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Intergroup relations in Latin America:

Intergroup contact, common ingroup identity, and activism among Indigenous groups in Mexico and Chile

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Abstract

In two correlational studies in Mexico (Study 1: *N* = 152, Mexican Indigenous people) and Chile (Study 2: *N* =185, Chilean Indigenous people, *Mapuche*), we investigated how different layers of common ingroup identity (CII) and intergroup contact between indigenous people influence activist tendencies and how past participation moderates this influence. In Study 1, CII as Mexican and intragroup contact between Indigenous predicted activist tendencies via increased group efficacy. In Study 2, CII as Chilean positively predicted normative activism both directly and via group efficacy. In both studies intragroup contact between indigenous people directly and positively predicted future intentions to engage in political action and past activism moderated these associations in both studies.

Recent research suggests that prejudice-reduction strategies, such as common ingroup identity (CII; Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000) and regular contact (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew, 1998) with advantaged groups reduces the motivation to engage in political action among the members of disadvantaged groups (Dixon, Levine, Reicher, & Durrheim, 2012). Specifically, emphasis on a common identity that includes both the advantaged and disadvantaged groups, and positive contact across the intergroup divide, cause the disadvantaged to perceive the system as just. Such perceptions then might demotivate disadvantaged group members from seeking to redress the unequal system. In the present paper we argue that in some contexts both common ingroup identities and contact may play crucial roles in instigating political action. Firstly, people might perceive themselves as entitled to certain rights and privileges based on their membership of a group (van Zomeren, Postmes, & Spears, 2008) and would act to protect those privileges or reclaim them (Wenzel, 2000) on the basis of this identity that facilitates their access to political and psychological resources to engage in political action. Secondly, individuals from different disadvantaged groups may form strategic alliances and pool their resources against an authority as a result of perceived commonalities (Glasford & Calcagno, 2012) and contact can facilitate a learning process through which people could discover such commonalities. In what follows, we report findings from two studies that investigate how CII and intragroup contact can energize members of different disadvantaged groups, that is, indigenous peoples, to engage in political action.

Collective Action

Research on collective action, that is, acting on behalf of one's group with the aim of improving or maintaining conditions for that group (Wright, 2009) has established identification with the group, perceptions of group efficacy, and anger resulting from being collectively and unjustly disadvantaged as the primary predictors of collective action (van

Zomeren, Postmes, et al., 2008). More recent work has sought to integrate these processes with research on coping. According to the Dynamic Dual Pathway Model of Approach Coping with Collective Disadvantage (DDPMAC; van Zomeren et al., 2012), the psychological processes that lead to collective action are the result of a dynamic appraisal-reappraisal process. At the primary appraisal stage, individuals assess a particular problem, that is, having no access to particular resources, as self-relevant. When individuals identify with the particular group, for example, as indigenous, as Mexican, or African American, the problem, that is, the disadvantages that the group faces becomes self-relevant. The self-relevance of the problem then triggers two distinct processes of coping, problem-focused versus emotion-focused coping (van Zomeren et al., 2012).

During problem-focused coping, individuals are more willing to engage in activism and political action if they perceive that they have sufficient resources to cope with the problem (Klandermans, 1984, 1997). Research suggests that social networks are the primary point of access to such group-based resources (Ellemers, 1993; van Zomeren et al., 2012) which include but are not limited to instrumental support for action, leadership, channels of communication, trust, and solidarity.

As for the emotion-coping pathway, perceptions of being unfairly and collectively disadvantaged leads to negative affect, for example, anger, at the group level, which, in turn, motivates individuals to engage in political action to remove collective disadvantages that their group faces (van Zomeren, Spears, Fischer, & Leach, 2004). Accordingly, research has also demonstrated that group-related disadvantages only invokes negative affect if the individual identifies with the group (Mackie, Maitner, & Smith, 2009).

DDPMAC hypothesizes that both of these pathways are influenced by past participation in political action. Taking part in political action, for instance, is likely a) to empower individuals and reinforce their subjective identification with the group (Drury &

Reicher, 2009; Tausch & Becker, 2013), and b) to intensify their anger resulting from unjust collective disadvantage. Alternatively, participation in unsuccessful action could also backfire and lead to disidentification from the group (Becker, Tausch, Spears, & Christ, 2011; Tausch & Becker, 2013). Preliminary findings from research on CII and contact however, imply that both CII and intergroup contact could ameliorate these psychological processes leading to political action, and eventually dampen activism.

Common Ingroup Identity

Common Ingroup Identity (CII; Gaertner et al., 1993; Gaertner & Dovidio, 2000) model predicts that it is possible to reduce intergroup bias via processes of de-categorization and re-categorization process among members of different groups that share the same societal context. Individuals are encouraged to de-categorize themselves as exclusive members of their ethnic, religious, or racial groups. In a subsequent process, they are induced to re-categorize themselves as members of a new superordinate group such as a national identity. CII model assumes that these categorization processes are not static and at any given time individuals identify with a multitude of social groups which may or not be exclusive of each other (Dovidio, Saguy, Gaertner, & Thomas, 2012). Once this re-categorization of "us" and "them" into "we" is underway, the negative bias toward "former" outgroup members is transformed into positive bias as they are now perceived as members of the new all-inclusive group. The CII model has been criticized for its paradoxical predictions in relation to social change for disadvantaged groups. Specifically, research has demonstrated that CII is associated with reduced perceptions of inequalities and discrimination among the disadvantaged. In the US, identifying as American as opposed to White American reduced recognition of discrimination against African Americans and willingness to protest in favour of African Americans (Banfield & Dovidio, 2013). In the European context, identifying as European negatively predicted willingness to protest among the disadvantaged Kurds by

reducing anger whereas identification with the Kurdish ingroup predicted stronger willingness to engage in protest behaviour in favour of the ingroup via anger and group efficacy (Ufkes, Dovidio, & Tel, 2014).

