On the other hand, both the national identity and the national image include the attribute. Firstly, it is hard to determine reality correctly as people differ in their attributes. Here, the generalising effect of stereotypes comes into play. In this case, the individual self-ratings of New Zealanders suggest that many New Zealanders see

themselves as more soft than the identity and the image suggest. One should read Figure 8.1 therefore as an indication that more people than expected are softer than the tough image, but not all of them are.

Similarly, is it difficult to distinguish as to whether New Zealanders are more conservative than they think, which would mean the attribute would belong to cell III. By contrast, when they only regard other New Zealanders as conservative, as concluded from the group-ratings, the attribute would rightly sit in cell IX.

Moreover, statistics suggest that New Zealand is not a rural society, as 80 % of the population lives in the cities (Bell, 1997). In this case, cell VII would actually be the better one to put the statement “Rural society” in. However, New Zealand’s cities may be seen as more rural than cities in other countries, which would mean there is some truth in the statement. Then, , cell II would fit the statement better, as shown in Figure 8.1. In any case, the tourism image is anti-urban (see Cloke & Perkins, 1998).

As a result, the allocation of attributes is not clear, in accordance with Allport (1954), but can show tendencies. Attributes lie often between two cells or could easily occupy more than one. This observation applies to both image and identity, as there are also different identities, particularly in New Zealand (Spoonley, 1991). Luft (1984) constructed the original Johari window in the sense that a minority of the group, although not included in a stereotypical view, is included in the grid nonetheless. For example, there may well exist unfriendly New Zealanders, contrary to the common stereotype. They would be organised in cell IV, as they are real, but not included in identity and image concepts. As such, each attribute can be put in the grid several times, standing for different fractions of the group.

The theoretical framework is therefore not so much about content but about the relationship of the concepts. The most important point when comparing identity, image, and reality is that they all include stereotypical assumptions. Thus, all concepts, even reality, are based on generalisations (see Pickering, 2001; Tajfel & Turner, 1979). The Image-Identity-Reality grid can be used to differentiate stereotypes as to how they fit into the framework. As a result, the model helps to

organise stereotypes and enables a discussion. Here, the ambiguities of stereotypes become apparent because the allocation of attributes is not straightforward.

In conclusion, the theoretical model is a way to make stereotype content and use transparent. In this study, taking the example of New Zealand, this process reveals both the strengths and weaknesses, and accuracy and failure of stereotypes. It would be valuable to receive feedback regarding the model and its construction, as it is the first one suggested in this field, and I recommend using the model in the context of other nations or social groups.

9 *Limitations*

Some limitations of both the pilot study and the online survey have already been addressed in the Methodology, such as the use of small convenience samples in the pilot study and the choice of e-mail as a medium. As seen, the advantages of the Internet-based questionnaire outweigh most limitations, such as loss of control over data input and limited access to the medium. In fact, no other survey method could have made a study of this kind possible.

Regarding the pilot study, the proximity of participants to the researcher may constitute a bias, but also offers advantages. Benefits of proximity include a high response rate, practically no item non-response, and the increased likelihood of getting honest and thoughtful answers. As the pilot study survey is demanding in terms of questionnaire length, it is safe to assume that it could not have been successfully conducted with a group of strangers. Besides, a considerable number of studies in the literature are also based on convenience samples, as claimed by Frey, Botan, and Kreps (2000).

However, although the response rate of the pilot study is high, still almost 40 % did not respond; most of these have never been to New Zealand and, thus, have the least motivation to participate. If the non-responders differ in any way (for example, in their level of knowledge about New Zealand) from the participants – although there are no reasons to believe this – the overall results might change. However, the pilot study is of merely exploratory character and the results need not to be generalised to a larger population.

On the contrary, the use of non-random sampling techniques is the most serious concern for the online survey. It is not possible to conduct a study of this kind randomly, as there are no worldwide lists of tourists (let alone people who have not been to a country). Instead, it is aimed to increase the external validity of the study by combining several sampling methods. For example, the snowball technique is more likely to generate a diverse sample. On the other hand, the approach to target international students through the International Offices comes close to a census of that particular target group. In addition, the sample size is with more than 1,000 participants reasonably large.

Some of the samples can be compared to official statistics that indicate the real distribution of the populations. Hence, it appears that the NZ-group is more representative of its target population than the other groups; for example, when comparing the gender distribution within the groups. However, the NZ-group is still a nonprobability sample. In particular, the snowball technique is a form of a volunteer sample as the e-mail recipients decide whether they enter the survey or not. Accordingly, it can be expected that participants in the NO-group are more motivated than non-responders, which could have blurred the results. Nevertheless, the response rates of between 20 % and 30 % are acceptable for an online survey.

Consequently, the results of the survey cannot simply be generalised to a larger part of the population, as the sampling error is not known. In addition, controlling for different variables decreases the cell count for some statistical tests, especially when comparing cultures. Thus, statistical significance tests of differences or relationships between variables should not be trusted blindly. To avoid Type I (alpha) errors, the alpha level has been set to .001 for all tests. In addition, the sample is delimited to young, educated people from Western countries. This focus of the study is not a limitation but is deliberately chosen beforehand. As such, the delimitation increases the comparability of the subjects and the validity of the findings. Nevertheless, all results of the study can only be applied to this delimited group.

Similarly, the selection of countries partly depended on the response rate of potential participants. However, Berry et al. (2002) argue that the choice of countries should

be based on differences among them, not on chance. In fact, some culture samples are so small that they have not been included in the analysis, such as Australia. As especially the comparison of Australia with New Zealand is promising, future research opportunities arise from this matter. Besides, the focus on Western cultures is, again, a delimitation, that should also be considered when expanding the scope of the study in future research.

Another limitation of both the pilot study and the online survey is the use of the English language, which is not the first language for all participants. Therefore, comprehension problems may occur that restrict the possibility of comparing the answers. However, translating the questionnaire raises further problems (see Dimanche, 1994). In this context, participants could use a *Don't understand* category in the pilot study when rating the 52 attributes, which identified both translation and semantic problems of understanding. All semantic differentials that have caused comprehension problems have been dismissed from the thesis survey. As a result, careful testing assured that ambiguities in the online questionnaire have been resolved beforehand, which is confirmed by participants' feedback.

