

## RESEARCH ARTICLE OPEN ACCESS

# Macro-Level Climate and Minority Voice: How Indigenous Multiculturalism Relates to Collective Action

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**Received:** 15 December 2023 | **Accepted:** 22 January 2025

**Funding:** This research was supported by a Swiss National Science Foundation Postdoc.Mobility grant awarded to the first author (P500PS\_202942), the Center for Intercultural and Indigenous Research (supporting collection of the ELRI data; ANID/FONDAP #15110006), the FONDECYT program (supporting collection of the ELRI data; ANID/FONDECYT #1201788), the Templeton Religion Trust (supporting collective of the NZAVS data; TRT-2021-10418) and the Swiss National Science Foundation Center of Competence in Research (NCCR)—on the move (51NF40-205605).

**Keywords:** collective action | Indigenous peoples | injustice | multiculturalism | normative climate

## ABSTRACT

Inequalities and discrimination against Indigenous minorities are pervasive in post-colonial societies. Collective action is critical for Indigenous minorities to redress these injustices. Integrating research on collective action, macro-level norms and multiculturalism, we argue that macro-level climates characterized by non-Indigenous endorsement of Indigenous multiculturalism policies are likely associated with Indigenous minorities' collective action. Two multilevel studies in Chile (non-Indigenous majorities  $N = 1132$ ; Indigenous minorities  $N = 1160$ ; 26 communities) and New Zealand (NZ) (non-Indigenous majorities  $N = 12,136$ ; Indigenous minorities  $N = 3484$ ; 108 communities) reveal that non-Indigenous macro-level (i.e., aggregated) endorsement of resource-based policies was related to increased Indigenous minorities' reaction to injustices and collective action. Non-Indigenous macro-level endorsement of symbolic policies showed similar (albeit weaker) results in NZ, but not in Chile. Thus, macro-level climates that endorse concrete measures to address power asymmetries are particularly effective at fostering Indigenous minorities' collective action. Theoretical and practical implications are discussed.

## 1 | Introduction

Collective action is a powerful means for minority groups to express their voice and urge political actors to redress injustices experienced by their group. There is ample evidence showing that perceptions and affect regarding injustice, coupled with political efficacy and group identification, are key determinants of minorities' propensity to engage in collective action (for reviews, see Van Zomeren 2013; Van Zomeren, Postmes, and Spears 2008).

In addition to these individual-level factors, the broader context impacts engagement in collective action (e.g., Bou Zeineddine and Leach 2021; Louis, La Macchia, and Amiot 2016; Thomas et al. 2022). In the present research, we focus on a social psychological aspect of the intergroup context and suggest that the macro-level climate, here defined by generalized majority attitudes in the wider local community, plays a meaningful role in fostering minorities' response to injustice and collective action. We do so by focusing on Indigenous minority groups in Chile and

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New Zealand (NZ) and examining whether their engagement in collective action is impacted by macro-level climates endorsing policies that structurally and financially redress historical injustices (resource-based policies) and those that sustain their cultural identity and traditions (symbolic-based policies).

Resource- and symbolic-based policies for Indigenous peoples reflect broader Indigenous multiculturalism policies that are designed specifically, in principle, to support Indigenous causes (Davidson and Coburn 2021).<sup>1</sup> Accordingly, their endorsement by the wider (non-Indigenous) community may communicate allyship, either sincerely or ‘disingenuously’ (Chaney, Cipollina, and Sanchez 2024) and be empowering (e.g., Plaut, Thomas, and Goren 2009; Vorauer and Quesnel 2017b), or disempowering (e.g., Dover, Kaiser, and Major 2020; Gündemir and Galinsky 2018) for Indigenous minorities. Indeed, existing research on macro-level norms has yielded mixed evidence concerning the extent to which ‘inclusionary’ climates foster broad political engagement among minorities (Just and Anderson 2014; Tyrberg 2020). Given the pervasive inequalities faced by Indigenous peoples (González, Carvacho, and Jiménez-Moya 2022; Houkamau, Stronge, and Sibley 2017), we hypothesize that beyond inclusionary climates, macro-level climates that endorse contentious, resource-based policies may validate minorities’ recognition of injustices and support their action for social change. The present studies thus adopt a multilevel approach and integrate research on macro-level normative climates, multiculturalism and minority collective action.

In the following sections, we first summarize existing research on predictors of minority collective action and then describe multiculturalism policies and their implications for minority group members’ sense of power. Finally, we outline symbolic- and resource-based policies as two common facets of Indigenous multiculturalism and theorize how macro-level normative climates that endorse resource policies may be particularly empowering for Indigenous peoples to respond to injustices and collectively defend their causes.

## 1.1 | Macro-Level Norms and Collective Action

Predictors of collective action have been an important focus of social psychological research over recent decades (Agostini and van Zomeren 2021; Bou Zeineddine and Leach 2021). It is via this research that the influential Social Identity Model for Collective Action (SIMCA; Van Zomeren, Postmes, and Spears 2008) emerged, integrating social identity, resource mobilization and relative deprivation theories to show that politicized identity, perceived efficacy, moral conviction and perceived injustice are key determinants of collective action (e.g., see Thomas et al. 2020; Van Zomeren 2013). Perceiving *group-based* (rather than individual) disadvantages (Smith and Ortiz 2002) that are deemed unfair and that elicit affect (such as anger; Van Zomeren, Postmes, and Spears 2008) are indeed key in predicting collective action among minorities. Furthermore, there need to be opportunities, social support and other resources available to mount a successful movement and legitimize the recognition of such injustices (Klandermans and Oegema 1987; see also McCarthy and Zald 1977). The social context thus plays a vital role in fostering or undermining engagement in collective action (Bou Zeineddine

and Leach 2021; Louis, La Macchia, and Amiot 2016; Thomas et al. 2022). In the present research, we focus on the macro-level normative climate (Christ et al. 2014, 2015; Just and Anderson 2014) as a key social psychological component of this social context.

Macro-level normative climates comprise aggregated individual attitudes and reflect shared forms of thinking within a given community or geographical unit (Green, Visintin, and Sarrasin 2018). Such climates can be examined at different levels (e.g., national, regional, or community levels; Green and Staerklé 2023). In the present research, we examine the macro-level climate within communities, thereby capturing the local norms that people are exposed to in their daily lives and that have a significant impact on their societal views and behaviour (Fine 2010).

Macro-level climates have often been assessed as more or less inclusionary toward minority groups and have been represented, for example, by aggregating positive beliefs or attitudes towards minorities (e.g., Just and Anderson 2014; Visintin et al. 2019). These climates have been shown to impact various social psychological outcomes, including (immigrant) minority acculturation preferences (Christ et al. 2015), political engagement (Just and Anderson 2014), support for antidiscrimination laws (Kauff et al. 2016) and majority prejudice (Christ et al. 2014; Visintin et al. 2019). This strand of research suggests that inclusionary climates generally foster harmonious intergroup outcomes.

Nevertheless, little research has examined the effect of macro-level normative climates on minority collective action—an outcome that requires some degree of conflict to favour social change. Some research has examined the role of *perceived* normative climate on collective action (see Tankard and Paluck 2016). This research shows that perceived exclusionary norms are both negatively and positively indirectly related to engagement in collective action among sexual minority group members (Eisner et al. 2022). The present set of studies goes beyond research on perceived norms to examine *actual* (majority) endorsement of policies within a given local context. We argue that such endorsement (or lack thereof) creates a macro-level normative climate that signals a generalized support (or opposition) towards specific political causes in one’s community (Green, Visintin, and Sarrasin 2018; Just and Anderson 2014), which can either foster or undermine collective action.

The *content* of normative climates takes on importance here. Indeed, existing research reveals conflicting evidence concerning the effect of inclusionary normative climates on minority (immigrant) political engagement, with positive effects on uninstitutionalized political action (i.e., outside electoral politics; Just and Anderson 2014) and negative effects on voting behaviour (Tyrberg 2020). This highlights ambiguity in the extent to which minorities may feel empowered in such contexts. However, we argue that normative climates take on different characteristics, beyond their inclusionary or exclusionary orientation. In the present work, we examine the role of normative climates through the lens of macro-level endorsement of multiculturalism as a specific set of policies, with different *types* of policies designed to improve conditions of minorities (described below), and which we expect should relate differently to minority collective action.

We thus highlight the need to acknowledge the kind of normative climate under scrutiny by bridging research on collective action with research on both normative climates and multiculturalism.

## 1.2 | Multiculturalism and Minority Voice

Multiculturalism is widely known to be polysemantic and multifaceted (e.g., Bloemraad and Wright 2014; Ward et al. 2018). In addition to its demographic and ideological components (presence of diverse cultural groups; value of differences between these groups), multiculturalism also includes concrete policies. These policies comprise measures not only to promote inclusion and diversity but also to respond to claims and ensure respect for the (differential) rights of various minority groups (Gale and Staerklé 2019; Koopmans et al. 2005; Kymlicka 1995). In this way, multiculturalism policies are designed to both promote an inclusive society and support, listen to and ensure respect for disadvantaged group members who otherwise find themselves disregarded at the margins of society.