We argue that such paradoxical effects of CII partly depend on the social and political structure. As such, the sedative effects of CII are not readily applicable to contexts in which members of the disadvantaged group have been severely discriminated against and marginalized. In such cases membership to the mainstream group might provide only access to political and psychological resources that are needed to challenge the system (Medina, 2012). A case in point is societal structures in which multiple layers of superordinate identity with blurred boundaries, for example, religious, linguistic, and racial, exist and overlap with each other. For instance, in the majority of Latin American societies, including Mexico and Chile where the present research was conducted, the mainstream society is a racial and cultural mix of Indigenous groups and groups of European descend which is commonly referred to as "Mestizo" (Stavans, 2013). This notion of the mainstream CII, while simultaneously recognizing proto-typicality of indigenous elements, marginalizes "unassimilated" various indigenous groups whose members identify with their specific communities, for example, Mayan, Nahuatl, or Zapotec, as well as with a collective Indigenous identity (Jung, 2008)

Research suggests that while such groups are beginning to reclaim their cultural rights and asserting their culture and identity, indigenous people in Latin America remain among the most marginalized and socially excluded peoples on the globe. Research also shows that stark differences exist among Indigenous and non-Indigenous in terms of access to economic, political, and social opportunities (Arias, Yamada, & Tejerina, 2002; Parker, Rubalcava, & Teruel, 2005) We therefore propose that it is possible to construe several dimensions of a CII in Mexican and Chilean societies and argue that CII as Indigenous is marginalized and

stigmatized on the basis of its differences from the national CII as Mexican and/or Chilean. In both societies, therefore, identifying with the mainstream society as Mexican and/or Chilean might provide emotional and instrumental support, which in turn, provoke approach oriented emotions, for example, anger and perceptions of increased group efficacy. What is more by categorizing oneself as an integral part of the mainstream society, one also asserts her rights to access the necessary political structure to challenge the disadvantages that indigenous people in these countries currently face.

Contact

Contact theory (Allport, 1954; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006; Pettigrew, 1998) posits that under certain conditions, frequent and positive contact between individuals belonging to different groups improves attitudes toward each other. Recent research however suggests that among the disadvantaged frequent and pleasant interactions with those in power might have paradoxical effects on social change by improving the attitudes toward the advantaged and giving way to expectations and illusions of equality. This makes it difficult for the disadvantaged to resist and challenge their "nice and benevolent" friends as oppressors (Dixon et al., 2012; Tausch, Saguy, & Bryson, 2015).

Research on such paradoxical effects of contact argues that contact induces a sedative effect (Cakal, Hewstone, Schwar, & Heath, 2011) through various psychological processes. Perhaps the first and foremost of these processes is the reduced perceptions of discrimination and inequality. In South Africa, more and positive contact with White South Africans decreased perceptions of inequality among Black South Africans who, in turn, supported racial equality policies less (Dixon, Durrheim, Tredoux, Tropp, & Eaton, 2010). Similarly, positive contact with the advantaged Jewish Israelis reduced perceptions of discrimination among the disadvantaged Israeli Arabs who, much like their Black South African counterparts, showed less support for social change (Saguy, Tausch, Dovidio, & Pratto,

2009). Sengupta and Sibley (2013) also demonstrated that contact with the advantaged group increased beliefs in a meritocratic system and decreased support for policies aimed at supporting the impoverished Maori ingroup in New Zealand. However, Sengupta and Sibley (2013) also reported that those who had more intragroup contact with the other members of their disadvantaged group had more critical views of the meritocratic system, and thus showed more support for policies aiming to improve the conditions for the disadvantaged Maoris. This implies that intragroup contact between members of disadvantaged groups, as opposed to intergroup contact between the advantaged and disadvantaged, could potentially motivate individuals to engage in political action against the common oppressor. In fact, recent research argues social interaction might actually have a positive effect on political action (Thomas, McGarty, & Louis, 2014).

However, there is no research, known to us, that investigates the effect of contact between the members of different disadvantaged groups on mutual collective action via established predictors of collective action, that is, anger and or group efficacy (van Zomeren et al., 2012). If intergroup contact can improve awareness of commonalities between the advantaged and disadvantaged groups (Saguy et al., 2009), and contact between members of a particular group could facilitate more support for political action by informing individuals about their collective disadvantage, through regular contact with other disadvantaged people, individuals might become cognizant of shared beliefs about the unfairness of the situation; and similar-others' willingness to redress this inequality. As such, intragroup contact then can facilitate (a) group based appraisals of illegitimacy and unfairness of the collective disadvantage; and (b) attributions of illegitimacy and unfairness of the situation to external actors. Previous research has established that both processes trigger approach oriented psychological processes and facilitates one's willingness to engage in political action. On one hand, knowing that other people too are discontent and angry with the collective disadvantage

can emphasize the group-level nature of the emotional experiences related to collective disadvantage, i.e., anger (Mackie et al., 2009; van Zomeren et al., 2004). On the other, perceiving that one is not alone in her evaluation of the situation and her desire to change it could positively change one's beliefs about group's capacity to challenge the conditions.

