# Solidarity from immigrants to Indigenous peoples in Canada: A Person-Centered Analysis

By

Yijia Li (Jessica)
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We acknowledge and respect the Lək̓ʷəŋən (Songhees and Esquimalt) Peoples on whose territory the university stands, and the Lək̓ʷəŋən and W̱SÁNEĆ peoples whose historical relationships with the land continue to this day.

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**Supervisory Committee**
Dr. Catherine Costigan, Supervisor
Department of Psychology

Dr. Nigel Mantou Lou, Departmental Member
Department of Psychology

## Abstract

**Background**: Experiences of victimization (e.g., discrimination) have been shown to relate to greater feelings of connectedness (i.e., solidarity) and supportive actions from one structurally marginalized group to another. Experiences of marginalization have been found to coexist with different degrees to which systems are believed to be fair (i.e., system justification beliefs), with high system justification being negatively related to intergroup solidarity. Last, knowledge has been found to influence intergroup solidarity. Community-engagements have shown similarities in race/ethnicity-based victimhood experiences between Canada's Indigenous and immigrant groups. Canada's growing immigrant population is increasingly diverse, especially in their victimhood experiences and views towards society and solidarity. Thus, a person-centered analysis will be conducted to investigate if unique combinations of knowledge, victimization identities, and system justifying beliefs may impact solidarity and political action towards Indigenous peoples.

**Methods**: 285 adults, identifying as having an immigrant background, were recruited across Canada via an online survey from January to May, 2024. Measures collected demographic information, different types of race/ethnicity-based victimhood identification (e.g., collective, inclusive, exclusive), system justification beliefs (i.e., meritocracy, zero-sum game, social dominance orientation), Indigenous knowledge, political solidarity, and support for policies benefitting Indigenous peoples.

**Results:** Latent profile analysis results identified four profiles with varying levels of victimhood, system justification beliefs, and Indigenous knowledge: 1) Inclusive victim, aware system criticizers (own-group victimization similar to others); 2) Non-victim, very unaware hierarchical-meritocrats (believe in social hierarchy and meritocracy); 3) Non-victim, aware anti-

hierarchical anti-meritocracy; 4) Exclusive victim, unaware system supporters (own-group suffering is unique). Profiles 1 and 2 showed high solidarity and policy support for Indigenous peoples, while Group 3 had the lowest. Results for Profile 1 and 4 are supported by previous literature showing high victimhood, high knowledge, low SJ beliefs related to greater solidarity. Results for Profile 2 and 3 add to the literature, in that knowledge and SJ beliefs may influence solidarity differently in non-victimized groups. . Profiles differed in age, gender, racial/ethnic background, visible minority status, and sexual orientation but not socioeconomic status or immigrant generation.

**Conclusion:** This research demonstrates the utility of person-centered analyses to highlight individual differences previously unrecognized in the literature. Results may inform relationship building and continued reconciliation between Indigenous peoples and immigrants.

*Keywords*: political solidarity, collective action, Indigenous, victimhood/group-based victimhood/historical victimization, system justification, latent profile analysis, intergroup relations

## Table of Contents

## List of Tables

## List of Figures

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## Introduction

Historical and present-day injustices have motivated different marginalized groups to organize and demand social change (e.g., Black Lives Matter movement (BLM)). It may be beneficial for multiple disadvantaged groups to come together in solidarity, allyship, and/or action with/for one another (Craig et al., 2020; Vollhardt et al., 2016), as many prejudices are the result of similar, interlocking systems of oppression (Chaney & Forbes, 2023). For instance, under the slogan 'Yellow Peril Supports Black Lives', many Asian Americans expressed support for BLM and/or actively protested against the 2020 murder of George Floyd as well as racism more generally (Liu, 2020). Solidarity-based collective action/political solidarity is typically used to refer to any type of collective action, or collective action intention, taken by one group on behalf of another, disadvantaged group (Saab et al., 2015), based on beliefs that both groups need to work together to solve problems and that they 'stand with' the disadvantaged outgroup (Neufeld et al., 2019; Uysal et al., 2022). Solidarity is a psychological process (i.e., identification, attitudes) but also involves intentions and behavioral forms of action (Burson & Godfrey, 2020; Saab et al., 2015; Uysal et al., 2022). It is important to understand how groups identify and connect with one another (i.e., solidarity) and act together for social change (i.e., collective action) (Craig et al., 2020). There is, however, less research on solidarity between different disadvantaged groups, compared to what is known about solidarity from advantaged group members towards disadvantaged groups (Allport, 1954; Burson & Godfrey, 2020; Chaney & Forbes, 2023; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Collective action research has historically focused on how members of disadvantaged groups collectively organize for their own group, but not action for other groups (Dixon et al., 2010, 2020; van Zomeren et al., 2008; Wright & Lubensky, 2009).

Within the Canadian context, efforts at understanding, reconciling, and dismantling Canada's colonial history, and the genocide of its Indigenous peoples, have in recent years been at the forefront of Canadian social discourse and policy. Indigenous peoples (i.e., First Nation, Metis, Inuit) have been at the forefront of this movement, fighting for acknowledgement of past colonial wrongs and ensuring future thriving via reparations, language and cultural revitalization programs, protests, and community mobilization (Jewell & Mosby, 2021; Starzyk et al., 2019; Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015a). Reciprocal, respectful relationships between Indigenous and non-Indigenous individuals, institutions, and cultures are vital to ensuring the thriving of Indigenous groups and a more just Canadian society (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015a). While not directly involved in Canada's colonial history, immigrants such as immigrants and refugees have migrated to ceded and unceded Indigenous lands and have indirectly benefitted from the suppression of Indigenous peoples. Grassroots efforts have shown that Indigenous peoples and immigrants may share similar experiences (e.g., discrimination) due to common systems of oppression that negatively affect both groups, in different ways (Alidina et al., 2020; Corrales et al., 2022; Gyepi-Garbrah et al., 2014; Suleman, 2011; Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015a). These grassroots efforts, along with sparse research on immigrant-Indigenous solidarity and political action (e.g., (Genge & Day, 2020; Neufeld et al., 2019; Starzyk et al., 2019), have shown that immigrants can feel not only connected to Indigenous peoples but be willing to support policies and movements benefitting Indigenous peoples.

The subsequent literature review will integrate what is currently known about Indigenous-immigrant relations in Canada with the literature on political solidarity between disadvantaged groups, to support research on factors (i.e., victimhood experiences, system

justification beliefs) that may be particularly relevant to impacting solidarity and action between Indigenous peoples and immigrants in Canada.

**Indigenous Peoples in Canada**

Indigenous peoples have resided in what is now Canada since time immemorial but have faced adversities due to Canada's colonial history. Today, individuals with First Nation (1.4 million), Metis (500k), and Inuit (82k) ancestry make up approximately 6 percent (2.2 million) of the total population, and their communities are growing (Government of Canada, 2022a; Statistics Canada, 2022b). Indigenous communities are diverse, including 600 First Nations and Metis nations and 50 Inuit communities across Canada that speak over 70 different languages (Statistics Canada, 2022b). Since before Canada became a nation, it has sought to suppress, assimilate, and gain power over Indigenous peoples and lands. As a colonial power, Canada launched a cultural genocide campaign which involved the destruction of institutions (e.g., social, political, family, economic) and cultural practices (e.g., language, spirituality) central to Indigenous identity and nationhood. The Indian Act (1876) and Indian Residential School System (IRSS) were central to Canada's mission of cultural genocide. Among other policies, the Indian Act sequestered Indigenous communities to reservations, limited who could be granted Aboriginal (i.e., Indigenous) status, and mandated compulsory residential schooling for all Indigenous children (Miller, 2023; Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015a). From to 1831 to 1996, over 150,000 Indigenous children attended residential schools across Canada (Miller, 2023). By physically separating children from their families and communities, and forbidding cultural practices and Indigenous languages, residential schools were designed to assimilate children into Euro-Christian society and culture (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015a) Children were also subject to abuse and inadequate living

conditions (Miller, 2023; Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015a). The IRSS, combined with prior and subsequent colonial harms (e.g., European disease epidemics, 60s Scoop), has impeded the ability of Indigenous communities, families, and individuals to thrive and prosper. Colonial harms have trickled down into present-day policy and systemic barriers (i.e., institutional discrimination) (Allan & Smylie, 2015; Morrison et al., 2008) that unfairly disadvantage Indigenous peoples; these barriers present themselves as disparities between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples in the realms of health, wellbeing, and socioeconomic status (Allan & Smylie, 2015; Morrison et al., 2008; Neufeld et al., 2019; Statistics Canada, 2022b; Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015a; Turpel-Lafond, 2020). For instance, Indigenous peoples are disproportionately more likely to live in communities with inadequate housing and lack of running water, as a result of policies such as the reserve system (Allan & Smylie, 2015; Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015a).

**Immigrants in Canada**

As of 2021, almost a quarter of Canadians are or have been an immigrant or permanent resident (i.e., first generation immigrant). The population of second generation Canadians (i.e., at least one foreign-born parent) is also growing, making up around 18% of the entire Canadian population. Immigration is the main contributor to population growth, with the proportion of immigrants being the highest in Canadian history and amongst the G7 countries. Recent immigrants (15.9% of all immigrants) are those who had been admitted to Canada from 2016-2021; longer-term immigrants were admitted from 2001-2005 (Statistics Canada, 2022a). Racialized groups make up approximately 69% of all immigrants and 83% of recent immigrants. Specifically, most immigrants were born in Asia (i.e., East Asia, South Asia, Southeast Asia, Central Asia), or the Middle East. Other prevalent ethnoracial groups include those from Latin

America or who identified as Black, with many recent immigrants from the US as well (Government of Canada, 2022b).

Most immigrants are admitted on the basis of their willingness and ability to contribute to the Canadian economy or for family reunification (Corrales et al., 2022; Government of Canada, 2021; Statistics Canada, 2022a). In addition, Canada has an extensive history of admitting refugees, with refugee nationality dependent on the state of global affairs at the time. For instance, from 1980-1990, Canada mostly admitted refugees from Vietnam, Poland, and El Salvador; in recent years, Canada has admitted refugees from Syria and other Middle Eastern countries (Statistics Canada, 2022a). A vast majority of immigrants (90%) and racialized peoples (95%) live in large urban centres with populations of over 100,000 people, such as Toronto (30%), Montreal (12%), or Vancouver (12%) (Government of Canada, 2022b; Statistics Canada, 2022a).

**Indigenous Peoples and Immigrants in Canada**

Although immigrants such as immigrants, refugees, and permanent residents are not directly implicated in Canada's colonial history, the TRC states that immigrants they still have a responsibility to reconcile with Indigenous peoples (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015a). Community-level efforts to establish respectful immigrant-Indigenous relations highlight the potential for further reconciliation between immigrants and Indigenous peoples (Alidina et al., 2020; Corrales et al., 2022; Gyepi-Garbrah et al., 2014; Suleman, 2011; Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015a).

According to Senator Murray Sinclair, who led the TRC, immigrants make vital contributions to Canada's future, which includes a future of reconciliation and social change (Alidina et al., 2020). Chief Dr. Robert Joseph also commented on how an absence of respectful

relations between immigrants and Indigenous peoples may perpetuate existing or new disparities between Indigenous and non-Indigenous peoples (Corrales et al., 2022). As such, the last two calls to action in TRC's 94 Calls to Action (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015b) described how reconciliation involved providing immigrants with accurate information on Indigenous history and colonization, as well as changing the citizenship oath to reflect respect for Treaties. Indigenous peoples and immigrants are also increasingly encountering one another, as both groups tend to live in one of Canada's large urban areas (Statistics Canada, 2022b; Suleman, 2011). Furthermore, Senator Murray Sinclair commented on how immigrants may use their growing political and social influence to support reconciliation (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015a). Considering how: 1) There is an increasing diversity, population, and political influence of immigrants (Statistics Canada, 2022a); 2) The TRC includes immigrants in the process of reconciliation (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015a, 2015b); and 3) Both groups participate in the same geographic, economic, and social spaces (Statistics Canada, 2022b; Suleman, 2011; Tanaka, 2022), immigrants are well-situated to potentially support reconciliation.

Recent research and grassroots endeavors have noticed these opportunities, examining the state of current relations between urban immigrants and Indigenous peoples (Alidina et al., 2020; Corrales et al., 2022; Gyepi-Garbrah et al., 2014; Suleman, 2011; Tanaka, 2022). Grassroots initiatives have mostly been spearheaded by immigrant and immigrant-serving organizations. For instance, from 2010-2011, the *Dialogues Project* held talking circles to foster understanding and respectful relationships between immigrants and Indigenous peoples living in Vancouver, BC (Suleman, 2011). In their case study, Gyepi-Garbrah et al. (2014) showed that Ka Ni Kanichihk Inc., an Indigenous organization in Winnipeg, Manitoba, instigated cross-

cultural relationship-building between immigrants and Indigenous peoples. Results from these and other community efforts showed that immigrants and Indigenous peoples shared many similarities (e.g., colonial histories, marginalization, and ethnocultural pride) and were generally supportive of Indigenous communities (Alidina et al., 2020; Corrales et al., 2022; Gyepi-Garbrah et al., 2014; Suleman, 2011; Tanaka, 2022). Other immigrant, ethnic, ethnoreligious organizations (e.g., Palestine House) have expressed support for reparations for Indigenous peoples (Amadahy & Lawrence, 2009). A recent Environics Institute survey (Aytac et al., 2022) also showed that immigrants tend to be supportive of reconciliation, though a considerable proportion are not familiar with residential schools or think that the governments and individuals should be less responsible for advancing reconciliation. Overall, efforts at establishing relations between immigrants and Indigenous peoples have increased in recent years but are still in their preliminary stages.

**Solidarity, Allyship, and Action**

The literature on solidarity, action, and allyship exists in siloes, with separate definitions and studies on each of these three constructs. The construct of political solidarity helps unite the three similar yet disparate constructs and can inform research on immigrant-Indigenous relations.

Across studies, **solidarity** has been separately defined as positive attitudes or liking from one group to another (Cortland et al., 2017; Craig et al., 2020; Craig & Richeson, 2012; Vollhardt et al., 2016), common fate (Craig & Richeson, 2012), likelihood of one group working with or engaging in political action for another group (Glasford & Calcagno, 2012), or supporting policies benefitting another group (Burson & Godfrey, 2020; Cortland et al., 2017; Craig & Richeson, 2014). Most solidarity research has examined solidarity from relatively advantaged groups with more power to relatively disadvantaged groups with less power, for

example from White Americans to Black Americans (Burson & Godfrey, 2020; Neufeld et al., 2019). Research on marginalized groups is already limited in the psychology literature (Buchanan et al., 2021). Similarly, scholars in solidarity research call for more research on solidarity between different groups that have all experienced systematic and historic marginalization due to power, resources, or status (Burson & Godfrey, 2020; Craig & Richeson, 2016; Hindriks et al., 2014).

**Collective action** includes actions, taken by a stigmatized or disadvantaged group, to better the situation or solve problems for their own group (Craig et al., 2020; Wright & Lubensky, 2009). Examples include boycotts, protests, voting, teaching and education, community organizing and mobilization, confronting one's own or others' bias, and providing resources and support (Craig et al., 2020; Ouch & Moradi, 2022; van Zomeren et al., 2008). To summarize the differences between solidarity and collective action: 1) Solidarity is a psychological state while collective action is a behavioral process or outcome. Solidarity requires one to personally connect with an outgroup's cause, but still maintain their own identity separate from the outgroup; 2) Collective action is typically done for one's own group, so requires one to identify with that group (Craig et al., 2020). There has been research, however, on advantaged group members' collective action on behalf of disadvantaged groups (Radke et al., 2020), as well as collective action between different disadvantaged groups (Burson & Godfrey, 2020).

**Allyship** describes when socially dominant groups act to reduce disparities that are disproportionately benefiting their own group (Craig et al., 2020). Advantaged group members engage in action based on their own values and norms, rather than a share sense of identity with a disadvantaged group, as may be the case in solidarity (Craig et al., 2020; Louis et al., 2019).

Neufeld et al. (2019) attempted to bridge the conceptual and research gaps between solidarity, collective action, and allyship by developing a construct and measure of political solidarity. Political solidarity is defined by Neufeld et al. (2019) as the "degree to which individual "stands with" a minority outgroup and their cause and is committed to working alongside them to achieve the desired social change" (p. 728). Political solidarity consists of a sense of connection or identification with an outgroup, a sense of allyship with the outgroup's cause, and intentions for collective action to support the outgroup and achieve social change. Neufeld et al. (2019) did not define solidarity as a process or behavioral outcome, even though an imperative for action is included in theirs and many other scholars' definitions of solidarity (Burson & Godfrey, 2020). This definition allows for consideration of the psychological state of solidarity (i.e., identification, attitudes) with the processes (i.e., intentions) and behavioral forms of collective action (Saab et al., 2015; Uysal et al., 2022). Factors explaining collective action can also be applied to solidarity and allyship, and vice versa, with Craig et al. (2020) integrating literature from all three research areas.

Political solidarity from one marginalized group to another marginalized group is important to study, for several reasons. First, political solidarity may be directed from groups with various levels of advantage and disadvantage, to other groups with varying levels of advantage and disadvantage (Starzyk et al., 2019). This differs from how collective action is defined, which is usually towards the ingroup, and how allyship is defined, which is directed from an advantaged group to a disadvantaged group (Craig et al., 2020). Second, growing populations of marginalized groups prompts different groups to come in contact with each other. Studying political solidarity between marginalized groups highlights factors that may foster social justice and societal wellbeing (Burson & Godfrey, 2020). Second, marginalized groups

may have great political and social influence on other marginalized groups and have the power to positively influence outgroup social justice (Craig & Richeson, 2016). Thus, integrating research in solidarity, action, and allyship in the context of the construct of political solidarity, while mostly not set in the Canadian immigrant-Indigenous context, may provide a more in-depth look into what may impact the establishment of respectful and supportive relations between immigrants and Indigenous peoples.

### *Solidarity & Action Research Gaps*

Research and grassroots community efforts have shown that immigrants, particularly those from ethnocultural minority groups, may have their own unique reasons for feeling solidarity with Indigenous peoples (e.g., common experiences of marginalization) (Alidina et al., 2020; Corrales et al., 2022; Suleman, 2011). As political solidarity is a relatively new construct, there is less research on political solidarity between different groups regardless of their advantaged or disadvantaged identities (Neufeld et al., 2019). Only two studies have specifically focused on how to build political solidarity from racialized immigrants to Indigenous peoples in Canada (Neufeld et al., 2019; Starzyk et al., 2019). Thus, research from solidarity, action, and allyship literatures largely inform this proposal, with a focus on studies on political solidarity towards Indigenous peoples. This was deemed appropriate as political solidarity consists of three components which include aspects of solidarity, allyship, and collective action intentions. Given the above-reviewed importance of political solidarity, this thesis will examine several conditions or qualities that foster greater political solidarity from immigrants to Indigenous peoples.