Existing research has largely focused on the harmonious outcomes associated with multiculturalism. For example, multiculturalism as a diversity management strategy has been found to be particularly (albeit not always) effective at reducing prejudice targeting minority group members (for reviews, see Plaut et al. 2018; Whitley and Webster 2019). Furthermore, majority endorsement of this strategy has been found to correlate with increased sense of commitment and belonging among minorities in the workplace (Plaut, Thomas, and Goren 2009; see also Bloemraad and Wright 2014). Nevertheless, research has yet to examine majority endorsement of multiculturalism as a predictor of minority engagement in collective action in favour of their causes. This is surprising given the policy's emphasis on *respect for minority claims*. Indeed, existing research suggests that disadvantaged minority group members generally show more concern about being respected than about being liked (Swencionis, Dupree, and Fiske 2017) and show more interest in discussing issues of power and social change than of prejudice (Saguy et al. 2008). Furthermore, research shows that perceiving less prejudice may undermine disadvantaged minorities' propensity to fight for improved conditions for their group (e.g., Dixon and Levine 2012; Dovidio et al. 2015; see also Urbiola, McGarty, and Costa-Lopes 2022). It is therefore crucial to study how majority endorsement of multiculturalism impacts minority voice in terms of collective action (see Hirschmann 1970; see also Vorauer and Quesnel 2017a, 2017b).

To these ends, research on the impact of multiculturalism on minorities' views reveals conflicting results. On the one hand, experimental work suggests that, when multiculturalism (i.e., valuing cultural group differences) is salient, ethnic minorities report feeling more powerful and influential and implicitly associate their self-concepts with more strength, assertiveness and confidence (Vorauer and Quesnel 2017b). Ethnic minorities also appear to express themselves more clearly and directly in intergroup exchanges and even successfully convince majority group members of their views (Vorauer and Quesnel 2017a). In other words, contexts communicating endorsement of multiculturalism may be particularly empowering for ethnic minorities, promoting a sense of voice.

On the other hand, experimental research also suggests that, when a multiculturalism policy of 'embracing and celebrating racial and ethnic diversity' is adopted in organizational contexts, both ethnic minorities and dominant group members paradoxically perceive discrimination claims as illegitimate (Dover, Kaiser, and Major 2020; Gündemir and Galinsky 2018). Furthermore, the lower levels of prejudice experienced by minority group members under multiculturalism (Plaut et al. 2018; Whitley and Webster 2019) can placate disadvantaged minorities (Dixon and Levine 2012; Dovidio et al. 2015; Urbiola, McGarty, and Costa-Lopes 2022; see also Glasford and Johnston 2018). In other words, contexts communicating endorsement of multiculturalism policies can also backfire and attenuate perceptions of injustice, thereby undermining a key predictor of collective action. But how might macro-level endorsement of different *types* of *Indigenous* multiculturalism policies impact Indigenous minorities' support for social change? Examining the different types of multiculturalism policies could clarify the conflicting results in the literature.

## 1.3 | Resource and Symbolic Policies: The Case of Indigenous Multiculturalism Policies

Within the context of colonial history, Indigenous minorities face the challenge of the continuing conquest of their ancestral territory and way of life (González, Carvacho, and Jiménez-Moya 2022; Houkamau, Stronge, and Sibley 2017; Martínez Cobo 1983; Simpson 2017; Whyte 2017). Although sociohistorical differences exist between countries and Indigenous groups, many policies have been developed to respond to Indigenous minorities' claims and pervasive structural disadvantage rooted in this conquest. Indigenous multiculturalism policies thus constitute a unique set of policies that reflect, for example, recognition and restitution of land, self-government and cultural rights, the upholding of historic treaties, guarantees of representation or consultation in the central government, and affirmative action focusing on the Indigenous population (Davidson and Coburn 2021; Kymlicka 1995). These policies can be loosely divided into two overarching dimensions: (1) policies that focus on resources and political power and (2) policies that are symbolic and that ensure the maintenance of Indigenous cultural identity and traditions.

Resource policies are contentious and rather difficult for dominant, non-Indigenous group members to accept (Sibley and Liu 2006). By directly seeking to equalize the distribution of power between groups, resource policies ensure that Indigenous peoples are included in (national or local) political decision-making but also permit distinct territory and political/legal autonomy. As such, they tangibly support Indigenous minorities' voice. Macro-level endorsement of resource policies may therefore communicate genuine allyship from the majority surrounding Indigenous minorities and be associated with increased engagement in collective action among Indigenous minorities (H1).

In the present research, we also examine perceived injustice as a mechanism that helps explain the associations between macro-level policy endorsement and collective action.<sup>2</sup> Importantly, resource policies directly combat historical injustices, whether in relation to stolen land (treaty violations), political oppression (withholding voice in decision-making), or systemic discrimination (justifying affirmative action). The very existence of these

policies thus implies an *overt recognition that historical injustices exist and persist* (see Sibley and Osborne 2016). As such, we expect macro-level endorsement of resource policies to contribute to validating Indigenous minorities' recognition of injustices and, in turn, support their engagement in collective action (an indirect effect; H2). In other words, when Indigenous minorities live in communities where the normative climate endorses contentious, compensatory resource policies, Indigenous minorities should experience support in their (existing) sense of injustice and, thus, engage in collective action.

In contrast to resource policies, symbolic policies seek to ensure Indigenous minorities are included in the national self-concept through, for example, recognition and promotion of language and cultural traditions. Macro-level endorsement of such policies appears similar to inclusionary normative climates and could therefore facilitate a sense of commitment to society and belonging among Indigenous minorities (see Christ et al. 2015; Just and Anderson 2014; Plaut, Thomas, and Goren 2009). Nevertheless, given the emphasis of collective action on conflict to favour social change rather than harmony that could subvert it, two opposing associations may emerge in response to symbolically harmonious climates (competing hypothesis): either a positive (H3a) or negative (H3b) association between non-Indigenous endorsement of macro-level symbolic policies and Indigenous engagement in collective action. Importantly, Indigenous minorities' perceptions of injustice in response to these normative climates should help clarify these competing hypotheses by revealing the potential mechanisms underlying engagement in collective action.

There are (at least) two ways in which macro-level endorsement of symbolic policies could affect Indigenous minorities' collective action. On the one hand, macro-level endorsement of symbolic policies may provide a tokenistic illusion of progressivism (Sibley and Osborne 2016; a form of disingenuous allyship) of which Indigenous minorities would likely be cognizant, thereby increasing their frustration concerning enduring injustices and, in turn, increasing their collective action (indirect effect; H4a). On the other hand, macro-level endorsement of symbolic policies may be associated with increased perceived fairness (consistent with Plaut, Thomas, and Goren 2009), thereby suppressing Indigenous minorities' recognition of injustices and undermining collective action in favour of their group's causes (indirect effect; H4b; Agostini and van Zomeren 2021; Van Zomeren, Postmes, and Spears 2008; see also Dover, Kaiser, and Major 2020; Gündemir and Galinsky 2018). Like existing research on inclusionary climates, the association between normative climates endorsing symbolic policies and Indigenous peoples' collective action could therefore be either positive or negative.

We therefore posit different hypotheses as a function of the policy reflected in the macro-level normative climate. Within our predictions, we view perceived injustice as a key mechanism that intervenes in the relationship between macro-level endorsement of resource policies and collective action. Conversely, given the contrasting ways in which symbolic policies could either validate or obscure perceptions of injustice among Indigenous peoples, we advance competing hypotheses for the indirect effects of macro-level symbolic policy endorsement and Indigenous collective action. These hypotheses are summarized in Figure 1. We test

them in two countries with substantial Indigenous minority populations, Chile and NZ, utilizing existing large-scale survey data available in each country.

Although NZ has long sought to redress ongoing inequalities that impact the Indigenous minority (Māori; Houkamau, Stronge, and Sibley 2017; Sheridan and Hand 2011) and Chile has discussed openly their colonial past in the context of a recent constitutional referendum (Piscopo and Siavelis 2021; Tricot 2023), we expect to find support for our hypotheses in both countries. Indeed, both countries acknowledge the structurally disadvantaged position of Indigenous peoples, their experience of historic and present-day discrimination and oppression, their marginalized political voice and the (ebbing and flowing) existence of political measures to address these injustices through resource and symbolic means described above. Both countries also have similarly sized Indigenous populations, as Indigenous minorities constitute approximately 13% of the total population in Chile (<http://www.censo2017.cl/>) and approximately 18% of the total population in NZ (Statistics New Zealand 2023). As such, we expect our hypotheses to replicate across contexts given these important similar intergroup experiences.

## 2 | Study 1

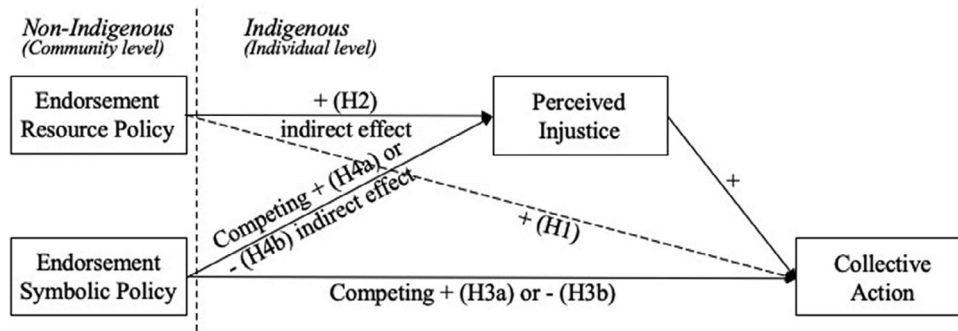
Study 1 was conducted in Chile, a country where Indigenous peoples (including the Mapuche and Aymara) have fought for centuries against submission, systemic exploitation and appropriation of their territories to colonizers. Despite the challenges associated with studying Indigenous populations (including ethical and accessibility concerns), secondary survey data from Chile examining relations between Indigenous groups and the non-Indigenous population are available from the Longitudinal Study of Intercultural Relations (ELRI for its initials in Spanish), aligned with the objectives of the present research. All constructs underlying our research question and hypotheses outlined above are available in these data.

