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New Zealand: idea of nation

Abstract

New Zealand has been a nation of firsts and innovators of many occasions. More-over, it has also been a leading nation for civil and humanitarian issues. Peter Fraser was eager to invite over seven hundred Polish children to the country during World War II to keep them safe from the threat. Modern world has been shaped by past experience, where apart from cultural heritage and people's backgrounds or origins neoliberalism created new conditions in which people around the world struggle to live. Neo liberalism along with capitalism unifying our world have influenced the notion of common values for different people. Nation is one of such values. We are now in the 21st century and it seems that New Zealand is at the forefront of progress on global scale in terms of understanding the concept of nation in global conditions. It is common knowledge that New Zealand depends mostly on exports, does it mean that New Zealand must compete by nation–branding with others on the global mar-ket?

Słowa kluczowe: naród, Nowa Zelandia, globalizacja, dywersyfikacja kultury, neoli-beralizm
Keywords: nation, New Zealand, globalization, cultural diversification, neolibera-lism, critical studies

Introduction

New Zealand is on the edge of the civilized world, undoubtedly being part of we-stern world (Targowski 2003: 81). The latest census shows that there is more than 200 ethnic groups in such a tiny society. It is worth highlighting that more than 50% of the society declare themselves non – believers (New Zealand Stats, 2013). On this basis New Zealand society may be recognised as a multicultural and secular one. Obviously New Zealand is a liberal democracy state of multicultural society with great civic freedom and well-known pluralism around the world. That makes it simi-

lar to other English speaking countries like Canada.. Some researchers suggest that the process of building the nation has its positive face which is seen as a chance for solidarity, trust and equality of opportunity. Obviously this process affects all minority groups (Kymlicka 2009: 419). At the same time one may observe that New Zealand presents itself as a united (and diversified) society of equal people – a nation dedicated as a collective to the meaning of good life based on principles of well–being (True, Gao 2010: 42), even if welfare – state concept of New Zealand as a state was changed during 1980's and 1990's when *rogeronomics* was introduced (Cukiernik 2010: 4). Author argues that the concept of nation is shaped in New Zealand by globalization and cultural diversification in the world of dual order (Chodubski 2007: 10) making New Zealand a nation a brand which is sold on a global market against civil society in a process called 'branding' (Klein 2004). This process is called nation – branding (Aronczyk 2007: 105–110). The aim of this article is to highlight the changeability of the notion of 'nation' in globalizations and cultural diversification conditions in a highly diversified social environment. This study deals neither with 'nation – building' nor 'nation – development' nor generally with 'nation – making' problems. The question here is not how and when New Zealanders developed as a nation but rather how the term 'nation' in New Zealand has become a current example of modern understanding of this notion.

As an American political scientist Karl Deutsch pointed out in early 60's of the 20th century:

> (...) we know that mankind existed long before nations, and we have a good reason to hope that mankind will exist long after them (...) Scholars who have studied mainly a single geographic or cultural area have been tempted to see the rise of nationalism and of nations in that area either as something alien or as something unique and peculiar to that area (...) They have discovered that the making and breaking of nations is a process that is now occurring in most parts of the world and that it is a process which must be studied in its general and uniform aspects, especially if the unique features of each country and epoch are eventually to be understood better than they have been thus far.
>
> (Deutsch 1963: 1–2)

Understanding this phenomenon (nations and states' place on the world chessboard) was one of the core problems for this outstanding political scientist decades ago and this question remains vital.

Krzysztof Pfeiffer who has been living in New Zealand for years said in an interview:

> In my opinion New Zealand is an example of the country where you can have different religious affiliations, different culture, different tradition background and you

can live with others and tolerate their otherness, amalgamate with them, cooperate and have friendship with mutuality.

<div align="right">(Gołębiowski, Jaworowska 2007: 110)</div>

These words precisely confirm some trends that may be indicators of New Zealand's society and politics which are connected with secularism, multiculturalism and other phenomena that are well known in a highly cosmopolitan Western world. None of them can make anyone draw a conclusion that there is a place for *nation* in current circumstances.

Terms and theories

Nation – because of a vast range of theories of nation there is a need to assign the whole study to just one theory. According to the definition it is:

(...) a community of people that rise throughout the course of history; defined by the members of this community who have a sense (self-awareness) of common background, interest, course of history, unique attitudes, behaviour, signs of morals (customs). Usually this community is perceived in ethnic and political dimension.