## Experiences and Identities of Disadvantage and Victimhood

Intergroup similarities, in particular shared subjective experiences, have generally been found to foster positive intergroup relations, empathy, and prosocial behavior (Cortland et al.,

2017). The literature on solidarity and collective action between disadvantaged groups is no exception. Two inter-related concepts (shared experiences of discrimination/a common identity of disadvantage and common victimhood) have all been found to facilitate political solidarity.

***Shared Experiences of Discrimination/Common Identity of Disadvantage***

Many studies have shown that increased identification with another disadvantaged outgroup fosters intergroup solidarity, with identification being defined as a sense of shared subjective experiences with individuals in another group (Gurin et al., 1980). Ouch and Moradi (2022) assessed solidarity and collective action directed from Asian Americans to other people of color (POC; defined as Black/African American people, Latina/o Hispanic people, Native American/Indian American people, and other racial/ethnic minority populations). The authors measured instances of collective action behavior (e.g., "I participate in boycotts… for other POC") instead of collective action intentions. In this study, the more Asian Americans reported discrimination experiences, the more likely they were to endorse solidarity and collective action behavior with other POC. The authors hypothesized that Asian Americans with discrimination experiences could understand that they were not separate from other POC and were dealing with similar issues. Other studies have also concluded that similarities foster solidarity, but further explained this result using the common ingroup identity model (CIIM) which states that creating or possessing a shared identity that supersedes individual group identities can improve intergroup relations; a lack of shared identity does not benefit intergroup relations (Burson & Godfrey, 2020; Gaertner & Dovidio, 2011). The CIIM is based on social identity theory (SIT; (Tajfel et al., 1971; Tajfel & Turner, 2001) which states that people are more likely to positively relate to individuals who share a similar identity/belong to the same ingroup.

Several authors have argued that a common disadvantaged identity (i.e., common identity of being a minority) may apply across different ethnoracial groups and thus unite these groups for common causes (Cortland et al., 2017; Craig et al., 2020; Craig & Richeson, 2012, 2016; Glasford & Calcagno, 2012). Glasford & Calcagno (2012) experimentally manipulated the degree of common identity to increase solidarity (e.g., degree to which participants will stand together with Black Americans) and collective action intentions (e.g., protest participation intentions) from Latinx participants to Black Americans. In the high commonality conditions, participants read a blurb stressing the common identity and humanity of Latinx and Black communities. In the low commonality condition, participants read a blurb emphasizing the uniqueness of Latinx and Black communities. In this study, Latinx participants in the commonality condition were more likely to feel solidarity and support collective action intentions towards Black Americans (Glasford and Calcagno, 2012).

***Common Victimhood***

Identification with other groups can also result from the degree to which an individual feels that their experiences of victimhood (i.e., marginalization, oppression, discrimination) are similar to the experiences of another victimized group (Vollhardt et al., 2016). The victimhood literature has developed independently from the CIIM literature, though studies from both traditions often measure the same constructs and their predictions have arisen from the same theories (e.g., Social Identity Theory) (Starzyk et al., 2019; Vollhardt et al., 2016). Starzyk et al. (2019) argued that inclusive victim consciousness differs from common ingroup identity, though Vollhardt (2015) and Vollhardt et al. (2016) described how inclusive victim consciousness can facilitate decreased social distance and awareness of similarities in victimization between groups, and thus foster a common ingroup identity and increased solidarity. Victimhood refers to the

experience of any form of discrimination, disadvantage, or inequity related to one's social group (Vollhardt et al., 2016). Inclusive victim consciousness is the perception that an outgroup's victimhood is similar to the victimhood experienced by one's own group, whereas exclusive victim consciousness is the perception that one's victimhood is unique from other groups' experiences of victimhood, or that groups must compete with each other for victimhood status and its related benefits (Noor et al., 2017; Vollhardt et al., 2016).

Across several studies, inclusive victim consciousness has been associated with increased solidarity and collective action directed from one disadvantaged group to another (Starzyk et al., 2019; Vollhardt et al., 2016). In Vollhardt et al. (2016), inclusive victim consciousness fostered prosocial attitudes and political solidarity (e.g., willingness to donate resources) from marginalized peoples in India (e.g., Dalit, Muslim, Christian) and the United States (i.e., 1st or 2nd generation Vietnamese-Americans with refugee backgrounds) towards other victimized groups. This effect held even if these groups shared different histories and types of victimization, and even if the victimization was experienced not by oneself but by one's family members. Exclusive victim consciousness did not predict prosocial behavior or political solidarity. Starzyk et al. (2019) showed that non-Indigenous ethnic minorities in Canada (n = 109) tended to have higher rates of collective victimhood identities, based on race/ethnicity, compared to their White, non-Indigenous counterparts (n = 124). This collective victimhood was positively related to ethnic minorities' higher inclusive victim consciousness with Canada's Indigenous peoples. In their model, higher inclusive victimhood mediated the relationship between collective victimhood and political solidarity: greater collective victimhood predicted greater support for pro-Indigenous and pro-reconciliation reparations and policies (e.g., respecting land claims). It was also observed that collective victimhood was independently and negatively related to

support for reparations. Even though exclusive victim consciousness was not measured, Starzyk et al. (2019) hypothesized that exclusive victim consciousness may have mediated the negative relationship between collective victimhood and support for reparations.

In community dialogues and program evaluations in Canada, immigrants have described how they had felt more connected with Indigenous peoples through common experiences of marginalization and disadvantage. These experiences include common experiences of racism and oppression, loss of language and culture, socioeconomic challenges, and social exclusion (Alidina et al., 2020; Corrales et al., 2022; Suleman, 2011; Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015a). In interviews with Indigenous and immigrant community members, Alidina et al. (2020) further observed how immigrants and Indigenous peoples may share common experiences of colonialism, as well as shared cultural values and a desire for social change. Indeed, before and during the pandemic, Indigenous and racialized peoples – who more often had immigrant backgrounds – experienced higher rates of racism and religious discrimination compared to their non-racialized counterparts (Godley, 2018; Lou et al., 2022), and felt more threats to their economic stability (Government of Canada, 2022b; Lou et al., 2022). Minority stress theory posits that minoritized individuals (e.g., ethnic minorities) experience poorer mental health than non-minoritized individuals, due to facing higher levels of stress due to systems that work against their minority statuses (e.g., discrimination) (Meyer, 1995). The stresses of acculturating to a new society and its social institutions may confer additional stressors or traumas onto immigrants and their families (Berry, 2006). Victimization experienced by one's family may also transmit to the individual-level, and account for a greater sense of inclusive victim consciousness (Vollhardt et al., 2016). In Vollhardt et al. (2016), both personal and family experiences of collective victimization increased immigrant participants' willingness to support

other marginalized groups. Based on the marginalized identities and victimhood literatures, it is reasonable to assess inclusive and exclusive victimhood experiences and identities in immigrants and to examine if these experiences and identities are related to political solidarity with Indigenous peoples.

**System Justification Beliefs**

The degree to which marginalized groups trust in current societal structures, known as system justification, impacts the degree to which they will feel connected with and want to support other marginalized groups. System justification beliefs are impacted by experiences and identities of marginalization. These constructs can thus be examined in-tandem, for their impacts on political solidarity from immigrants to Indigenous peoples.

System justification (SJ) theory argues that individuals are motivated to believe in the fairness and legitimacy of the societal, economic, and political structures in which they are embedded (Jost & Banaji, 1994). Types of system justifying beliefs include meritocracy, benevolent sexism, social dominance orientation (SDO), right wing authoritarianism, political conservatism, belief in a just world, colorblindness, and others (Jost & Major, 2001; Jost & Banaji, 2011; Neville et al., 2013). These beliefs differ in that individuals can justify either fair and just (e.g., meritocracy, belief in just world) or unfair and hierarchical systems (e.g., zero-sum beliefs, SDO) (Jost & Banaji, 2011; Vargas-Salfate et al., 2018). Despite this difference, all forms of system justifying beliefs prompt individuals to attribute status or hierarchical differences to individual factors (e.g., lack of effort), rather than on systemic or structural factors (e.g., systemic discrimination) (Godfrey & Wolf, 2016; Jost & Banaji, 2011). Thus, SJ beliefs serve to maintain the status quo (Jost & Banaji, 2011). Research has supported that greater SJ

beliefs undermine social change efforts and support for redistributive policies (Jost, 2019; Neville et al., 2013).

**System Justification and Intraminority Solidarity**

Despite a lack of research on how marginalized groups rationalize social systems (Godfrey & Wolf, 2016), some studies have also demonstrated positive relationships between different SJ beliefs and intraminority solidarity and action (Genge & Day, 2020; Lake et al., 2021; Ouch & Moradi, 2022; Philip et al., 2010; Yi et al., 2020). Across these studies, the types of SJ beliefs measured include meritocracy (Genge & Day, 2020), model minority beliefs (Ouch & Moradi, 2022), colorblindness (Yi et al., 2020), zero-sum beliefs (Genge & Day, 2020), essentialist beliefs (Philip et al., 2010), and awareness of privilege and oppression (Lake et al., 2021).

Several studies assessed meritocracy or its variants (i.e., colorblindness, model minority beliefs), with mixed results. Meritocracy is the belief that hard work equates success, with failure being blamed on individual shortcomings (Garrison et al., 2021). In a mostly White Canadian sample, Genge & Day (2020) showed that non-White participants had greater support for policies allocating more funding for Indigenous post-secondary students, compared to White participants. Across these ethnoracial groups, meritocracy was not predictive of support for increased Indigenous post-secondary funding. Genge and Day (2020) surmised that individuals with greater meritocracy beliefs may have been more supportive of policies that appear to foster independence from government support (Genge & Day, 2020). Increased post-secondary funding has been shown to reduce long-term dependence on social systems, but this impact is not directly obvious (Fraser & Gordon, 1994). In other studies, increased meritocracy has been related to decreased support for redistributive programs across several different European countries and the

United States (Alesina et al., 2018). Model minority beliefs are a variant of meritocracy beliefs but specific to Asian Americans, and states that Asian Americans are more successful than other people of color (POC) due to Asian Americans' natural work ethic and immunity to unfair treatment. Thus, like meritocracy, it situates the causes of success and failure on individual effort. In one study, high levels of model minority myth internalization among Asian Americans negatively predicted solidarity and collective action towards other POC (Ouch & Moradi, 2022).

Other studies examined how beliefs in the validity of unfair social systems impacted intraminority solidarity and action. After controlling for ethnicity, participants in Genge & Day (2020) who had stronger prejudice towards Indigenous peoples, greater group zero-sum beliefs, and political conservatism were less supportive of increased funding for Indigenous education initiatives. Zero-sum beliefs reinforce the idea that benefits gained for one group come at the cost of another group (Genge & Day, 2020; Sherif et al., 1961). Philip et al. (2010) measured essentialist beliefs, or beliefs in racial hierarchies and that certain ethnoracial groups possess unchangeable 'essences' (Gelman and Hirschfeld 1999; Yzerbyt and Rogier 2001). Among East Indian and Indian Americans, greater essentialist beliefs predicted increased racist attitudes towards Black Americans. More recent Indian immigrants held stronger essentialist beliefs than Indian Americans, due to immigrants being more influenced by caste structures in India (Philip et al., 2010). In validation studies of the Political Solidarity Measure (PSM; Neufeld et al., 2019), it was demonstrated that SDO, modern racism, and political conservatism were negatively correlated with PSM scores, while intentions to confront injustices were positively correlated with PSM scores.

***Marginalization Decreases System Justification and Increases Solidarity***

Several studies have highlighted that experiences of disadvantage or marginalization can decrease SJ beliefs, and thus increase solidarity from one marginalized group to another. As stated previously, on average, certain groups are more negatively affected by inequality (Bahamondes et al., 2019). Along with measures of model minority myth internalization, Ouch and Moradi (2020) also measured Asian American participants' experiences with racism. It was found that model minority myth levels mediated the relationship between experiences of disadvantage and intraminority solidarity, such that greater disadvantage was related to lower model minority beliefs and thus greater solidarity with – and collective action for – other POC. Personal experiences of discrimination were negatively associated with model minority myth because discrimination was proof that the system is not fair and just – the opposite of model minority myth (Ouch & Moradi, 2020). Philip et al. (2010) did not directly measure discrimination experiences in their participants, but instead measured East Indian participants' sense of oppressed minority ideology, or their sense of identification with other oppressed groups. Oppressed minority ideology was negatively related to essentialist beliefs, but this relationship was not significant.

Some scholars note that awareness of structural forces behind inequities, or structural awareness, is the inverse of beliefs that justify unfair systems. Thus, many studies demonstrated that how marginalized groups, due to their experiences of oppression, may have greater structural awareness. This awareness may be positively related to collective action for the benefit of the group itself (Burson & Godfrey, 2020). For instance, Tran and Curtin (2017) found that Asian American participants' past experiences of discrimination increased their awareness of unjust structures perpetuating this discrimination. Increased structural awareness predicted decreased model minority mentality, which was associated with increased activism ingroup

activism for Asian Americans (Tran & Curtin, 2017). In terms of solidarity with other marginalized groups, Lake et al. (2021) found that in a sample of ethnoracially diverse American undergraduate students, greater awareness of privilege and oppression was associated with greater support and participation in the Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement.

***Marginalization Increases System Justification and Decreases Solidarity?***

In marginalized and non-marginalized populations, SJ beliefs may be prevalent due to the ability of SJ beliefs to fulfill basic psychological needs. As a result, experiences of marginalization may strengthen and/or co-exist with SJ beliefs, suppressing solidarity and change imperatives.

SJ theory posits that SJ beliefs allow individuals to feel more at ease with the status quo, even if the status quo is unfair to themselves or others. First, SJ beliefs fulfill basic epistemic, existential, and relational needs. Epistemic needs are fulfilled when SJ beliefs reduce feelings of uncertainty or ambiguity about the social order. SJ fulfills existential needs of threat reduction and lack of security. Finally, relational needs are met when an individual perceives that others share in their reality of SJ beliefs. On the other hand, challenging the status quo often threatens these very epistemic, existential, and relational needs (Jost, 2019; Jost et al., 2008; Jost & Hunyady, 2005). The pursuit of social change brings about immense uncertainty and risk, as shown in a study documenting high rates of emotional burnout in social justice and human rights activists (Chen & Gorski, 2015). Often, experiences of marginalization can result in cognitive dissonance between individuals' need to see their own group positively, and the reality of how their group is perceived in mainstream society. In an effort to decrease this dissonance, members of marginalized groups may justify and rationalize systems, instead of undergoing the often distressing process of reckoning with inequities (Bahamondes et al., 2019). Individuals from

marginalized groups may also perpetuate SJ beliefs such as meritocracy, due to a need to believe that their group can prosper in the socioeconomic hierarchy (Godfrey & Wolf, 2016) or to reduce the distress that comes with discrimination (Bahamondes et al., 2019).

Several pieces of research have shown that experiences of marginalization may increase SJ beliefs and thus decrease collective action, thus running contrary to Ouch & Moradi (2020). Osborne et al. (2019) evaluated if several variables, including identification with one's ethnic group, sense of group-based injustice and anger (i.e., discrimination faced by one's ethnic group) and system justification beliefs (i.e., perception of New Zealand as fair), impacted the degree to which Māori (low status; n = 2328) and European (high status; n = 13819) New Zealanders felt willing to engage in collective action to either challenge (i.e., willingness to protest in support for Maori, engage in BLM movement) or uphold the status quo (i.e., protests to support rights of Whites). For Maori participants, greater SJ beliefs were associated with lower willingness to participate in system-challenging collective action, via the ability of SJ beliefs to reduce group-based injustice and anger. Greater identification with the Maori ethnic group was related to greater participation in action to benefit Maori and other minority ethnoracial groups, but this was mediated by a greater sense of group-based injustice and anger (Osborne et al., 2019). In another study, women primed with subtle justifications for sexism (i.e., benevolent sexism) displayed greater gender-specific SJ beliefs and a decreased willingness to engage in collective action for women, compared to women not primed with benevolent sexism (Becker & Wright, 2021).

SJ beliefs have also been found to precede and reduce the very experience of discrimination (Bahamondes et al., 2019). In Bahamondes et al. (2019), ethnoracial minority participants (i.e., 12% Maori, 3% Pacific Islander, 4% Asian of sample) perceived greater

discrimination and associated psychological distress, compared to their European counterparts (i.e., 82% of sample). Increased SJ beliefs in minority participants did, however, reduce the degree to which participants perceived discrimination as well as the negative psychological impacts of discrimination. The authors hypothesized that greater SJ beliefs allowed participants to believe systems are fair and legitimate and/or that discrimination is fair or deserved (Bahamondes et al., 2019).

### *System Justification in the Immigrant-Indigenous Context*

System and hierarchy legitimizing ideologies (e.g., meritocracy, SDO) may be prevalent in Canadian immigrant groups and can undermine political solidarity with Indigenous peoples, as SJ beliefs motivate continued justification of systemic inequality.

First, SJ beliefs, such as meritocracy, are integral to the North American sociocultural fabric (Katz & Hass, 1988; Kluegel & Smith, 1986; Wiley et al., 2012). In their commentary, McLean (2018) reflected on how White settler identity is built upon narratives of meritocracy – that settlers were originally immigrants who came to Canada with little resources but worked hard, or possessed unique talents, and succeeded in establishing lives in Canada. These SJ narratives may obfuscate systemic, colonial inequities that granted White settlers benefits over other groups, most often Indigenous peoples. While white settlers were granted opportunities for prosperity in Canada, Indigenous peoples were denied these same opportunities through acts of cultural and socioeconomic suppression (e.g., residential school, land theft) (Daschuk, 2014; Williams, 2015; McLean, 2018; Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015a). Success may be attributed to individual and even race-based characteristics (i.e., White superiority, POC inferiority), further undermining imperatives for social change to address these aforementioned inequities (McLean, 2018).

To the extent that White settlers had been assimilated into the dominant White British and French culture in Canada, immigrants may become socialized into the current Canadian social discourse around meritocracy. Colorblindness beliefs, for example, has been shown to develop, albeit differently, in both majority and minority group members (Neville et al., 2013). On the contrary, immigrants may also become disillusioned with SJ discourses due to experiences, such as discrimination, that directly counter these social narratives (Wiley et al., 2012). This was demonstrated in Wiley et al. (2012) as lower meritocracy beliefs in second generation compared to first generation immigrants, which coincided with increased experiences within the US ethnoracial hierarchy (e.g., increased discrimination experiences) in the second generation.

Evidence shows that first generation immigrants tend to be more highly motivated by and optimistic about achievement compared to their non-immigrant counterparts (Boneva & Frieze, 2001; Perreira et al., 2006; Wiley et al., 2012). Immigration may be motivated by a desire to improve one's own and one's family's socioeconomic circumstances (Perreira et al., 2006). The Canadian immigration process may self-select for individuals with these SJ traits, as more than 50 percent of recent immigrants were selected for their ability to contribute to the Canadian economy through meeting labour market needs or self-employment potential (Statistics Canada, 2022a). Recent population-level surveys also show that the children of immigrants (i.e., second generation) earn higher salaries, on average, than the children of non-immigrants. Belief in meritocracy may be especially high in individuals who emigrate from countries in which life outcomes are constrained by social hierarchies (Wiley et al., 2012). On the other hand, individuals from countries with strict hierarchies may more strongly believe in SJ beliefs supporting systemic inequality (Philip et al., 2010).