Other limitations centre on the research topic because it deals with attitudes. As the online survey relies on self-reports, the expressed answers may differ from the actual beliefs and judgements. Accordingly, the answers may be influenced by individualistic factors; they may be biased for several reasons (New Zealanders, for example, may answer favourably about their country out of social desirability bias); or they may be mistaken. In particular, participants may hold but not state stereotypes. In the pilot study, some of these problems could be addressed by asking the participants to comment on their answers and by using the follow-up questions. In the large-scale survey, consequences of inaccuracy are more serious and any limitations of responses had to be monitored closely to assure they do not blur the findings. The anonymous survey form increases the chance of honest answers and the qualitative data of the pilot study added to the results.

Moreover, the researcher who interprets the answers (for example when recoding open answers in the categories) is not a neutral institution, as Oakes, Haslam, and

Turner (1994) point out, and as Bell and Lyall's (2001) flawed study proves. Indeed, as a foreign student to New Zealand I am, myself, subject to my own stereotypes and reference points, which may (even unconsciously) influence the way I conduct the study. Notwithstanding, close supervision of the thesis and a clear positivist obligation assure the highest possible measures of objectivity.

10 Conclusion

10.1 Introduction

Firstly, the findings of the pilot study are summarised, which are the basis of the large-scale online survey. Secondly, the conclusions of the online survey are presented, following from the discussion chapter. Here, the findings are structured around the six research questions. All conclusions are based on the delimited sample of young, educated people from Western cultures and cannot be generalised to the whole population. Finally, future research opportunities are presented that arise from the limitations of the study.

10.2 Pilot study

The pilot study aimed to supplement the thesis in a qualitative way, and its findings were used to build the final questionnaire. In addition, some of the results stand on their own, for example most of the 52 attributes.

In short, it appears that differences exist between the three contact groups in stereotype use and content. The pilot study indicates that increased contact with the target group leads to a confident use of stereotypes based on personal experience. Some of these perceptions are similar to New Zealanders' self-perceptions. While New Zealanders also use generalisations, it is difficult to make conclusions about reality from their self-ratings. Nevertheless, the stereotype content is in line with other findings from the (mostly non-academic) literature. In addition, some

participants state their reluctance to use stereotypes, but still generalise about New Zealanders when asked to do so.

The results of the pilot study are only meaningful in the context of the broader project. Consequently, the large-scale survey further examined some of the findings of the pilot study by using a larger sample and having an extended focus on cross-cultural differences and the national identity of New Zealand.

10.3 Online survey

The research objectives of the study have been narrowed down to six subjects, which are reflected in the respective chapters of the discussion. These subjects are the motivation of stereotype use; the content of non-New Zealanders' stereotypes compared to New Zealanders' self-perceptions; the relationship between contact and stereotypes; the effect of knowledge on stereotypes and the problem to determine accuracy; the relationship of culture and stereotypes; and, finally, the link between national identity, image, and stereotypes.

Firstly, the vast majority of participants stereotyped New Zealanders, regardless of whether they wished to avoid stereotyping or not. This behaviour was enforced by the way the questions were asked. Nevertheless, especially people in the NO-group used the *Undecided* categories when they did not know enough to rate the attributes. In contrast, people who have been to New Zealand stereotyped more and were more confident about their ratings, justified with personal experience.

Secondly, the study reveals information about stereotype content in the New Zealand context. For non-New Zealanders, those items have been rated most that can be associated with a common stereotype. Accordingly, the study confirms the existence of some traditional New Zealand stereotypes, such as "Friendly" and "Outdoor-orientated". In contrast, the intense contact of the Travel-group leads to an assimilation of the ratings towards those of the NZ-group. New Zealanders are more able to consider the own situation and, thus, their group-ratings may reflect better the real situation. For example, the "Rural society" stereotype can be uncovered as a

myth. Furthermore, the individual self-ratings of New Zealanders differ from the group-ratings, possibly out of social desirability bias. Accordingly, the rating of some negatively-laden traits within the New Zealand group could be a sign of accuracy.

Thirdly, contact is expressed by group membership. As a result, differences in ratings between the three groups indicate the relationship between contact and stereotypes. Intercultural contact, particularly the brief contact of tourists, seems to enforce stereotype use. Hence, regarding the contact hypothesis, more information about a culture appears to change stereotype content but does not decrease stereotyping as such. Contact has the clearest impact on the results, superimposing the possible effects of other variables such as gender or culture.

Fourthly, the amount of knowledge about New Zealand is related to group membership. On the contrary, the knowledge score does not influence the ratings of the traits. That means, the paired attributes can be rated without the need of explicit knowledge. As a result, the attributes do not seem to describe an objective truth about New Zealand. In contrast, the statements about New Zealand society are related to knowledge, and, thus, the accuracy of some stereotypical myths can be detected. Accordingly, it is possible to argue that New Zealand, to take an example, is not an egalitarian society, and that alcohol still has some significance in the society. However, as these are stereotypical claims, one should be cautious of generalising them.

Fifthly, the study has found no relation between culture and stereotypes for the selected Western cultures. By contrast, the existence of some significant results for large samples shows the danger of overinterpreting statistical tests. It has been avoided to speculate on any found differences as they probably occurred by chance. The results across the Western cultures are very similar for the delimited sample of young, educated people. This observation leads to the question of whether a youth culture exists that is stable across Western cultures.

Finally, national identity, national image, and stereotypes are connected concepts. A national image is based on stereotypes, and in New Zealand, nature clearly dominates the tourist image. One reason is the promotion of New Zealand's nature in one-sided tourism publications. For New Zealanders, the national identity focuses more on aspects of the New Zealand people (which does not necessarily include Maori) and characteristics based on myths, such as "Outdoor-orientated", "Relaxed", "Practical" and "Tough". Some ambiguous ratings within the NZ-group may indicate New Zealanders' struggle to find a common national identity. The Image-Identity-Reality grid is a theoretical model to outline the relationship between the concepts identity, image, and stereotypes, including the question of how they connect to reality. As such, the model makes stereotype content and use transparent, in this study applied to the New Zealand context.