<div align="right">(Chodubski 2010: 148)</div>

In a strictly political meaning nation is: 'a community of people connected with some attributes of ethnicity but mainly by identity of rights and responsibilities and awareness of their political history; in this sense language, religion and customs are not important as such' (Chodubski 2010: 150).

Attributes of nation are: language, environment and geography, religion, history, cultural heritage, tradition, customs, emblems and symbols, self – awareness of ethnic group, identity with a particular community. In the light of understanding 'nation' in its political meaning some of the attributes are excluded. It concerns language, religion and customs (that are obviously very different in multicultural society). So the attributes for 'new' idea of nation are just common background, interests and course of (political) history (because such attributes may integrate people of different origins). In case of New Zealand we may consider invented tradition when thinking about nation which was invented with great rapidity. Invented tradition is a set of practices, rituals which links present with past. As Eric Hobsbawm writes '(...) it is the contrast between the constant change and innovation of the modern world and the attempt to structure at least some parts of social life within it as unchanging and invariant' (Hobsbawm 1993: 2) Nobody is going to forget the meaning of ANZAC though it is not an issue here. Sociologists and linguists write about national narration, in this

way differences between social groups (their ethnicity, culture) are unified by 'nation'. The idea of 'pure' people or 'folk' support the idea of nation (Wodak 2004: 23–25). 'The identity narrative brings forth a new interpretation of the world in order to modify it' (Wodak 2004: 28). National identity is internalized in the course of political socialization (Wodak 2004: 28). The state shapes people's forms of perception which form the basis for 'national common sense' (Wodak 2004: 29).

Globalization is understood here as a process of unifying attitudes in the context of capitalism, neoliberal ideology and globalization being one of the most important terms of recent tools to explain our world (Chazbijewicz 2005:168). There is an assumption that categories of nationality and national identity remain crucial as categories of identification for people living in the modern world (Gwiazda 2008: 7–11). Globalization has its own *alter ego* in alter-globalism movements that play their role as political factors in the process of reshaping the notion of nation. Recent events organized by opponents to Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) in New Zealand well illustrate how such movements raise political awareness influencing the idea of nation.

There is a general view that globalization started around the 15th century as a consequence of geographic discoveries around the world that started a global economy stage. The second phase, as some assume, started in the 19th century with industrial revolution, whereas the third stage was strictly connected with the collapse of globalization because of two world wars that dramatically damaged world economy between 1914–1945. After WWII the new process of globalization started which is called modern globalization. This phase is characterised as a phenomenon which consists of high level of interrelationship and economic integrity. Internet and other telecommunication technologies are perceived as key elements of this globalization phase (Scholte 2000).

The following phenomena characterizing global world can be observed:

1. Rise of post industrial society based on knowledge characterized by 'codification of theoretical knowledge' (Bell 1999: XXXIX).
2. Post materialism: fall of believers; rise of secularization; resignation from materialism; increased interest in human rights; attention to discrimination, rise of global civil society (Inglehart, Norris 2005: 21–23).
3. Global civil society on the basis of shared political values emerge.
4. Recognition of international law set over domestic law.
5. Participation in global economy and global market.
6. International relations are based on nation state system.
7. Many people leading nomadic lives and being constantly on the move established many identities (nation like) and links to many different cultures.
8. People lost their identity becoming their own God and last institution (absolute).

9. Consumption and well – being are one of the main aims of people of Western Civilization.
10. Global system favours technical skills, decrease of humanism is observed.

At the same time the following phenomena emerged:

1. Gaps between those who have and have not widen (rich countries are several times wealthier than poor countries in terms of GDP per capita).
2. The world seems to be under constant economic pressure.
3. People live under constant threat of factors such as: pandemic, pollution, hunger, war, unemployment.
4. The world is divided accordingly in three parts: The First World (mainly northern hemisphere), The Second World (countries called developing ones), and The Third World (low income countries which are completely undeveloped in the meaning of post – industrial society).
5. Western lifestyle influences and dominates people from other countries while Western World loses its importance in the present world in demographic, economic and political meaning.
6. The world's centre of gravity moves from West to East from East to Pacific Rim.
7. Technological development is parallel to dehumanization process.
8. New technologies help create global civil society thus creating more autonomous individuals.
9. Rise of cultural diversification is not as high as the dynamics of branding on global scale.
10. Postmodern times have not abolished old values and behaviours in international relations that are still based on nation states.