### 2.1 | Methods

#### 2.1.1 | Participants

Data came from the ELRI—a Chilean nation-wide panel study initiated in 2016 (Centro de Estudios Interculturales e Indígenas 2016). A codebook and all syntax files used in this study and Study 2 are available at [https://osf.io/gybvww/?view\\_only=f48e5c88f44147278458e0beb88bba76](https://osf.io/gybvww/?view_only=f48e5c88f44147278458e0beb88bba76). Further information can be found on the respective survey websites: <https://www.ciir.cl/ciir/elri/> (ELRI), <https://www.nzavs.auckland.ac.nz> (NZAVS).<sup>3</sup> The ELRI was conducted in person with Indigenous and non-Indigenous Chileans, using probabilistic, random and stage-stratified sampling. First, 120 communes in Chile were selected (from a total of 346) because they had an Indigenous population of over 9% or more than 0.04% of the total national Indigenous population. A 'mirror-match sample' design was then used, involving the random selection of Indigenous and non-Indigenous participants in the same selected blocks or rural areas within the communes.





**FIGURE 1** | Conceptual model summarizing direct and indirect effects of macro-level normative climate on indigenous collective action.

To ensure a sufficient sample size to conduct multilevel modelling among the Indigenous Chilean population and to calculate community-level predictors among majority, non-Indigenous Chileans, we used Time 1 (2016) data from the ELRI (total Indigenous Chileans  $N = 1829$ ; total non-Indigenous Chileans  $N = 1788$ ).<sup>4</sup> Because participants were nested in communes (municipal, community-level geographical units), and because the main community-level predictors were calculated by aggregating data among non-Indigenous Chileans to capture the normative climate, communes with insufficient data (i.e.,  $n_{\text{non-Indigenous}} < 20$ ) were excluded.

On the basis of these inclusion criteria, our sample consisted of 1160 Indigenous peoples nested in 26 communes.<sup>5</sup> These participants ranged in age from 17 to 90 years old ( $M = 46.13$ ,  $SD = 17.18$ ), with more women (66.4%) than men (33.6%) in the sample. Participants were reasonably well dispersed across the country, with 39.9% in the North, 22.1% in the centre and 38.0% in the South, and the majority in urban (80.1%) rather than rural (19.9%) areas. All participants identified as Indigenous only, with the majority identifying as Mapuche (63.3%; primarily in the South and centre) and another substantial number identifying as Aymara (24.0%; primarily in the North).

### 2.1.2 | Individual-Level Variables

**Indigenous collective action** was measured with three items, asking if participants have ever participated in the following actions: ‘Sign support letter for Indigenous causes,’ ‘Protest in favour of Indigenous causes’ and ‘Use social media to stimulate the participation of others in protests in favour of the Indigenous cause’ ( $\alpha = 0.89$ ). Items were assessed on a 1 (*Never*) to 5 (*Always*) scale.<sup>6</sup>

**Perceived injustice** was measured with a single item, tapping into the group-based and affective aspects of perceived injustice: ‘When you think about the difference in living conditions that Indigenous people have with respect to non-Indigenous Chileans in Chile, how do you feel?’ Responses were coded on a 1 (*Not at all Upset*) to 5 (*Very Upset*) scale.

**Individual-level covariates** included gender (‘Women’ =  $-0.5$ , ‘Men’ =  $0.5$ ), age, education (rank-ordered from ‘No studies’ = 0 to ‘Postgraduate studies (master, doctorate, post-graduate degree)’ = 12), and ethnic identification, assessed with two

items: ‘How much do you identify with Indigenous people?’ and ‘How important is it for you to be a part of the Indigenous people’ ( $r = 0.72$ ), coded on a 1 (*Very Little*) to 5 (*A lot*) scale. Ethnic identification was included as a covariate because it is a well-established social psychological predictor of minority collective action and perceived injustice (see Van Zomeren, Postmes, and Spears 2008; Thomas et al. 2020). Depending on the region of Chile and the main Indigenous group present in that region, specific Indigenous groups were mentioned in these questions. Gender, age and education were also included as additional individual-level covariates to ensure the hypothesized effects occurred above and beyond these basic demographic variables.

### 2.1.3 | Community-Level Variables

Macro-level normative climate for each community was measured by aggregating (i.e., calculating the mean of) non-Indigenous Chileans’ endorsement of Indigenous Resource and Symbolic Multiculturalism Policies, measured in the first round of the ELRI (2016). After 656 non-Indigenous Chilean participants who lived in communities with fewer than 20 non-Indigenous Chilean respondents were excluded, the final sample to calculate these aggregate scores comprised  $N_{\text{non-Indigenous}} = 1132$ .

**Resource policy endorsement** was measured with six items, assessing endorsement of: ‘returning land to the Indigenous people’, ‘creating a ministry of Indigenous matters’ and ‘allowing certain territories to be administered by Indigenous communities’, as well as ‘An independent Mapuche state should exist’, ‘There should be an autonomous Indigenous territory within the Chilean state’ and ‘There should be special slots saved for Indigenous people in congress’ ( $\alpha = 0.95$ ).

**Symbolic policy endorsement** was measured with four items: ‘The state should promote Indigenous cultural traditions, including them in the national school curriculum’, ‘In localities where Indigenous people exist, there should be recognition through specific symbols (such as a flag, teaching their language in schools, recognizing their culture in public events, etc.)’, ‘Public services should incorporate the Indigenous tongues in all signs and information for users’ and ‘Municipalities with Indigenous people should incorporate traditional Indigenous medicine’ ( $\alpha = 0.97$ ). All items were assessed on a 1 (*Strongly Disagree*) to 5 (*Strongly Agree*) scale.

To check the validity of these two measures at the community level, each item was first aggregated by commune. Then, a confirmatory factor analysis was conducted using Mplus version 8.2 (Múthen and Múthen 1998–2018) on the full aggregated data to ensure sufficient statistical power. The model, comprising the two expected resource and symbolic policy endorsement dimensions  $\chi^2(33) = 68.03$ , AIC = 975.27, CFI = 0.93, RMSEA = 0.10, SRMR = 0.11, fits these data better than the model comprising one single dimension,  $\chi^2(34) = 195.17$ , AIC = 1182.92, CFI = 0.68, RMSEA = 0.20, SRMR = 0.24.

The proportion of Indigenous peoples within the given community, calculated by dividing the number of Indigenous peoples residing in a commune by the total number of people living in the same commune (information extracted from <http://www.censo2017.cl/>), was included as a **community-level covariate**. Given that group size is likely to impact mobilization potential by increasing the number of people who sympathize with a given cause (see Stürmer and Simon 2004; see also DeNardo 1985), this covariate was included to examine whether the macro-level normative climate predicts perceptions of injustice and collective action above and beyond the relative size of the Indigenous group within each community.<sup>7</sup>

#### 2.1.4 | Analytical Approach

Data were prepared using SPSS version 27. Preliminary analyses and multilevel modelling were conducted using Mplus version 8.2 (Múthen and Múthen 1998–2018). Multilevel modelling was appropriate because participants (Level 1) were nested within communes (Level 2), and because the purpose of this research was to examine the effect of macro-level normative climate, operationalized as community-level endorsement of Indigenous multiculturalism policies among non-Indigenous Chileans, on collective action among Indigenous peoples. All community-level variables were grand-mean centred, and all individual-level variables were group-mean centred (except for gender which was always coded  $-0.5$  for women and  $0.5$  for men). Analyses were conducted in consecutive steps starting with the null model (Model 0), then adding individual-level predictors and covariates (Model 1), subsequently adding the community-level covariate (Model 2) and finally adding the community-level predictors (H1 and H3; Model 3). As a final step, the full conceptual model outlined in Figure 1 was estimated, including the indirect effects via perceived injustice (H2 and H4). In estimating these models, we used full information maximum likelihood (FIML; Enders and Bandalos 2001) estimates with robust standard errors.<sup>8</sup> Robustness checks are reported in Sections S1–S4 (Study 1).

## 2.2 | Results

### 2.2.1 | Preliminary Results

Descriptive statistics and correlations between individual- and community-level variables are summarized in Tables 1 and 2, respectively. As expected, the more Indigenous Chileans reported feeling upset about injustice against their group, the more they engaged in collective action. Furthermore, men, younger and

more highly educated Indigenous peoples, as well as those who more strongly identified with their Indigenous group, were more likely to engage in collective action (see Model 1 for results when controlling for all individual-level predictors).