Based on our reading of this research and the positive effects of social ties and interactions between individuals on political participation (Thomas et al., 2014), we argue that intragroup contact between members of disadvantaged groups can a) increase perceptions of group efficacy, b) intensify emotional experiences such as anger and, therefore, c) motivate individuals to engage in political action and activism aimed at redressing the inequalities.

Present Study and Overview of Hypotheses

The Indigenous peoples of Mexico and Chile remain two of the least accessible groups, and provide a fertile context to test our research hypotheses. Both countries have a colonial background and are home to indigenous populations consisting of various groups each with its own cultural and linguistic differences. Despite the rising tide of social movements and struggle for equality, the Indigenous in both countries are traditionally the most excluded and disadvantaged segment of the society.

Accordingly, we hypothesize that

H1: CII as Mexican and/or Chilean will predict willingness to engage in political action over and above identification as indigenous both directly and via anger and group efficacy.

Extrapolating from Sengupta and Sibley (2013) and Thomas et al. (2014) we contend that contact with other indigenous people will intensify perceptions of shared group-based disadvantaged and instrumental support in turn leading to increased activism. Therefore

H2: Contact will predict political action tendencies both directly and via anger and group efficacy.

Finally, because indigenous people have long suffered institutional discrimination and marginalization, and have had little success in reclaiming their rights, we predict that

H3: Past participation in activism will moderate how CII and ingroup contact predict future political action tendencies via anger and group efficacy.

H3a: In situations where the CII as Indigenous and CII as national identity , that is, Mexican and/or Chilean overlap, the moderating effect of past participation will be positive,

H3b: In situations where there is no or little overlap between two different types of CII the moderating effect of past participation will be negative.

We test these hypotheses in two studies that we report below.

Study 1

Method

Participants

One hundred and fifty two indigenous adults (95 females, M_{age} = 37.07, *SD* = 14.76). They were recruited from indigenous communities in Mexico City and interviewed by a research assistant on a voluntary basis and received some monetary compensation for their time.

Measures

Variables were measured on five point Likert scales. Higher values denote stronger identification, more contact, more anger and perceived group efficacy, and more willingness to engage in political action (CII, group efficacy, and political action items: 1, *strongly disagree*; 5, *strongly agree*; anger items 1, *not at all*; 5, *very much*; contact items: 1, *never*; 5, *very often*). CII as Indigenous is measured by two items adapted from (Leach et al., 2008):

'*Being Indigenous is an important part of how I see myself* ', and '*I am very happy to be Indigenous*' (r = .70, $p < .001$). We adapted the same items to measure CII as Mexican: '*Being Mexican is an important part of how I see myself* ', and '*I am very happy to be Mexican*' ($r = .88$, $p < .001$). Contact among indigenous is measured by two items '*How often do you have direct, face-to-face interactions with other Indigenous in daily life, i.e. during shopping etc.?*' and '*How often do you exchange house visits with other Indigenous people*' ($r = .69$, $p < .001$)**.** We adapted two items each from van Zomeren, Leach, & Spears, (2010) to measure anger and group efficacy '*When you think about the disadvantages and hardships that Indigenous people in Mexico face, how much of the following feelings do you feel in general*? '*anger*' and '*fury*'($r = .80$, $p < .001$); '*Working with other Indigenous communities we can improve the condition for Indigenous*' and '*We Indigenous people can improve our conditions*' ($r = .93$, $p < .001$). We assessed past participation with three items: *In the last six months I have signed a petition/took part in a peaceful demonstration/ attended a meeting on indigenous rights* ($\alpha = .92$). Political action tendencies were measured by two items ($r = .71$, $p < .001$; van Zomeren, Spears, & Leach, 2008): '*I would be willing to sign a petition to improve the conditions for Indigenous people*' and '*I would be willing take part in a legal demonstration to improve the conditions for Indigenous people*'.

Results and Discussion

We report the descriptive statistics of our variables in Table 1. We ran a structural equation model with latent variables using MPlus (Muthen & Muthen, 2008). We did not have any missing data and we employed MLR (robust maximum likelihood estimation Schermelleh-Engel, 2003) estimator to estimate our model. The model fit was evaluated by χ^2 test, χ^2 /*df* ratio, RMSEA, CFI, and SRMR (cut of points for these fit indices are a non-significant χ^2 value; χ^2 /*df* ratio no higher than 3; CFI $\geq .95$; RMSEA $\leq .06$ or; SRMR $\leq .08$ (Barrett, 2007; Bentler, 2007; Hu & Bentler, 1999). We ran a confirmatory factor analysis

(CFA) to test our factor structure which revealed that all observed items in the model have factor loadings above $\beta = 0.60$ (Hair, Black, Babin, & Anderson, 2010).