The concept of discursive construction of identity places a language (namely particular notions) in the very centre of social and political actions making individual experiences rooted in wider society (Starego 2012: 35; Wodak 2004) although statements about socially constructed world may be a slip into banality (Berger, Luckmann 1983: 7). To avoid it there is a must to reveal the context which is ideologically not only constructed but also perceived. Political discourse is understood here as a communicative act made in public sphere between public institution and political actors (Karwat, Ziółkowski 2013: 83–84). Statement about socially constructed world is an *a priori* assumption in this study. It will be shown also in the meaning of understanding international relation, which are perceived as an outcome of critical theory and are called constructivism. Advocates of constructivism highlight the importance of both structures ideas and material structures. Followers of this thought think that shared ideas and values influence social and political factors as much as material factors (Reuss-Smit 2006: 275–279). Unless there is evidence to the contrary it is

obvious that identities organize the meaning in social context, which is very dynamic in a network society. The problem of recognizing collective or individual identity as primary worked out to the first concept. The main question concerning identity is: who and what for constructs collective identity in the context defined by power relationship (Castells 2004: 6–7).

Critical theory approach

The main paper of Frankfurt School director Max Horkheimer who established critical theory was published under the title: *Critical and traditional theory*. In this text critical theory is precisely narrowed to the meaning of its early stage represented by M. Horkheimer and A. Adorno. It means that all work here is within the statement (within critical theory) that people by their work (doings) reconstruct our reality which enslaves them to an even greater extent than before, (Szahaj 2008: 21–24), which is a sceptic view on technological development of our civilization affecting our understanding of the nation concept.

For M. Horkheimer the main task of critical theory was a constant demand for a social change (Walentowicz 2004: 11–12). Critical theory was established against traditional theory which did not appreciate critical mind being founded only on direct data taken from the world as "true" without taking into consideration an individual role in social acting and without recognition of socially constructed reality aimed at finding someone's purposes (Walentowicz 2004:20). Critical theory is a call for change. Those who use critical theory ask: why?

Theory of dual world order
(globalization and cultural diversification)

Dual world order means that features of modern world are diametrically opposed. These features are phenomena that are known on the one hand as globalization, and on the other hand as a sign of strengthening regional/local identity. In this way the modern world remains innerly diversified. On these conditions an individual being is under the process of decentralization, which makes people more subjective (Choduski 2007: 10). In this sense a great theoretical perspective is needed to indicate main processes that have occurred. An observation is focused on equality, democracy, solidarity, respect of cultural diversity and environmental inviolability (Chodubski 2001: 28). In the time of globalization a phenomenon emerges that shows the race of nation – states to gain the access to global capital. This tendency is not in direct con-

tradiction to a rising number of politically independent states (Bauman 2000: 81). The role of the state in creating a nation brand – nation is to find one category for all of them which construct our reality. However, there seems to be the more powerful one – to connect people of different cultures. It will be shown later why we may discuss dual world order, and how the state creates branding strategies. New global order which depends on Internet still recognizes the importance of state. Functional perspective captures state in an array of function, one of them is regulative and innovative that makes other spheres of state – economic, social and cultural under state control. State policy makers build barriers and create possibilities, deciding how the state should promote itself, also beyond its borders in order to gain desirable economic order (Chodubski 2009: 45). Thus the State has the power to use categories such as 'nation' to engage people in its practice aimed at gaining global capital or participating in global economy. Which seems in some way similar to central planning strategy that was abandoned with John Maynard Keynes thoughts after Milton Friedman and Friedrich Hayek global success of their ideas (Leszczyński 2013: 468–474, 490).

Hypothesis

The hypothesis of this article is that the modern concept of nation has been modified in a way (by various global factors – such as ideologies like neo-liberalism) that is quite visible in New Zealand, that it is highly connected with the neoliberal meaning of well–being in the context of globalization and cultural diversification. In this sense the concept of nation is at two levels – global (with its economic paradigm and national interests), and local (with its course to highlight local customs, habits and signs, sense of common background and shared course of history).

There is a number of questions that have arisen:

1. How do New Zealanders represent themselves in their country and abroad as a nation?
2. How do the government and political parties present the concept of nation?
3. How do minority groups represent their devotion to the idea of New Zealand nation?
4. In which way New Zealanders were/are perceived outside as a nation?
5. Which particular factors influence the meaning of understanding the concept of nation in New Zealand?
6. What types of modern global factors have created New Zealand's idea of nation?
7. How is the idea of nation in New Zealand related to the concept of economically prospective country?

8. What are the most important values for New Zealand nation?
9. In which way can we witness the creation of global society of non – believers, equally diversified people committed to the idea of well – being even if it means losing their own identity (previous)?
10. Is the creation of nation brand 'New Zealand' a threat for New Zealanders?