Concerning community-level variables, the correlation between macro-level resource and symbolic policy endorsement was weak, negative and non-significant, confirming the conceptual independence of the two normative climate indicators. Communities characterized by stronger macro-level resource policy endorsement also had smaller proportions of Indigenous peoples, thereby illustrating the need to control for this community-level characteristic.<sup>9</sup>

It is worth noting that macro-level resource policy endorsement was lower than macro-level symbolic policy endorsement at the community level,  $M_{\text{Difference}} = -0.75$ , SD = 0.50, 95% CI  $[-0.96, -0.55]$ ,  $t(25) = 7.61$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ,  $d = 3.04$ . The mean of Indigenous Chileans' collective action was also low (see Table 1), with over half of participants (56.5%) consistently responding 'never' to these items.

### 2.2.2 | Hypothesis Testing

Table 3 shows the steps of hypothesis testing described above (Models 1–3). First, the null model (intercept-only; Model 0) confirmed that both individual- (variance  $b = 1.085$ , SE = 0.114, 95% CI  $[0.861, 1.309]$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ) and community- (variance  $b = 0.260$ , SE = 0.066, 95% CI  $[0.130, 0.389]$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ) level factors contribute to Indigenous Chilean collective action. The intraclass correlation coefficient (ICC) indicated that 19.3% of the variance in collective action was at the community level.

Model 2 shows that collective action among Indigenous minorities was similar regardless of whether they were living in communities with a larger or smaller proportion of Indigenous peoples. Consistent with H1, Model 3 shows that macro-level resource policy endorsement was associated with greater engagement in collective action among Indigenous Chileans. This occurred when controlling for macro-level symbolic policy endorsement, which itself was negatively associated with collective action, consistent with H3b.<sup>10</sup>

Finally, we examined the corresponding indirect effects of macro-level policy endorsement on collective action via perceived injustice (H2 and H4; see Figure 1). Control variables were included in the model when predicting both collective action and perceived injustice. Consistent with H2, the indirect effect of macro-level resource policy endorsement on Indigenous collective action via perceived injustice was significant,  $b = 0.087$ , SE = 0.039, 95% CI  $[0.011, 0.164]$ ,  $p = 0.026$ . In communities characterized by greater non-Indigenous endorsement of resource policies, Indigenous Chileans perceived more injustice,  $b = 0.787$ , SE = 0.303, 95% CI  $[0.193, 1.381]$ ,  $p = 0.009$ , which, in turn, was associated with more collective action,  $b = 0.111$ , SE = 0.025, 95% CI  $[0.061, 0.160]$ ,  $p < 0.001$ . Counter to both H4a and H4b, the indirect effect of macro-level symbolic policy endorsement on Indigenous collective action via perceived injustice was non-significant,  $b = -0.075$ , SE = 0.044, 95% CI  $[-0.162, 0.012]$ ,  $p = 0.091$ .

**TABLE 1** | Descriptive statistics and correlations between individual-level variables for Study 1 (ELRI;  $N = 1160$ ).

	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
1. Collective action	1.78	1.13	0.16***	0.14***	0.10***	-0.13***	0.18***
2. Perceived injustice	2.75	1.32		0.16***	-0.05	0.06*	0.12***
3. Ethnic identification	4.03	1.00			-0.01	0.10***	-0.12***
4. Gender	-0.16	0.47				-0.07*	0.11***
5. Age	46.13	17.18					-0.43***
6. Education	4.85	2.65					

Note: Gender coded women = -0.5, men = 0.5.

\* $p < 0.05$ .

\*\*\* $p < 0.001$ .

**TABLE 2** | Descriptive statistics and correlations between community-level variables for Study 1 (ELRI;  $N = 26$ ).

	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	2.	3.
1. Resource policy endorsement	3.18	0.38	-0.22	-0.55**
2. Symbolic policy endorsement	3.93	0.24		0.03
3. Proportion of Indigenous peoples	0.27	0.16		

\*\* $p < 0.01$ .

### 2.2.3 | Discussion

Study 1 demonstrated that macro-level resource policy endorsement was positively associated with collective action among Indigenous Chileans, consistent with H1a. Consistent with H2, perceived injustice helped explain this relationship. These effects were robust to missing data estimation techniques and exclusion criteria. By contrast, macro-level symbolic policy endorsement was negatively associated with collective action among Indigenous Chileans, consistent with H3b. This effect did, however, disappear when applying listwise deletion. Furthermore, we questioned whether climates characterized by stronger symbolic policy endorsement have a demobilizing/calming effect on Indigenous minorities, or instead communicate tokenism, meaning their association with perceived injustice could go either way. Contrary to both H4a and H4b, the indirect effect of macro-level symbolic policy endorsement on Indigenous collective action via perceived injustice was non-significant.

Given these results, Study 2 sought to further examine the unstable effect of macro-level symbolic policy endorsement and to replicate the robust effect of macro-level resource policy endorsement, in an alternate national context. Because Study 1 included only a small number of community-level units for our multilevel analyses, Study 2 also allowed us to test the replicability of Study 1 with greater statistical power and more reliable estimates of the normative climate.

## 3 | Study 2

Study 2 was conducted in NZ, where nearly a fifth of the population identifies as Māori, the Indigenous peoples (Statistics New Zealand 2023). In addition to examining the replicability of

Study 1 in a different national context and with a more robust sample size, Study 2 included [supplementary](#) measures allowing for more fine-tuned analyses. First, the availability of more local census data in NZ allowed us to control for community-level unemployment in addition to proportion of Māori. This is crucial because Māori group membership (and Indigenous group membership more broadly) is intricately intertwined with social and economic disadvantages (González, Carvacho, and Jiménez-Moya 2022; Houkamau, Stronge, and Sibley 2017), which fosters perceptions of injustice and collective action.

Second, we included two complementary dimensions of perceived injustice as explanatory mechanisms. Our first dimension paralleled the affective-based measure of injustice used in Study 1, as affect is crucial for driving collective action (see, e.g., Van Zomeren, Postmes, and Spears 2008). However, this measure referred to frustration concerning relative earnings specifically, rather than living conditions more broadly (which was the focus of Study 1's measure). Nevertheless, frustration over one's relative earnings has been shown in previous work within NZ to predict support for collective action on behalf of Māori (e.g., see Osborne and Sibley 2013).

The second dimension of perceived injustice referred to cognitive (rather than affective) experiences of discrimination that more closely paralleled the item assessing living conditions in Study 1. When reverse-scored, the second dimension of perceived injustice reflects a conservative, system-justifying ideology which *denies* historical and present-day injustices by suggesting discrimination against Māori is no longer a problem in NZ (a pervasive injustice-denying belief known to hinder collective action; Sibley and Osborne 2016). Consistent with Jost et al.'s (2017) integrated model of collective action which incorporates ideology as an antecedent to perceived injustice and collective action (see also Osborne, Yogeewaran, and Sibley 2017; Osborne et al. 2019), we also examined a potential serial indirect effect (H5): We expected progressive normative climates characterized by greater endorsement of resource policies to be associated with *less internalization* of injustice-denying beliefs among Māori, which should in turn be associated with an increase in affect about perceived injustice, supporting their collective action. If the unstable effect of symbolic policy endorsement from Study 1 was due to a palliative effect of this specific normative climate (H3b), by undermining recognition of injustice (H4b), the additional measure of injustice denial may help clarify this association.

**TABLE 3** | Multilevel regression predicting collective action among Indigenous Chileans in Chile (Study 1).

	<b>Model 1</b>		<b>Model 2</b>		<b>Model 3</b>	
	<b>b (SE)</b>	<b>[95% CI]</b>	<b>b (SE)</b>	<b>[95% CI]</b>	<b>b (SE)</b>	<b>[95% CI]</b>
Intercept	1.794*** (0.109)	[1.580, 2.008]	1.794*** (0.106)	[1.585, 2.002]	1.796*** (0.080)	[1.640, 1.952]
Gender	0.173* (0.081)	[0.014, 0.332]	0.172* (0.081)	[0.013, 0.330]	0.174* (0.080)	[0.018, 0.331]
Age	-0.005** (0.002)	[-0.008, -0.002]	-0.005** (0.002)	[-0.008, -0.002]	-0.005** (0.002)	[-0.008, -0.002]
Education	0.057*** (0.014)	[0.029, 0.085]	0.057*** (0.014)	[0.029, 0.085]	0.057*** (0.014)	[0.029, 0.085]
Ethnic identification	0.152** (0.046)	[0.062, 0.241]	0.152** (0.046)	[0.062, 0.241]	0.152** (0.046)	[0.063, 0.241]
Perceived injustice	0.106*** (0.025)	[0.057, 0.155]	0.106*** (0.025)	[0.057, 0.155]	0.106*** (0.025)	[0.057, 0.155]
<i>Proportion of indigenous</i>			-0.666 (0.741)	[-2.117, 0.786]	0.498 (0.527)	[-0.535, 1.531]
<i>Resource policy endorsement</i>					0.854*** (0.182)	[0.497, 1.211]
<i>Symbolic policy endorsement</i>					-0.721* (0.348)	[-1.403, -0.038]
<b>VARIANCE COMPONENTS</b>						
Residuals (individual level)	1.000*** (0.104)	[0.796, 1.205]	1.000*** (0.104)	[0.796, 1.205]	1.001*** (0.104)	[0.796, 1.205]
Residuals (community level)	0.259*** (0.064)	[0.134, 0.384]	0.247*** (0.065)	[0.120, 0.374]	0.117** (0.038)	[0.045, 0.189]
ICC	0.193		0.193		0.192	
AIC	13,800.294		13,801.297		13,789.459	

Note: Minimum 20 non-Indigenous Chileans per commune for calculating aggregate scores (*resource and symbolic policy endorsement*; community-level  $N = 26$ , individual-level  $N = 1160$ ; on average, 44.615 Indigenous Chilean participants per commune).