Thus, immigrants to Canada may already possess higher levels of SJ beliefs, and these beliefs can be impacted by SJ beliefs prevalent in Canadian society, as well as potential experiences of discrimination. SJ beliefs may cause individuals to frame redistributive policies, and social actions benefitting Indigenous peoples, as unfair due to beliefs that Indigenous peoples do not deserve this support due to lack of motivation or competence. A recent survey showed that Indigenous scholarship beneficiaries faced judgment from their peers as having received 'special treatment' (Genge & Day, 2020; Indspire, 2018). Testimonies from community efforts show that questioning the SJ discourse in Canada, through direct confrontation with experiences of injustice, has prompted racialized immigrants to develop closeness with Indigenous peoples (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015a). Contrary to the above findings, evidence may point to greater SJ beliefs, particularly higher levels of meritocracy, being related to more collective action for other marginalized groups. If meritocracy is equating hard work to success, then in countries or cultures that are more egalitarian, meritocracy can be related to greater support for redistributive social policies and/or collective action (e.g., Colombia, (Ramírez et al., 2010). Meritocracy can also be viewed through a positive lens, especially in first generation immigrants who are not as exposed to ethnoracial hierarchies in North America (Wiley et al., 2012).

**Knowledge**

A recent, large-scale survey showed that individuals in the general Canadian population still lack sufficient awareness of residential schools and colonialism in Canada, compared to their Indigenous counterparts (i.e., 65% awareness in non-Indigenous, 87% awareness in Indigenous of residential school) (Canadian Reconciliation Barometer, 2022). In another survey with immigrants to Canada, most immigrants (61%) somewhat to very familiar with residential school

histories. Awareness increased with increases in immigrant generational status, with 55% of first generation immigrants and 68% of second generation immigrants being somewhat to very familiar with residential school histories (Aytac et al., 2022).

Knowledge may be closely related to solidarity and action. Neufeld et al. (2022) examined how non-Indigenous Canadians' (n = 1290, 73% White/European) critical historical knowledge of residential schools affected their empathy for Indigenous peoples as well as the importance they placed on reconciliation. In their study, critical historical knowledge refers to knowledge about historical instances of systemic inequity. Participants with greater levels of critical historical knowledge were more likely to feel that Indigenous peoples are currently suffering due to historical factors, and thus felt more empathy towards Indigenous peoples (Neufeld et al., 2022). Starzyk and Ross (2008) demonstrated that in a mostly White sample (i.e., 79% White), participants who learned about the connections between past historical injustices and current suffering of Africville residents, in Halifax, were more likely to feel empathy for Africville residents. A qualitative study with non-Indigenous Canadians showed that lack of knowledge or awareness impeded confidence in acting for Indigenous water rights (Neufeld et al., 2019). Neufeld et al. (2022) emphasized the need for future studies to assess how knowledge impacts solidarity and action intentions towards Indigenous peoples. A considerable proportion of immigrants do not know about reconciliation and/or Indigenous histories. Thus, it is important to evaluate how critical historical knowledge impacts support for reconciliation.

## Current Study

### Objectives

As system justification beliefs impact one's degree of support for progressive policies (e.g., redistribution of resources) and social justice efforts, it would be apt to assess how levels of different types of system justification beliefs, combined with immigrants' victimization experiences and knowledge, impact political solidarity towards Indigenous peoples. This study will use a person-centered approach, LPA, investigate how variations in immigrant experiences and beliefs impact the degree to which immigrants feel political solidarity and supportive actions for Indigenous peoples. Specifically, we will answer these research questions:

1. What are the different profiles of immigrant and refugee victimhood identifications, system justifying beliefs, and knowledge of Canadian Indigenous history?
2. How does profile membership predict political solidarity with Indigenous peoples and reconciliation, as well as and support for policies advancing reconciliation with Canada's Indigenous peoples?
3. How does profile membership vary across participant demographic characteristics?

This research addresses a timely social issue and extends the political solidarity literature. Immigrants are vital to truth and reconciliation due to: similarities between immigrants and Indigenous peoples that can foster solidarity and action, growing populations and political power of immigrant communities, as well as immigrant enmeshment in the Canadian socioeconomic context. The solidarity and action literature highlights the social change benefits of marginalized groups rallying support from other marginalized groups. Despite these applied benefits, both

community and research efforts have just begun to elucidate the nature and mechanisms of intraminority political solidarity.

This research will apply and extend the literature and theories used in intraminority solidarity and action research. Research on solidarity and collective action between different marginalized groups (e.g., between ethnoracial minority groups) has also been largely variable-centered. These studies have examined how, on average, different experiences and beliefs relate to one another, or how experiences and beliefs of disadvantage and system justification beliefs have independently predicted intraminority solidarity and action (Burson & Godfrey, 2020; Craig et al., 2020). Studies have not assessed the heterogeneity present in these experiences and beliefs. For instance, variable-centered approaches have shown that experiences of victimization decrease beliefs that the system is fair, which increases solidarity between marginalized groups (Ouch & Moradi, 2022; Yi et al., 2020). Other studies have shown that experiences of victimization (e.g., discrimination) in marginalized groups may paradoxically increase beliefs in fair systems, or even that system justification beliefs and victimization experiences can coexist simultaneously (see Spurk et al., 2020 for example). Furthermore, not all immigrants or racialized peoples experience or perceive experiences of marginalization, though studies mostly examine the consequences of having these experiences (Ouch & Moradi, 2022; Starzyk et al., 2019).

Experiences, backgrounds, and beliefs within marginalized groups -- especially in immigrants to Canada -- are incredibly diverse. As previously stated, Starzyk et al. (2019) showed that Canadians with ethnoracial minority backgrounds felt more solidarity and support for policies benefiting Indigenous peoples, compared to White Canadians. Experiences of victimhood lead to inclusive victimhood, which increased solidarity and action intentions from

Canadian POC towards Indigenous peoples. The authors did not assess exclusive victimhood, even though immigrants may have differing levels of victimhood experiences and identifications due to several factors (e.g., country of origin, socioeconomic status) (Starzyk et al., 2019). Statistics Canada data point to immigrants possessing various socioeconomic statuses, and possibly differing levels of both marginalized and privileged identities and experiences. Person-centered approaches such as LPA examine how different variables combine on an individual level, rather than conclude that variables interact in the same way, or that variables progress in cascades leading to the same outcome for each person (Ferguson et al., 2020; Howard & Hoffman, 2018). LPA can highlight the heterogeneity present in diverse immigrant groups (Buchanan et al., 2021; Statistics Canada, 2022a), and the heterogeneity in results – shown by variable-centered solidarity research – to be largely homogeneous (Howard & Hoffman, 2018).

**Hypotheses**

No predictions will be made for the specific number of profiles that may be found, though it is predicted that varying levels of victimhood, system justification, and knowledge may coexist (e.g., high victimhood with low or high system justification and knowledge). Based on prior research, it is hypothesized that any profiles with high levels of collective and inclusive victimhood (Starzyk et al., 2019), low system justification beliefs (Ouch & Moradi, 2022), and higher knowledge will have higher levels of political solidarity and action towards Indigenous peoples. Profiles with low levels of collective victimhood or high exclusive victimhood (Starzyk et al., 2019), high system justification beliefs (Ouch & Moradi, 2022), and lower knowledge will have lower solidarity and action intentions.

# Methods

## Participants

To meet eligibility criteria, participants must have: 1) Been able to complete the survey in English, 2) Identify as a first (i.e., born outside of Canada) or second generation (i.e., born in Canada with at least one immigrant parent) immigrant to Canada; 3) Have Canadian citizenship or permanent residence; 4) Be over the age of 18 years; and 5) Not have Canadian Indigenous heritage. A total 379 individuals, from various cities and provinces across Canada, completed a survey assessing demographics and main study variables. After eliminating participants who did not meet the eligibility criteria (n = 37), participants with large amounts of missing data (n = 57), the final sample consisted of 290 individuals. The final sample consisted of 285 individuals.

Most participants (92.2%) resided in the provinces of British Columbia (52.6%), Ontario (24.2%), or Alberta (15.4%) (see Table 1 for participant demographics). Approximately 64.6% of participants ranged in age from 18 to 34 years. Just over half (57.5%) of the sample identified as first generation immigrants to Canada; the remaining 42.5% identified as second generation immigrants. In order of decreasing frequency, reported participant racial/ethnic makeup consisted of: East Asian (23.2%), White (18.2%), South Asian (17.9%), multiracial/multi-ethnic (11.6%), Middle Eastern or West Asian (9.1%), Latin American (7.4%), Southeast Asian (7.7%), and Black (3.2%). Most participants identified as women (67.0%), with the rest identifying as men (28.8%), or another gender identity (e.g., non-binary) (2.1%).

Just over half of participants reported either having attained a Bachelor's (33.0%) or a master's degree (20.4%). Another third (31.9%) were university or college students, partially accounting for the 28.8% of individuals who reported having attained a high school education, at-most. Most (68.1%) of the participants were employed either full-time or part-time.

Participants were also asked to report their approximate household income (i.e., income of all individuals living in their current household). About one half (55.8%) reported income below $100,000 CAD/year, with a third reporting income above $100,000 CAD/year.

**Table 1**

*Participant Demographic Characteristics*

| | Number of participants (%) (n=285) |
|---|---|
| Age Group | |
| 18-24 | 102 (35.8%) |
| 25-34 | 82 (28.8%) |
| 35-44 | 41 (14.4%) |
| 45-54 | 18 (6.3%) |
| 55-64 | 16 (5.6%) |
| 65 and above | 24 (8.4%) |
| Missing | 2 (0.7%) |
| Province/Territory of Residence | |
| British Columbia | 150 (52.6%) |
| Ontario | 69 (24.2%) |
| Alberta | 44 (15.4%) |
| Quebec | 6 (2.1%) |
| New Brunswick | 4 (1.4%) |
| Nova Scotia | 4 (1.4%) |
| Manitoba | 3 (1.1%) |
| Saskatchewan | 2 (0.7%) |
| Nunavut | 1 (0.4%) |
| Prince Edward Island | 1 (0.4%) |
| Missing | 1 (0.4%) |
| Gender | |
| Woman | 191 (67.0%) |
| Man | 82 (28.8%) |
| Other (e.g., non-binary) | 6 (2.1%) |
| Prefer not to answer | 5 (1.8%) |
| Missing | 1 (0.4%) |
| Sex | |
| Female | 200 (70.2%) |
| Male | 80 (28.1%) |
| Prefer not to answer | 4 (1.4%) |

| | Number of participants (%) (n=285) |
|---|---|
| Missing | 1 (0.4%) |
| Sexual Orientation | |
| Heterosexual or straight | 206 (72.3%) |
| Bisexual | 34 (11.9%) |
| Gay or lesbian | 15 (5.3%) |
| Other | 10 (3.5%) |
| Prefer not to answer | 17 (6.0%) |
| Missing | 3 (1.1%) |
| Language Use | |
| English | 137 (48.1%) |
| More English than other language(s) | 83 (29.1%) |
| About the same amount of English and other language(s) | 40 (14.0%) |
| More other language(s) than English | 24 (8.4%) |
| Missing | 1 (0.4%) |
| Immigrant Generation | |
| 1st | 164 (57.5%) |
| 2nd | 121 (42.5%) |
| Immigration Class | |
| Economic | 163 (57.2%) |
| Family | 52 (18.2%) |
| Refugee | 42 (14.7%) |
| Not applicable/Prefer not to answer | 28 (9.8%) |
| Racial/Ethnic Background | |
| East Asian | 66 (23.2%) |
| White | 52 (18.2%) |
| South Asian | 51 (17.9%) |
| Middle Eastern or West Asian | 26 (9.1%) |
| Mixed: with White | 23 (8.1%) |
| Southeast Asian | 22 (7.7%) |
| Latin American | 21 (7.4%) |
| Mixed: with non-White | 10 (3.5%) |
| Black | 9 (3.2%) |
| Prefer not to answer | 5 (1.8%) |
| Racialized/Visible Minority Status | |
| Yes | 214 (75.1%) |
| No | 68 (23.9%) |
| Unsure | 1 (0.4%) |

| | Number of participants (%) (n=285) |
|---|---|
| Prefer not to answer | 2 (0.7%) |
| Highest Educational Attainment | |
| Junior high | 3 (1.1%) |
| High school | 82 (28.8%) |
| Associate's degree or diploma | 13 (4.6%) |
| Vocational school, trade school, college | 16 (5.6%) |
| Bachelor's degree | 94 (33.0%) |
| Professional degree (for example, MD, JD) | 10 (3.5%) |
| Master's degree | 58 (20.4%) |
| Doctorate | 8 (2.8%) |
| Prefer not to answer | 1 (0.4%) |
| Employment Status | |
| Full-time | 105 (36.8%) |
| Homemaker | 4 (1.4%) |
| Part-time | 42 (14.7%) |
| Part-time and Student | 44 (15.4%) |
| Retired | 23 (8.1%) |
| Student | 47 (16.5%) |
| Unemployed | 15 (5.3%) |
| Missing | 2 (0.7%) |
| Prefer not to answer | 3 (1.1%) |
| Household Income | |
| Less than $10,000 | 9 (3.2%) |
| $10,000 - $50,000 | 69 (24.2%) |
| $50,000 - $100,000 | 81 (28.4%) |
| $100,000 - $150,000 | 49 (17.2%) |
| $150,000 - $200,000 | 18 (6.3%) |
| More than $200,000 | 27 (9.5%) |
| Don't know/Prefer not to answer | 31 (10.9%) |
| Missing | 1 (0.4%) |

Participants with high amounts of missing data (n = 57) tended to terminate the survey prior to answering questions about victimhood based on immigrant identity or race/ethnicity. As a result, these participants did not respond to measures of meritocracy, zero-sum game, or SDO, as these followed the victimhood measures. Most demographic characteristics (i.e., age,

province/territory, education, language use, immigrant generation and class, household income) did not differ between participants with and without high amounts of missing data. Only employment status differed between the two groups, with a lower proportion of homemakers and retired individuals, and a greater proportion of part-time workers and unemployed individuals, in the final sample. We were not able to compare race/ethnicity and racialized/visible minority status between the two groups because this question was not asked until later in the survey. Thus, there was a high number of missing responses (i.e., over 60%) in the group with high missing data. Differences based on gender and gender/sexual minority status are not available, for the same reason.

**Procedures**

From February 18 to May 6, 2024, study adverts with a SurveyMonkey survey link were distributed to ethnocultural organizations/groups (e.g., BC Muslim Association), immigrant and immigrant-serving organizations (e.g., Intercultural Association, ICA), online groups (e.g., Victoria, BC FaceBook/Meta group; Langford FaceBook/Meta group), and social media platforms (e.g., Twitter/X) located across Canada. In addition, from March 11 to April 3, 2024, undergraduate participants were also recruited from the University of Victoria Psychology Department Research Participation System (SONA). In the final sample, 260 participants could be traced back to social media and community recruitment avenues; 63 participants were recruited via the University of Victoria SONA. Snow-ball sampling was also utilized to recruit more participants from existing participants. Online informed consent was obtained before the survey began, and participants were debriefed following the survey. An incentive, of a draw for one of ten $50 e-gift cards, was provided.

Participants completed a 10-15 minute-long survey measuring their demographic characteristics, personal and family victimhood (e.g., collective, inclusive, exclusive), system justification beliefs (i.e., meritocracy), and knowledge, solidarity, and support for policies relevant to Indigenous peoples in Canada. At the end of the survey, participants were prompted to provide feedback about survey content and design. Ethics approval was obtained from the University of Victoria Human Research Ethics Board (HREB) (certificate 23-0619).

## Measures

### *Demographic Characteristics*

Participants were asked about their age, educational attainment, employment status, household income, =, citizenship status, , immigration avenue, immigrant generation, racial/ethnic background, visible minority status, gender identity, sexual orientation, and geographic location. Gender and sex were recorded as (e.g., "man, woman, other: ____") and (e.g., "male, female, other: ____"), respectively, as per recommendations from Cameron & Stinson (2019). Race and ethnicity data were collected based on recommendations from the Canadian Institute for Health Information (CIHI) (2020).

### *Latent Profile Analysis Indicators*

**Knowledge of Indigenous Cultures and Histories**. To assess Indigenous knowledge, participants were asked the extent to which they had attended courses on Indigenous cultures and colonization, learned about Indigenous cultures and colonization in their own time and from others, or knew the names of their local Indigenous groups. A total of eight items were asked about Indigenous knowledge, with each item rated on a scale of 1 (*No – Have not attended/Have not learned/Do not know any names*), to 2 (*Yes – Attended Once/Learned once/Know some names*), to 3 (*Yes – Attended 2 or more times/Learned two or more times/Know all names*).

These items were adapted from the Confederation of Tomorrow Survey (Environics Institute, 2021) and knowledge check questions for a BC Campus Indigenous knowledge course (Wilson & Hodgson, 2018). Internal consistency values (i.e., Cronbach's $\alpha$) for this and subsequent scales can be found in Table 2.

**Collective Victimhood.** Participants responded to four statements on a scale of 1 (strongly disagree) to 7 (strongly agree) about their subjective belonging to a group that has been victimized based on their race/ethnicity: 1) "I have had difficult personal experiences because of my own membership in my racial/ethnic group(s); 2) "Life is hard for members of my racial/ethnic group(s);" 3) "I belong to a racial/ethnic group(s) that has been or continues to be discriminated against;" and 4) "I feel a sense of victimization when I think of my racial/ethnic identity(ies). Participants were then presented with the same four statements about their victimhood based on immigrant/migrant/refugee status, but these were removed from data analysis due to high correlations between victimhood based on race/ethnicity and victimhood based on immigrant/refugee/migrant background. This collective victimhood scale was adapted from Starzyk et al. (2019) who demonstrated that all questions loaded onto a common factor for collective victimhood.

**Inclusive Victim Consciousness.** On a scale of 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*), participants responded to three statements regarding the degree to which they thought their own group's victimization was similar to the victimization of other racial/ethnic groups (e.g., "Other racial/ethnic groups in Canada have experienced similar kinds of suffering as my group has"). These items are adapted from Starzyk et al. (2019) and Vollhardt et al. (2016). The original, four-item scale in Vollhardt et al. (2016) achieved a Cronbach's alpha of .69.

**Exclusive Victim Consciousness.** On a scale of 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*), participants responded with three statements regarding the degree to which they thought their own group's victimization differed from the victimization of other racial/ethnic groups (e.g., "My group's past suffering is distinct from that of other racial/ethnic groups in Canada"). These items were adapted from Vollhardt et al. (2016). The original, four-item scale in Vollhardt et al. (2016) achieved a Cronbach's alpha of .78.