Empirical data and methods

Various types of empirical data were used: primary sources (from different archives in Poland, New Zealand and The United Kingdom); subjectively selected newspapers; political parties websites, documents of parliamentary debates, immigration law documents. All sources were gathered during years of search queries conducted in archives, libraries in Poland and the United Kingdom and also via the Internet. This is not a comprehensive study but rather a case study, one of the main methods of political science, which enables phenomena taken into consideration to be revealed. This method is relevant to the critical theory approach because of its non – ideological interest (Gerring 2007: 90) and because focusing on texts may be perceived as a part of the discursive (qualitative) studies. This investigation is carried out within the perspective of discursive construction of national identity (Wodak, 2009: 7–48). By the means of data gathering process this is an experimental data gathering investigation (Morton, Williams 2008: 340–341).

This study focuses on changeability of the meaning of nation and how these changes have created the new idea of nation. The 'new' means something that has been under constant development and is not compared to any meaning of 'old'. This study is conducted not from diachronic perspective but rather from synchronic one (Jung 1973). From political science view the use of empirical data analysis concerning the term 'nation' is determined by the categories such as: (1) sense of a common background, (2) interests and (3) course of history.

(1)
Sense of a common background

In *New Zealand Official Yearbook 2010* it reads that: 'The Ministry for Cultural Heritage Te Manatū Taonga (MCH) is one of many agencies through which government manages its involvement in culture. Its role is to recognise, celebrate, and promote culture and heritage – putting them at the forefront of living in New Zealand and therefore enriching our nation (...) MCH administers laws aimed at protecting

objects and symbols of national identity' (New Zealand Official Yearbook 2010: 251––252). Heritage as an element of common background is recognised by New Zealand officials in their publications: 'Tongariro National Park is one of the limited number of sites given the world heritage status for both its natural and cultural values. It contains some of the world's most continuously active strato – volcanoes, and was the first national park in the world to be freely gifted to the nation by indigenous people, Ngāti Tūwharetoa, to whom the mountains are sacred'. (New Zealand Official Yearbook 2010: 323).

Common background may also be tied by geographical proximity: 'New Zealand is a Pacific nation and links with its Pacific neighbours are long – standing and far – reaching. The Pacific region is where New Zealand has the scale, resources, people, and relationships that can influence positive and real change and make lasting differences in people's lives'. (New Zealand Official Yearbook 2010: 65). Giving people wider understanding of their sphere of influence assures them of shared values by 'others' who inhabit the same places which may be highly important in multicultural society. This assumption is well seen when some observe John Key statements like the one in front of 44th Pacific Islands Forum held in the Republic of Marshall Islands when he said: 'We are a Pacific nation; this is our neighbourhood and we are committed to development and stability right across the Forum nations' (John Key 2013).

Technological development which is highly important in the modern world and has a great impact on nations' economy also influences the sense of common background creating a feeling similar to the idea of invented traditions that New Zealanders not only are, but also must be innovators. As New Zealand Prime Minister said on 1 July 2013: 'New Zealand is a nation of innovators'(John Key 2013). So, New Zealanders are more than some particular ethnic or national group; they are assigned to the notion of innovators and because of this to the meaning of New Zealanders – nation of innovators. Creativity and fairness which naturally is connected with the notion of innovation is highlighted also by New Zealand government opposition as an element of sense of common background. During the election campaign in 2014 David Cunliff, a Labour Party leader said: 'This is a great country, it is built on great values, compassion, resourcefulness, creativity, respect for our environment, most of all opportunities and fairness for all regardless of their background those are my values. More importantly they are New Zealand values and Labours' values. But sadly those values do not match the reality of life for too many New Zealanders today. Today too many New Zealand's families are working even harder but just cannot get a hit because there are not enough good jobs'.(David Cunliff 2014). In New Zealand some journalists also relate the notion of innovation to social development which was crucial for New Zealand and modern world in the past: "New Zealand Herald", wrote: 'For

the country who was first to give women the right to vote and reach the world's highest peak (tied with Nepal), we should be proud of our innovative heritage. As a nation we need to support actively and give our great ideas a go'(O'Neil 2014).

After Christchurch earthquake John Key gave a speech in which he stated: 'As a nation we were all aware that as the last nine days have worn on, the chances of those who have been caught up in this terrible tragedy being found alive were decreasing' (John Key 2011). In this way sense of a common background that depends on common experience unites people and outweighs their diversity.