\* $p < 0.05$ .

\*\* $p < 0.01$ .

\*\*\* $p < 0.001$ .

### 3.1 | Methods

#### 3.1.1 | Participants

Data for Study 2 came from the NZ Attitudes and Values Survey (NZAVS)—a nation-wide panel study that began in 2009 (Sibley 2021). To ensure a sufficient sample size for multilevel modelling among the Indigenous minority Māori population, we utilized data from Time 11 (2019; total Māori  $N = 4315$ , nested in total  $N = 241$  wards). Like Study 1, participants were nested in communities, known as wards in NZ (community-level geographical units). Moreover, like Study 1, the main community-level predictors were calculated by aggregating data among majority, NZ Europeans (i.e., calculating the mean at the community level), to reflect the normative climate (see below; the cut-off to calculate these data was set to minimum 30 NZ European participants per community, given the larger overall sample, allowing for increased accuracy when calculating normative climates).<sup>11</sup> Therefore, wards with insufficient data were excluded. The final number of Māori participants at Time 11 was 3484, nested in 108 wards.<sup>12</sup> These participants ranged in

age from 18 to 92 years old ( $M = 49.96$ ,  $SD = 13.79$ ), with more women (66.2%) than men (33.1%).

#### 3.1.2 | Individual-Level Variables

Unless notes, all items were assessed on a 1 (*Strongly Disagree*) to 7 (*Strongly Agree*) scale.

**Indigenous collective action** was measured with three items (adapted from Cronin et al. 2012): ‘I have considered voting in terms of what is good for my particular ethnic group’, ‘I have considered participating in demonstrations on behalf of my ethnic group’ and ‘I have considered signing petitions on behalf of my ethnic group’ ( $\alpha = 0.85$ ).

**Perceived injustice** was measured with a single item adapted from Abrams and Grant (2012; see also Thomas et al. 2020): ‘I’m frustrated by what my ethnic group earns relative to other groups in New Zealand’.



**Injustice denial** was also measured with a single item adapted from McConahay (1986): ‘Discrimination against Māori is no longer a problem in New Zealand’.

**Individual-level covariates** included gender (‘Women’ =  $-0.5$ , ‘Men’ =  $0.5$ ), age, education (rank-ordered from ‘No qualification’ =  $0$  to ‘Doctoral degree’ =  $10$ ) and ethnic identification. Ethnic identification was assessed with the following three items (Leach et al. 2008): ‘I often think about the fact that I am a member of my ethnic group’, ‘The fact that I am a member of my ethnic group is an important part of my identity’ and ‘Being a member of my ethnic group is an important part of how I see myself’ ( $\alpha = 0.86$ ).

### 3.1.3 | Community-Level Variables

Macro-level normative climate was measured as NZ Europeans’ Endorsement of Indigenous Resource and Symbolic Multiculturalism Policies. These two measures were last included in the NZAVS in Time 9 (2017; total  $N_{\text{EuroNZers}} = 13,885$ ). After 1749 participants who lived in communities with fewer than 30 NZ European respondents were excluded, the final sample used to calculate these two aggregated measures comprised 12,136 NZ Europeans nested in 108 communities. **Resource policy endorsement** was measured with three items assessing endorsement of: ‘Māori ownership of the seabed and foreshore’, ‘Reserving places for Māori students to study medicine’ and ‘Rates exemptions on Māori land’ ( $\alpha = 0.93$ ).<sup>13</sup> **Symbolic policy endorsement** was measured with four items assessing endorsement of: ‘Performance of the Haka at international sports events’, ‘Waitangi Day as a national celebration of biculturalism’, ‘Teaching Māori language in New Zealand primary schools’ and ‘Singing the national anthem in Māori and English’ ( $\alpha = 0.84$ ). All items were assessed on a 1 (*Strongly oppose*) to 7 (*Strongly endorse*) scale. To check the validity of these two measures at the community level, each item was first aggregated by ward ( $N_{\text{wards}} = 253$ ). Then, a confirmatory factor analysis was conducted using Mplus version 8.2 (Múthen and Múthen 1998–2018) on the full aggregated data to ensure sufficient statistical power. Like Study 1, the model composed of the two expected community-level policy endorsement dimensions,  $\chi^2(13) = 20.67$ , AIC = 2873.13, CFI = 0.94, RMSEA = 0.05, SRMR = 0.05, fit these data better than the model composed of one dimension,  $\chi^2(14) = 45.10$ , AIC = 2960.39, CFI = 0.75, RMSEA = 0.09, SRMR = 0.09.

**Community-level covariates** included Proportion of Māori, assessed by dividing the number of Māori living in a ward by the total number of people living in the same ward, and community-level unemployment, assessed by dividing the number of unemployed people living in a ward who were 15 years old or older by the total number of people living in the same ward who were 15 years old or older (see Bahamondes, Sibley, and Osborne 2022).

### 3.1.4 | Analytical Approach

The analytical approach was the same as Study 1. Again, participants (Level 1) were nested within wards (Level 2), making

multilevel analyses necessary given the structure of these data. Analyses were conducted in the same consecutive steps as Study 1 (Models 0–3). Because the two measures of macro-level resource and symbolic policy endorsement were strongly correlated (see below), they were included in Model 3 separately (when included at the same time, they cancelled each other out). As a final step, the full conceptual model was estimated including the indirect effects via injustice denial and perceived injustice, in parallel (H2 and H4), and then sequentially (H5). In estimating these models, we again used FIML (Enders and Bandalos 2001) estimates with robust standard errors. Robustness checks are reported in Sections S5–S7 (Study 2).

## 3.2 | Results

### 3.2.1 | Preliminary Results

Descriptive statistics and correlations between individual- and community-level variables are summarized in Tables 4 and 5, respectively. As expected, and consistent with Study 1, the more Māori participants reported frustration about injustice against their group and the less they denied injustices, the more they considered engaging in collective action. Furthermore, women (as opposed to men in Study 1), younger, more highly educated Māori, and those who more strongly identified with their Indigenous group (like Study 1) were more inclined towards collective action (see Model 1 controlling for individual-level predictors).

Concerning community-level variables, the correlation between macro-level resource and symbolic policy endorsement was positive and very strong ( $r = 0.79$ ; unlike Study 1), indicating concern for multicollinearity ( $r > 0.70$ ). Therefore, we inserted these variables in separate models. Moreover, although proportion of Māori was associated with community-level unemployment, the latter was not associated with either indicator of normative climate. Nevertheless, communities characterized by stronger resource *and* symbolic policy endorsement also had smaller proportions of Māori (like Study 1 for macro-level resource policy endorsement). Indeed, normative climates characterized by macro-level endorsement of resource and symbolic policy may function similarly in NZ, although the average macro-level endorsement of resource policy was again markedly lower than symbolic policy,  $M_{\text{Difference}} = -2.11$ , SD = 0.25, 95% CI  $[-2.16, -2.06]$ ,  $t(107) = -86.53$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ,  $d = 16.73$ , like Study 1.

### 3.2.2 | Hypothesis Testing

Table 6 shows the consecutive steps of hypothesis testing described above (Models 1–3). The null model (intercept-only; Model 0) suggested that, again, both individual- (variance  $b = 3.519$ , SE = 0.070, 95% CI  $[3.381, 3.657]$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ) and community- (variance  $b = 0.124$ , SE = 0.028, 95% CI  $[0.069, 0.179]$ ,  $p < 0.001$ ) level factors contribute to Māori collective action. The ICC indicated that 3.4% of the variance in collective action was at the community level.

Model 2 shows that Māori living in communities characterized by higher levels of unemployment (but not by greater proportion of Māori) were more likely to consider engaging in collective action.

**TABLE 4** | Descriptive statistics and correlations between individual-level variables for Study 2 (NZAVS;  $N = 3484$ ).

	<b>M</b>	<b>SD</b>	<b>2.</b>	<b>3.</b>	<b>4.</b>	<b>5.</b>	<b>6.</b>	<b>7.</b>
1. Collective action	3.66	1.91	0.63***	-0.30***	0.69***	-0.13***	-0.01	0.10***
2. Perceived injustice	3.80	2.00		-0.28***	0.57***	-0.13***	-0.05**	0.05**
3. Injustice denial	2.16	1.50			-0.27***	0.20***	0.13***	-0.18***
4. Ethnic identification	4.42	1.79				-0.11***	0.02	0.09***
5. Gender	-0.17	0.47					0.11***	-0.08***
6. Age	49.96	13.79						-0.09***
7. Education	5.18	2.70						

Note: Gender coded women = -0.5, men = 0.5.

\*\* $p < 0.01$ .

\*\*\* $p < 0.001$ .

**TABLE 5** | Descriptive statistics and correlations between community-level variables for Study 2 (NZAVS;  $N = 108$ ).