Our specified model (SM) that includes all our variables of interest fit the data well (χ^2 (75) = 79.84, $p = .336$, χ^2 /*df* =1.06; RMSEA = .016; CFI = .99; SRMR = .052; Figure 1) with a non-significant chi square value. CII as Mexican was positively associated with political action tendencies ($\beta = .27$, p =0.27) and group efficacy ($\beta = 0.38$, $p < .001$), which in turn, was positively associated with political action tendencies ($\beta = 0.45$, $p < .001$). Intragroup contact among Indigenous was positively associated with anger ($\beta = 0.23$, $p < .001$) and political action tendencies ($\beta = 0.13$, $p < .001$). CII as Indigenous had a positive association with anger ($\beta = 0.27$, $p < .001$), which in turn, was positively associated with political action tendencies ($\beta = 0.21$, $p = .032$). Finally, we detected a significant association between CII as Mexican and CII as Indigenous ($r = 0.45$, $p < .001$).

Due to the correlational nature of our data, we are unable to rule out alternative causal accounts of the relations between variables in our model. Therefore, we compared our model with two alternative models. One could argue that group efficacy and contact between indigenous could strengthen the ingroup identification as indigenous and weaken ingroup identification as Mexican which in return, might be associated with collective action tendencies via anger (Alternative Model 1: AM1). Alternatively, it is also possible that contact among indigenous could strengthen the identification with the indigenous while weakening common ingroup identity at the national Mexican level, that in turn might be associated with collective action via group efficacy and anger (Alternative Model 2: AM2). We employed the Satorra-Bentler scaled χ^2 difference test that adjusts for the correction factor when the estimator is MLR (Kline, 2011, pp. 215-216) to compare model fit. The results revealed that both of the alternative models fit the data significantly less well than our specified model (AM1: χ^2 (73) = 128.03, $p = .001$, χ^2/df =1.75; RMSEA = .061; CFI = .95;

SRMR=.090; SM vs. AM1: $\Delta \chi^2$ (2)=8.17, p =.013; AM2: χ^2 (72)=125.50, p=.000, χ^2/df =1.74, RMSEA=.070; CFI=.94; SRMR=.095; SM vs. AM2: $\Delta \chi^2$ (3) = 10.48, p = .014. We therefore retained our specified model as it was the most parsimonious and restricted of all three models.

We are also interested in the indirect effects of both types of CII and contact between the Indigenous on political action via anger and group efficacy. We used bootstrapping based on 5000 resamples (Finney & DiStefano, 2012; Preacher & Hayes, 2008) and created standardized point estimates (PE) with bias corrected confidence intervals (CI) to deal with any bias resulting from small sample size. We report the effects whose confidence intervals do not include zero. There was a significant positive indirect effect of CII as Mexican on political action tendencies (PE = 0.165, 99%CI) via group efficacy. Both contact between the Indigenous (PE = 0.054, 95%CI) and CII as Indigenous (PE = 0.057, 99%CI) had a positive and significant effect on political action tendencies via anger.

Moderating Effects of Past Participation

Our theoretical model predicts that past participation in activism could influence how identification and intergroup contact influence future political action intentions. To test the moderating effect of past participation we created a latent interaction variable with the predictor variable of the path we are testing and past participation using the "xwith" (short form for "multiplied with") command in MPlus (Muthen & Muthen, 2008). We regressed our dependent variable of interest on this new latent interaction variable created by multiplying our predictor variable with our proposed moderator, past participation within PROCESS (Hayes, 2013) in MPlus. We then obtained specific betas for the effect of the latent interaction variable we created on the dependent variable as well as betas for the effect of predictor variable on the dependent variable when the moderator variable is low (-1 SD), at mean (0), and when the moderator variable is high (+1).

The effect of past participation on activism was negative and significant (β = -0.12, p < .05) but the effect of latent interaction variable (CII as Mexican x past participation) on political action tendencies was positive and significant (β = 0.20, p < .05). PROCESS analysis showed that when past participation was low the association between CII as Mexican and action tendencies was not significant (β = -0.07, ns). This association was positive and significant (β = 0.27, p = 0.022) when past participation was at mean. When past participation was high the association between CII and political action tendencies was strongly positive and significant (β = 0.47, p < .001).

The effect of past participation on group efficacy was positive and not significant (β = 0.10, ns) but the effect of latent interaction variable (CII as Mexican x past participation) on group efficacy was negative and significant (β = -0.25, p < .001). When past participation was low the association between CII as Mexican and group efficacy was positive and significant (β = 0.45, p < .001). This association was positive but not significant (β = 0.20, ns) when past participation was at mean. When past participation was high the association between CII and group efficacy was negative and not significant (β = -0.04, ns). For the CII as Indigenous and group efficacy path, the effect of latent interaction variable on group efficacy was negative and significant (β = -0.17, p = .038). When past participation was low the association between CII as Indigenous and group efficacy was positive and significant (β = 0.33, p =.032). This association was not significant (β = 0.16, ns) when past participation was at mean levels. When past participation was high the association between CII as Indigenous and group efficacy disappeared (β = -0.02, ns).

Finally, the effect of latent interaction variable (group efficacy x past activism) on activism was negative and significant (β = - 0.34, p < .001). When past participation was low the association between group efficacy and activism was positive and significant (β = 0.68, p < .001). This association diminished in size but it was still significant (β = 0.34, p = .018)

when past participation was at mean. When past participation was high the association between group efficacy and activism disappeared (β = -0.01ns).

Study 2

Method

Participants

One hundred and eighty five indigenous adults (72 females, M_{age} = 36.73, *SD* = 13.34) were recruited from indigenous communities in Concepción (Southern Chile) by research assistants. The participants took part in the study on a voluntary basis and did not receive any monetary compensation.