(2)
Interest

'Sport and physical recreation play a huge part in the lives of most New Zealanders. The activities have a positive impact on the nation's well – being and create a sense of community and nationhood' (New Zealand Official Yearbook 2010: 255). Some can relate such meaning of nationhood to the idea which was well known in authoritarian regimes in the past. This, as we know currently, to the idea of the need to participate in institutional life of each country for everyone who wants to succeed, mainly by acknowledging state institution and best known language (Kymlicka 2009: 418). Sports is definitely one of the main gates to unify people's attitude within some geographical area under state power. 'New Zealand is hosting the 2011 Rugby World Cup, which will generate both direct and indirect benefits for New Zealand, including tourism revenues, new business opportunities, reinforcing achievement in sports and the arts, strengthening local and national pride (...)' (New Zealand Official Yearbook 2010: 264).

Common interest may show itself also in other perspectives, such as in marketing perspective. In 1999 New Zealand started a marketing campaign *100% Pure New Zealand*. This is how it was summed up 10 years later: 'Ten years on, the campaign has proved its worth – 50 awards, a Chelsea Flower Show gold – medal – winning garden, a giant rugby ball in Paris, London and Tokyo, thousands of advertising spots, and billions of viewers. It is seen as one of the best examples of our nation branding in the world' (New Zealand Official Yearbook 2010: 264). This is the part of branding strategy that offers tools for creating a nation as a brand in the globalized world. In such circumstances the nation becomes a good or commodity that may be bought or sold on the world market (True, Gao 2010: 43). What is crucial for the state is to use language and political discourse in order to instil in their citizens the conviction that their nation is well managed on global market,which in turn may positively affect their standard of life.

Also technocratic language is very popular those days: 'The successful nations of the 21ˢᵗ century will be those ones with the ability to develop and exploit new ideas. Science and technology are primary sources of those ideas, and have a central role to play in New Zealand's economic and social development' (New Zealand Official Yearbook 2010: 288). It seems that people during the process of dehumanization may gain some real profits. In 2014 one of the Members of Parliament Brendan Horan (independent), of Maori origin, asked his students where New Zealand nation was going and what was important for New Zealanders. Then during the parliament debate he said: 'I wonder where we are going as a nation and what is important to us. I asked this question some university students just yesterday, and here is what they said. They said that they needed pathways into young people owning a home. Currently, they are priced out of the market. They need coding in schools to learn how to make their own operation systems and learn how to protect their privacy as a nation and as citizens. (...) We need to plan for children, young people, and existing workforces so that we can give them the skills and competences so that we as a nation can compete in that new world' (New Zealand Parliament 2014: 18399). As some may argue, this is an only way to succeed on a global scale for people from one country, and unifying people's needs and behaviour may lead to creating a new idea of nation in multicultural society more quickly. These words will support this perspective: 'If we are to succeed as a nation, we need to work out ways to grow our economy (...)' (John Key 2009).

Paul Goldmisth from National Party said: 'It is, indeed, international trade that is lifting hundreds of millions of people out of poverty as we speak. As a trading company, New Zealand has been a beneficiary of globalisation and stands to benefit much more if current trade talks succeed. In the meantime, millions of people have a chance to raise their living standards as they are drawn into the global economy (...) we need to keep the skills that we need for a successful and innovative trading nation, encouraging more of our people into areas like engineering, information and communication technology, science, history, and other such subjects (...)' (New Zealand Parliament 2014: 15843). Politicians from a ruling party openly admit that New Zealand is a trading company. In this perspective there is no space to disagree with those who highlight neoliberal features of modern notion of nation. Even if some will take New Zealand history into consideration. Another politician from National Party Chris Auchinvole argues: 'We need to earn the money that we require to progress as a nation' (New Zealand Parliament 2014: 15843). This may be perceived as a vicious circle. People of New Zealand must work to become a modern nation, and New Zealand must compete on global scale to be a state. This is a well constructed argument for Frankfurt School adherents.

Opponents of National Party, Labour Party activists have similar points of view, David Parker argued' (...) David Cunliffe successfully laid out his and Labour's vision for New Zealand to build the future for all the people, an economy that works for all New Zealanders, a fair and just society where all live in dignity, an environment we protect, and a nation we can be proud of'. (New Zealand Parliament 2013: 14406). There was an election campaign, during which David Cunliffe gave a speech about State of the Nation. He also, almost similarly to his main political opponent connects the future of New Zealand with an idea of 'prosperous society' (David Cunliffe 2014). Apart from that Jacinda Arden from Labour Party said: 'This election is between a party who wants to build a New Zealand with people and their well – being at the centre'. (Cunliffe, Arden: 2014).