**Meritocracy Beliefs.** Meritocracy was examined with a scale used in Wiley et al. (2012) who adapted it from Major et al. (2007) and Levin et al. (1998). This scale contains 8 items scored on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 0 (*strongly disagree*) to 6 (*strongly agree*), with 4 items reverse-scored. The scale is equally divided across two subscales, the first of which measures the belief that hard work can produce success (e.g., "If people work hard, they almost always get what they want", and reverse-scored, "Most people who don't get ahead should not blame the system; they really only have themselves to blame"), and the second of which measures belief in social mobility (e.g., "Canada is an open society where all individuals can achieve higher status"). Wiley et al. (2012) determined this scale to have adequate internal consistency ($\alpha = 0.74$) in a racially diverse US sample.

**Zero-Sum Game Beliefs.** We examined the extent to which one believes benefits or resources attained by one group equate to deficits or fewer resources for other groups in Canada. This scale consisted of 6 items ($\alpha = 0.81$) measured on a 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*) Likert scale (e.g., "Money spent on social services for some groups in Canada means less money will be spent on services for other Canadians"). The scale was used and adapted for Genge and Day (2020), who themselves adapted existing scales (Louis et al. 2013; Wilkins et al 2015) to the Canadian context.

**Social Dominance Orientation (SDO).** The Social Dominance Orientation Scale 7 ($SDO_{7(s)}$) (Ho et al., 2015) was used to measure belief in the validity of an unequal social hierarchy (e.g., Some groups are just more worthy than others"). Each of the 8 items was scored on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree/disapprove*) to 7 (*strongly agree/favor*). The original Social Dominance Orientation Scale (SDOS) showed high internal consistency ($\alpha$ = .80–.89) and construct validity (Pratto et al., 1994) as well as high internal consistency with racially diverse samples (e.g., $\alpha$ = .89; (Sears et al., 2000; Sidanius et al., 2000).

***Outcome Variables***

**Political Solidarity.** The Political Solidarity Measure (PSM; Neufeld et al., 2019) is a 9-item measure of agreement on items in three subscales: 1) Allyship and connection with a minority outgroup, three items (e.g. "I feel a sense of "brotherhood" or "sisterhood" with X"); 2) Connection to a minority outgroup's cause, 3 items (e.g., "I have a role to play in the issue of Y for X"); and 3) Commitment to social change for the minority outgroup, 3 items (e.g., "More people should know about how X are negatively affected by this issue"). Each item is rated on scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). In this study, "X" was changed to "Indigenous peoples in Canada" and "Y" was changed to "reconciliation". The terms 'reconciliation' and 'Indigenous peoples' were defined in the study. In initial PSM validation studies, the PSM demonstrated coherence around a single factor of political solidarity, with good internal consistency for each subscale (allyship $\alpha$ = .86, cause connection $\alpha$ = .88, social change $\alpha$ = .88) and the overall measure ($\alpha$ = .92). The PSM also demonstrated adequate predictive validity for action for Indigenous peoples and reconciliation, in an ethnoracially diverse sample (Neufeld et al., 2019).

**Collective Action Intentions/Support for Policies.** Support for policies and reparations benefitting Indigenous peoples was used as a proxy for collective action intentions towards Indigenous people and reconciliation. Participants responded with the degree to which they support (i.e., strongly oppose, somewhat oppose, somewhat support, or strongly support) five actions for reconciliation adapted from the Environics Institute (2016): 1) "Settling all outstanding land claims with First Nations, Métis and Inuit people, regardless of what this might cost;" 2) "Providing Indigenous communities with full control over the natural resources on their traditional territories;" 3) "Introducing mandatory curriculum in all schools to teach about Indigenous history and culture;" 4) "Providing government funding to ensure the preservation of Indigenous languages;" and 5)"Providing government funding to reserves for clean drinking water and adequate housing." In Starzyk et al. (2019), items loaded onto one factor.

### *Short Response Questions*

Participants were asked about any issues and experiences they had with completing the survey. See Appendix A for all measures used.

**Table 2**

*Descriptive Statistics of Main Variables Used in Latent Profile Analysis*

| Variable | *M* (*SD*) | Theoretical Range | Observed Range | Cronbach's alpha | Skewness | Kurtosis |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Profile Indicators | | | | | | |
| Indigenous knowledge | 2.13 (0.57) | 1.00 - 3.00 | 1.00 - 3.00 | .84 | -0.26 | 2.09 |
| Collective Victimhood | 4.49 (1.59) | 1.00 – 7.00 | 1.00 – 7.00 | .88 | -0.72 | 2.81 |
| Inclusive Victimhood | 4.99 (1.39) | 1.00 – 7.00 | 1.00 – 7.00 | .90 | -0.86 | 3.69 |
| Exclusive Victimhood | 3.23 (1.33) | 1.00 – 7.00 | 1.00 – 7.00 | .70 | 0.16 | 2.68 |
| Meritocracy | 2.66 (0.91) | 1.00 – 6.00 | 0.75 – 5.25 | .84 | 0.12 | 2.73 |
| Zero-sum game | 4.06 (1.35) | 1.00 – 7.00 | 1.00 – 7.00 | .84 | -0.16 | 2.62 |
| SDO | 2.64 (1.05) | 1.00 – 7.00 | 1.00 – 5.38 | .81 | 0.23 | 2.26 |
| Outcomes | | | | | | |
| Political solidarity scale | 5.15 (1.30) | 1.00 – 7.00 | 1.00 – 7.00 | .92 | -1.06 | 4.01 |
| Collective action/policy support | 5.71 (1.29) | 1.00 – 7.00 | 1.00 – 7.00 | .90 | -1.46 | 4.95 |

*Note*. SDO refers to social dominance orientation.

# Data Analysis

## Power Analysis

We did not calculate power and sample size for LPA, as this calculation requires a priori knowledge of the number of profiles and the distance between profiles (Ferguson et al., 2020; Spurk et al., 2020). We did not possess this knowledge due to the exploratory nature of this study. Across LPA studies, typical sample sizes have ranged from 300-500 participants (Ferguson 2019(Tein et al., 2013)). The final sample (n = 285) approached the range of sample sizes recommended in the literature for LPA (i.e., 300-500) (Ferguson, 2019; (Tein et al., 2013)). Post-hoc power analyses were conducted for all univariate analyses.

## Data Cleaning

Data cleaning, descriptive statistics, and a bivariate correlation matrix were conducted in R Studio. Participants who were missing all data values (n = 1), who did not meet eligibility criteria (n = 36), or who had not responded to at least two measures (n = 57) were removed from the dataset. Full information maximum likelihood (FIML) supplemented data that were missing at random. Cronbach's alphas were calculated for each measure and can be found in Table 2. A subset of participants (n = 14) responded to all measures but did not answer questions about victimhood based on immigrant/refugee/migrant status. Most participants who did not respond to at least two scales (n = 52) did not offer any responses to questions about immigrant/refugee/migrant victimhood. This information, combined with strong Spearman correlations between racial/ethnic victimhood and immigrant/refugee/migrant victimhood, prompted us to remove immigrant/refugee/migrant victimhood responses from all analyses. For analyses of some variables, Spearman correlations were conducted instead of Pearson correlations because these variables did not follow a normal distribution. The final sample consisted of 285 individuals.

## Latent Profile Analysis

### *Generating Profiles*

LPA was conducted in MPlus version 8.6 (Muthén & Muthén, 1998-2018). Profile indicators for the LPA included collective victimhood, inclusive victim consciousness, exclusive victim consciousness, meritocracy, zero-sum game beliefs, social dominance orientation (SDO), and Indigenous knowledge. Prior to conducting the LPA, profile indicators were assessed for their multivariate normality, skewness, kurtosis, and outliers. Extreme outliers were assessed using Mahalanobis' distance and were removed if necessary (Spurk et al., 2020). To achieve parsimony in LPA, values labelled 'Other' or 'Prefer not to answer' were deleted prior to conducting the LPA.

To answer the first research question (i.e., number and composition of profiles), we used a stepwise approach to approximate the model that included the optimal number of latent profiles based on the profile indicators, starting from a one profile solution and increasing to a six profile solution. Each successive solution (i.e., each increase in the number of profiles) was accompanied by an assessment of model fit, which compared new models to previous models for goodness of fit (Ferguson et al., 2020; Spurk et al., 2020). Multiple relative fit criteria were used to assess model fit, including Bayesian information criterion (BIC; Schwartz, 1978), sample-adjusted Bayesian information criterion (SABIC; Sclove, 1987), and Akaike information criterion (AIC; Akaike, 1974). Lower values on BIC, SABIC, and AIC, when comparing the solutions/models to one another, indicated better model fit. Entropy was evaluated as an indicator of classification certainty. Higher entropy (i.e., ≥ .80) tends to indicate better model fit. Next, each solution was compared to a solution with one fewer profile, using the Lo-Mendell-Rubin likelihood ratio test (LMR; Lo et al., 2001) and the Bootstrapped Likelihood Ratio

Difference Test (BLRT; Peel & McLachlan, 2000). Statistically significant LMR and BLRT values indicate that the model in question fits better compared to a model with one less profile. Finally, theoretical/conceptual support and parsimony were considered when assessing model fit and size. Under this rule, profiles containing less than 5% of the sample (i.e., 25 participants) were deleted or were subsumed under other profiles ( (Lubke & Neale, 2006)).

***Demographic Covariates***

To answer the second research question, we examined if profile membership covaried across participant demographic characteristics of age, gender, sexual orientation, ethnoracial background, visible minority status, and standardized socioeconomic status (SES). These variables have been found in the literature to significantly relate to intraminority solidarity (Starzyk et al., 2019; Genge & Day, 2020). Standardized SES was calculated as the average of standardized education level and household income. For the purposes of the LPA and due to small numbers of participants in some demographic groups, participants who responded with 'Other' (i.e., for sexual orientation, gender), 'Prefer not to answer', or had missing data to any of the demographic variables were removed from covariate analyses. Thus, sample sizes for different covariate analyses may not be equivalent to one another, due to differing numbers of participants who responded with 'Other' or 'Prefer not to answer' for different demographic variables.

***Outcomes***

To examine how political solidarity and policy support differed based on profile membership, we used the three-step Bolck-Croon-Hagenaars (BCH) method (Asparouhov & Muthen, 2021; Bolck et al., 2024). For the BCH method, differences in the continuous outcome

variables (i.e., political solidarity, support for reconciliation policies) were examined across the different profiles, using Wald tests (Bakk & Vermunt, 2016).

# Results

## Descriptives and Correlations

Means and standard deviations for all indicator and outcomes measures are included in Table 2. Even though several univariate outliers were detected, they were not removed as multivariate outliers are more likely to skew LPA compared to univariate analyses (Spurk et al. 2020). All measures met assumptions for univariate normality (skewness less than +/- 2, kurtosis less than +/- 7; (Kim, 2013)). Spearman correlations between profile indicators and outcomes are shown in Table 3. Collective victimhood and inclusive victimhood were significantly correlated with one another, $r_s = .87$, $p < .05$, though exclusive victimhood was not significantly correlated with either collective or inclusive victimhood ($p$ = ns). All system justification variables (i.e., meritocracy, zero-sum, and SDO beliefs) were positively related with one another ($p < .05$ to $p < .01$). All system justification variables were negatively correlated with knowledge ($p < .05$ to $p < .01$) as well as the outcomes of political solidarity and collective action. Political solidarity and collective action were positively related to one another $r_s = .96$, $p < .01$. An alpha of .05 was used for all statistical tests.

**Table 3**

*Spearman Correlations Between Indicators and Outcomes Used in Latent Profile Analysis*

| Variable | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Indicators** | | | | | | | | |
| 1. Indigenous knowledge | | | | | | | | |
| 2. Collective Victimhood (race/ethnicity) | .36 [-.40, .83] | | | | | | | |
| 3. Inclusive Victimhood (race/ethnicity) | .36 [-.40, .83] | .87** [.49, .97] | | | | | | |
| 4. Exclusive Victimhood (race/ethnicity) | -.43 [-.85, .32] | .12 [-.59, .72] | -.07 [-.70, .62] | | | | | |
| 5. Meritocracy | -.74* [-.94, -.16] | -.74* [-.94, -.15] | -.72* [-.94, -.11] | .23 [-.51, .78] | | | | |
| 6. Zero-sum game | -.81** [-.96, -.30] | -.55 [-.89, .18] | -.59 [-.90, .13] | .30 [-.46, .80] | .74* [.16, .94] | | | |
| 7. SDO | -.75* [-.94, -.17] | -.59 [-.90, .12] | -.65 [-.92, .02] | .37 [-.39, .83] | .85** [.41, .97] | .81** [.33, .96] | | |

| Variable | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Outcomes** | | | | | | | | |
| 8. Political solidarity | .75* | .61 | .62 | -.38 | -.90** | -.85** | -.94** | |
| | [.18, .95] | [-.09, .91] | [-.08, .91] | [-.83, .38] | [-.98, -.58] | [-.97, -.42] | [-.99, -.74] | |
| 9. Collective action (policy support) | .73* | .57 | .59 | -.41 | -.90** | -.85** | -.93** | .96** |
| | [.12, .94] | [-.15, .90] | [-.12, .90] | [-.84, .35] | [-.98, -.58] | [-.97, -.41] | [-.99, -.69] | [.82, .99] |

*Note. M* and *SD* are used to represent means and standard deviations, respectively. Values in square brackets indicate the 95% confidence interval for each correlation. The confidence interval is a plausible range of population correlations that could have caused the sample correlation (Cumming, 2014).
* indicates $p < .05$. ** indicates $p < .01$.

## Latent Profile Analysis

### *Multivariate Outliers & Assumptions*

Mahalanobis' distance, with a significance value of $p < .001$ as a cut-off, detected no multivariate outliers. Multivariate normality (i.e., skewness and kurtosis) was tested in R Studio using Mardia's test (MVN package; (Korkmaz et al., 2014)). The assumption for overall multivariate skewness was violated (Mardia's skewness $p < .05$), but the assumption of multivariate kurtosis was not violated (Mardia's kurtosis $p = 0.16$). Following Vermunt and Magidson (2002), maximum likelihood with robust standard errors (MLR) was used to generate profiles, as MLR is more robust to deviations from multivariate normality compared to the maximum likelihood (ML) method.

### *Latent Profile Model Generation*

Table 4 contains model fit and selection indices for one-through six-profile solutions for the seven indicator variables of Indigenous knowledge, victimhood based on race/ethnicity (i.e., collective, inclusive, exclusive), and system justification (i.e., meritocracy, zero-sum, SDO beliefs). Results from the LPA show that the four-profile solution is the best fitting model, based on several fit indices (i.e., Log Likelihood = -2578.11, AIC = 5232.23, BIC = 5371.02, SABIC = 5250.52, Entropy = .809). Even though the LMR test ($p = 0.025$) suggested that five profiles were not significantly better than four profiles, the more sensitive BLR test ($p < .05$) (Tein et al., 2013) suggested that the five-profile solution was a better representation of the data. The six-profile solution did not show a significant improvement in model fit compared to the five-profile solution, based on the LMR ($p = 0.622$) and BLR tests ($p = .056$). Ultimately, the four profile solution was accepted because it was more parsimonious than the 5 profile solution. In addition,

the five-profile solution was eliminated because the smallest profile contained approximately 3.86% of the total sample, which is less than the 5% recommended cut-off (Spurk et al., 2020).

Each profile was named according to its relative levels of Indigenous knowledge, victimhood identifications based on race/ethnicity, and system justification beliefs compared to the other profiles and according to its location about the mean (i.e., standard deviation). Specifically, a difference of 0.5 or higher standard deviations indicates a medium to large effect size (Leppink et al., 2016), or a meaningful difference between indicator values across profiles. Standard deviations were ranked in terms of their magnitude as well as direction (Very Low: -2.5 to -1.5 SD, Low: -1.5 to -0.5 SD, Moderately Low: -0.5 to -0.25 SD, Near Average: -0.25 to 0.25 SD, Moderately High: 0.25 to 0.5 SD, High: 0.5 to 1.5 SD, Very High: 1.5 to 2.5 SD). Values that are +/- 0.5 SD of the mean are still within average ranges.

Table 5 contains the means and standard errors of all seven indicators, for each of the four profiles. As seen in Table 5 and Figure 1, profiles with Indigenous knowledge above the mean (i.e., Profiles 1 and 3) were classified as being *aware* while those below the mean were *unaware*. Profiles with collective, inclusive, and exclusive victimhood values below the mean were named as non-victim identifying. It should be noted that for profiles with low collective victimhood, inclusive and exclusive victimhood values are not meaningful – one cannot have inclusive or exclusive victimhood if they do not identify as part of a collective victim group. Profiles were also named based on response patterns to the three system justification (SJ) indicators of meritocracy, zero-sum game beliefs, and SDO beliefs. Those with SJ beliefs above the mean were classified as system supportive, while those with SJ beliefs below the mean were classified as system critical.

**Table 4**

*LPA Model Fit and Selection Information for Indigenous knowledge, Victimhood based on race/ethnicity, and System Justification Indicators*

| Model | Log likelihood | AIC | BIC | SABIC | Entropy | Smallest class %* | LMR p-value | LMR meaning | BLRT p-value | BLRT meaning |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | -2823.02 | 5674.04 | 5725.17 | 5680.78 | | | | | | |
| 2 | -2688.64 | 5421.29 | 5501.64 | 5431.88 | 0.909 | 20.70 | 0.000 | 2>1 | <.001 | 2>1 |
| 3 | -2618.06 | 5296.13 | 5405.70 | 5310.57 | 0.811 | 12.51 | 0.028 | 3>2 | <.001 | 3>2 |
| **4** | **-2578.11** | **5232.23** | **5371.02** | **5250.52** | **0.809** | **8.68** | **0.025** | **4>3** | **<.001** | **4>3** |
| 5 | -2558.14 | 5208.27 | 5276.29 | 5230.42 | 0.829 | 3.86 | 0.130 | 5<4 | <.001 | 5>4 |
| 6 | -2546.12 | 5200.24 | 5397.47 | 5226.23 | 0.850 | 3.86 | 0.622 | 6<5 | 0.056 | 6<5 |

*Note*. N = 285; The LMR test and the BLRT compare the current model to a model with k – 1 profile. LPA = latent profile analysis; AIC = Akaike's Information Cr1iterion; BIC = Bayesian Information Criterion; SABIC = Sample-Adjusted BIC; LMR = Lo-Mendell Ruben; BLRT = bootstrap likelihood ratio test.