10.4 Future research

Several future research opportunities arise due to limitations of the study. Most of them are concerned with an expansion of the number of countries regarding the cross-cultural comparison of stereotypes. Although 17 Western cultures were included in this study, the number of participants for each culture were often very small. Here, it is suggested to focus on larger, preferably random samples of only a few cultures. Particularly the comparison with Australia in a large-scale survey promises to be interesting.

Other suggestions include conducting a longitudinal study, testing the change in participants' attitudes towards New Zealand before and after they came to the country. The NZ-group could also be further differentiated into Maori, Pakeha, and other sub-cultures to examine whether group- and self-ratings differ. Even more important seems to be the clearer differentiation of tourists and sojourners regarding contact and stereotype use. Here, larger samples of both groups and a more representative selection would be desirable.

In addition, non-Western cultures should be included in the analysis of cultures as well. For example, the majority of immigrants into New Zealand are from Asia and

the South Pacific. As New Zealand is not as attractive for immigrants as for tourists, a comparison of Western and non-Western stereotypes could reveal useful information with respect to the New Zealand Immigration Programme. Furthermore, it is possible to examine stereotypes of alternative countries apart from New Zealand. A replication of the study in other countries would offer new insights for the general debate regarding stereotype use and disclosure. To determine the existence of a youth culture, a sample of older people from different psychographic parts of the population could be included.

In terms of national identity research, the limitations of using a survey to detect attitudes have already been expressed. The literature review shows alternative ways to examine national identity and image by qualitative measures. These alternatives include content analyses of cultural symbols such as contemporary art (movies and books), or the focus on familiar sociological concepts such as heroism.

Moreover, I would like to turn the focus of attention to the Image-Identity-Reality grid, adapted from the Johari window. It would be important to know whether the theoretical model is useful in discussing the concepts. This study has been the first step towards testing the model in practice. Consequently, researchers in the field are invited to use and test the model, particularly with alternative, such as qualitative methods. All these future projects are ambitious, but the present study offers a valuable starting point to direct them.



APPENDICES

Appendix A: Pilot Study Questionnaire

New Zealand, land of the long white cloud

Welcome to the pilot study of my questionnaire about New Zealand's assets and downsides, and most importantly, about New Zealanders. With the open questions, you help me choosing answer categories for the final questionnaire. In addition, I confront you with a list of attributes as to how New Zealanders in general are like. At the end, please take the chance to comment on everything that is unclear or needs improvement. Now have fun!

1) When you think about New Zealand, what comes into your mind? (Use short phrases or catchwords) []

2) Next to which number can you find New Zealand on the map? (This question is only included to test how the image works) [*World map*]

[1] [2] [3] [4] [5] [6] [7] [8] [9]

3) For you personally, what are the most important assets of New Zealand? Pick up to five and add as many more as you like in the box below

[*Clean, green environment*]

[*Beaches*]

[*Beautiful scenery and landscape*]

[*Climate*]

[*Outdoor activity options*]

[*Spectator sport*]

[*Architectural sights*]

[*Unique NZ flora and fauna*]

[*NZ art and music scene*]

[*Liberal politics*]

[*Maori culture*]

[*Low density of population*]

[*Home of "Lord of the Rings"*]

[*Remote location*]

[*New Zealanders*]

[*Peaceful and safe*]

[*Open-minded society*]

[*New Zealand's cities (e.g., Auckland and Wellington)*]

[*Other (please specify)*]

4) If you could think of any, what downsides or problems does New Zealand have? (State as many as you like in short phrases or catchwords) []

5) How much are the *The Lord of the Rings* movies and New Zealand connected?

[*Not at all*] [*Little*] [*Moderately*] [*Much*] [*Extensively*]

What do you think New Zealanders are like?

This section asks for your opinion about New Zealanders, what they are like, and how you think about them. Don't worry that your answer might not be correct; In fact, there are no right or wrong answers

here. In addition, don't hesitate to express your true feelings. Unfortunately, the format is not the best, and you need to scroll up and down to see the head row. This is because I use a restricted free version; nevertheless, the final questionnaire will look different.

6) In your opinion, how are New Zealanders (in general) like? Each scale starts with the (+) attribute (three choices on the left), and ends with the (-) attribute (three choices on the right). If you think the category is not suitable to describe New Zealanders in general, please tick the box *Not applicable* in the middle. If you don't understand the meaning of the attributes, click *Don't understand*.

[Extremely (+++)] [Quite (++)] [Somewhat (+)] [Not applicable]
[Somewhat (-)] [Quite (--)] [Extremely (---)] [Don't understand]

Attributes:

Easy going (+) / Complicated (-)	Secular (+) / Religious (-)
Friendly (+) / Unfriendly (-)	Materialistic (+) / Not materialistic (-)
Organised (+) / Unorganised (-)	Emotional (+) / Logical (-)
Individualistic (+) / Group-orientated (-)	Warm (+) / Cold (-)
Sport-minded (+) / Art-minded (-)	Efficient (+) / Inefficient (-)
Indoor-oriented (+) / Outdoor-oriented (-)	Tall (+) / Short (-)
Stressed (+) / Relaxed (-)	Impatient (+) / Patient (-)
Practical (+) / Intellectual (-)	Stubborn (+) / Not stubborn (-)
Outgoing (+) / Shy (-)	Optimistic (+) / Pessimistic (-)
Humorous (+) / Serious (-)	Responsible (+) / Irresponsible (-)
Arrogant (+) / Natural (-)	Cooperative (+) / Unhelpful (-)
Patriotic (+) / Unpatriotic (-)	Determined (+) / Giving up early (-)
Intelligent (+) / Unintelligent (-)	Tough (+) / Soft (-)
Hard working (+) / Lazy (-)	Harmonious (+) / Dissonant (-)
Ambitious (+) / Unconcerned (-)	Unsociable (+) / Sociable (-)
Open minded (+) / Not open minded (-)	Altruistic (+) / Egoistic (-)
conservative(+) / Progressive(-)	Rugged (+) / Delicate (-)
Tolerant (+) / Intolerant (-)	Active (+) / Passive (-)
Generous (+) / Thrifty (-)	Urban (+) / Rural (-)
Selfish (+) / Not selfish (-)	Different (+) / Alike (-)
Proud (+) / Not proud (-)	Quiet (+) / Talkative (-)
Attractive (+) / Unattractive (-)	Knowledgeable (+) / Ignorant (-)
Hospitable (+) / Not hospitable (-)	Clean (+) / Dirty (-)
Nationalistic (+) / Not nationalistic (-)	Reliable (+) / Unreliable (-)
Past-orientated (+) / Future-orientated (-)	Self-confident (+) / Not self-confident (-)
Warm-hearted (+) / Firm-minded (-)	Interesting (+) / Boring (-)

Almost finished

The last question asks for your agreement about some statements.