Measures

We used the same items as in Study 1. All our scales demonstrated satisfactory reliability: CII as Indigenous: r = .72, p < .001; CII as Chilean: r = .70, p < .001; Contact among indigenous: r = .72, p <.001; Anger: α = .86, r = .75, p < .001; Group Efficacy: r = .67, p < .001; collective action tendencies: r = .54, p < .001; Past participation: α = .79.

Results and Discussion

As in Study 1, CFA showed that that observed items have satisfactory loadings on their respective latent variables and our model fit the data well (χ^2 (75) =120.28, p = .007, χ^2 /*df* = 1.60, RMSEA = .059, CFI=.94, SRMR=.054; Figure 2). Similar to Study 1, CII as Chilean was positively associated with political action tendencies (β = .19, p < .001) and with group efficacy (β = .40, p < .001) that in turn was also positively associated with political action tendencies (β = .47, p < .001). CII as Indigenous had a positive association with group efficacy (β = .42, p < .001) and anger (β = 0.26, p < .001) that in turn was positively associated with activist tendencies (β = 0.10, p <.05); Intragroup contact among indigenous was positively associated with anger (β = 0.36, p < .001) and political action tendencies (β = 0.11, p = .041).

We also tested the same alternative models as in Study 1 and found that both of the alternative models fit the data significantly less well than our specified model (AM1: χ^2 (73)=151.79, $p < .001$, χ^2 /df =2.08; RMSEA = .079, CFI = .89; SRMR = .074; SM vs. AM1: $\Delta\chi^2$ (2) = 9.16, $p = .010$; AM2: χ^2 (72) =149.02, $p < .001$, χ^2 /*df* =2.04, RMSEA=.054; CFI = .96; SRMR = .076; χ^2 = 103.72, $p = .007$,χ^2/*df* =1.62; RMSEA=.078; CFI=.90; SRMR=.070; SM vs. AM2: $\chi^2(3) = 9.27$, $p = .026$). Therefore, we retained our proposed model.

Tests of indirect effects using the same procedure as in Study 1, showed a significant positive indirect effect of CII as Chilean on collective action (PE= .146, 99% CI) via group efficacy. As in Study 1, contact between Indigenous had a positive and significant effect on political action tendencies (PE = .040, 95%CI) via anger. Unlike Study 1, the results also revealed that CII as Indigenous had an indirect effect on political action tendencies via group efficacy (PE= .188, 99% CI) but not via anger.

Moderating Effects of Past Participation

Using the same approach as in Study 1, we tested the moderating effects of past participation. The effect of past participation on activism was not significant (β= 0.06, ns) but the effect of latent interaction variable on collective action tendencies was negative and significant (β = -0.15, $p = .046$). PROCESS analysis showed that when past participation was low (-1 SD) the association between CII as Chilean and activism was positive and significant (β = 0.37, $p < .001$). This association diminished in size (β = 0.22, $p = .011$) when past participation was at mean. When past participation was high (+1 SD) the association between CII and activism disappeared (β = 0.08, ns).

Looking at the association between CII as Indigenous and activism, the effect of latent interaction variable on activism was negative and significant (β = -0.29, $p < .001$). When past participation was low the association between CII as Indigenous and activism was positive and significant (β = 0.35, $p < .001$). This association diminished (β= 0.06, ns) when past

participation was at mean and became negative (β=-.22ns) but failed to reach the level of significance when past participation was high.

The effect of past participation on group efficacy was not significant (β = 0.04, ns) but the effect of latent interaction variable (CII as Chilean x past participation) on group efficacy was negative and significant (β = -0.15, p =.033). When past participation was low the association between CII as Chilean and group efficacy was positive and significant (β= 0.54, p < .001). This association diminished in size (β = 0.38, p = .013) when past participation was at mean. When past participation is high the association between CII and group efficacy was no longer significant (β = 0.23ns). For the CII as Indigenous and group efficacy path, the effect of latent interaction variable on group efficacy was positive and significant (β = 0.22, p < .001). When past participation was low the association between CII as Indigenous and group efficacy was positive and significant (β=.32, p=.034). This association increased in size (β = 0.54, p < .001) when past participation was at mean. When past participation was high the association between CII as Indigenous and group efficacy became stronger (β = 0.76, p < .001).

As for the association between group efficacy and political action tendencies, the effect of latent interaction variable (group efficacy x past participation) on political action tendencies was negative and significant (β = -0.25, p < .001). Specifically, when past participation was low the association between group efficacy and activism was positive and significant (β = 0.60, p < .001).This association diminished in size but was still significant (β = 0.35, p =.014) when past participation was at mean. When past participation was high the association between group efficacy and activism disappeared (β = 0.10, ns).

Discussion

We investigated how different forms of CII and contact could energize political action by facilitating emotional and instrumental support, and facilitating access to political and

social resources, which in turn provoke group-level experiences of anger and .perceptions of increased group efficacy. In addition, we explored how these psychological processes are influenced by past participation in political action. We believe our findings extend the debate on factors promoting versus inhibiting political activism especially among less accessible groups. Emphasizing the importance of context in explaining the impact of CII on social change our findings suggests that a) alternative forms of CII could provide access to psychological resources necessary for activism, that is, group efficacy; b) intergroup contact among the disadvantage could energize political action via the emotional path of anger; c) past participation in political activism could either have a dampening or energizing effect on these processes. Below, we discuss our findings and their implications for future research on CII, contact, and research on collective action.