**Table 5**

*Means and Standard Error for Each Profile in the Four-Profile Solution, for Indigenous knowledge, Victimhood based on race/ethnicity, and System Justification Indicators*

| Profile Names | P1<br>Inclusive victim, aware system criticizers | P2<br>Non-victim, very unaware system supporters | P3<br>Non-victim, aware system criticizers | P4<br>Exclusive victim, unaware system supporters |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Latent Profile Size (Membership Probability)* | 134 (47.02%) | 30 (10.53%) | 25 (8.78%) | 96 (33.68%) |
| | M (SE) | M (SE) | M (SE) | M (SE) |
| Indigenous knowledge | 0.44 (0.10) | -0.76 (0.19) | 0.34 (0.22) | -0.42 (0.15) |
| Collective victimhood | 0.46 (0.07) | -1.39 (0.23) | -1.77 (0.15) | 0.32 (0.13) |
| Inclusive victimhood | 0.48 (0.07) | -0.89 (0.17) | -1.97 (0.23) | 0.17 (0.12) |
| Exclusive victimhood | -0.08 (0.09) | -0.12 (0.25) | -0.95 (0.17) | 0.40 (0.16) |
| Meritocracy beliefs | -0.58 (0.11) | 1.02 (0.26) | -0.80 (0.19) | 0.45 (0.13) |
| Zero-sum game beliefs | -0.55 (0.13) | 0.64 (0.18) | -0.30 (0.20) | 0.60 (0.12) |
| Social dominance orientation (SDO) | -0.60 (0.10) | 0.89 (0.22) | -0.54 (0.20) | 0.64 (0.18) |

*Note*: z scores are based on latent factor scores. A higher, positive z-score represents a higher endorsement of the corresponding indicator. A lower, negative z- score represents a lower endorsement of the indicator.

Profile 1 was labeled *Inclusive victim, aware, system criticizers,* making up 47.02% (n = 134) of participants. These participants showed moderately high, though still average (+/- 0.5 SD), collective and inclusive victimhood identification based on race/ethnicity, combined with exclusive victimhood identification being near average. Collective victimhood levels are approximately equal between Profiles 1 and 4. Thus, Profile 1 is partly defined by participants' relatively high inclusive victimhood values compared to Profile 4. Participants in this profile possessed a moderately high level of Indigenous knowledge, though within average ranges. Thus, we cannot say they are 'knowledgeable', but they are certainly aware of Indigenous history and culture. The three system justification belief indicators were all lower than average and within 0.5 SD of each other. This pattern suggests that participants in Profile 1 are the inverse of system justifying – they are critical of all three types of system justifying beliefs.

Profile 2 was labeled *Non-victim, very unaware, system supporters* and represented 10.53% (n = 30) of all participants. Those in this profile possessed lower than average knowledge of Indigenous peoples and were labeled as unaware. Levels of collective victimhood were almost 1.5 SD below the mean, and levels of inclusive and exclusive victimhood were also low. This profile therefore contains those who do not identify as victims based on their racial/ethnic background. In terms of system justification beliefs, Profile 2 contained participants who were above average on zero-sum beliefs, almost 1 SD above the mean for SDO beliefs, and 1 SD above the mean for meritocracy beliefs. Given their high beliefs in SJ beliefs overall (i.e., meritocracy, zero-sum beliefs, and SDO), this profile was named *system supporters*.

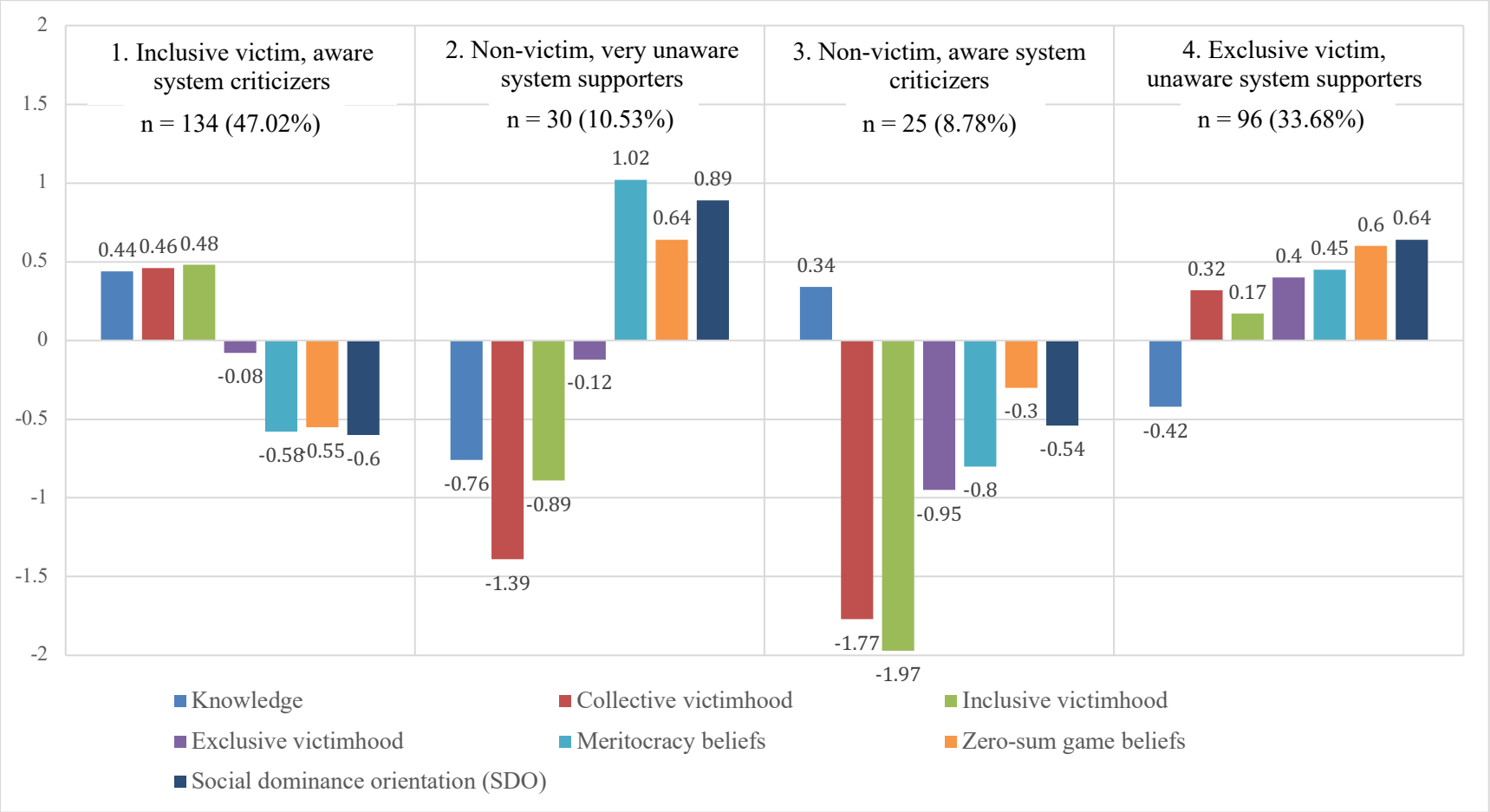
Profile 3 included approximately 8.78% (n = 25) of the sample, labeled *Non-victim, aware, system criticizers.* These participants, similar to Profile 1, had a moderately high level of Indigenous knowledge and were thus deemed as *aware*. Collective and inclusive victimhood

levels were very low, both being almost 2 SD below the mean. Participants in this profile were thus labeled as non-victims. With regards to system justification indicators, zero-sum beliefs were near average though still below the mean. SDO belief levels were comparable to those in Profile 1 (*Inclusive Victim, Aware System Criticizers*), with SDO in both being just higher than average. Meritocracy was lower than average and, being the least supported SJ belief in Profile 3. This profile is thus represented by the label *system criticizers* as participants did not support meritocracy or hierarchies, unlike those in Profile 2.

Profile 4 was named *Exclusive victim, unaware, system supporters.* These participants made up 33.68% (n = 96) of all participants. In direct contrast to Profile 1, participants in Profile 4 possessed a moderately low level of Indigenous knowledge and were thus labeled as *unaware*. Participants showed moderately high collective victimhood identification, with low inclusive victimhood but moderately high exclusive victimhood identification. Exclusive victimhood in Profile 4 was at least 0.5 SD greater than exclusive victimhood in Profile 1. Thus, Profile 4 was labeled based on its prominent exclusive victimhood identification compared to Profile 1. Zero-sum game and SDO beliefs were both higher than average, with meritocracy levels nearly being higher than average. System justification values in Profile 4 are of a similar magnitude as those in Profile 1 (*Inclusive Victim, Aware, System Criticizers*), though SJ beliefs in Profile 4 are situated above the mean. Participants in Profile 4 are conceptualized as supportive of all three system justifying beliefs and are labeled as *system supporters*.

**Figure 1**

*Four-Profile Solution for Indigenous Knowledge, Race/ethnicity Victimhood, and System Justification Indicators*




Note. A higher, positive z-score represents a higher endorsement of the corresponding indicator. A lower, negative z- score represents a lower endorsement of the indicator.

**Demographic Covariates for the Four-Profile Solution**

Table 6 shows multinomial logistic regressions predicting profile membership, for the four-profile solution, based on the effect of seven covariates (i.e., age, gender, sexual orientation, immigration generation, race/ethnicity, visible minority status, and standardized SES). Results showed that age, gender, sexual orientation, race/ethnicity, and visible minority status predicted participant membership between several different profiles. Appendix B1 shows proportions of each age, racial/ethnic, gender, sexual orientation, and visible minority group between the different profiles. On the other hand, immigrant generation (i.e., 1st or 2nd) did not predict profile membership. Appendix B1 shows results of a post-hoc ANOVA to assess differences in SES between the profiles. SES did not differ between profiles. Given the relatively small number of individuals in some age, sexual orientation, and racial/ethnic groups, results for these variables should be interpreted with caution. Thus, we cannot firmly conclude if age, racial/ethnic, or sexual orientation distributions significantly differed between the profiles and can only describe general differences between profiles.

Participant age (1 = 18-24, 2 = 25-34, 3 = 35-44, 4 = 45-54, 5 = 55-64, 6 = 65 and above) predicted membership in Profile 1 versus 2, Profile 1 versus 3, and Profile 3 versus 4. Participants in younger age-groups were more likely to be in Profile 1 compared to Profiles 2 or 3. Participants in Profile 3 were likely to be in older age-groups compared to those in Profile 4. Specifically, participants who reported 1 SD higher in age-group were 1.725 (= 1/odds ratio) times more likely to be in Profile 2 versus Profile 1, 1.879 times more likely to be in Profile 3 versus Profile 1, and 1.473 times more likely to be in Profile 3 than Profile 4 (see Table 6). There were small numbers of participants in each of the older age groups (i.e., 45-54, 55-64, 65+). Thus, we cannot definitively conclude if certain age groups were prevalent in certain profiles.

Gender (1 = Woman, 2 = Man) also predicted participant membership in Profile 1 and Profile 2, as well as Profile 1 and Profile 4. More women were present in Profile 1 than Profile 2; more women were also present in Profile 1 than Profile 4. In fact, women were 6.153 times more likely to be in Profile 1 compared to Profile 2, and 2.759 times more likely to be in Profile 1 than Profile 4 (see Table 6).

Sexual orientation (1 = Heterosexual or straight, 2 = Gay or lesbian, 3 = Bisexual) predicted membership in Profile 1 versus Profile 2, with those identifying as gay, lesbian, or bisexual being 3.732 times more likely to be in Profile 1 versus Profile 2. This finding should be interpreted with caution due to small sample sizes in the gay/lesbian and bisexual groups, compared to the number of participants in the heterosexual/straight group.

**Table 6**

*Group Membership Prediction with Multinomial Logistic Regression Using the 3-Step Procedure*

| Covariates | P1 vs. P2 | P1 vs. P3 | P1 vs. P4 | P2 vs. P3 | P2 vs. P4 | P3 vs. P4 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | $\beta$(SE) | β(SE) | β(SE) | β(SE) | β(SE) | β(SE) |
| Age | -0.454 (0.153)** | -0.631 (0.202)** | -0.243 (0.133) | -0.177(0.225) | 0.211(0.141) | 0.387(0.186)* |
| Gender | -1.817 (0.520)*** | -0.337 (0.768) | -1.015 (0.443)* | 1.480(0.808) | 0.802(0.507) | -0.678(0.702) |
| Sexual orientation | 1.317(0.517)* | 0.566(0.344) | 1.884(1.005) | -0.751(0.621) | 0.567(1.138) | 1.318(1.011) |
| Immigrant generation | 0.472(0.510) | -0.198(0.603) | 0.321(0.368) | -0.670(0.735) | -0.150(0.565) | 0.520(0.576) |
| Visible minority status | -1.978(0.568)*** | -3.399(0.793)*** | -0.690(0.586) | -1.421(0.872) | 1.288(0.614)* | 2.708(0.749)*** |

P1: Inclusive victim, aware system criticizers; P2: Non-victim, very unaware system supporters; P3: Non-victim, aware system criticizers; P4: Exclusive victim, unaware system supporters. * indicates $p < .05$. ** indicates $p < .01$. *** indicates $p < .001$.

*Note*. Negative coefficients mean that the reference group (i.e., the latter group) has higher scores. Age was coded: 1 = 18-24, 2 = 25-34, 3 = 35-44, 4 = 45-54, 5 = 55-64, 6 = 65 and above. Gender was coded: 1 = Woman, 2 = Man. Sexual orientation was coded: 1 = Heterosexual or straight, 2 = Gay or lesbian, 3 = Bisexual. Immigrant generation was coded: 1 = 1st generation, 2 = 2nd generation. Visible minority status was coded: 1 = Yes, 2 = No.

Further chi-square tests of independence were conducted to determine differences in racial/ethnic background between profiles, due to the high number of race/ethnicity categories (n = 9 categories) assessed in this study (see Table 7). Overall, the chi-square test of independence showed that race/ethnicity differed within and between profiles, $X^2$ (24, N = 280) = 102.93, $p < .01$. In Profile 3, there were significantly more White individuals (76%) than individuals from any other racial/ethnic group, $p < .01$. Profile 1 contained the lowest number of White individuals (8%). Profile 2 consisted of around 32% White individuals but around 68% individuals from racial/ethnic minority groups. Profile 4 consisted of mostly South Asian and East Asian individuals, $p < .01$. Based on Figure 4, most Black, East Asian, Latin American, Mixed: with White, and Mixed: with non-White individuals belonged to Profile 1. Around half of all South Asian individuals were represented in Profile 4, with the other half being represented in Profile 1. Mixed race individuals with White racial/ethnic background were most likely to belong to Profiles. However, around 22% of mixed race individuals with White backgrounds belonged to Profile 4. White individuals were approximately equally distributed between the four profiles.

**Profiles as Predictors of Political Solidarity and Collective Action Intentions Towards Indigenous Peoples**

The equality of means, across the four-profile solution, was tested on two outcomes using the Bolck-Croon-Hagenaars (BCH) method: political solidarity with, and collective action intentions for, Indigenous peoples in Canada. Table 8 and Table 9 show BCH results for overall chi-square tests as well as chi-square statistics for pairwise comparisons between profiles.

Based on the overall chi-square tests for each outcome, profile membership predicted both political solidarity and collective action intentions. Specifically, Profile 1 and Profile 2 had approximately equivalent levels of political solidarity and collective action intentions to support Indigenous peoples. Political solidarity and collective action were significantly higher for participants in Profile 1 and Profile 2, compared to participants in Profiles 3 and 4. Political solidarity and collective action in Profile 4 were significantly higher than in Profile 3. Profile 3 displayed the lowest levels of political solidarity and collective action towards Indigenous peoples, amongst all four profiles.

**Table 7**

*Political Solidarity and Collective Action across the Four Profiles and BCH Results of Overall Chi-Square Tests*

| Outcome Variable | P1 (47.02%) Inclusive Victim, Aware System Criticizers | P2 (10.53%) Non-Victim, Very Unaware System Supporters | P3 (8.78%) Non-Victim, Aware System Criticizers | P4 (33.68%) Exclusive Victim, Unaware System Supporters | BCH $\chi 2$ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | M (SE) | M (SE) | M (SE) | M (SE) | $\chi 2$ |
| Political solidarity | | | | | |
| | 5.93 (0.08) | 5.37 (0.28) | 3.31 (0.31) | 4.67(0.14) | 115.14 (*p<.001*) |
| Collective action intentions/policy support | | | | | |
| | 6.51 (0.06) | 6.27 (0.21) | 3.64 (0.32) | 5.20 (0.14) | 137.65 (*p<.001*) |

**Table 8**

*BCH Results of Chi-Square Statistics for Pairwise Comparisons Between Profiles*

| Outcome Variable | P1 vs. P2 | P1 vs. P3 | P1 vs. P4 | P2 vs. P3 | P2 vs. P4 | P3 vs. P4 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | $\chi 2$ | $\chi 2$ | $\chi 2$ | $\chi 2$ | $\chi 2$ |
| Political solidarity | | | | | | |
| | 3.470 | 66.553* | 52.354*** | 22.078*** | 5.061* | 14.270*** |
| Collective action intentions/policy support | | | | | | |
| | 1.160 | 76.669*** | 59.598*** | 43.099*** | 18.145*** | 17.917*** |

P1: Inclusive victim, aware system criticizers; P2: Non-victim, very unaware system supporters; P3: Non-victim, aware system criticizers; P4: Exclusive victim, unaware system supporters. * indicates $p < .05$. ** indicates $p < .01$. *** indicates $p < .001$.

## Discussion

In the past decade, Canadian institutions have raised awareness about Canada's history of cultural genocide against its Indigenous peoples and have moved to rectify anti-Indigenous discrimination. At the individual level, every Canadian citizen – including those who have immigrated to Canada – has a role to play in learning about Canada's history of colonization and building supportive relationships with Indigenous peoples. The current study found four distinct groups (i.e., profiles) of 1st and 2nd generation immigrants (n = 285) with different levels of solidarity and political support towards Indigenous peoples. Profile composition was based on immigrants' levels of Indigenous knowledge, victimhood identification based on race/ethnicity, and system justification beliefs (SJ) for fair (i.e., meritocracy) and unfair (i.e., zero-sum, SDO) social systems.

Profile 1 - *Inclusive victim, aware system criticizers* - consisted of those who viewed their own-group racial/ethnic victimization as similar to other racial/ethnic groups, possessed sufficient Indigenous knowledge, and were critical of meritocratic, hierarchical, and competitive social systems. Almost 50% (n = 134) of participants belonged to Profile 1. Younger individuals, women, non-heterosexuals, and non-White individuals were most likely to belong to Profile 1.

Profile 2 - *Non-victim, very unaware system supporters* - did not identify with belonging to a group victimized due to race/ethnicity, lacked Indigenous knowledge, and supported meritocratic and hierarchical social systems. This profile represented approximately 10% (n = 30) of the total sample. Men in the middle-and-older age groups were most likely to belong to this profile and the next, Profile 3. Profile 2 contained a greater proportion of White individuals than Profile 1. Unexpectedly, Profile 2 had the same level of solidarity and political support towards Indigenous peoples as Profile 1.