Apart from political speeches there is law that defines how people can and cannot support above ideas. In Immigration Act 2009 there is a statement that: 'The purpose of this Act is to manage immigration in a way that balances the national interest, as determined by the Crown, and the rights of individuals' (Immigration Act 2009: part 1,3–1). It means that New Zealand as a liberal democracy has many barriers for those who want to settle. If someone analyzes immigrant policy of New Zealand more precisely then a common interest will be recognised. Those who may settle are well educated, English speaking, and usually technically superior to those who cannot.

At the beginning of global economic crisis, in 2008, John Key said: 'I have always believed that given the opportunity to choose a path to a more successful, enterprising, and prosperous nation, New Zealanders would sign up to policies that would bring a brighter future'. (John Key 2008).

Phil Goff (Labour Party): 'In April 2008, we were the first developed nation to sign a free trade agreement with China. We remain the only developed country to enjoy such an agreement. It is high quality and phases out tariff barriers across the board for our exporters to the fastest growing and biggest market in the world (...) Our future as a nation is closely bound to the international environment in which we live – in terms of peace, security, stability, and economic and environmental well – being. Building on past achievements we can ensure that we are in the position to help shape the world we are part of'. (Phil Goff 2014). Everyone may read how important it is for New Zealand government to sell New Zealand brand on a global market: During the visit at Expo Show Prime Minister John Key said: 'The spotlight will be on New Zealand and this is a great opportunity to promote our nation in China' (John Key 2010).

From Polish point of view an antinomy in New Zealand foreign policy is clearly visible. What seems to be idealistic for some(New Zealand hosted over 700 hundred Polish children) turns out to be pragmatic for others (during the time when Poland

was a Soviet satellite New Zealand government had ties with communists as well as with Polish government in exile even if they did not recognise Poles in London since 1945 and in 1980s New Zealand government agreed under Polish communist pressure to block some media channels when they were about to broadcast programs about Solidarity). This antinomy is obvious in same cases. For instance in 1968 New Zealand made an offer to Poland that it would take Polish ships for New Zealand production surplus of wool and sheep meat (Polish Institute and Sikorski Museum, AII.E – 1399, Letter from J. Pobóg-Jaworowski to the Foreign Affairs Minister J. Gawenda, 8 August 1968).

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(3)
Course of history

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'New Zealand has changed enormously since the early days of this publication, most obviously in how much more ethnically diverse we have become as a nation. Immigrants from many countries have been making New Zealand their home in recent decades, enriching the country with their cultures and traditions' (New Zealand Official Yearbook 2010: 12). But as we see from many recently published academic works only those ethnic groups which are not bound to New Zealand Maori and other Pacific minority groups benefit from this process

In the past there was also a discourse about New Zealand nation based on the meaning of well-being: 'New Zealand would grow only if people and capital could be attracted. This stimulated a sense of a single nation rather than separate settlements, and led to the abolition of the provinces in 1876' (New Zealand Official Yearbook 2010: 18).

One of Green Party Members of Parliament, Cathrine Delahunty said: 'I really want to acknowledge the *tangata whenua* for the efforts, the ahi kā, to hold fast to the whenua, to the whakapapa, and to the history, because that is a gift to the whole nation' (New Zealand Parliament 2014: 18413). This MP pointed out the past times as a source of legitimation for modern state power. But the truth is that New Zealand state has evolved from bicultural to multicultural country where notion of nation is strictly connected with the meaning of well-being.

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Conclusion

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Underlying ideology – "common agreement" for culturally and ethnically diversified nation because of a need to create robust economy; nation as a branding process and as a good to sell in a global market, which is simply a commodity today (True,

Gao 2010: 43); nation fetish as it was seen by M. Horkheimer is clearly visible today in Western world concept of nation, particularly in Aotearoa.

It seems that the term nation is employed by neoliberal ideologies to avoid discussing past difficulties, and to create a nation on shared values of well-being. These days it is seen as a value of Western civilization and in traditional theory it has been seen as a part of institution of consumption(Ferguson 2013: 244–313). But in the perspective of critical theory (Frankfurt School), the concept of nation is employed by power and state to promote hard work and effectiveness in people's lives – effectiveness in their sacrifice for being well – off. In other perspective what may be observed in New Zealand is part of a global process where global civil society emerges under constant pressure of economic factors.

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