	<b>M</b>	<b>SD</b>	<b>2.</b>	<b>3.</b>	<b>4.</b>
1. Resource policy endorsement	3.11	0.39	0.79***	-0.19*	0.17
2. Symbolic policy endorsement	5.22	0.24		-0.21*	0.06
3. Proportion of Māori	0.14	0.08			0.66***
4. Community-level unemployment	0.04	0.01			

\* $p < 0.05$ .

\*\*\* $p < 0.001$ .

After adjusting for these effects, Model 3 shows that Māori living in communities with greater macro-level endorsement of both resource (Model 3a; consistent with H1) and symbolic (Model 3b; suggesting H3a applied here) policies were also more likely to consider engaging in collective action.<sup>14</sup>

Finally, the full conceptual model was tested in two steps: first, with the two parallel indirect effects via injustice denial and perceived injustice (with the two covarying), and second, adding the serial indirect effect. Control variables were included in the models when predicting both intermediary and outcome variables. When testing the parallel indirect effects, H2 was partially supported: The indirect effect via injustice denial was significant,  $b = 0.028$ ,  $SE = 0.009$ , 95% CI [0.010, 0.046],  $p = 0.003$ , but not via perceived injustice,  $b = 0.017$ ,  $SE = 0.039$ , 95% CI [-0.059, 0.094],  $p = 0.654$ . Accordingly, there was less injustice denial among Māori in communities characterized by greater macro-level endorsement of resource policies,  $b = -0.331$ ,  $SE = 0.088$ , 95% CI [-0.503, -0.159],  $p < 0.001$ , which was, in turn, associated with more collective action,  $b = -0.084$ ,  $SE = 0.013$ , 95% CI [-0.109, 0.059],  $p < 0.001$ . However, macro-level endorsement of resource policies was not associated with frustration about injustice among Māori,  $b = 0.054$ ,  $SE = 0.120$ , 95% CI [-0.181, 0.288],  $p = 0.654$  (this was better explained by community-level unemployment,  $b = 15.896$ ,  $SE = 3.566$ , 95% CI [8.907, 22.885],  $p < 0.001$ ), although frustration about injustice was positively associated with collective action among Māori,  $b = 0.326$ ,  $SE = 0.017$ , 95% CI [0.293, 0.358],  $p < 0.001$ .

Consistent with H5, the serial indirect effect via injustice denial and perceived injustice was significant,  $b = 0.019$ ,  $SE = 0.005$ ,

95% CI [0.008, 0.030],  $p = 0.001$ . Communities characterized by greater macro-level endorsement of resource policies were again associated with less injustice denial among Māori,  $b = -0.334$ ,  $SE = 0.088$ , 95% CI [-0.506, -0.163],  $p < 0.001$ . In turn, injustice denial was negatively associated with frustration about injustice,  $b = -0.173$ ,  $SE = 0.020$ , 95% CI [-0.212, -0.135],  $p < 0.001$ , which predicted collective action among Māori,  $b = 0.327$ ,  $SE = 0.016$ , 95% CI [0.295, 0.359],  $p < 0.001$ . Reversing the order of these intermediary variables was supported neither theoretically (Jost et al. 2017), nor empirically. Therefore, normative climates endorsing resource policies seem to discourage Māori from internalizing injustice-denying beliefs, thereby validating their frustration about injustices and collective action. Similar results emerged when examining macro-level endorsement of symbolic policies.

### 3.3 | Discussion

In Study 2, normative climates reflecting both resource and symbolic policy endorsement were positively associated with collective action among Māori. Although perceived injustice did not directly help explain this relationship, *denial* of injustices did and was key to a sequential indirect effect. Specifically, the more normative climates were characterized by macro-level endorsement of resource and symbolic multiculturalism policies, the less Māori internalized injustice-denying beliefs. In turn, lower levels of internalized injustice-denying beliefs were associated with an increase in their frustration about injustices, and willingness to engage in collective action. These injustice-denying beliefs reflect both a lack of recognition that injustices exist

**TABLE 6** | Multilevel regression predicting collective action among Māori in New Zealand (NZ) (Study 2).

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3a		Model 3b	
	<i>b</i> (SE)	[95% CI]	<i>b</i> (SE)	[95% CI]	<i>b</i> (SE)	[95% CI]	<i>b</i> (SE)	[95% CI]
Intercept	3.544*** (0.051)	[3.443, 3.644]	3.512*** (0.042)	[3.427, 3.597]	3.509*** (0.042)	[3.426, 3.591]	3.507*** (0.042)	[3.424, 3.590]
Gender	-0.095* (0.044)	[-0.182, -0.008]	-0.094* (0.044)	[-0.180, -0.008]	-0.096* (0.044)	[-0.182, -0.010]	-0.096* (0.044)	[-0.182, -0.011]
Age	0.002 (0.002)	[-0.001, 0.006]	0.002 (0.002)	[-0.001, 0.006]	0.002 (0.002)	[-0.001, 0.006]	0.002 (0.002)	[-0.001, 0.006]
Education	0.024** (0.007)	[0.010, 0.038]	0.024** (0.007)	[0.010, 0.038]	0.024** (0.007)	[0.010, 0.038]	0.024** (0.007)	[0.010, 0.038]
Ethnic identification	0.507*** (0.018)	[0.473, 0.542]	0.507*** (0.018)	[0.472, 0.542]	0.507*** (0.018)	[0.472, 0.542]	0.507*** (0.018)	[0.472, 0.542]
Perceived injustice	0.323*** (0.017)	[0.290, 0.355]	0.323*** (0.017)	[0.290, 0.355]	0.323*** (0.017)	[0.290, 0.356]	0.323*** (0.017)	[0.290, 0.355]
Injustice denial	-0.086*** (0.013)	[-0.111, -0.061]	-0.086*** (0.013)	[-0.111, -0.061]	-0.086*** (0.013)	[-0.111, -0.061]	-0.086*** (0.013)	[-0.111, -0.061]
<i>Proportion of Māori</i>			0.844 (0.570)	[-0.274, 1.962]	1.648** (0.612)	[0.499, 2.847]	1.406* (0.594)	[0.241, 2.571]
<i>Proportion of unemployed</i>			15.438*** (3.127)	[9.309, 21.568]	11.060** (3.491)	[4.217, 17.902]	13.078*** (3.195)	[6.815, 19.340]
<i>Resource policy endorsement</i>					0.307** (0.097)	[0.118, 0.496]		
<i>Symbolic policy endorsement</i>							0.467* (0.181)	[0.112, 0.823]
VARIANCE COMPONENTS								
Residuals (individual level)	1.561*** (0.039)	[1.485, 1.638]	1.562*** (0.039)	[1.485, 1.639]	1.562*** (0.039)	[1.485, 1.639]	1.562*** (0.039)	[1.485, 1.639]
Residuals (community level)	0.193*** (0.032)	[0.130, 0.255]	0.115*** (0.027)	[0.062, 0.167]	0.102*** (0.026)	[0.051, 0.153]	0.105*** (0.025)	[0.056, 0.155]
ICC	0.052		0.051		0.051		0.052	
AIC	71,844.876		71,814.332		71,809.399		71,810.241	

Note: Minimum 30 NZ Europeans per ward for calculating aggregate scores (*resource and symbolic policy endorsement*; community-level  $N = 108$ , individual-level  $N = 3484$ ; on average, 32.26 Māori participants per ward).

\* $p < 0.05$ .

\*\* $p < 0.01$ .

\*\*\* $p < 0.001$ .

and a pervasive system-justifying ideology (Sibley and Osborne 2016). The sequential indirect effect thus reveals that system-justifying ideologies may also shape the motivation to engage in collective action (Jost et al. 2017) in communities characterized by macro-level climates with weaker resource and symbolic policy endorsement.

In this study, community-level unemployment (regardless of group) predicted Māori perceptions of injustice and collective action. Indeed, Māori are over-represented (relative to other groups) among the unemployed in NZ (MBIE 2022). Given their pervasive disadvantage, it is unsurprising that this community-level factor would foster frustration concerning their relative earnings compared to other groups in NZ.

The fact that macro-level endorsement of both resource and symbolic policies predicted Māori collective action may speak to the specificities of the NZ context. Although macro-level resource policy endorsement was significantly lower than macro-level symbolic policy endorsement, the two indicators were strongly correlated. These data suggest that communities who broadly endorse land rights and affirmative action for Māori (resource policies) also tend to endorse the promotion of Māori language and cultural traditions (symbolic policies). Thus, macro-level endorsement of including Māori in the national self-concept may be just as empowering as macro-level endorsement of tangibly rectifying historical injustices, perhaps both communicating genuine allyship among the majority surrounding Indigenous peoples. Nevertheless, similarly to Study 1, the robustness analyses showed that the effects of macro-level symbolic policy endorsement disappeared when analyses were conducted with the full sample, as well as with T10 data. The role of macro-level resource policy endorsement, however, remained powerful.

#### 4 | General Discussion

Pervasive inequalities and discrimination against Indigenous minorities remain omnipresent in post-colonial societies (González, Carvacho, and Jiménez-Moya 2022; Houkamau, Stronge, and Sibley 2017; Simpson 2017; Whyte 2017). Despite sociohistorical differences between countries and Indigenous groups, symbolic and resource-based policies have been established over recent decades to respond to Indigenous minorities' claims and needs, at least to the extent that they are understood from an external, Westernized perspective (Davidson and Coburn 2021; González, Carvacho, and Jiménez-Moya 2022; Kymlicka 1995). However, little is known about the impact of macro-level endorsement of these Indigenous multiculturalism policies on Indigenous minorities' collective action, or about the impact of macro-level norms on minority collective action more broadly. By bringing together research on normative climates, multiculturalism and collective action, the present research shows that living in communities characterized by macro-level endorsement of resource policies supports Indigenous minorities' collective voice.