Individuals in Profile 3 - *Non-victim, aware system criticizers* - also did not identify as victimized by their racial/ethnic group but possessed sufficient Indigenous knowledge and were critical of meritocratic and hierarchical systems. Profile 3 contained around 9% (n = 25) of all participants. As mentioned above, men in the middle-and-older age groups were most likely to belong to Profiles 2 and 3. Profile 3 contained the greatest proportion of White individuals. Of all the profiles, Profile 3 displayed the lowest levels of solidarity and support for Indigenous peoples and policies.

Profile 4 - *Exclusive victim, unaware system supporters* - was the second largest group (34%, n = 96), characterized by a view that their group's racial/ethnic victimization differed from that of other racial/ethnic groups, a lack of Indigenous knowledge, and support for meritocratic and hierarchical social systems. Solidarity and support in Profile 4 was less than that in Profiles 1 and 2, but greater than in Profile 3. Profile 4 was similar to Profile 1, in that it contained predominantly younger non-White individuals, but consisted of significantly more men and heterosexual individuals than Profile 1.

**Overview: Variable-Centered vs Person-Centered Approach**

The results from this person-centred approach supported some of the findings from previous variable-centered research, and contradicted others. First, broad trends in the intraminority solidarity literature show high victimhood experiences and identification with a victim group (i.e., collective victimhood) to be related to increased solidarity with other marginalized groups. Low victimhood has been related to less solidarity (Starzyk et al., 2019; Vollhardt et al., 2016; Burson & Godfrey, 2019). Second, stronger beliefs in the legitimacy of social systems – or system justification beliefs – have been related to lower solidarity and political support for marginalized groups, whereas critique of existing systems has been related

to greater solidarity (Genge & Day, 2020; Ouch & Moradi, 2022; Wiley et al., 2012; Neufeld et al., 2019; Osborne et al., 2019; Vargas-Salfate et al., 2018). Third, knowledge of marginalized groups' experiences is positively related with solidarity; lack of knowledge has been detrimental to solidarity (Neufeld et al., 2022; Starzyk & Ross, 2008).

This person-centered analysis, as opposed to a variable-centered analysis, introduces more complexity to the ways in which victimhood, system justifying beliefs, and knowledge interact to affect solidarity and political action from immigrants to Indigenous peoples. Results for Profiles 1 and 4 suggest that it is not sufficient just to have high collective victimhood. Specifically, my findings suggest that victimhood relates to solidarity differently depending on other, contextual features. Specifically, victimhood without system criticalness and knowledge about another oppressed group may dampen solidarity. Profiles 1 and 4 both had high collective victimhood, but Profile 4 displayed significantly lower solidarity than Profile 1. When victimhood is inclusive and paired with a critique of meritocratic and unfair social systems and high Indigenous knowledge, solidarity is high, as in Profile 1. But when paired with support for meritocratic and unfair systems and less Indigenous knowledge, solidarity is lower, as in Profile 4.

Profiles 2 and 3 both had low levels of collective victimhood but differed in their knowledge and system justifying beliefs. Based on past, variable-centered literature, one would expect both profiles to display low levels of solidarity with Indigenous peoples (Starzyk et al., 2019), particularly when paired with stronger endorsement of system justifying beliefs (Genge & Day, 2020) and low knowledge (Neufeld et al., 2022). This was not the case, however, with the current results. Instead, individuals in Profile 2 reported the same, high level of solidarity and political support as Profile 1 despite low knowledge and high support for unequal social systems

as well. This finding suggests that for individuals in Profile 2, SJ beliefs may foster political support for Indigenous peoples, which will be explained further in a subsequent section of the discussion.

As expected, with the lowest levels of collective victimhood out of all profiles, people in Profile 3 had the lowest level of Indigenous solidarity and support. However, Profile 3 was critical of meritocratic and unfair systems, as well as knowledgeable about Indigenous peoples. One would thus expect Profile 3 to display higher solidarity with Indigenous peoples. People in Profile 3 may be critical of existing social systems, but this critique is not in favor of marginalized groups. Findings also suggest that knowledge, alone, may not be sufficient to establishing intergroup solidarity.

Next, I will explore each profile in depth, with reference to existing literature. I will also discuss how my results suggest the need for tailored approaches to building relationships and solidarity from immigrants to Indigenous peoples.

**High Victimhood: Profiles 1 and 4**

Our results show that while Profile 1 and Profile 4 both had high levels of collective victimhood, these profiles differed in solidarity due to their differences in inclusive and exclusive victimhood, degree of system support or critique, and Indigenous knowledge. As hypothesized, Profile 1, which had high inclusive racial/ethnic victimhood and system criticalness, and Profile 4, which had high exclusive victimhood and system support, were related to higher and lower levels of solidarity and action, respectively.

Based on the common ingroup identity model (CIIM; Gaertner, 2000), inclusive victimhood in Profile 1 allows individuals to identify with – and thus hold prosocial attitudes towards – other similarly victimized ethnoracial groups, including Indigenous peoples. On the

other hand, exclusive victimhood may result when individuals are not able to broaden their identity boundaries, or when they feel their social identity is under threat. Due to non-recognition of common suffering, the need to differentiate themselves from other victimized ethnoracial groups, or the need to validate the very real harms of collective victimhood, individuals in Profile 4 may tend to think that their suffering is unique to their own ethnoracial group(s) (Louis et al., 2019). Our results are supported by the victimhood-solidarity literature, which has consistently shown that some variation of inclusive victimhood is related to greater solidarity from one marginalized ethnoracial group to another (Starzyk et al., 2019; Vollhardt et al., 2016; Glasford & Calcagno, 2012), whereas exclusive victimhood may dampen intraminority solidarity (Starzyk et al., 2019; Vollhardt et al., 2016). The literature, which has been variable-centered, has not been able to show strong relationships between average levels of exclusive victimhood and solidarity (Starzyk et al., 2019; Vollhardt et al., 2016). In Starzyk et al. (2019), exclusive victimhood was not measured, though its influence may be inferred via the negative direct relationship between collective victimhood and solidarity. Our study specifically measured exclusive victimhood independently from collective and inclusive victimhood. In effect, we were able to reveal relationships – obscured by stronger relationships between inclusive and collective victimhood and solidarity – between exclusive victimhood and solidarity.

Due to their victimization, participants in Profile 1 may have realized the systemic inequities behind their victimhood experiences, realizing that Canadian society was not as meritocratic as expected, or as fair as expected. The inclusive nature of this victimhood identity may allow individuals in Profile 1 to connect their experiences with those of other groups discriminated based on race/ethnicity. In other words, those in Profile 1 displayed low beliefs in hierarchies and intergroup competition for resources along with collective and inclusive

victimhood, perhaps due to recognizing common systems of oppression behind all groups' experiences of racism and discrimination. The literature also supports a negative link between victimhood and SJ beliefs (i.e., as victimhood increases, SJ beliefs decrease and vice versa). In Wiley et al. (2012), compared to 1st generation immigrants, 2nd generation immigrants were less likely to think their racial/ethnic group was viewed positively by the American public, due to the 2nd generation's extended exposure to racism and discrimination while residing in the USA. Lower SJ beliefs have also been found to motivate individuals to notice structural inequities and discrimination more easily in themselves and other marginalized groups (McCoy, 2007; Major 2002; Wellman, 2016). In these studies and in our sample, racism/discrimination may have revealed disparities between system ideals and true systemic inequity, prompting individuals to advocate for groups most marginalized by these systems (Blankenship et al., 2017).

On the other hand, the literature has noticed that victimized groups may hold higher SJ beliefs, despite their victimization within and/or by the system, which was also seen in Profile 4 (van der Toorn et al., 2015; Godfrey & Wolf, 2016; Dhingra et al., 2016). For instance, Van der Toorn et al. (2015) found that feelings of powerlessness, most often felt by disadvantaged income or ethnoracial groups, predicted increased beliefs in the legitimacy of authority, hierarchical social structures, and system justification. This effect held when participants were reminded of their discrimination experiences. Our study also prompted participants to reflect on their personal experiences with racial/ethnic discrimination, or their belonging to a discriminated group. Those in Profile 4 showed high levels of racial/ethnic collective victimhood, but reminders of discrimination instead correlated with high SJ beliefs, in this profile. Individuals in Profile 4 may believe that societal hierarchies cannot be changed, so discrimination towards Indigenous peoples and other ethnic/racial groups should be accepted and not challenged with

progressive policies. There is also a natural parallel between exclusive victimhood and SJ beliefs – both encourage intergroup competition and comparison. With their high zero-sum beliefs, individuals in Profile 4 may naturally compare themselves, including their experiences of suffering, with Indigenous peoples, and think, "Why do they deserve more help? My group is more deserving of our limited resource pool." Thus, results from Profiles 1 and 4 support how inclusive victimhood may operate differently from exclusive victimhood, when combined with SJ beliefs, to influence intraminority solidarity.

In two other studies, participants who received knowledge about common discrimination experiences with Black Americans (Glasford & Calcagno, 2012) and knowledge of historical harms and inequities towards Indigenous peoples (Neufeld et al., 2022) felt more solidarity with these respective groups. Profiles 1 and 4 align with the results of Glasford & Calcagno (2012), Starzyk & Ross (2008), and Neufeld et al. (2022). Profile 1 had the highest levels of knowledge about Indigenous cultures and colonization, which may have fostered critical reflection on system fairness or prompted participants to relate their own discrimination experiences with those of Indigenous peoples, thus building solidarity. Without knowledge, participants in Profile 4 may have been less exposed to commonalities in race/ethnicity-based victimhood between themselves and Indigenous peoples, nor to information challenging their beliefs in the inequitable status quo. Profiles 2 and 3 suggest, however, that knowledge alone may not be necessary or sufficient to building solidarity between marginalized groups.

**Low Victimhood: Profile 2**

In Profile 2, low victimhood identification and high SJ beliefs were expected to relate to low solidarity and political support for structurally marginalized groups, such as Canada's Indigenous peoples. Despite low victimhood identification, high SJ beliefs, and low knowledge,

individuals in Profile 2 reported high solidarity and support (similar to Profile 1). In the literature, high SJ beliefs have been shown to dampen solidarity with other marginalized groups (Osborne et al., 2019; Jost et al., 2019; Alesina et al., 2018; Ouch & Moradi, 2022; Genge & Day, 2020). High SJ further decreases support for policies that increase justice and equal opportunity for all groups (e.g., Black Lives Matter), while increasing support for policies supporting unfair systems (e.g., All Lives Matter; Osborne et al., 2019). Our measures of solidarity (i.e., the PSM) and political support specifically asked if participants supported the disruption of power structures that harm Indigenous peoples. Despite high system support, individuals in Profile 2 supported these redistributive, system-disrupting policies.

System justification beliefs may operate differently in non-victimized groups. One explanation is that not having experienced significant racial/ethnic victimhood has given Profile 2 an optimistic outlook on social structures and inequities, motivating them to support these structures. Theoretically, meritocracy has two messages: 1) Individuals can overcome systemic barriers and achieve success (Garrison et al., 2021; Wiley et al., 2012; Genge & Day, 2020); and 2) People with low status deserve their outcomes (Ouch & Moradi, 2022). The second message may prompt individuals to justify systemic inequities, as these inequities are due to individual fault. Driven by this first, optimistic message of meritocracy, many individuals – like those in our study – migrate to other countries in search of economic opportunities for themselves and their children. Individuals in Profile 2 are high in meritocracy and may thus believe that Canada is a place where anyone can succeed, including Indigenous peoples, despite discrimination and systemic barriers. In fact, high meritocracy beliefs may ‘shield’ individuals from perceived discrimination, allowing them to still believe in the potential for individual success despite adversity (Bahamondes et al., 2019; Bahamondes et al., 2021; Godfrey & Wolf, 2016). Unlike

Profile 4, individuals in Profile 2 did not feel exclusive victimhood as they do not identify with collective victimhood. Individuals in Profile 2 may thus not feel that they are competing for resources/reparations with Indigenous peoples, and support increased reparations/supportive policies to benefit Indigenous peoples.

Further, in a more egalitarian and multicultural country such as Canada, individuals in Profile 2 may support redistributive policies for Indigenous peoples, as these policies reflect Canadian values of egalitarianism and multiculturalism (Ramirez et al., 2010). In our study, questions on political support, in particular, were framed in terms of socially-sanctioned government policies to redistribute resources to Indigenous peoples. According to Cichocka et al. (2018), complete system rejection may lead to lack of trust in the system, and a decreased drive to engage in any social change. Jost (2019) theorized that people high in SJ believed in existing social structures enough to want to support system-sanctioned progressive social change.

Individuals in Profile 2 displayed high solidarity despite their lack of knowledge of Indigenous peoples and colonization. This finding goes against studies showing that increased awareness of other groups' marginalization fosters solidarity with that group. Profile 2 may demonstrate that in the absence of victimhood identification, lacking knowledge of Indigenous culture and colonization may facilitate solidarity by maintaining optimism in Canadian institutions and their ability to aid Indigenous peoples. With increasingly positive and supportive media and public discussion around reconciliation, individuals may view support for Indigenous peoples are normative and socially sanctioned, and thus aligned with the current social system. Future research may examine solidarity towards groups and issues that do not receive as much positive media coverage, and are not viewed as favorably by the public.

High meritocracy in Profile 2 does not completely explain its high levels of solidarity and action towards Indigenous peoples. Participants in Profile 2 were also high in zero-sum game beliefs and social dominance orientation (SDO), which are SJ beliefs that justify competitive and unequal systems – not equal systems, like meritocracy beliefs. In fact, in their validation of the political solidarity measure (PSM) – also used to measure solidarity in our study – Neufeld et al. (2019) found lower scores on the PSM to be related to higher SDO beliefs. One explanation is that Profile 2 may view societal competition and inequality through a neutral or even positive lens (Wu & Talhelm, 2023). In Fulop et al. (2004), French teens thought that competition could motivate individuals to work hard and attain success; in Japan and Hong Kong, individuals viewed competition as important to societal progress (Watkins, 2006). Future research can investigate the potentially prosocial effects of high SJ beliefs.

**Low Victimhood: Profile 3**

As hypothesized, Profile 3's low levels of collective victimhood were related to low levels of solidarity and political support for Indigenous peoples. Individuals in Profile 3 are less likely to identify with marginalized groups, as they do not have common victimhood experiences to create an 'ingroup' and positive attitudes with marginalized groups. Where Profile 3 departs from existing findings (Osborne et al., 2019; Neufeld et al., 2019) is that, despite low SJ beliefs and high Indigenous knowledge, individuals in Profile 3 displayed the lowest levels of solidarity and political support for Indigenous peoples.

The moderately high levels of Indigenous knowledge in Profile 3 counter evidence showing a positive relationship between knowledge and intraminority solidarity. It is important to note that past studies showed critical historical knowledge to be associated with higher solidarity (Neufeld et al., 2022; Bonam et al., 2019). The knowledge gained by those in Profile 3

may not be entirely critical or historical, as we only assessed exposure to knowledge about colonization and residential schools. We did not ask the amount of knowledge received, nor the degree to which this knowledge was comprehensive or accurate. Importantly, those in Profile 3, despite moderately high knowledge, still maintained low solidarity and collective action with Indigenous peoples. These findings suggest that in the absence of victimhood identification, awareness alone is not sufficient to build solidarity with marginalized groups.

Low SJ beliefs in Profile 3 may point to a distrust in the existing social order, which, in recent decades has been more supportive of progressive social change (e.g., racial/ethnic equality) and less supportive of traditional, conservative views. An emerging body of work has examined system challenging social movements in right-wing, conservative groups. Liekefett and Becker (2022) (Liekefett & Becker, 2022) observed that the difference between left and right wing system-challenging movements was that while left-wing individuals aim to decrease inequality (progressive social change), right-wing movements maintain and increase privileges for advantaged groups as well as increase inequality (i.e., reactionary social change such as anti-immigration protests, anti-mask rallies). Across two studies in Liekefett and Becker (2022), both far left and far right Germans scored lower on SJ beliefs than those with moderate political views. These results match what we found for Profile 3. That is, even though Profile 3 displayed low SJ beliefs, they still had the lowest levels of solidarity towards Indigenous peoples and support for progressive policies for Indigenous peoples.

Conservatism and right-wing views were not measured in this study, though there is evidence to suggest that those in Profile 3 may be more conservative. Lower scores on the solidarity measure used in the current study (i.e., PSM; Neufeld et al., 2019) have been correlated with higher conservatism. Genge & Day (2020) also found that people with low

support for increased Indigenous education funding tended to be more conservative. Our solidarity and action questions asked participants if they supported changing systems in favor of Indigenous peoples, a marginalized group, as well as if participants supported progressive government policies designed to reduce racial/ethnic inequality. Profile 3's low solidarity and action outcomes suggest that this group is more rejecting of progressive social change, as well as government intervention. However, we cannot conclude if Profile 3 is right-wing or conservative, as political views were not measured in this study.

## Demographic Covariates

### *Race/Ethnicity and Visible Minority Status*

Racial/ethnic minorities were more likely to belong to a visible minority group, and were more likely to belong to profiles with high collective victimhood based on race/ethnicity (i.e., Profiles 1 and 4). Non-visible minority and White Canadians were most likely to belong to Profiles 2 and 3, which had collective victimhood levels significantly below the mean. Profile 3 had more than double the proportion of White individuals than Profile 2, though this difference was not statistically significant.

In our study, we found that racial/ethnic minorities were likely to belong to Profiles 1 and 4. Even though Profile 4 had lower levels of solidarity than Profiles 1 and 2, Profile 4 still had higher levels of solidarity than Profile 3. Profile 2, however, still contained a mostly people from racial/ethnic minority groups. Not all individuals who identify with a racial/ethnic minority background identify as being victimized based on their race/ethnicity. This finding adds nuance to Starzyk et al. (2019), who showed that minority ethnoracial participants were more likely to report collective victimhood and have higher Indigenous solidarity than White Canadians.

White Canadians can also have collective victimhood, as evinced by the not insignificant proportions of White 1st and 2nd generation immigrants in Profiles 1 and 4. It is not unexpected that minority racial/ethnic groups have more victimhood due to Canada's history of racial/ethnic discrimination (e.g., forced WWII internment of Japanese-Canadians; Quebec Bill 21 barring public workers from wearing hijabs, turbans, and other face veils). In the 2019 Canadian General Social Survey (GSS; Government of Canada, 2019), 41% of Black individuals, 19% of other non-Indigenous visible minorities, and 2.8% of non-Indigenous, non-visible minorities had experienced discrimination due to their race/skin in the past 5 years. We were unable to determine if different racial/ethnic groups had different levels of knowledge, victimhood identification, or SJ beliefs due to small numbers of participants in several racial/ethnic groups.

It is important to note that while Profile 2 contained significantly less visible minorities than Profile 1, Profile 2 was still mostly (60%) composed of racial/ethnic minorities. This finding suggests that not all racial/ethnic minorities identify with a victimized group to the same extent or have experienced similar levels of racial/ethnic discrimination.