7) Of the following statements about New Zealand (NZ) society, please indicate how strongly you agree or disagree. Use *Don't know* if you don't know anything about the topic at all.

[Strongly agree] [Quite agree] [Slightly agree] [Neither agree nor disagree]

[Slightly disagree] [Quite disagree] [Strongly disagree] [Don't know]

Statements:

- A typical male New Zealander is a so-called “bloke”: hard-working, hard-drinking, a good mate.
- NZ is an egalitarian society, where no differences exist between rich and poor, men and women, or different cultures.
- Alcohol is part of New Zealand culture.
- The Maori, the New Zealand indigenous people, are not better treated than the indigenous people of many other countries.
- NZ is a good example for unspoilt nature, clean air, and no environmental problems at all.
- Sport is the most important aspect of NZ life.
- NZ is completely dependent on agriculture, sheep farming and fruit exports.
- Social movements, like feminism and homosexual movements, have a difficult time in NZ.
- NZ has problems with right-wing extremists.
- New Zealanders are more racist than they believe.
- Maori have social problems that are not acknowledged in society.
- NZ is mainly a rural society

Thank you!

Well, I know, that was a lot of work and I greatly appreciate your help. Please make any comments below. However, please note that the official questionnaire does not include as many attributes; in fact, I will choose only the most appropriate ones based on your responses. Finally, please add your email-address so that I can identify you.

Please state any comments here (including technical experiences with the surveymonkey page, such as loading times etc.): []

Finally your personal details:

Name []

E-mail address []

Your answers have been sent to the database.

Appendix B: Pilot Study Follow-up Questions

First of all, how would you rate the amount of contact you had with New Zealanders?

No contact at all [] *A little bit* [] *Moderate* [] *Much* [] *Extensive* []

And, in your opinion, how much knowledge do you have about NZ in a whole?

No knowledge at all [] *A little bit* [] *Moderate* [] *Much* [] *Extensive* []

How old are you? [] *Years*

Then, you remember this huge list of attributes, where you had the chance to click on the *Not applicable* category. For what reasons did you use *Not applicable*; that is, what did it mean for you if you clicked it? (This may be more than one meaning)

[]

In this context, how comfortable did you feel when you chose one of the attributes - in fact generalising New Zealanders?

Very much comfortable [] *Somewhat comfortable* [] *Neutral* []

Somewhat uncomfortable [] *Very much uncomfortable* []

And how confident are you that your answers really describe New Zealand characteristics?

Not at all confident [] *A little bit confident* [] *Somewhat confident* []

Quite confident [] *Totally confident* []

Did you wish not to use generalisations at all?

Yes, I did [] *No, I didn't* [] *Didn't care* []

Did you regard the *Not applicable* category as a chance for you to show that you didn't want to make generalisations? []

Do you think that you used stereotypes when you chose an attribute? []

And, last question, the statements where you had to agree or disagree included a *Don't know* category and a *Neither agree nor disagree* one. Was there a difference for you between the two categories? If yes, please specify: []

Appendix C: Pilot Study Results for 52 Attributes

Attribute (1/2) ^c	Stereotype ^d	Personal trait ^e	Value laden ^f	Pattern ^g			N/A high ^h
				NO	Tra	NZ	
Easy-going/Complicated	✓			1	1	1	
Friendly/Unfriendly ^a	✓	✓	✓	1	1	1	
Organised/Unorganised				1/x	x	x	
Individualistic/Group-orientated	✓			x	2/x	1/x	
Sport-/Art-minded	✓			1	1	1	
Indoor-/Outdoor-orientated ^a	✓			2	2	x	
Stressed/Relaxed ^a	✓			2	2	x	
Practical/Intellectual ^b	✓	✓		1	1	1	✓
Outgoing/Shy				1	1	1	✓
Humorous/Serious	✓	✓		1	1	1	
Arrogant/Natural		✓	✓	2	2	x	
Patriotic/Unpatriotic ^a				x	1/x	2/x	
Intelligent/Unintelligent		✓	✓	1	1	1	✓
Hard-working/Lazy			✓	1/x	1	1	
Ambitious/Unconcerned				1	1	1	✓
Open-minded/Not open-minded ^b			✓	1	1	1	
Conservative/Progressive ^a	✓			2/x	2/x	2/x	
Tolerant/Intolerant		✓	✓	1	1	1	
Generous/Thrifty			✓	1	1	1	
Selfish/Not selfish		✓	✓	2	2	2	✓
Proud/Not proud				x	1	1	
Attractive/Unattractive		✓	✓	x	x	1	✓
Hospitable/Not hospitable	✓		✓	1	1	1	
Nationalistic/Not nationalistic			✓	1	1	1/x	✓
Past-/Future-orientated ^a	✓			2	2	1	✓
Warm-Hearted/Firm-minded		✓	✓	1	1	1	
Secular/Religious	✓			2	1	1	✓
Materialistic/Not materialistic				1	2	1	✓

(table continues)