We tested for the energizing effects of CII on activism. Counter to existing evidence on sedative effects, we found robust evidence in favour of CII's energizing effects on political action. We predicted that CII as Mexican (Study 1) and CII as Chilean (Study 2) would be positively associated with intentions to engage in activism over and above CII as Indigenous. This is because in both contexts, Indigenous people have been marginalized on the basis of their indigenous identity. Our findings are inconsistent with the large body of research that suggests common ingroup identity might dampen motivations to mobilize decreasing perceptions of inequality and discrimination whereas subgroup identity energizes such motivations. Contrary to our expectations though CII as Indigenous was indirectly associated with political action tendencies via group efficacy in Study 2 in which we also found no meaningful association between CII as Chilean and CII as Indigenous. There was however, a negative association between intragroup contact and CII as Chilean (see figure 2). In the absence of more data, we can only speculate that compared to the Mexican Indigenous peoples, Mapuche people have long been involved in a more violent conflict with the

mainstream (Merino, Mellor, Saiz, & Quilaqueo, 2009; Stocker, 2013). Combined with extensive discrimination and regular intragroup contact this conflictual context might drive the Mapuche away from the mainstream society and influence the emotional and instrumental support they draw from their own community. We believe this finding is in line with earlier work on psychological resources needed for mobilization (Kitschelt, 1986; van Zomeren et al., 2004)

We also provided fresh evidence in support of the moderating role of past participation on problem-focused path to collective action. We found that past participation in political action moderated how CII and group efficacy relates to activist tendencies. This influence seems to depend on the wider societal context. In Study 1, more activism in the past positively moderated the impact of CII as Mexican on activist tendencies whereas in Study 2 the impact of both types of CII was negatively moderated. Research argues that both efficacy and anger are associated with normative political action (Tausch et al., 2011) and undertaking collective action can increase both perceptions of efficacy and anger (van Zomeren et al., 2012). Our findings, however, show that participation could negatively feed into problem-focused path weakening perceptions of group efficacy whereas the emotion-focused path seems to be unaffected by the level of past participation. Thus, results imply that the impact of past participation on the CII - future intentions to participate in political action path seems to depend on the overlap between mainstream CII and CII as Indigenous. When there is a greater overlap between the more inclusive CII and less inclusive CII, as indicated by strong correlation between CII as Mexican and CII as Indigenous in Study 1, past participation positively moderates the effect of the more inclusive CII on activist tendencies. When, however, the overlap is smaller or does not exist, as indicated by non-significant correlation between CII as Chilean and CII as Indigenous, this effect is negative.

We found partial support for our predictions regarding the effects of contact on political engagement and activism. We hypothesized that contact among the disadvantaged Indigenous would energize political action by increasing anger and group efficacy. Intragroup contact was associated with future collective action tendencies both directly and via anger. This is in line with previous research on the impact of social interaction on political engagement (Thomas et al., 2014). Previous research implies that this might be due to a learning process through which members of the disadvantaged group learn about other individuals' grievances and their emotional reactions to these grievances which provide feedback on one's emotional experiences related to disadvantage. There is, however, no support for the empowering role of contact via increased group efficacy. As our data suggest, such empowerment, if there is any, is direct rather than via increased group efficacy. We argue that these results call for conceptual clarity and contextualization for research on the paradoxical effects of contact and CII. In particular, more research is needed on what types of contact energize political action. When it happens between the advantaged and the disadvantaged, intergroup contact does seem to dampen motivations to engage in action aimed at challenging inequalities. As our results suggests however, intragroup contact between different disadvantaged groups seem to drive intentions to mobilize.

Finally, we would like to emphasize that majority of existing research on CII has been conducted in WEIRD societies (Western Educated Industrialized Rich and Democratic; Henrich, Heine, & Norenzayan, 2010). Findings from the current studies suggest that the so-called paradoxical effects of CII are not readily generalizable to more complex contexts in which the disadvantaged has been consistently discriminated and marginalized. In such societies where the group boundaries between the advantaged and disadvantaged are blurred, such as Mexico and Chile and where the mainstream society is made of individuals of mixed origins the impact of collective indigenous identity on political action seems to depend on

past participation. In some contexts such as those studied here, identifying with the mainstream society and engaging in political action as equal members of the mainstream society might seem to be the only way out of the deadlock for the disadvantaged communities. This might be due to perceiving the past efforts as worthwhile or not; and b) the specific reactions of the state and the mainstream society to such efforts. Therefore, we need more data exploring these processes. More research exploring the specific mechanisms of this CII related empowerment in non-WEIRD contexts is particularly welcome.

Policy Implications

Both studies employ data from two uncommonly studied populations in social psychology. Both in Mexico and Chile, the state has attempted to assimilate Indigenous peoples into the mainstream society without considering their opinions albeit via different approaches. In Mexico, the state has been more inclusive, albeit assimilationist, while in Chile the state has mainly been isolationist. In both countries however Indigenous people have suffered the usurpation of their lands and resources. Accordingly, this situation has led them to form social movements against collective disadvantage. In Mexico, these movements lead to conditional autonomy and gaining notable rights. In Chile, repressive policies seem to have pushed the Indigenous people further away from the mainstream society. It seems however that no matter whether the state is inclusive or isolationist policies regarding Indigenous people are often implemented as if the country was homogenous. In that regard, the findings we present can account for a constant concern for identity and recognition among Indigenous people and how intergroup contact and common ingroup identity might lead to mobilization to achieve this recognition. This research therefore provides important insights into the level of interest of Indigenous groups to the right of self-determination, and their determination to active participation in political decisions that affect their people. Thus, as our findings suggest, more inclusionary policies are needed to involve Indigenous people in

the decision making process and to accommodate their demands regarding education, land reforms, and other cultural rights.