***Age***

Younger participants were more likely to belong to Profile 1 compared to Profiles 2 and 3, which tended to contain older individuals. There was no significant difference in age between Profiles 1 and 4. Due to small sample sizes in each of the older age groups, we could not determine differences in levels of knowledge, victimhood, and SJ beliefs between the age groups For increased representation, future studies should recruit more actively from older demographic groups.

In their survey of 360 US adults, Devonshire & Narvaez (2023) found younger participants tended to be more structurally marginalized (i.e., hold less power in societal

institutions) and of a lower SES than older participants. As has been described, belonging to a structurally marginalized group has been associated with lower SJ beliefs and greater impetus for progressive social change (Ouch & Moradi, 2022; Starzyk et al., 2019; Burson & Godfrey, 2019). This finding is supported in the Canadian context, as surveys have shown that younger Canadians tend to hold more progressive views than older Canadians, who tend to be more conservative (McGrane, 2015)

In Profile 2, individuals were older and more likely to hold system legitimizing views. This aligns with Devonshire & Narvaez's (2023) findings that older individuals are less likely to identity with a marginalized group compared to younger individuals, and aforementioned literature showing how SJ views can manifest or increase due to marginalization experiences. On the other hand, Profile 2 displayed an equivalent degree of solidarity as Profile 1, but Profile 2 contained older participants. High levels of solidarity and support for redistributive policies, in Profile 2, go against the evidence that younger individuals are more likely to support progressive policies than older individuals. Zero-sum beliefs and SDO also influence intraminority solidarity and policy support, but were not significant between the age groups. Other factors, such as those previously proposed (e.g., meritocracy as encouraging solidarity with marginalized groups), may explain our findings.

***Gender***

Profile 1 contained significantly more women than Profiles 2 and 4, which contained more men. There were no significant differences in gender makeup between the other pairs of profiles (i.e., Profiles 1 and 3, 2 and 3, 2 and 4, 3 and 4). Based on Craig et al.'s (2020) model of group solidarity, racial/ethnic minority women in Profile 1 may have high solidarity due to their additional experiences of gendered victimhood increasing the likelihood of them developing

system critical views. In fact, Blankenship et al. (2017) showed that with an increasing number of marginalized identities, beliefs in left-wing activism and system criticality also increased. Further, experiences of gender marginalization/discrimination may contribute to a broad identity of being marginalized. An existing identity of marginalization may have allowed these women to more readily notice and identify with identities of racial/ethnic disadvantage.

These results are supported by previous literature. In Pratto et al. (2012), men scored higher than women on measures of SDO, conservatism, and other system legitimizing ideologies. Right-leaning, conservative views are typically more popular among men (Inglehart & Norris, 2016). While Profile 2 contained significantly more men than Profile 1, Profile 2 showed equivalent levels of high solidarity and action as Profile 1. This may be explained by the higher levels of SJ beliefs in Profile 2, which is supported by literature showing higher SJ beliefs in men compared to women. As previously stated, high SJ beliefs may also correlate positively with progressive policies and intraminority solidarity, which may explain high solidarity from Profile 2 despite gender differences with Profile 1.

Starzyk et al. (2019) and Genge and Day (2020) both assessed solidarity from the Canadian public to its Indigenous peoples, and did not find gender differences in solidarity, unlike our study. Gender, alone, does not suggest the development of SJ or system conscious views that can foster critique and system change. For instance, only Turkish women, in Uysal et al. (2022), who identified with feminism were more supportive of LGBTQ+ issues. Furthermore, when assessing solidarity from one group to another group that is marginalized on another identity dimension (e.g., racial/ethnic minorities to sexual/gender minorities), there is the potential for competitive victimhood to dampen intraminority solidarity. Jewish-American women's support for African Americans was contingent on feelings of shared victimization, but

only when African American issues were not portrayed as adversarial to issues affecting women (Warner et al., 2014). Many studies (Cortland et al., 2017; Craig et al., 2020) point to the potential for solidarity, across identity dimensions (e.g., gender and race/ethnicity) to be dampened by exclusive or competitive victimhood between groups identifying with different dimensions. Thus, further study is needed.

***Sexual Orientation***

Profile 1 contained significantly more sexual minorities (i.e., bisexual, gay, lesbian) than Profile 2.As is the case for gender, identifying with additional marginalized groups may increase solidarity across identities (Blankenship et al., 2017), by allowing people to identify common experiences of marginalization. In our study, Profile 1 had the highest levels of solidarity and action for Indigenous peoples. Pratto et al. (2012) also showed that gays, lesbians, and bisexuals scored lower on social dominance compared to their straight counterparts, suggesting sexual minorities may possess more system-critical views due to their experiences of marginalization. As stated, these system critical views are often necessary for social change. Nonetheless, results for sexual orientation should be interpreted with caution due to a small number of gay/lesbian and bisexual participants in our sample. We can only describe general trends between profiles, but cannot make conclusions around sexual orientation make-up between the profiles.

***Socioeconomic Status (SES)***

We created a standardized socioeconomic status (SES) variable that included participants' household income and their education level. Profile membership did not differ based on this SES variable, nor did profile membership differ based on individual indicators of SES (i.e., income, education, employment status). There were also no differences in SJ beliefs or victimhood due to SES. Previous studies in the US (Devonshire & Narvaez, 2023) and Germany

(Liekfett & Becker, 2022), as well as a large-scale (n = 14,936) study conducted across multiple countries (Vargas-Salfate et al., 2018), have shown SES to be positively correlated with SJ beliefs and support for progressive policies (Liekefett & Becker, 2022), as these individuals benefit more from their positions in unequal social systems (Genge and Day, 2020).

One explanation for why our findings differ from the literature is that our sample had little variation in their education or income-level. Thus, there was a decreased chance of finding differences in solidarity outcomes based on SES. Most participants were situated in the middle of the income distribution, with relatively fewer participants having extremely high or extremely low household incomes. A considerable proportion of participants had the same educational level (i.e., currently attending or had finished a bachelor's degree). Data from the Bank of Canada show that income inequality has been stable for the last 25 years but was most impactful for low-income earners and young people (Burkinshaw et al., 2022). There is also less income inequality in Canada compared to the US, which is where most studies that found differences in solidarity based on SES were conducted. In a large-scale study across Canada (n = 8,000), most Canadians identified as middle class. Interestingly, a considerable proportion of these participants believed in meritocracy rather than social class as a determinant of success, and did not feel significant attachments to any social class (Angus Reid Institute, 2023).

***Immigrant Generation***

We found that identifying either as a 1st (i.e., not born in Canada) or 2nd generation (i.e., at least one parent born in Canada) immigrant to Canada had no relation with profile membership. These results are surprising, considering that generational status was found to influence SJ beliefs and intraminority solidarity in two studies (Wiley et al., 2012; Philip et al., 2010). Wiley et al. (2012) found a significant relationship between ethnic identity, meritocracy,

and collective action for other racial/ethnic groups only in 2nd generation Dominican and Mexican immigrants in New York City. In the 2nd generation, increased ethnic identity was related to decreased support for meritocracy. The authors suggested that the 2nd generation, at least in the US, adopts more system-critical views and thus more solidarity with other racialized groups, due to their exposure to greater discrimination from living in the US for an extended period compared to the 1st generation (Wiley et al., 2012). In their survey of 144 East Indian immigrants to the US, Philip et al. (2010) found that 1st generation immigrants held greater beliefs in ethnoracial hierarchies (i.e., essentialist beliefs) compared to 2nd generation Indian Americans. East Indian immigrants were explained to hold more essentialist beliefs due to their more-recent exposure to the Indian caste system. Individuals with greater essentialist beliefs (i.e., 1st generation) were less likely to hold positive attitudes towards Black Americans (Philip et al., 2010). Solidarity with other marginalized racial/ethnic groups may also depend on the political and social systems of one's country of origin, which was not assessed in this study.

Unfortunately, we cannot conclude that immigrant generation equates to time spent in Canada, nor with acculturation to Canadian cultural values. Future studies may want to assess time spent living in Canada, exposure to the Canadian educational system, and/or acculturation and enculturation. These factors may impact SJ beliefs and Indigenous knowledge, and thus solidarity and action, more-so than immigrant generation. For instance, there may be significant differences between a 1st generation immigrant who immigrated to Canada at 5 years old, compared to a 1st generation immigrant who immigrated to Canada at 25 years of age. The individual who immigrated at 5 years of age has had greater exposure to the Canadian educational system, which in the last decade has prioritized education on Indigenous cultures and decolonization. They may also have been exposed to different beliefs on societal fairness, as well

as different experiences of racial/ethnic victimhood, compared to someone who grew up outside of Canadian social systems and/or in a more racially homogeneous, hierarchical society (e.g., India, China).

**Limitations & Future Research**

As is the case for any study, ours has limitations that can be improved upon with future research. Our study was only conducted in English, despite English not being the first language of many immigrants to Canada. Our study may have excluded certain immigrant groups, such as older immigrants or those with less formal education, who tend to lack English fluency compared to their younger or more educated counterparts. Due in-part to their English skills, these immigrants may have different SES and Indigenous knowledge, compared to participants in this study who tended to be highly educated and knowledgeable about Indigenous culture and history. This may potentially limit the diversity and variability of our sample and thus the ability to find significant relationships. Ideally, in future research, we will be able to translate survey materials into other languages, as well as pilot different language-versions with native speakers, to ensure validity. Translation services may be cost-prohibitive, however, especially if one were to translate measures into multiple languages. Our study was still able to capture variation in profile membership, despite the survey only being in English.

Our sample also contained a considerable proportion of immigrants who identified as East Asian ($n$ = 66, 23.2%), White ($n$ = 52, 18.2%), or South Asian ($n$ = 51, 17.9%). While most immigrants to Canada belong to these racial/ethnic groups, future studies may want to capture the experiences of other, less represented racial/ethnic groups. To recruit diverse samples, future research could partner with communities and organizations that work directly with racial/ethnic minorities and immigrants. This research would let community members engage more directly

with all steps of the research process, potentially resulting in a more robust study design and interpretation.

Third, the cross-sectional nature of this study may limit the degree to which nuances or complexities can be captured. Importantly, we note that victimhood is not necessarily causal of SJ beliefs, nor is knowledge causal of inclusive victimhood or SJ beliefs. These results merely draw on past literature to suggest potential relationships between our profile indicator variables. Past studies have shown causal relationships between victimhood and higher or lower SJ beliefs (Bahamondes et al., 2021; Merseth, 2018), as well as between low SJ beliefs and increased awareness of discrimination. Future studies are needed to elucidate any causal relationships.

This study was a preliminary examination of a rarely studied topic. We only focused on solidarity from immigrants towards Indigenous peoples. Future studies could examine how Indigenous peoples feel about immigrants, perhaps with the incorporation of Indigenous research methodologies and community-based research. Future work could also elicit participant feedback via brief follow-up interviews or ask additional questions about each indicator variable (e.g., "Who delivered workshop on Indigenous knowledge?"). Longitudinal designs could also be implemented to investigate how profile membership changes over time with, for example, current events or increased knowledge acquisition.

Further, we examined how demographic factors covary with profile membership but did not assess how demographic factors may interact or intersect with one another. Individuals can hold both advantaged and disadvantaged identities (Craig et al., 2020). For instance, our study found that women were more likely to belong to Profile 1 as well as have higher rates of victimhood. Bisexual individuals, compared to heterosexual or gay/lesbian individuals, had higher levels of victimhood based on race/ethnicity. Future studies should take an intersectional

perspective to examine unique patterns of victimhood, SJ beliefs, and solidarity and action across multiple identity dimensions.

**Applications**

This research topic is important to community organizations which are increasingly concerned with reconciliation and decolonization. In Winnipeg, for instance, various settlement organizations have organized efforts to build relationships between immigrants and Indigenous peoples (Alidina et al., 2020). Mount Carmel Clinic (MCC) is one such organization that serves both Indigenous peoples and newcomers to Canada. The MCC organizes regular events to help newcomers connect to the land via Indigenous teachings, as well as build Indigenous-newcomer relationships. MCC Elders have observed similarities in victimhood experiences, resilience, and migration stories between Indigenous peoples and newcomers, which parallel the results of our study. These similarities have fostered the formation of genuine relationships based on common past and present experiences. If the majority (i.e., 57%) of our participants felt high solidarity towards Indigenous peoples, these and more individuals could be engaged in immigrant-Indigenous relationship and community-building efforts.

Results suggest that tailored approaches are required to increase solidarity with Indigenous peoples, depending on immigrants' experiences, views, and demographic group. For instance, programs for those who identify with a victimized racial/ethnic group could build solidarity by emphasizing common experiences of suffering and refuting cognitive barriers to solidarity. For instance, these programs could directly address the myth that more resources to Indigenous communities translate to less resources for other marginalized groups. Programs could also introduce the value of advocacy and political action in promoting thriving for all minority racial/ethnic groups – advocacy is not a zero-sum game.

On the other hand, many individuals, including those who have racial/ethnic minority backgrounds, do not identify with racial/ethnic victimhood. For those who do not have strong victimhood identifications and high system support, it may be beneficial, instead, to emphasize the practicality, utility, and positive social outcomes of solidarity and political support for Indigenous peoples. For example, we could tell stories of Indigenous individuals who have succeeded with the help of additional support, and communities that have established autonomy and more conventional measures of success.

To develop solidarity and political support for Indigenous peoples, programs targeted towards younger racial/ethnic minority women may be 'preaching to the choir'. Our study shows that these individuals already have high knowledge, solidarity, and support for Indigenous peoples. Perhaps these individuals would benefit from participating in programs, opportunities, and initiatives to put their felt solidarity into action (e.g., long-term volunteering opportunities) – not initiatives simply designed to develop knowledge. Older individuals, men, and immigrants with White backgrounds are those groups that could benefit from programs to develop preliminary knowledge, Indigenous solidarity, and political support. These groups, however, may possess beliefs and values which oppose the establishment of equal opportunities for marginalized groups, including Indigenous peoples. Racism and extreme right-wing views are such values that may impede solidarity-building initiatives; these factors should be examined in future studies.

Immigrants often arrive in Canada with unique traumas and mental health challenges (e.g., loneliness, family separation, low income). Census data has shown that non-Indigenous visible minorities experience more racism/discrimination than White Canadians. Learning about Indigenous histories, as well as solidarity and action, can be beneficial from a mental health

context (Ouch and Moradi, 2022). Learning about the suffering and resilience of Canada's Indigenous peoples can allow immigrants and racial/ethnic minority individuals to see that they are not alone in their suffering, and that it is possible to heal and even thrive after trauma.

Furthermore, individuals may adopt high SJ beliefs to avoid confronting their own or others' distressing experiences of racism (Suppes et al., 2019), as may be the case in Profile 4. Individuals may also adopt SJ beliefs to justify unjust systems, because challenging these systems can seem daunting and hopeless. In psychologically and emotionally safe settings, individuals may confront their own experiences of injustice, or their distress at existing in an unjust society. Importantly, immigrants can learn from Indigenous communities, groups, and initiatives (e.g., Truth and Reconciliation Commission), that it is possible to change unjust social systems, to confront and challenge systemic discrimination for long-term individual and community wellbeing. Relationship-building efforts could directly benefit wellbeing through the formation of meaningful and positive interpersonal relationships, which have been found to buffer the negative effects of trauma. Increased solidarity and progressive policies can ultimately provide Indigenous communities with the autonomy to heal their traumas and nurture future generations.

In terms of the psychotherapy context (Ouch & Moradi, 2022), clinicians could discuss client experiences of victimhood in relation to their own and other ethnoracial groups. With consideration of client receptiveness and SJ beliefs, engagement in solidarity and collective action can be therapeutic interventions that inspire personal agency and power. Evidence shows that activism and social justice initiatives, even for other racial/ethnic groups, can build self and group-efficacy in the face of discrimination (DeBlaere et al., 2014; Ouch & Moradi, 2022). Activism can also build societal wellbeing and further equality for different groups.

Our study also taps into the notion of intergenerational trauma, as victimhood measures did not prompt individuals to think only about their own victimhood, but their belonging to a group that has been victimized. According to Vollhardt et al. (2016), preventing other groups from suffering experienced by one's own group, including one's parents, is a form of 'vicarious post-traumatic growth' (Arnold et al., 2005). Future studies could also assess the positive and negative impacts of intergenerational race/ethnicity-based victimhood on individual wellbeing, as well as attitudes and behaviors towards other victimized racial/ethnic groups.

Lastly, these results can inform policymaking to increase equality of opportunity for Indigenous peoples. To gain the support of people high in SJ beliefs, Genge and Day (2020) recommended that policies be framed as non-zero-sum and beneficial to all groups. For instance, for newcomers, Indigenous education initiatives can be framed as necessary to building familiarity with Canadian history, society, and culture. Individuals high in SJ beliefs, which made up a considerable portion of our sample, tend to support progressive policies framed as enforcing existing social systems. Thus, it is vital for social institutions (e.g., schools, governments) to spearhead policies aimed at increasing racial/ethnic equality for Indigenous peoples and other racial/ethnic groups.

## Conclusion

The study explored the solidarity and political support towards Indigenous peoples among 1st and 2nd generation immigrants in Canada, identifying four distinct profiles based on levels of Indigenous knowledge, victimhood identification, and system justification beliefs. The profiles provide a nuanced understanding of how these variables interact to influence attitudes and behaviors towards Indigenous peoples.

Profile 1, termed Inclusive Victims, Aware System Criticizers," consisted of mostly younger, non-White women who viewed their racial/ethnic victimization as similar to other groups, possessed sufficient Indigenous knowledge, and were critical of meritocratic and hierarchical social systems. This profile demonstrated high solidarity and political support for Indigenous peoples. Profile 2, "Non-Victims, Very Unaware System Supporters," were more likely to be men who did not identify with racial/ethnic victimization, lacked Indigenous knowledge, and supported meritocratic systems. Despite these characteristics, this profile showed unexpectedly high levels of solidarity and political support, similar to Profile 1.

Profile 3, "Non-Victims, Aware System Criticizers," included mostly older White individuals who, while knowledgeable about Indigenous issues and critical of unfair systems, exhibited the lowest levels of solidarity and support for Indigenous peoples. This contradiction suggests that knowledge and system critique alone are insufficient to foster solidarity without a sense of victimhood. Profile 4, "Exclusive Victims, Unaware System Supporters," was the second-largest group and was more likely to include younger, non-White men who perceived their group's victimization as unique, lacked Indigenous knowledge, and supported hierarchical systems. This profile showed moderate solidarity and support, less than Profiles 1 and 2 but more than Profile 3.

The results highlight the complexity of the relationships between victimhood, system justification beliefs, and knowledge in shaping solidarity and political action. High collective victimhood, when it is viewed as inclusive victimhood and is coupled with system criticalness and knowledge about another oppressed group, fosters solidarity, as seen in Profile 1. However, when paired with system support and less knowledge, as in Profile 4, solidarity is diminished. The unexpected high solidarity in Profile 2, despite low victimhood and high system support, suggests that for some, system justification beliefs might foster political support for Indigenous peoples. Findings for Profile 3 were also unexpected, in that despite high knowledge and low support for unequal systems, this profile showed the lowest degree of solidarity. These last two findings challenge the traditional view that high system justification beliefs universally dampen solidarity with marginalized groups.