Appendix C (continued): Pilot Study Results for 52 Attributes

Attribute (1/2) ^c	Stereotype ^d	Personal trait ^e	Value laden ^f	Pattern ^g			N/A high ^h
				NO	Tra	NZ	
Emotional/Logical		✓		1/x	x	x	✓
Warm/Cold		✓	✓	1	1	1	
Efficient/Inefficient		✓	✓	2/x	x	1	✓
Tall/Short		✓		x	x	x	✓
Impatient/Patient		✓		x	x	x	✓
Stubborn/Not stubborn		✓	✓	x	x	1/x	✓
Optimistic/Pessimistic		✓	✓	1	1	1	
Responsible/Irresponsible		✓	✓	1	1	1	✓
Cooperative/Unhelpful ^b	✓	✓	✓	1	1	1	
Determined/Gives up early ^a			✓	x	1	1	
Tough/Soft ^a	✓	✓		x	1	1	
Harmonious/Dissonant			✓	1	1	1	
Unsociable/Sociable	✓			2	2	2	
Altruistic/Egoistic		✓	✓	1	1	1	✓
Rugged/Delicate	✓			x	1	1	✓
Active/Passive		✓		1	1	1	
Urban/Rural	✓			2	2	1	
Different/Alike				x	x	1	✓
Quiet/Talkative		✓		2	2	2	✓
Knowledgeable/Ignorant ^b		✓	✓	1/x	1/x	1/x	✓
Clean/Dirty		✓	✓	1	1	1	✓
Reliable/Unreliable		✓	✓	1	1	1	✓
Self-confident/Not self-confident		✓	✓	1	1	x	
Interesting/Boring		✓	✓	x	1	1	

Note. ^a The attribute has been included in the online survey with the wording as above. ^b The attribute has been included in the online survey with a modified wording. ^c In the table, the first mentioned attribute is referred to as 1, the latter as 2. ^d The category indicates whether an attribute (or pair of attributes) is associated with a common New Zealand stereotype. ^e A personal trait is merely an individual attribute rather than a group attribute (by subjective choice). ^f A value laden pair of attributes has a positive/negative connotation, whereas non-checked attributes are more neutral. ^g The pattern of the results is shown for each group (NO-group, Travel-group, NZ-group) separately, with 1 or 2 indicating a majority selection for one attribute respectively, and x meaning a mixed distribution. ^h A high count in the *Not applicable* category.

Appendix D: Online Survey E-mail Introduction

Subject: Researching your perceptions of New Zealand

Giddy mate and Kia Ora from Palmerston North!

My name is Mischa, and I am a postgraduate student at Massey University in Palmerston North. The International Students' Support Office at Massey University forwarded this e-mail to you on my behalf or it has been forwarded to you by a friend. I would like to invite you to an online-survey about New Zealand, which is part of my Master of Management degree in Cross-cultural Communication.

If you agree to participate, you will find the questions interesting, particularly as an international student in New Zealand, but also if you have never been to New Zealand at all. Questions include what you think New Zealanders are like, what you know about the country, and what qualities New Zealand has. Responses are strictly confidential. The study aims to compare the answers of people from different cultures, and chances are that I can publish the results in an academic journal.

Now here is the questionnaire, which will take approximately 10 to 15 minutes to fill out. In return, you go in the draw to win a share of prizes worth NZ\$400 (including a travel voucher from STA Travel, a Lonely Planet guidebook of your choice, and several book vouchers). I will also send you the results of the study.

To access the online-questionnaire please click on the following link or copy it into your browser. You can save your answers and continue the survey at a later time if you wish (but only on the same computer and not in a computer lab).

Let's go :-)

<http://www.surveymonkey.com/s.asp?u=51473213537>

You have time to fill it out until June 11th 2003; however, if you can spare 10 minutes, you may just do it now. Furthermore, I would like to ask you for one last favour: After you have done the survey, please forward this e-mail to up to 5 of your friends (similar age group and same nationality), who **HAVE NEVER BEEN TO NEW ZEALAND AT ALL**. This allows me to compare the results to a control group. Your friends should be willing to fill out the questionnaire and they must be aware that the survey is conducted in English. Please **DO NOT** forward this e-mail to everyone in your address-book.

Now have fun – and thank you very much for your participation! For any queries, or if you have any problems or concerns whatsoever about filling out the form online, please write me an e-mail: mischa.sander.1@uni.massey.ac.nz

Cheers

Mischa Sander

Massey University, Palmerston North (NZ)

Department of Communication and Journalism

Supervisors of this study are Associate Professor Frank Sligo, Head of Department, and Marianne Tremaine. They are also happy to answer any questions: <F.Sligo@massey.ac.nz> (Phone +64 6 350 5799 extn 2386); <M.G.Tremaine@massey.ac.nz> (Phone +64 6 350 5799 extn 2390). For more information on Massey University, click www.massey.ac.nz

You have certain rights during the study, including the right to stay anonymous and the right not to answer any particular question. The completion and submitting of the online questionnaire implies consent. To go in the prize draw after completing the questionnaire, you will be logged out of the survey and connected to a separate page. Your e-mail address cannot be related to your data, nor will it be published or given to any other person or party.

This project has been reviewed and approved by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee, PN Protocol 03/97. If you have any concerns about the conduct of this project, please contact Professor Sylvia V Rumball, Chair, Massey University Campus Human Ethics Committee: Palmerston North, telephone 06 350 5249, e-mail <humanethicspn@massey.ac.nz>.

Appendix E: Online Survey Questionnaire

Part 1 : Find out what you know about New Zealand

Welcome to my survey about New Zealand - its assets, its society, and the characteristics of its people. If you have any questions or problems, just write me an e-mail: mischa.sander.l@uni.massey.ac.nz. Completion and return of this questionnaire implies consent to participate in the study.

You can interrupt the survey if you want and continue later where you left it - just by clicking on the link again (but only on the same computer and not in a computer lab). However, please do not use the "Back" button of your browser during the survey, as this may cause loss of your answers!

The first section should warm you up a bit, so take it easy. This is not a quiz, and depending if you are a New Zealander or if you haven't been to New Zealand at all, some questions on this page may look easy or difficult to you. In any case, you will find out some new aspects about New Zealand. So don't worry if you don't know the answer, that's perfectly all right (there is a quick "no idea" option on the far right of each question). Especially, please do not look for help (such as in books or the Internet), you will find all answers at the end of the questionnaire.

Now have fun!