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Figure Captions

Figure 1. Specified model using data from Mexican Indigenous (n=152; (χ^2 (75) =78.84, p=.336, χ^2/df =1.06; RMSEA=.017; CFI=.99; SRMR=.052). Only significant paths are reported. Path coefficients are standardized estimates, ***= $p < .001$; **= $p < .01$,*=p<.05

Figure 2. Specified model using data from Chilean Indigenous (n=185, χ^2 (75) = 120.28, p=.007, χ^2/df =1.60; RMSEA=.059; CFI=.94; SRMR=.054). Only significant paths are reported. Path coefficients are standardized estimates, *** $p < .001$; ** $p < .01$, *=p<.05.

Table 1. Descriptive statistics and correlations between the latent variables in the model (Study 1: All variables measured by 1-5 Likert scales

Variable	M	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. CII as Indigenous	4.57	.92	1	.59***	.13*	.39***	.22***	.03ns	.31***
2. CII as Mexican	4.66	.80		1	. 10ns	.48***	.02ns	.14**	.43***
3. Intergroup Contact among Indigenous	3.31	1.01			1	.21	.28***	.32***	.21**
4. Group Efficacy	4.34	.99				1	.17*	.02ns	.54***
5. Anger	3.06	1.54					1	.27**	.34**
6. Past Participation in Activism	2.22	1.20						1	.09ns
7. Political Action Tendencies	4.30	1.06							1

Table 2. Descriptive statistics and correlations between the latent variables in the model (Study 2).

Variable	M	SD	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1. CII as Indigenous	4.27	.99	1	.20**	.04ns	.50***	.27***	.11*	.48***
2. CII as Chilean	4.74	.69		1	-. 26**	.45***	-.06ns	-.22**	.42***
3. Intergroup Contact among Indigenous	2.61	1.28			1	.09ns	.50***	.38***	.17***
4. Group Efficacy	4.55	.76				1	.12ns	.02ns	.61***
5. Anger	3.22	1.43					1	.13ns	.19**
6. Past Participation in Activism	2.53	1.30						1	.11ns
7. Political Action Tendencies	4.56	.71							1

Figure 1.