As hypothesized, we found converging, robust evidence between studies in Chile and NZ that macro-level resource policy endorsement is positively associated with Indigenous minorities' collective action. This result corroborates our first hypothesis

(H1) based on research suggesting multiculturalism both engages (Plaut, Thomas, and Goren 2009) and empowers (Vorauer and Quesnel 2017b) minorities. We extend this research by focusing on normative climates in real life (rather than salient concepts in experiments) and by showing that macro-level endorsement of resource policies consistently contributes to empowering (Indigenous) minorities.

Macro-level endorsement of symbolic policies seemed to function similarly to resource policies in NZ (aligning with H3a) but had countervailing effects in Chile (supporting H3b). One can speculate on the meaning of this apparent difference between countries. In NZ, macro-level endorsement of symbolic policies may be construed as sincere allyship among the majority (like macro-level endorsement of resource policies in both countries) thereby empowering Indigenous minorities. In Chile, perhaps macro-level endorsement of symbolic policies is construed as more disingenuous (see Chaney, Cipollina, and Sanchez 2024) or tokenistic (Sibley and Osborne 2016). Nevertheless, these symbolic policy effects were weaker and less robust than resource policies in *both countries*.

Importantly, we examined the explanatory role of perceived injustice in the present studies (H2 and H4). Indeed, longstanding injustices such as political oppression, treaty violations and systemic discrimination are perpetually experienced by Indigenous peoples in postcolonial societies (Davidson and Coburn 2021; González, Carvacho, and Jiménez-Moya 2022; Houkamau, Stronge, and Sibley 2017; Simpson 2017; Whyte 2017). Yet, Indigenous minorities may be inclined (or encouraged by the surrounding majority views) to react to these injustices. Consistent with H2 and research highlighting how affect about injustices drives collective action (e.g., Van Zomeren, Postmes, and Spears 2008), results from Chile (Study 1) suggest that macro-level resource policy endorsement is positively associated with collective action among Indigenous Chileans because this normative climate arguably further validates existing perceptions and emotions about injustices. Results from NZ (Study 2) complemented this process, showing that low levels of injustice denial played a pivotal role. Existing research conducted in the NZ context suggests that widespread post-colonial beliefs that *deny* historical injustices and that *exclude* Indigenous minorities from the national self-concept are key to perpetuating disadvantages experienced by Indigenous populations (Sibley and Osborne 2016). Such beliefs justify the privileged position of NZ Europeans and undermine social change (see also Osborne, Yogeewaran, and Sibley 2017). Living in contexts where the wider community endorses resource-based policies to redress inequalities may support Indigenous peoples to recognize sustained historical injustices (rather than potentially internalizing these injustice-denying beliefs). In turn, this recognition is associated with an increase in Indigenous peoples' frustration concerning these injustices and facilitates their engagement in collective action. These results support our fifth hypothesis which was tested in Study 2.

Despite similar tensions existing between Indigenous and non-Indigenous populations in both countries, it is important to keep in mind that NZ and Chile have different histories. Notwithstanding sustained power asymmetries, distrust and limited access to resources, NZ has made substantial progress over recent years to



recognize and rectify the injustices experienced by Māori. Chile was involved in 2023 in the process of rewriting its constitution, addressing, among others, several issues regarding economic and social rights of Indigenous groups. However, the proposal was strongly rejected for several reasons that went above and beyond the Indigenous demands. Indeed, including Indigenous minorities' voices in political decision-making shows respect for their points of view and is a contemporary topic of discussion in both countries. Yet, these measures remain contentious for dominant, non-Indigenous group members (Sibley and Liu 2006), as well as for Indigenous minorities, given that procedural justice and voice do not always yield distributive justice and improved living conditions (see Tricot 2023). Although symbolic policies may help foster a sense of societal inclusion in some contexts (with divergent effects of inclusionary climates on minority political engagement; Just and Anderson 2014; Tyrberg 2020), normative climates expressing endorsement of resource policies may communicate respect for Indigenous minorities (Nasie 2023), reflecting momentum for social change and suggesting the wider community believes (in) them.

#### 4.1 | Limitations, Strengths and Future Directions

Despite these contributions, some limitations of the present studies need to be acknowledged. Because we aggregated non-Indigenous responses at the community level to calculate the normative climate, many non-Indigenous participants were necessary. For this reason, the statistical power of Study 1 was limited, with only 26 community-level units, each comprising at least 20 non-Indigenous participants. Although this minimum cut-off was necessary to make reliable calculations, results were robust when removing such stringent inclusion criteria. Furthermore, Study 2 allowed for a more strongly powered test of our hypotheses, with 108 community-level units comprising at least 30 non-Indigenous (NZ European) participants. The ICC for collective action among Indigenous participants was, however, exceptionally low (ICC = 0.034) compared to Study 1 (ICC = 0.193). This suggests that collective action among Indigenous peoples was more similar across communities in NZ than it was in Chile, although there was still enough variance between communities to be explained by the macro-level normative climate.

The two studies were thus complementary, each having assets that strengthened, and offset limitations of, the other. Even the measures were complementary. For macro-level endorsement of resource and symbolic policies, the measures were similar—designed specifically to reflect resource and symbolic policies—but anchored in specific issues in the respective countries. Thus, the measures reflected important points of political discussion that were meaningful in each context.

For perceived injustice, Study 1 involved a measure of affect (i.e., 'upset') concerning different living conditions, and Study 2 involved two measures. Like Study 1, the first measure in Study 2 referenced affect as well (i.e., 'frustration'), but in response to relative earnings. Although both affective measures coincide with existing research on perceived injustice and collective action (e.g., Van Zomeren, Postmes, and Spears 2008), the 'frustration' measure may have played a less pivotal role in Study 2 because

it referred to relative earnings, a specific subcomponent of living conditions. The second measure in Study 2 alluded to injustice denial by referring specifically to discrimination. As such, by tapping into a more generalized experience, the second measure in Study 2 more closely corresponds to the general living conditions referenced in Study 1. Collectively, the measures used in both studies complemented each other despite relying on different datasets. Furthermore, the injustice denial measure used in Study 2 allowed for an examination of the role that system-justifying beliefs play in predicting collective action, which recent research suggests may weaken affective response to perceived injustice (under certain conditions; see Jost et al. 2017; Sibley and Osborne 2016).

The measure of Indigenous collective action also varied across studies in a complementary way. Although Study 2 assessed willingness to engage in collective action (a 'low-cost' measure of future behaviour, which may also explain the low ICC), Study 1 measured (self-reported) previous behaviours. These different measures of collective action are relevant when considering the causal direction of our conceptual model, with a potential counter-direction: A plausible argument concerning *actual* previous behaviours (Study 1 in Chile) is that more collective action among Indigenous peoples could signal information to the broader (non-Indigenous) community, possibly influencing their perceptions and attitudes in line with a process of minority influence (see Kende et al. 2022). In the present studies, we theorize instead on a process of empowerment, whereby macro-level policy endorsement is argued to create an ambient condition that favours Indigenous peoples' sense of voice. Such directionality is consistent with Study 2, as macro-level policy endorsement was assessed 2 years *before* outcome variables among Māori. Nevertheless, this does not discount that the effects are likely bidirectional (Bou Zeineddine and Leach 2021) and iterative, consistent with the correlational (multilevel) nature of the studies and with existing research suggesting (salient) multiculturalism not only empowers minorities (Vorauer and Quesnel 2017b) but also leads them to more successfully convince majority group members of their views (Vorauer and Quesnel 2017a).

This process of empowerment and momentum for social change suggests that a measure of collective (group-based) efficacy would have been ideal to include in the present studies. Such a measure would have functioned in a complementary way to perceived injustice as a mechanism, allowing to test a plausible additional explanation. Unfortunately, neither dataset included a measure of group-based (Indigenous) efficacy. Future research should thus explore additional mechanisms explaining the process, including (but not limited to) collective (group-based) efficacy and other forms of system-justifying ideologies (in addition to discrimination denial) which may be related to macro-level factors and collective action. Future research should also further explore the directionality of the observed results, ideally with longitudinal analyses (which were not possible in the current studies due to the empirical limitations outlined above).

Additional macro-level factors should also be explored, such as the actual (local or national) degree of implementation of policies addressing Indigenous claims, other forms of (local or national) opportunities, resources and support available to Indigenous peoples, or macro-level (local or national) endorsement of other

policies designed to respond to Indigenous priorities and needs (or that extend beyond Indigenous peoples). In the present research, we assessed aggregated endorsement of resource and symbolic policies among the majority, non-Indigenous group as a form of community-level *outgroup norm* that potentially validates Indigenous peoples' recognition of injustices. A comparison between ingroup (i.e., Indigenous) and outgroup (i.e., non-Indigenous) norms would also be useful in future research. Unfortunately, due to the limited number of Indigenous participants available to calculate aggregate scores, especially in Study 2 (see Section S7 for these results), such measures were not possible here. With a focus on additional macro-level factors, a multi-level analysis comparing countries or other larger (than local) geographical units would help further elucidate their relationship with (Indigenous) collective action.