Of the following famous people, who are New Zealanders? *Tick all that apply*

- ☐ Edmund Hillary (First man to climb Mt. Everest)
- ☐ Ernest Rutherford (Nobel Prize Winner in Chemistry)
- ☐ Peter Blake (America's Cup winner)
- ☐ J.R.R. Tolkien (Author of "The Lord of the Rings")
- ☐ Jonah Lomu (Rugby player)
- ☐ Russell Crowe (Oscar winning actor)

What is the capital of New Zealand? ☐ no idea

- ☐ Auckland
- ☐ Wellington
- ☐ Christchurch
- ☐ New Zealand City
- ☐ Queenstown
- ☐ Canberra

Next to which number can you find New Zealand on the map? [*world map*]

[1] [2] [3] [4][5] [6] [7] [8] [9]

Who is New Zealand's Prime Minister? [] no idea

- () Jenny Shipley
- () John Howard
- () Helen Clark
- () Kate Sheppard
- () Kiri Te Kanawa
- () Queen Elizabeth II

What are the indigenous people of New Zealand called? [] no idea

- () Aborigines
- () Maori
- () All Blacks
- () Pakeha
- () Samoans
- () Old Zealanders

Where did the British Crown and the indigenous people of New Zealand sign the Treaty that marked the beginning of the New Zealand nation? The Treaty of... [] no idea

- () Waterloo
- () Waitomo
- () Wellington
- () Waitangi
- () Wollongong
- () Whangarei

You may also know the year of the Treaty: [] no idea

- () 1769
- () 1784
- () 1806
- () 1840
- () 1864
- () 1886
- () 1904

What kind of animal is the Kiwi, the New Zealand icon under which name New Zealanders are known around the world? ☐ no idea

- ☐ Kangaroo
- ☐ Koala bear
- ☐ Possum
- ☐ Sheep
- ☐ Flightless bird
- ☐ Whale

What starts with the words: “Ka mate, ka mate / Ka ora, ka ora / Tenei te tangata puhuruhuru”?

- ☐ no idea
- ☐ The Treaty
- ☐ Te Rauparaha’s haka taparahi
- ☐ New Zealand’s national anthem
- ☐ Pokarekare ana
- ☐ Te powhiri ki te manuhiri
- ☐ The New Zealand Bill of Rights

Roughly, how many people live in New Zealand, in full million?

[list: 1 to 20, no idea]

Save answers and go to next page >>

Part 2: New Zealand’s assets

For you personally, what are the 5 most important qualities of New Zealand? *Tick up to five. You may add another one at the bottom*

- ☐ Nature (scenery, flora and fauna, environment)
- ☐ Outdoor activity options
- ☐ Maori culture
- ☐ Home of “Lord of the Rings”
- ☐ The New Zealand people
- ☐ Achievements in sport
- ☐ Beaches
- ☐ Climate
- ☐ Cities (Auckland, Wellington)
- ☐ Low density of population
- ☐ Politics (nuclear-free, pro-peace, liberal)

- ☐ Location (remote, safe)
- ☐ New Zealand way of living
- ☐ Study and working opportunities
- ☐ Other, please specify []

Of the 5 qualities you have chosen, which is the No. 1 most important? *Pick one from the list*
[list]

Save answers and go to next page >>

Part 3: The typical New Zealander

You have already answered 40 % of the questions! This section asks you to describe the typical New Zealander. Don't worry that your answer might not be correct; in fact, there are no right or wrong answers here. In addition, don't hesitate to express your true opinion, remember that the survey is totally anonymous.

In your opinion, what are Kiwis (in general) like? If you think an attribute is not suitable to describe New Zealanders in general, please tick *Undecided* in the middle.

☐ Very friendly – ☐ Friendly – ☐ Undecided – ☐ Unfriendly – ☐ Very unfriendly

☐ Very indoor-orientated – ☐ Indoor-orientated – ☐ Undecided – ☐ Outdoor-orientated –
☐ Very outdoor-orientated

☐ Very stressed – ☐ Stressed – ☐ Undecided – ☐ Relaxed – ☐ Very relaxed

☐ Very practical – ☐ Practical – ☐ Undecided – ☐ Impractical – ☐ Very impractical

☐ Very patriotic – ☐ Patriotic – ☐ Undecided – ☐ Unpatriotic – ☐ Very unpatriotic

☐ Very determined – ☐ Determined – ☐ Undecided – ☐ Give up early – ☐ Give up very early

☐ Very tough – ☐ Tough – ☐ Undecided – ☐ Soft – ☐ Very soft

☐ Very open-minded – ☐ Open-minded – ☐ Undecided – ☐ Narrow-minded – ☐ Very narrow-minded

☐ Very conservative – ☐ Conservative – ☐ Undecided – ☐ Progressive – ☐ Very progressive

☐ Very helpful – ☐ Helpful – ☐ Undecided – ☐ Unhelpful – ☐ Very unhelpful

☐ Very past-orientated – ☐ Past-orientated – ☐ Undecided – ☐ Future-orientated – ☐ Very future-orientated

☐ Very informed (about world affairs) – ☐ Informed – ☐ Undecided – ☐ Uninformed – ☐ Very uninformed (about world affairs)

[Save answers and go to next page >>](#)

Part 4: New Zealand society

Of the following statements about New Zealand (NZ) society, please indicate how strongly you agree or disagree. Use *Don't know* only if you don't know anything about the topic at all.

A typical male New Zealander is a so-called “bloke”: hard-working, hard-drinking, a good mate.

☐ Strongly agree – ☐ Agree – ☐ Undecided – ☐ Disagree – ☐ Strongly disagree – ☐ Don't know

NZ is an egalitarian society, where all people are treated as equal, regardless of social classes, gender, or ethnicity.

☐ Strongly agree – ☐ Agree – ☐ Undecided – ☐ Disagree – ☐ Strongly disagree – ☐ Don't know

Alcohol is part of the NZ culture.

☐ Strongly agree – ☐ Agree – ☐ Undecided – ☐ Disagree – ☐ Strongly disagree – ☐ Don't know

The Maori, the NZ indigenous people, are better treated than the indigenous people of many other countries.

☐ Strongly agree – ☐ Agree – ☐ Undecided – ☐ Disagree – ☐ Strongly disagree – ☐ Don't know

NZ is a good example of unspoilt nature and a clean environment.

☐ Strongly agree – ☐ Agree – ☐ Undecided – ☐ Disagree – ☐ Strongly disagree – ☐ Don't know

Sport is the most important aspect of NZ life.