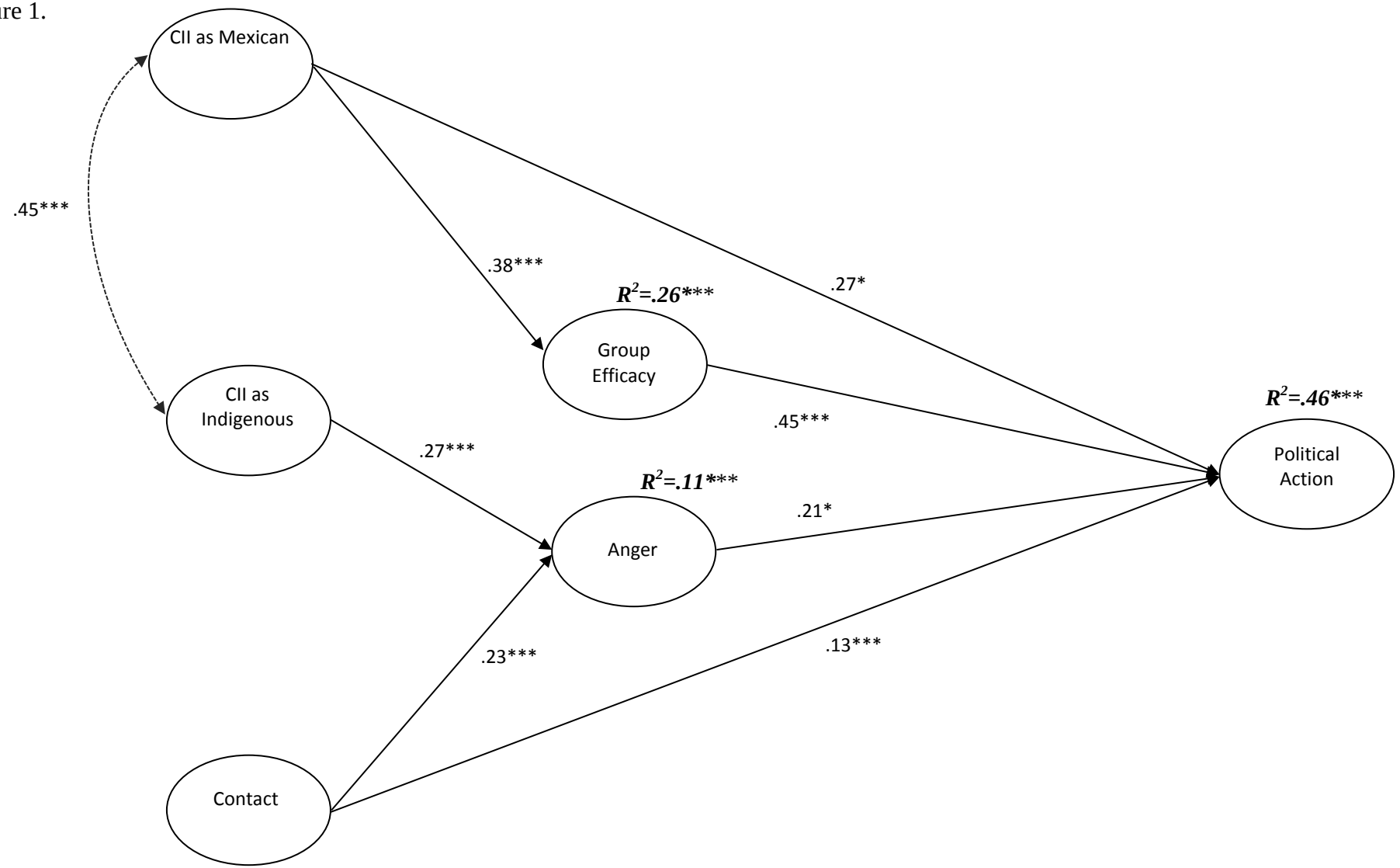
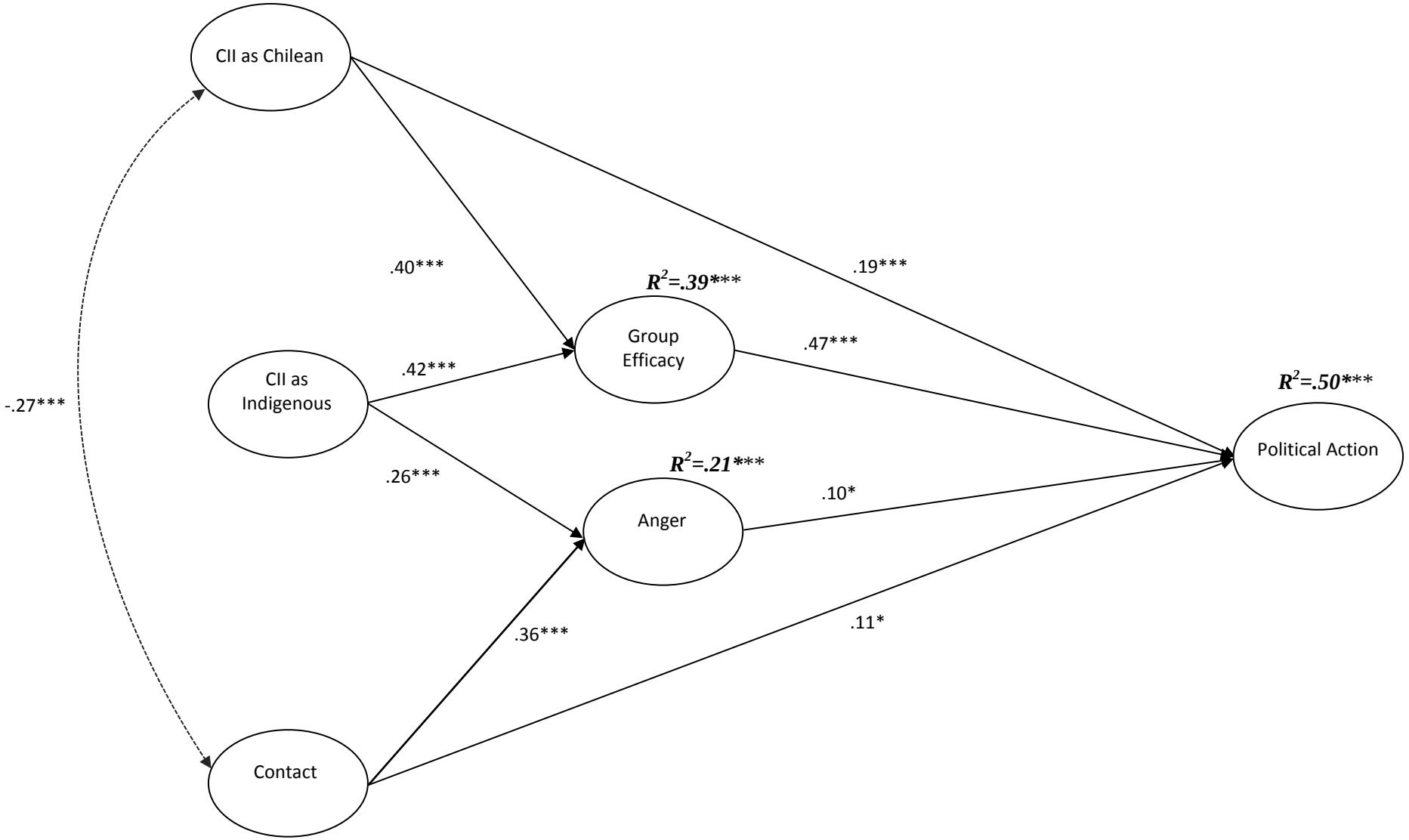

CII as Mexican
.45***
CII as Indigenous
.38***
R^2=.26***
Group Efficacy
.27*
.45***
R^2=.46***
Political Action
.27***
R^2=.11***
Anger
.21*
.23***
.13***
Contact

Figure 2.


CII as Chilean
CII as Indigenous
Contact
Group Efficacy
Anger
Political Action
.40***
.42***
.26***
.36***
.19***
.47***
.10*
.11*
-.27***
R^2=.39***
R^2=.21***
R^2=.50***