Overall, the study underscores the need for tailored approaches to fostering solidarity with Indigenous peoples, recognizing that different demographic groups and belief systems require different strategies. For instance, programs emphasizing common victimhood experiences and refuting zero-sum beliefs may be more effective for those with high victimhood identification, while highlighting the positive social outcomes of solidarity may better engage those with low victimhood identification and high system support. The study's implications extend to community organizations and policymakers working on reconciliation and decolonization efforts. Engaging immigrants in relationship-building initiatives with Indigenous peoples, considering their unique experiences and beliefs, can enhance solidarity and support for Indigenous peoples. Future research should continue to explore these dynamics, including the intersectionality of multiple identities and the long-term impact of increased knowledge and system critique on solidarity and political action.

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## Appendix A1: Demographic Measures

**Table A1**

*Participant Demographic Measures*

| **Age** |
|---|
| Under 18 |
| 18-24 |
| 25-34 |
| 35-44 |
| 45-54 |
| 55-64 |
| 65+ |
| **What province or territory do you currently live in?** |
| Alberta |
| British Columbia |
| Manitoba |
| New Brunswick |
| Newfoundland and Labrador |
| Northwest Territories |
| Nova Scotia |
| Nunavut |
| Ontario |
| Prince Edward Island |
| Quebec |

| |
|---|
| Saskatchewan |
| Yukon |
| **What language(s) do you most frequently speak?** |
| English |
| More English than other language(s) |
| More other language(s) than English |
| About the same amount of English and other language(s) |
| Other (please specify) |
| **Are you currently a Canadian citizen or permanent resident?** |
| Yes |
| No |
| Prefer not to answer |
| **Were you born in Canada?** |
| Yes |
| No |
| **Were one or both of your parents born outside of Canada?** |
| Yes |
| No |
| **Are you someone who has migrated to Canada from another country?** |
| Yes |
| No |
| **Did <u>one or both</u> of your parents migrate to Canada from another country?** |
| Yes |

| |
|---|
| No |
| **To your knowledge, what was your own / your parents' immigration class?** [select all that apply] |
| Economic (for a job or employment, own business, make investments) |
| Family sponsored (relative of citizen or permanent resident) |
| Refugee (fear of return to home country due to persecution, violence, human rights violations; includes refugee private or family sponsorships) |
| Not applicable/Prefer not to answer |
| **What is the highest level of education you have completed?** |
| Elementary school (grade 6 completed) |
| Junior high school (grade 8 completed) |
| High school (grade 12) |
| Vocational school, trade school, college |
| Bachelor's degree (for example, BS, BA) |
| Master's degree |
| Professional degree (for example, MD, JD) |
| Doctorate (PhD) |
| Prefer not to answer |
| **What is your employment status?** [select all that apply] |
| Full-time employment (working for myself or someone else) |
| Part-time employment (working for myself or someone else) |
| Not employed and looking for work |
| Not employed and not looking for work |

| |
|---|
| Homemaker, raising children |
| Student (full-time or part-time) |
| Retired |
| Unable to work (for example, disability) |
| Prefer not to answer |
| **What is your approximate yearly household/family income, before tax?** |
| Less than $10,000 |
| $10,000 - $50,000 |
| $50,000 - $100,000 |
| $100,000 - $150,000 |
| $150,000 - $200,000 |
| More than $200,000 |
| Don’t know/Prefer not to answer |
| **What is your ethnic/racial background? [select all that apply]** |
| Black (e.g., African, African Canadian, Afro-Caribbean) |
| East Asian (e.g., Chinese, Japanese, Korean) |
| Indigenous (e.g., First Nations, Inuit, Metis) |
| Latin American (e.g., Hispanic, Latino/a, South or Central America) |
| Middle Eastern or West Asian (e.g., Arab, Persian; West Asian (e.g., Afghan, Egyptian, Kurdish, Lebanese, Turkish)) |
| South Asian (e.g., Bangladeshi, Indian, Indo-Caribbean, Pakistani, Sri Lankan) |
| Southeast Asian (e.g., Cambodian, Filipino, Vietnamese, Thai, Indonesian, other) |
| White (e.g., European ancestry (West, East)) |

Do not know

Prefer not to answer

**Do you identify as a member of a visible ethnic/racial minority group?**

Yes

No

**Do you identify as an immigrant, refugee, or migrant to Canada?**

Yes

No

**What is your gender?**

Man

Woman

Other: _____

Prefer not to answer

**What is your sex?**

Male

Female

Other: _____

Prefer not to answer

**What is your sexual orientation?**

Heterosexual or straight

Gay or lesbian

Bisexual

Other: _____

| |
|---|
| Prefer not to answer |
| **Lastly, do you have any feedback on any aspect of this survey or research study?** |

## Appendix A2: Indicator Measures

**Table A2.1**

*Collective Victimhood Measure – Race/Ethnicity (Vollhardt et al., 2016)*

"Thinking about your own belonging to an ethnic/racial group, please rate your level agreement with the statements below, on a scale from *strongly disagree* (1) to *strongly agree* (7)."

| **Items** | **Responses** |
|---|---|
| "I have had difficult personal experiences because of my ethnic/racial group." | 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*) |
| "Life is hard for members of my ethnic/racial group." | 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*) |
| "I belong to an ethnic/racial group that has been or continues to be discriminated against." | 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*) |
| "I feel a sense of victimization* when I think of my ethnic/racial identity(ies)." | 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*) |

***Victimization**: discrimination, unfair treatment, or violence due to one's belonging to a social group

**Table A2.2**

*Inclusive Victim Consciousness Measure – Race/Ethnicity (Vollhardt et al., 2016)*

"Thinking about your own belonging to a racial/ethnic group(s), please rate your level of agreement with the statements below, on a scale from *strongly disagree* (1) to *strongly agree* (7)."

| **Items** | **Responses** |
|---|---|
| "Other ethnic/racial groups have experienced similar kinds of suffering as my group has." | 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*) |
| "The oppression my group has experienced is similar to that endured by other ethnic/racial groups." | 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*) |
| "Many ethnic/racial groups have suffered in ways similar to my group." | 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*) |

**Table A2.3**

*Exclusive Victim Consciousness Measure – Race/Ethnicity (Vollhardt et al., 2016)*

"Thinking about your own belonging to a racial/ethnic group(s), please rate your level of agreement with the statements below, on a scale from *strongly disagree* (1) to *strongly agree* (7)."

| **Items** | **Responses** |
|---|---|
| "No other ethnic/racial group has suffered as much as my group has." | 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*) |
| "My group's past suffering is distinct from that of other ethnic/racial groups." | 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*) |
| "My group's victimization cannot be compared to the experiences of other ethnic/racial groups." | 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*) |

**Table A2.4**

*Collective Victimhood Measure – Immigrant Background (Vollhardt et al., 2016)*

"Thinking about your own belonging to an immigrant/migrant/refugee group, please rate your level agreement with the statements below, on a scale from *strongly disagree* (1) to *strongly agree* (7)."

| **Items** | **Responses** |
|---|---|
| "I have had difficult personal experiences because of my immigrant/migrant/refugee group." | 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*) |
| "Life is hard for members of my immigrant/migrant/refugee group." | 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*) |
| "I belong to an immigrant/migrant/refugee group that has been or continues to be discriminated against." | 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*) |
| "I feel a sense of victimization when I think of my immigrant/migrant/refugee identity(ies)." | 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*) |

**Table A2.5**

*Inclusive Victim Consciousness Measure – Immigrant Background (Vollhardt et al., 2016)*

"Thinking about your own belonging to an immigrant/migrant/refugee group, please rate your level of agreement with the statements below, on a scale from *strongly disagree* (1) to *strongly agree* (7)."

| **Items** | **Responses** |
|---|---|
| "Other immigrant/migrant/refugee groups have experienced similar kinds of suffering as my group has." | 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*) |
| "The oppression my group has experienced is similar to that endured by other immigrant/migrant/refugee groups." | 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*) |
| "Many immigrant/migrant/refugee groups have suffered in ways similar to my group." | 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*) |

**Table A2.6**

*Exclusive Victim Consciousness Measure – Immigrant Background (Vollhardt et al., 2016)*

"Thinking about your own belonging to an immigrant/migrant/refugee group, please rate your level of agreement with the statements below, on a scale from *strongly disagree* (1) to *strongly agree* (7)."

| **Items** | **Responses** |
|---|---|
| "No other immigrant/migrant/refugee group has suffered as much as my group has." | 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*) |
| "My group's past suffering is distinct from that of other immigrant/migrant/refugee groups." | 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*) |
| "My group's victimization cannot be compared to the experiences of other immigrant/migrant/refugee groups." | 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*) |

**Table A2.7**

*Meritocracy Beliefs Scale (Genge & Day, 2020)*

Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements, on a scale from *strongly disagree* (0) to *strongly agree* (6).

| **Items** | **Responses** |
|---|---|
| Canada is an open society where all individuals can achieve higher status. | 0 (*strongly disagree*) to 6 (*strongly agree*) |
| Advancement in Canadian society is possible for all individuals. | 0 (*strongly disagree*) to 6 (*strongly agree*) |
| Individual members of certain groups are often unable to advance in Canadian society.* | 0 (*strongly disagree*) to 6 (*strongly agree*) |
| Individual members of certain groups have difficulty achieving higher status.* | 0 (*strongly disagree*) to 6 (*strongly agree*) |
| Most people who don't get ahead should not blame the system; they really only have themselves to blame. | 0 (*strongly disagree*) to 6 (*strongly agree*) |
| If people work hard, they almost always get what they want. | 0 (*strongly disagree*) to 6 (*strongly agree*) |
| Even if people work hard, they don't always get ahead.* | 0 (*strongly disagree*) to 6 (*strongly agree*) |
| In Canada, getting ahead doesn't always depend on hard work.* | 0 (*strongly disagree*) to 6 (*strongly agree*) |

*reverse-scored

**Table A2.8**

*Zero-Sum Beliefs Scale (Genge & Day, 2020)*

"Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements about societal groups in Canada, on a scale from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (7)."

| **Items** | **Responses** |
|---|---|
| There are groups within Canadian society that are putting a strain on our resources. | 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*) |
| Some groups in Canadian society don't contribute their fair share. | 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*) |
| Money spent on social services for some groups in Canada means less money will be spent on services for other Canadians. | 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*) |
| When some groups in Canada gain positions of power that means other Canadians have less say. | 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*) |
| Good jobs for some groups in Canada means fewer good jobs for other Canadians. | 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*) |
| Financial aid to some groups hurts other Canadians. | 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*) |

**Table A2.9**

*Social Dominance Orientation 7 Scale ($SDO_{7(s)}$) (Ho et al., 2015)*

"Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with the following ideas about societal groups in Canada, on a scale from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (7)."

| **Items** | **Responses** |
|---|---|
| An ideal society requires some groups to be on top and others to be on the bottom. | 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*) |
| Some groups of people are simply inferior to other groups. | 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*) |
| No one group should dominate in society. | 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*) |
| Groups at the bottom are just as deserving as groups at the top. | 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*) |
| Group equality should not be our primary goal. | 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*) |
| It is unjust to try to make groups equal. | 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*) |
| We should do what we can to equalize conditions for different groups. | 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*) |
| We should work to give all groups an equal chance to succeed. | 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*) |

**Table A2.10**

*Indigenous Knowledge*

"Indigenous (i.e., Aboriginal) peoples are Canada's first peoples. Indigenous peoples include the First Nations, Métis, and Inuit. Please answer the following questions about your knowledge of Indigenous peoples in Canada."

| **Items** | **Responses** |
|---|---|
| "Have you ever attended a course, class, or workshop that taught about Indigenous cultures and histories in Canada?" | 1 (No - Have not attended), 2 (Yes – Attended once), 3 (Yes – Attended two or more times), Other (please specify) |
| "Have you ever attended a course, class, or workshop that taught about colonization, decolonization, and/or residential schools in Canada?" | 1 (No - Have not attended), 2 (Yes – Attended once), 3 (Yes – Attended two or more times), Other (please specify) |
| "Have you ever learned about Indigenous cultures, histories, and/or social issues by attending/engaging in a community event or activity?" | 1 (No - Have not attended), 2 (Yes – Attended once), 3 (Yes – Attended two or more times), Other (please specify) |
| "In your own time or out of self-interest, have you ever learned about Indigenous cultures and histories in Canada?" | 1 (No - Have not learned), 2 (Yes – Learned once), 3 (Yes – Learned two or more times), Other (please specify) |

| | |
|---|---|
| “In your own time or out of self-interest, have you ever learned about colonization, decolonization, and/or residential schools in Canada?” | 1 (No - Have not learned), 2 (Yes – Learned once), 3 (Yes – Learned two or more times), Other (please specify) |
| “Have you ever learned about Indigenous cultures, histories, colonization, decolonization, and/or residential schools through personal social interaction(s) with an Indigenous person?” | 1 (No - Have not learned through interaction), 2 (Yes – Learned through interaction once), 3 (Yes – Learned through interaction two or more times), Other (please specify) |
| “Have you ever learned about Indigenous cultures, histories, colonization, decolonization, and/or residential schools through personal social interaction(s) with a non-Indigenous person?” | 1 (No - Have not learned through interaction), 2 (Yes – Learned through interaction once), 3 (Yes – Learned through interaction two or more times), Other (please specify) |
| “Do you know the names of the major Indigenous groups, nations, or peoples in your local geographic area?” | 1 (No - Do not know the names of any Indigenous groups in my area), 2 (Yes - I know the names of some major Indigenous groups in my area), 3 (Yes - I know the names of all major Indigenous groups in my area), Other (please specify) |

## Appendix A3: Outcome Measures

**Table A3.1**

*Political Solidarity Measure (PSM; Neufeld et al., 2019)*

"Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements, on a scale from *strongly disagree* (1) to *strongly agree* (7)."

| Items | Responses |
|---|---|
| I feel a sense of "brotherhood" or "sisterhood"* with Indigenous peoples in Canada | 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*) |
| I feel a sense of solidarity* with Indigenous peoples in Canada | 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*) |
| I stand united with Indigenous peoples in Canada | 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*) |
| In some ways, I view the issue of decolonization* and reconciliation* with Indigenous people as my cause*, too | 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*) |
| I have a role to play in the issue of decolonization and reconciliation with Indigenous peoples | 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*) |
| I feel connected to the issue of decolonization and reconciliation with Indigenous peoples | 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*) |
| Policies negatively affecting Canada's Indigenous peoples should be changed | 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*) |
| More people should know about how Indigenous people are negatively affected by colonization | 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*) |
| It's important to challenge the power structures* that disadvantage Indigenous peoples in Canada | 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*) |

***Brotherhood, sisterhood**: feelings of friendship, support, and understanding between people (source)
**Solidarity:** a feeling of unity between people and support for each others' interests and goals (source)
**Cause:** something (such as an organization, belief, idea, or goal) that a group or people support or fight for (source)
**Colonization**: when one group taking control of the lands, resources, languages, cultures, and relationships of another group (source)
**Decolonization**: removal or undoing of the effects of colonization, through different activities (example, restoring language, culture, resources, land) (source)

**Reconciliation:** creating and maintaining respectful and mutually helpful relationships between Indigenous and non-Indigenous groups in Canada (source)
**Power structures:** hierarchies in society, government, organizations, etc.

**Table A3.2**

*Support for Policies Benefitting Reconciliation with Indigenous Peoples*

"Please tell us to what extent you would support or oppose each of the following policies, from strongly oppose (1) to strongly support (7)?"

1) "Settling all outstanding land claims with First Nations, Métis and Inuit people, regardless of what this might cost."

2) "Providing Indigenous communities with full control over the natural resources on their traditional territories."

3) "Introducing mandatory curriculum in all schools to teach about Indigenous history and culture."

4) "Providing government funding to ensure the preservation of Indigenous languages."

5) "Providing government funding to reserves for clean drinking water and adequate housing."

## Appendix B1: Demographic Composition by Profile

**Table B1.1**

*Gender Proportions in Each Profile Compared to Proportions in Entire Sample*

| Counts & Proportions (n, %) | Total Sample excluding NA values (n = 273) | P1 Inclusive victim, aware system criticizers (n = 124) | P2 Non-victim, very unaware system supporters (n = 29) | P3 Non-victim, aware system criticizers (n = 25) | P4 Exclusive victim, unaware system supporters (n = 95) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Men | 82 (30.0%) | 23 (18.5%) | 17 (58.6%) | 8 (32.0%) | 34 (35.8%) |
| Women | 191 (70.0%) | 101 (81.5%) | 12 (41.4%) | 17 (68.0%) | 61 (64.2%) |

**Table B1.2**

*Visible Minority Status Proportions in Each Profile Compared to Proportions in Entire Sample*

| Counts & Proportions (n, %) | Total Sample excluding NA values (n = 282) | P1 Inclusive victim, aware system criticizers (n = 133) | P2 Non-victim, very unaware system supporters (n = 29) | P3 Non-victim, aware system criticizers (n = 25) | P4 Exclusive victim, unaware system supporters (n = 95) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Yes | 214 (75.9%) | 118 (88.7%) | 16 (55.2%) | 5 (20.0%) | 75 (78.9%) |
| No | 68 (24.1%) | 15 (11.3%) | 13 (44.8%) | 20 (80.0%) | 20 (21.1%) |

**Table B1.3**

*Descriptive Statistics for SES as a Function of Profile Membership*

| Prof_mem | *M* | *M* 95% CI [LL, UL] | *SD* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Prof 1 | 0.12 | [0.00, 0.23] | 0.64 |
| Prof 2 | 0.37 | [0.07, 0.67] | 0.75 |
| Prof 3 | 0.26 | [-0.09, 0.60] | 0.77 |
| Prof 4 | 0.04 | [-0.10, 0.18] | 0.63 |

*Note. M* and *SD* represent mean and standard deviation, respectively. *LL* and *UL* indicate the lower and upper limits of the 95% confidence interval for the mean, respectively. The confidence interval is a plausible range of population means that could have created a sample mean (Cumming, 2014).

**Table B1.4**

*Fixed-Effects ANOVA Results Using SES as the Criterion and Profile Membership as the Predictor*

| Predictor | Sum of Squares | *df* | Mean Square | *F* | *p* | $_{\text{partial}}\eta^2$ | $_{\text{partial}}\eta^2$ 95% CI [LL, UL] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| (Intercept) | 5.94 | 1 | 5.94 | 13.63 | .000 | | |
| Prof_mem | 2.55 | 3 | 0.85 | 1.95 | .122 | .02 | [.00, .06] |
| Error | 108.03 | 248 | 0.44 | | | | |

*Note.* LL and UL represent the lower-limit and upper-limit of the partial $\eta^2$ confidence interval, respectively.