☐ Strongly agree – ☐ Agree – ☐ Undecided – ☐ Disagree – ☐ Strongly disagree – ☐ Don't know

NZ's economy is completely dependent on agriculture, sheep farming and fruit exports.

☐ Strongly agree – ☐ Agree – ☐ Undecided – ☐ Disagree – ☐ Strongly disagree – ☐ Don't know

Social movements, like feminism and homosexual movements, have a difficult time in NZ.

☐ Strongly agree – ☐ Agree – ☐ Undecided – ☐ Disagree – ☐ Strongly disagree – ☐ Don't know

The Treaty of Waitangi from 1840, which settles affairs with Maori, is still an important topic in New Zealand life.

☐ Strongly agree – ☐ Agree – ☐ Undecided – ☐ Disagree – ☐ Strongly disagree – ☐ Don't know

New Zealanders are more racist than they believe.

☐ Strongly agree – ☐ Agree – ☐ Undecided – ☐ Disagree – ☐ Strongly disagree – ☐ Don't know

Maori have social problems that are not acknowledged in the NZ society.

☐ Strongly agree – ☐ Agree – ☐ Undecided – ☐ Disagree – ☐ Strongly disagree – ☐ Don't know

New Zealand is mainly a rural (that is, countryside, not urban) society.

☐ Strongly agree – ☐ Agree – ☐ Undecided – ☐ Disagree – ☐ Strongly disagree – ☐ Don't know

[Save answers and go to next page >>](#)

Part 5: About your ratings

Good on you, you have answered 85 % of the survey. The following questions deal with your ratings about New Zealanders on the last two pages.

How confident are you that your ratings above give a true picture about the New Zealand society?

- ☐ Totally confident – ☐ Much confident – ☐ Moderately confident – ☐ A little bit confident –
☐ Not confident at all

On what did you *mainly* base your ratings? *Pick more than one only when they are equally important*

- ☐ Personal experience
☐ General knowledge
☐ A kind of intuitive, instinctive choice
☐ Media information
☐ Other people's comments or reports
☐ Other (please specify) []

When rating New Zealanders in general, did you wish to avoid generalising at all?

- ☐ Yes, because all generalisations are wrong in a way
☐ No, because the attributes and statements I have chosen do represent New Zealanders in general
☐ No, because generalisations are natural to human life and often cannot be avoided
☐ Didn't care
☐ Other (please specify) []

Have you ever been to New Zealand?

- ☐ No, not at all → *automatic skipping to Part 6 (A)*
☐ Yes, as a temporary visitor (for example, as a traveller, international student, or on a business trip)
→ *automatic skipping to Part 6 (B)*
☐ Yes, I am a New Zealand citizen or permanent resident → *automatic skipping to Part 6 (C)*

[Save answers and go to next page >>](#)

Part 6 (A): You and New Zealanders

How much contact do you have to New Zealanders outside New Zealand?

- ☐ No contact at all – ☐ Little contact – ☐ Moderate contact – ☐ Much contact – ☐ Extensive contact

In your opinion, how similar is the New Zealand culture to your own?

- ☐ Identical – ☐ Very similar – ☐ Partly similar/partly different – ☐ Very different – ☐ Totally different

[Save answers and go to next page >>](#) → *automatic skipping to Part 7*

Part 6 (B): Your time in New Zealand

This last question block deals with your motivations and experiences while you were in New Zealand.

Please specify the total amount of time you spent in NZ until today. *Use any of the fields you need (e.g., 3 days; 1 year and 2 months, etc.)* ☐ Years ☐ Months ☐ Weeks ☐ Days

How often did you visit New Zealand?

- ☐ On one occasion
- ☐ On two occasions
- ☐ On three occasions
- ☐ On more than three occasions

Are you still in New Zealand?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No (please specify below when you left)

If you are not in New Zealand at the moment, when did you leave the last time?

Month: ☐ Year: ☐

What was or is the *main* purpose of your stay? *Tick the one you spent most of your time with*

- ☐ Travelling
- ☐ Visiting friends or relatives
- ☐ Studying
- ☐ Working (includes business trip, internship, temporary work)
- ☐ other, please specify:

How much contact did you have with New Zealanders while you were in NZ?

- ☐ No contact at all – ☐ Little contact – ☐ Moderate contact – ☐ Much contact – ☐ Extensive contact

Before you came, where did you hear about NZ *most importantly*? *Tick more than one if they are equally important*

- ☐ Movie Lord of the Rings
- ☐ Documentaries about NZ in TV
- ☐ Friends who have been to NZ before
- ☐ Recommendation of travel agency
- ☐ New Zealanders you know
- ☐ NZ Internet pages

- ☐ In context with NZ sport teams
- ☐ NZ politics in media
- ☐ University or workplace at home
- ☐ Other (please specify): []

In your opinion, how similar is the New Zealand culture to your own?

- ☐ Identical – ☐ Very similar – ☐ Partly similar/partly different – ☐ Very different – ☐ Totally different

Was there a place or region in New Zealand where you stayed predominantly (e.g. the university town if you studied in NZ)?

- ☐ No
☐ Yes, please specify below

If yes, please specify:

- ☐ Northland – ☐ Auckland – ☐ Bay of Plenty – ☐ Eastland – ☐ Waikato & King Country (Hamilton) – ☐ Central North Island – ☐ Hawke's Bay – ☐ Manawatu & Wanganui (Palmerston North) – ☐ Taranaki – ☐ Wellington Region – ☐ Nelson & Marlborough – ☐ Canterbury (Christchurch) – ☐ Otago (Dunedin) – ☐ West Coast – ☐ Southland – ☐ Other

Save answers and go to next page >> → *automatic skipping to Part 7*

Part 6 (C): You as a New Zealander

You have rated what New Zealanders are like in general. But does this also apply for you personally? Please rate the following attributes again, but this time only think about yourself. Try to be as realistic as possible :-)

Are you...?