Although extensive collaborative work with Indigenous scholars was needed to build and test the materials used here, as well as to gather and analyse these data, future research should include an Indigenous framework to better understand the results from an Indigenous perspective. This shifting of lenses would involve questioning and deconstructing the very models we cite in this research (e.g., SIMCA and SJMCA), further addressing the challenges associated with oppressive colonial legacies (Montero, Sonn, and Burton 2017; Torres Rivera 2020; Simpson 2017). Furthermore, the present research was conducted in the context of two postcolonial societies where Indigenous peoples are in a numerical minority position. Our results, and even the broader research question, may differ in societies where Indigenous peoples are in a numerical majority position (e.g., Bolivia, Samoa), perhaps with more power to shape widespread, national norms (Maseko and Durrheim 2023). Importantly, favouring Indigenous rights via endorsement of resource policies (including rights to land) may have broader implications and benefits that extend beyond rectification of group-based injustices (see Garnett et al. 2018). Future research should thus examine alternative lenses, additional contexts and more extensive implications of macro-level endorsement of Indigenous multiculturalism policies.

Finally, although the present research focused on macro-level endorsement of Indigenous multiculturalism policies and their relationship with Indigenous collective action, future research should also examine whether multiculturalism policies in general and their macro-level endorsement impact the pursuit of collective action among other minority groups.

## 5 | Conclusion

In conclusion, macro-level resource policy endorsement provides a supportive context for Indigenous minorities to collectively assert their rights. These policies reflect the most contentious issues discussed within the context of Indigenous multiculturalism by seeking to combat power asymmetries and historical injustices experienced by Indigenous minority groups. Our results provide novel insights into research on the empowering effects of multiculturalism and normative climates by suggesting that the inclusive, symbolic nature of such policies and climates alone may not always support the collective voice of minorities. Rather, our results suggest that macro-level endorsement of the *resource-based* components of minority claims is consistently

associated with an increase in Indigenous minorities' sense of voice in two postcolonial societies (viz., Chile and NZ).

## Acknowledgements

This research was supported by a Swiss National Science Foundation Postdoc.Mobility grant awarded to the first author (P500PS\_202942), by the Center for Intercultural and Indigenous Research (supporting collection of the Estudio Longitudinal de Relaciones Interculturales data; ANID/FONDAP #15110006; ANID/FONDECYT #1201788), by the Templeton Religion Trust (supporting collection of the New Zealand Attitudes and Values Study data; TRT-2021-10418), and by the nccr - on the move funded by the Swiss National Science Foundation (grant 51NF40-205605)

## Ethics Statement

Ethics approval was obtained from the University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee (Reference Number 014889) and from the Ethical Committee of the Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile (Reference Number 16061500).

## Conflicts of Interest

The authors declare no conflicts of interest.

## Data Availability Statement

The data that support the findings of this study are available on request from the corresponding author or from the ELRI or NZAVS management teams. The data are not publicly available due to privacy or ethical restrictions.

## Transparency Statement

A codebook and all syntax files used in these studies are publicly available online in the Open Science Framework and can be accessed via the URL: [https://osf.io/6ybvww/?view\\_only=f48e5c88f44147278458e0beb88bba76](https://osf.io/6ybvww/?view_only=f48e5c88f44147278458e0beb88bba76). Further information can be found on the respective survey websites: <https://www.ciir.cl/ciir/elri/> (ELRI), <https://www.nzavs.auckland.ac.nz> (NZAVS).

## Endnotes

<sup>1</sup>Although the term 'multiculturalism' has been used in the context of Indigenous causes (e.g., Davidson and Coburn 2021; Kymlicka 1995; Perry et al. 2018), terms such as 'biculturalism' (in New Zealand) or 'interculturalism' (in Chile) are also used to acknowledge the distinctiveness of Indigenous causes as opposed to ones relating to for example, immigration.

<sup>2</sup>Collective (group-based) efficacy was also considered and theorized as a mechanism, for the reasons presented (e.g., supported by genuine allyship from the majority). However, no ideal measure of group-based (Indigenous) efficacy was available in the data.

<sup>3</sup>Because analyses for this study and Study 2 are based on data from existing and ongoing nation-wide secondary surveys, a priori statistical power analyses were not possible (and for the same reason, the studies were not preregistered). However, the large sample sizes secure enough statistical power to detect small effects (see Hox 2010).

<sup>4</sup>Time 1 (2016) had ~25% more participants than Times 2 and 3, thereby optimising our ability to estimate normative climates among non-Indigenous participants. Longitudinal analyses were not possible with these data due to attrition coupled with already limited statistical power at the community level.

<sup>5</sup>All 26 communities were inhabited by more than 20 Indigenous participants (ranging from 21 to 186 Indigenous participants per commune),

too. Robustness checks were also conducted on the full sample without exclusions, as well as on a subset of the data including only Mapuche participants. Despite a substantial loss of statistical power for the latter, conclusions were consistently the same (see Section S1, Table S1).

<sup>6</sup> Because some collective action behaviours are more costly than others, we also conducted analyses on each collective action item separately (for both Studies 1 and 2). Results are reported in Section S2, Table S2 (Study 1) and Section 6, Table S8 (Study 2).

<sup>7</sup> Analyses were also conducted controlling for community-level perceived intergroup conflict and solidarity with Indigenous peoples. The correlation between solidarity with Indigenous peoples and resource policy endorsement was exceptionally strong ( $r = 0.89$ ), raising concerns of multicollinearity, but also informing us that non-Indigenous Chileans who endorsed resource policies did so through a lens of allyship with Indigenous peoples. All analyses, including these control variables, are included in Section 3, Tables S3 and S4.

<sup>8</sup> Almost half of the sample did not respond to the perceived injustice item because a previous question assessed if differences in living conditions were perceived in the first place (and participants who did not perceive differences were not asked the perceived injustice question). Therefore, in addition to FIML imputation, we also conducted analyses with listwise deletion, and when manually imputing the lowest score in two different ways ('not at all upset' coded as 1 and alternatively 0) on this item for missing data. The patterns of results were consistently the same (see Section S1, Table S1).

<sup>9</sup> This correlation was likely due to the fact that communities with a higher proportion of Indigenous peoples tended to live in more rural areas (which are known to be more ideologically conservative).

<sup>10</sup> Results were the same when macro-level resource and symbolic policy endorsement were inserted in the model independently. They were also similar when using listwise deletion for managing missing data, although the weak negative effect of non-Indigenous support for symbolic policy on collective action (Model 3) became non-significant. The effect of resource policy support was, nevertheless, robust (see Section S1, Table S1).

<sup>11</sup> Aggregated measures were also calculated among all non-Māori participants, reflecting the normative climate more broadly (beyond only NZ Europeans and including other ethnic groups like Asian and Pacifica), and results were the same (see Section S5, Table S6). Time 10 (2018) was also considered, as the sample size was also large. However, the intra-class correlation coefficient and design effect for indigenous collective action were only sufficiently large to justify multilevel modelling with Time 11 data (ICC = 0.034, design effect = 2.06, compared to ICC = 0.018, design effect = 1.61 in Time 10). According to Muthén and Satorra (1995), clustering should be addressed when the design effect exceeds a value of 2. Nevertheless, our main results replicated using Time 10 data (see Section S5, Table S6).

<sup>12</sup> Wards are local communities in NZ, delimited to promote community involvement (Statistics New Zealand 2009). We refer to wards (for Study 2 in NZ; communes for Study 1 in Chile) and communities (for both studies) interchangeably. The number of Māori participants per ward ranged from 1 to 135. Because 17 of the remaining wards were inhabited by fewer than 10 Māori participants, we also conducted analyses on a subset excluding these wards (resulting in 3386 Māori participants nested in 91 wards). The patterns of results were the same. Robustness checks were also conducted when setting the cut-off of NZ Europeans per ward (to calculate normative climate indicators) to 20 (like Study 1), and on the full sample without such exclusions. Unless indicated, the patterns of results were again the same (see Section S5, Tables S6 and S7).

<sup>13</sup> A fourth, reverse-coded item was included in the dataset: 'Crown (government) ownership of the seabed and foreshore.' This item was not only qualitatively different from the others (especially when considering support for indigenous multiculturalism), but when conducting CFAs,  $R^2$  for this item was exceptionally low at  $R^2 = 0.19$ . Therefore, this item was not included in analyses.

<sup>14</sup> When wards with fewer than 20 (rather than 30) NZ Europeans were excluded to calculate aggregate scores of Support for Multiculturalism Policies, conclusions were identical. When no such exclusions were applied, conclusions were also the same, except that the effect of macro-level symbolic policy endorsement was no longer significant. Furthermore, when no exclusions were applied, we were able to insert macro-level resource and symbolic policy endorsement into the same model (the correlation between them no longer raised a concern for multicollinearity;  $r = 0.44$ ): In this model, only macro-level resource policy endorsement predicted Māori collective action (macro-level symbolic policy endorsement had no effect at all). In sum, the positive effect of macro-level resource policy support on Māori collective action was particularly robust to alternative specifications (for detailed results, see Section S5, Tables S6 and S7).

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### Supporting Information

Additional supporting information can be found online in the Supporting Information section.