- ☐ Very indoor-orientated – ☐ Indoor-orientated – ☐ Undecided – ☐ Outdoor-orientated – ☐ Very outdoor-orientated

- ☐ Very stressed – ☐ Stressed – ☐ Undecided – ☐ Relaxed – ☐ Very relaxed

- ☐ Very practical – ☐ Practical – ☐ Undecided – ☐ Impractical – ☐ Very impractical

- ☐ Very patriotic – ☐ Patriotic – ☐ Undecided – ☐ Unpatriotic – ☐ Very unpatriotic

☐ Very determined – ☐ Determined – ☐ Undecided – ☐ Give up early – ☐ Give up very early

☐ Very tough – ☐ Tough – ☐ Undecided – ☐ Soft – ☐ Very soft

☐ Very past-orientated – ☐ Past-orientated – ☐ Undecided – ☐ Future-orientated – ☐ Very future-orientated

☐ Very informed (about world affairs) – ☐ Informed – ☐ Undecided – ☐ Uninformed – ☐ Very uninformed (about world affairs)

☐ Very open-minded – ☐ Open-minded – ☐ Undecided – ☐ Narrow-minded – ☐ Very narrow-minded

☐ Very conservative – ☐ Conservative – ☐ Undecided – ☐ Progressive – ☐ Very progressive

In which region in New Zealand do you predominantly live?

☐ Northland – ☐ Auckland – ☐ Bay of Plenty – ☐ Eastland – ☐ Waikato & King Country (Hamilton) – ☐ Central North Island – ☐ Hawke's Bay – ☐ Manawatu & Wanganui (Palmerston North) – ☐ Taranaki – ☐ Wellington Region – ☐ Nelson & Marlborough – ☐ Canterbury (Christchurch) – ☐ Otago (Dunedin) – ☐ West Coast – ☐ Southland) – ☐ Other

If you predominately live outside New Zealand, please specify the country here []

How long have you lived in New Zealand for? *Pick what comes closest*

☐ All my life – ☐ Longer than 10 years (but not all my life) – ☐ 5 to 10 years – ☐ 4 years – ☐ 3 years – ☐ 2 years – ☐ 1 year or less

Do you think there is such a thing as a national identity that all New Zealanders can identify with?

Pick the answer that is most appropriate

☐ Yes, although not all New Zealanders are exactly the same, they have similar values and interests
☐ Yes and no, we are supposed to believe in a national identity, but this is really an artificial construct
☐ No, there is no such thing as a national identity, New Zealanders are too different
☐ Other (please specify): []

Save answers and go to next page >> → *automatic skipping to Part 7*

Part 7: Some personal details and done!

That was almost it! Please find the time and answer the last quick questions about your personal details and then submit the survey.

What is your year of birth? *In the form 1977* []

What is your home country (that is the country for which you have citizenship or permanent residency)? *Pick one from the list, or - if not in there - specify below [list]* []

Optional: If you have a 2nd passport, please state for which country: []

Optional: It may be important for you to state which ethnic group(s) you belong to differing from or in addition to your nationality (e.g., US-American but parents from China, NZ Maori or Pakeha, British Indian, etc.): []

Gender

() Male () Female

What is your *highest* level of education?

() No formal schooling

() Primary or intermediate school

() Some secondary education (without a high-school degree; e.g., if you left secondary school with the age of 15)

() High-school degree

() Some tertiary education (e.g., if you are still studying or dropped out of uni)

() University degree

() Other (please specify) []

What is your occupation? *Tick your main activity in the whole year*

() Student

() Full-time employed

() Self-employed

() Unemployed or beneficiary

() Houseperson

() Retired

() Other (please specify) []

Well done, that was it! By clicking "Submit survey", your answers will be saved. You will be logged out of the questionnaire and automatically connected to another page to enter the prize draw.

Optional: Here, you have the chance to comment directly and anonymously on the survey. You can also add information to particular questions that you regard as important. However, for personal messages, please write a separate e-mail to ensure that your survey data stay confidential.

[]

Now, please press "Submit survey".

[Submit survey >>](#)

Next page:

Your answers have been saved

Now go in the draw for some nice prizes...

I warmly appreciate your participation, thank you very much!

First of all, here are the answers to the first section:

They are Kiwis: Sir Edmund Hillary, Sir Ernest Rutherford, Sir Peter Blake, and Jonah Lomu (the former All Black is a Kiwi of Tongan descent). Russell Crowe is born and grew up in New Zealand, but he is now an Australian citizen. J. R. R. Tolkien was British (but director Peter Jackson who made the movies is a Kiwi). New Zealand is close to Australia, has 4 million inhabitants, its capital is Wellington, Prime Minister is Helen Clark, the Kiwi is a flightless (and very rare) bird, the Treaty of Waitangi was signed in 1840, Maori are the indigenous people of New Zealand, and "Ka mate, Ka mate" is the beginning of the famous haka (Te Rauparaha's version), a war dance that the All Blacks perform before every international game.

To be in the draw to win a share of prizes worth a total of NZ\$ 400 (a travel voucher from STA Travel, a Lonely Planet travelguide of your choice, and several book vouchers) and to receive the results of the study, you need to state your e-mail address below. You have been logged out from the survey database and your address cannot be related to your answers.

Your e-mail address: []

Finally, I would like to ask you for one last favour: Please remember to forward my e-mail about this survey to up to three of your friends, with the same nationality as you, roughly your age, and who

HAVE NEVER BEEN TO NEW ZEALAND AT ALL (if you are a New Zealander just send it to other New Zealanders). They should be willing to participate in the survey and need to know that it is conducted in English. You may forward your friends the e-mail I have sent you, adding a personal introduction if you can. However, please DO NOT forward the survey to everyone in your addressbook.

Alternatively, you can save you the hassle and let me send them the survey. Just state the e-mail addresses of up to three of your friends below and they get the e-mail automatically.

E-mail 1 []

E-mail 2 []

E-mail 3 []

Please state what you prefer:

() Yep, send the survey to the e-mail addresses I have stated above

() I prefer to forward the survey by myself

Thank you! Now, don't forget to click on "Done" to be in the prize draw (after you logged out your browser window will be closed). If you have any questions regarding this research project, please contact me by e-mail:

mischa.sander.l@uni.massey.ac.nz

Cheers

Mischa Sander, Massey University

[Done >>](#)



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